

Revolutionary Age

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

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Ban Against "Age" Upheld!

Big War Plot Against USSR

Bare Huge Plan of Imperialist Intervention

A huge conspiracy involving hundreds of capitalist conspirators within the country and high official figures in the governments of Great Britain, France, Rumania and other capitalist lands with the object of overthrowing the workers and farmers Soviet Government of the USSR and of putting back in its place a capitalist government, has been uncovered by Soviet officials in indictments drawn up against eight Russians now awaiting trial as counter-revolutionaries. The indictments, drawn up by N. U. Krikenko, the Soviet public prosecutor, lay bare a huge international plot to overthrow the Soviet government and to establish an "industrial republican government," that is, a capitalist government.

The confessions of Professor Ramson, the chief conspirator, and scores of others name Sir Henri Deterding, the British oil magnate (Royal Dutch Shell), ex-Premier Poincaré and Foreign Minister Briand of France as the chief conspirators. The activities of the French, it is declared "went on with tireless vigor." Colonel T. E. Lawrence participated and declared that Great Britain had a and that the military authorities "were working-out definite plans."

The attack on the Soviet Union was planned for last Summer but conditions for the attack were not "favorable" for the attack so that the offensive was put off to next year. It was planned to organize a rising at home in the USSR to coincide with imperialist intervention from the outside.

The exposure of the huge plot against the Soviet Union brings close home to every worker the constant danger of an imperialist offensive against the only workers and farmers government in the world. *The bankers and capitalists of the United States*, altho not directly involved in the indictments exposing the conspiracy, are today behind every move against the USSR. Secretary Wilbur of Hoover's Cabinet made it quite clear in one of his recent speeches. He said:

"One of the great peoples of the earth (the Soviet Union) is deliberately trying to work out large social and economic programs for the mastery of its vast terrain along new and untried lines.

"Our economic, social and political philosophies inevitably must wage a gigantic and fundamental struggle with theirs."

In public Secretary Wilbur speaks of the "struggle of philosophies" but we can be sure that for the American capitalist war mongers the struggle takes on a more material form and that Wall Street with its vast resources and power is behind every anti-Soviet move made.

The workers of the world, including
(Continued on Page 2)

U. S. Court Decision Destroys Freedom of the Press

In a decision handed down on October 16, 1930 Justice Woolsey of the United States District Court sustained the action of the Post Office Department in barring the *Revolutionary Age* from the mails and in refusing second class mailing right to it. The decision declares that the *Revolutionary Age* is indeed "seditious" and "treasonable" as charged and that its suppression was necessary. The decision of Justice Woolsey is a direct blow against the freedom of the labor press and against civil liberties in

general. The decision of the court declares:

"It is well settled that the freedom of the press is not interfered with except by suppression of a newspaper before publication."

In other words, it is quite "constitutional" to suppress any paper after its publication! Then it's no violation of civil liberty! This is asserted very specifically. Of course this means the complete destruction of any paper that does not happen to please the Post Office

Department or some judge. And we can be sure that if any labor paper has any fight in it it will not please the Post Office Department or the capitalist judges.

The decision of the court declares that the use of the mails is to be granted only to those publications which serve the interests of the bosses and the bosses government but is to be denied to any publications really defending the interests of the working people:

"... the use of the mails is a privilege accorded by the Government only on certain terms and only for purposes not prohibited by Congress..."

What these "certain terms" which the labor-hating strike-breaking government of the United States imposes for the use of the mails are not very difficult to imagine! Many pages of the Court's decision are taken up with extracts from article in the *Revolutionary Age* intended to show why our paper is so displeasing to the government authorities. The following quoted extract from our paper is significant:

"We will continue our fight against unemployment and for immediate adequate relief to the millions of unemployed. We will continue our fight against the open-shop, union-smashing wage-cutting campaign of the employers. We will continue our fight against the strike-breaking activities of the government and its military, police, with its judges and court injunctions against workers on strike."

To be against unemployment and for unemployment relief, to be against the open shop and against wage cuts, to be against labor injunctions, is sufficient reason for having your paper barred from the mails! To be for the workers and against the bosses is the crime the bosses and the bosses government can never forgive or forget!

Weekly Age Out Dec. 6th

The next issue of the *Revolutionary Age* will appear on December 6 as a WEEKLY!

Today, after one year of our existence, the political necessity of a WEEKLY *Revolutionary Age* is beyond question. The growth of our tasks and activities makes a weekly absolutely indispensable to us. At the same time the prospects of overcoming the financial crisis that is such an obstacle to the growth of our paper seem best on the basis of a weekly.

THE WEEKLY WILL BE OUT DECEMBER 6

The appearance of the Weekly at this date is made possible thru the sacrifices of a small group of comrades in New York who have contributed enough money to START the Weekly going. To KEEP it going, to MAINTAIN the Weekly will be the job of the

BIG WEEKLY CAMPAIGN

beginning on November 7 and ending on January 21, 1931. In this campaign

WE MUST RAISE \$2,000!

Now all together! The Weekly is here! Make sure to maintain it! Make sure to keep it! It depends upon YOU!

Marine Workers Fight Against Sectarianism and Bureaucracy

Form Marine Workers Solidarity League to Fight for Unity— Expulsion Drive Begun by Party Burecrats

For years there has been a deep dissatisfaction, developing among the rank and file of the various marine workers unions, with the reactionary officials and their sell-out policies. In recent years it has come to a head and crystallized itself in the formation of independent industrial unions (I.W.W. 1921; Marine Workers Industrial Union, a Communist Union 1930).

The first one (I.W.W.) has practically become inactive; the other has narrowed its base to such an extent that it is now nothing more than a political sect, dominated by bureaucratic dictators from whose decisions there is no appeal.

The class-conscious and militant workers in the industry who are really interested in building a powerful industrial union have thus been segregated from the masses of the unorganized and the membership of the conservative unions.

Realizing that such a sectarian left course only weakens the workers and makes them easier prey for the ship owners, as revealed by the recent wage

reductions, worsening conditions, etc; and understanding that only by solidarity can workers cope with the evergrowing power of the bosses, a group of workers met and decided that only an organization that would wage a vigorous educational campaign could bring about unity of the marine workers.

Accordingly, on November 1, 1930 there was formed "The Marine Workers Solidarity League" setting forth as its basic principles the following:

1. For the unity of all the advanced militant and honest union men in the existing marine workers' unions for the purpose of waging a more determined fight against the reactionary and bureaucratic officialdom.
2. No discrimination because of race, color, creed or political opinion.
3. For one union in the industry uniting all the marine transport workers and their organizations. The union to be a genuine union controlled by the rank and file and

(Continued on page 9)

BEGINNING IN THE WEEKLY:

a series of sensational articles containing

STARTLING EXPOSURES OF THE ANTI-SOVIET CONSPIRACIES IN THE U. S.

—involving prominent American cabinet officers and high government officials, the Metropolitan and New York Life Insurance Companies, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Chicago Tribune, Harvard University, etc., etc.

—exposing the network of reactionary and monarchist Russian secret societies in America financed and supported by American big business.

—laying bare the power behind the Fish Committee, the anti-"dumping" campaign, and all other anti-Soviet moves in recent times.

SPREAD THE NEWS!
DON'T MISS THE ARTICLES!
ORDER YOUR BUNDLES NOW!

Statement of Comrade Weisbord

(Continued from the last issue)
11. Only by a Leninist policy are the Communists enabled to radicalize the masses in the United States. This policy means "To the Masses," mass work in all its forms, formation of independent mass organizations where possible and necessary, the united front, work in reactionary trade unions and similar bodies, Labor Party, etc. To accomplish such mass work it is necessary to Leninize the party, namely to base the party on the most exploited sections of the masses, to wipe out the bureaucracy (the liars and fakers) in the party, to demand as an absolute condition and prerequisite to leadership: (1.) The tested ability to carry out mass work in a Communist manner. (2.) The liquidation of the mountain of vulgar Marxism and syndicalist-liberal conceptions and a real study of the basic works of the founders of Communism. (3.) Profound honest integrity, and courage.

To all this the present theories of "Fascism" and "Social-Fascism" give a death blow. These "theories" wiping out as they do all the Marxian-Leninist distinctions between Fascism and regular bourgeois democracy mean (1.) The reactionary unions are to be destroyed not won, the workers of the A. F. of L. being hopeless fascists, enemies of the working class. (2.) The socialist and progressive workers being "social-fascists" are only secret agents of the fascists. These too must be destroyed. (3.) The Communist opposition groups become not only full grown Mensheviks but worse, police agents, have no place in unions or other workingclass organizations. Any action against them up to complete physical extermination is justified. (4.) The line between communism and Fascism theoretically becomes very thin for overnight, no matter how tested and loyal before, any Communist can become a police-agent Menshevik or fascist. (5.) Since every tested member tomorrow can be a police-agent Menshevik, revolutionary behaviour in mass work is no longer a test for leadership. Any faker or apparatus follower can be a leader. Leaders are cheap and easily made. Distrust for the leadership follows. Cynicism not revolutionary idealism pervades the party. Double-bookkeeping (see the hypocrisy of those who put forth the CI Address of 1929) becomes the rule. Correspondingly a contempt for the membership grows. Political sterility increases.

SECTION C

12. An analysis of the present situation cannot be complete or correct without a through study of all basic international questions. Only the movement headed by L. D. Trotsky has stressed the necessity for a truly international point of view, has fought the tendencies of national socialism, and has made such an international viewpoint the prerequisite warp and woof of every sectional thesis. The Left International Opposition (Trotsky) alone has correctly fought the opportunism embodied (1.) In the theory of socialism in one country. (2.) In the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee affair. (3.) In the Chinese Kuomintang adventure. Nevertheless, in view of the recent international events, it is necessary to make an independent analysis here of the chief international situations.

13. India. The basic slogans for the Communists today in India must be Lenin's "Three Pillars" that is, a basic slogan for the proletariat (say the eight hour day), a basic slogan for the peasantry (confiscation of the land), and the slogan of Democratic Republic. To these "three pillars" the slogan "Freedom for India" must be added. Only around all these slogans can the masses be effectively mobilized. It would be a gross error for the Communists to stress the slogan of "Freedom for India" alone as does the nationalist Indian bourgeoisie. The slogan for "Constituent Assembly" by itself is not incorrect but is incomplete and may be dangerous for it does not take into consideration the fact that British imperialism can maneuver so as to make the slogan of "Constituent Assembly" a substitute for a democratic republic. The slogan "Constituent Assembly" can be used correctly only in conjunction with the slogan for a Democratic Republic.

The slogan of Soviets can be appropri-

ate only when a sufficiently acute revolutionary situation has been engendered around the "three pillars", when the class struggle and civil war rages in the villages and towns. In this connection it must be emphasized that Soviets can be built even with the slogan of Constituent Assembly. The two slogans of Constituent Assembly and Soviets need not be antagonistic at all times. But what must be stressed is the actual organization of civil war in the village and town and the leadership of the proletariat in this civil war. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat in India can make permanent its revolution.

The Communists must make plain to the masses the role of the nationalistic Indian bourgeoisie and the role of Gandhi as an agent of this class. Not only the experiences of 1921 must be gone over, but all the treacherous actions of the present Gandhi campaign (the salt campaign, the anti-machine movement, passive resistance, opposition to workers, record at the Nationalist Congress, etc., etc.) must be elaborated. Simultaneously mass movements in town and countryside against native usurer, gentry, kulak, bourgeois, must be effected. By no means must the Chiang Kai-shek adventure be repeated. The criminal negligence of the CI in failing to build the CP but in building Workers-Peasant Parties instead must be speedily liquidated. (It is clear that it is not OUR business to organize peasant parties).

It is clear that the main task of the Communists must be the stimulation of movements of the masses around the "three pillars" and freedom slogans. These movements are directed against both native and foreign rulers and bourgeoisie and these movements soon break any united front with the native bourgeoisie who may desire a nationalist revolutionary movement under the sole slogan of "Freedom of India from the British." Nevertheless, and this is most important to understand, so long as a section of the nationalist Indian bourgeoisie is fighting British imperialism under the slogan of "Freedom of India from imperialist rule," so long as this movement unleashes the energy of the masses which otherwise could not be unleashed and so long as the masses have not been actively mobilized around the correct slogans and while the exposure of the native bourgeoisie is but in its incipency, it would be manifestly incorrect for the Communists not to enter or to struggle for a national revolutionary front against British imperialism even though this national revolutionary front would temporarily contain sections of the nationalist revolutionary bourgeoisie (whom the masses follow), even though the sole slogan were "Freedom for India from British Imperialism," and even though later the united front would have to be broken by the development of the class struggle in the villages and towns of India. The center of attack must be against British imperialism and its conscious reactionary agents within India.

14. China. Here too the slogan of Constituent Assembly is still correct, although it is apparently incorrect to state that the Chinese revolution is still on the wane. Here the mobilization of workers and peasants on concrete issues can lead to such an acute revolutionary situation that Soviets can be formed.

It is dubious to say, as do some members of the International Left Opposition, that the present guerilla warfare going on in China today is wrong and not to be supported. Under the present conditions, if the facts are that masses of desperate peasants are ready to take up civil war in the countryside, the Communists must stimulate, support, organize, and lead such a movement. On the other hand, it must be clear that no matter how much the imperialists and native Chinese rulers may be weakened, armed peasant bands cannot take the place of mass peasant uprisings, the peasant movement can not take the place of a proletarian struggle, and peasant "soviets" can not replace the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(Concluded in the next issue which will also contain the reply of the CP-Majority Group to Comrade Weisbord's statement.)

Tuberculosis and The Poor

Columns of slush have been poured out in the newspapers throughout the country over the fact that one of Hoover's sons has tuberculosis. The moral is, of course: "Tuberculosis is no respecter of persons; it hits rich and poor alike. What is the good of wealth? The poor man may be happy—the rich man miserable. . . ." And so on. It happens however that this edifying moral tale is just a lot of buncombe. Tuberculosis, like many other diseases, is a respecter of persons; it shows a most remarkable fondness for working people, for poor people. Under capitalist society, disease is not a natural but a social phenomenon.

How true this is, is shown in a short article on the "Prevalence of Tuberculosis in Industry" appearing in the *Monthly Labor Review* (the publication of the U. S. Department of Labor) for September 1930, which itself summarizes the results of a number of extensive and painstaking investigations.

"Tuberculosis in industry"—the article declares—"presents two phases. . . . One factor is the general prevalence of tuberculosis among industrial workers which results from their social-economic status and the other is the tuberculosis which results from a specific occupational hazard." The investigation is made on the basis of the rate of tuberculosis for industrial policy holders (workers) in contrast to policy holders of "more favorable economic strata" (various bourgeois strata), and to the population in general. "The tuberculosis death rates for males in the registration area (that is, population in general) is lower than for insured males in the industrial group at every age period except 65-74 years. In the age group 15-19 years the rate for the industrial group is 18% higher. . . . becoming progressively worse at each succeeding age period up to 45-54 years. The industrial group is at an even greater disadvantage when their rates are compared with those for males insured in the ordinary department (that is, bourgeois strata), the industrial death rate from tuberculosis in the age group 45-54 years being three and one-third times that for males in the ordinary group." "The rates for women are particularly unfavorable for the early age groups—the time of employment and maternity."

These facts show that merely because of his social-economic status, merely because he is a working man, is the American worker marked out in advance as the victim of tuberculosis. But the curse of the white plague hits with even greater force those workers who are employed in a large number of important industries. "The greatest hazard was shown . . . to be presented by the lead and zinc mining industry, these miners having a tuberculosis mortality 8 times as great as among 'standard' lives." Figures are presented to show the special hazard of granite and sandstone cutters, copper miners, gold and silver miners, iron miners, etc. Other occupations with a high tuberculosis rate are: laborers porters, longshoremen, cooks, servants, etc.

To these significant facts we may add just one more. Dr. J. G. Greef, New York hospital commissioner, commented as follows to the press:

"Dr. Greef attributed the recent large increase in tuberculosis patients directly to the unemployment situation. He expressed the conviction that continued hard times thru the winter would cause a tremendous increase in the number of such patients.

"The hospital also reports 167,000 more visits of 'out-patients' in the first six months of this year than in the entire year of 1929."

Such is life under capitalism! The toilers, the producers, are the choice victims of plagues and diseases. The idlers, the drones, the masters of the wealth of the community, are also the masters of the health of the nation. Such is life under capitalism. . . .

READ

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

Big Meeting In Boro Park

About three hundred workers listened with great enthusiasm to the lecture of Jay Lovestone on "Thirteen Years of the Russian Revolution" at the meeting arranged by the Boro Park Youth Club in Boro Park (a section of New York) for Friday, November 14, 1930. This meeting was the most successful the club has ever arranged and one of the biggest ever seen in Boro Park.

The lecture was especially important because for weeks the Party bureaucrats had openly been threatening that "Lovestone would never show his face in Boro Park." They concentrated all efforts at preventing or disrupting this lecture. They hired another hall in the same building and arranged a counter-meeting with Amter. They spread the word that the meeting would be attacked by the loyalites in force. They even went to the extent of trying to bribe the hall keeper to refuse the hall to the Boro Park Youth Club. All to no avail! The Party meeting was miserably small in comparison with the other, altho the Party charged only 15c admission, which was only nominal since most were admitted free anyway. The bureaucrats could not muster enough courage to try to disturb Lovestone's lecture in any form.

In every way the meeting was a huge success and has made a considerable impression upon the progressive workers in Boro Park.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND PROFITS

The capitalist system concentrates wealth at one pole of society and poverty at the other. The idlers and spoilers have all the good things of life—the producers and toilers all the hard luck and misery. And the worse conditions are for the latter, the better they become for the former. Nowhere is this horrible conditions more clearly to be seen than in the United States, the "land of plenty."

The last few months have been months of wage-cutting, union-smashing, unemployment and grueling misery for the millions of workers in this country. But in the month of September 1930 American industries paid dividends amounting to \$475,084,394, while in 1929 this sum amounted to \$389,391,264! But the month of September is no exception. If we take the first nine months of the current fiscal year and compare it with the similar period in the previous fiscal year: what do we find? 1929—\$2,393,278,581; 1930—\$3,621,104,457—and the year 1929 was a record "prosperity" year.

The workers should learn the lesson: The worse off they are—the better off the bosses!

WAR PLOT AGAINST USSR

(Continued from page 1)

The working class of America, must realize that an attack upon the Soviet Union is a direct attack against themselves and against the world labor movement. The Soviet Union is the advance outpost of the international labor movement; the overthrow of this outpost would mean the bitterest attack yet seen against world labor as a whole, an engulfing wave of the blackest reaction. On the other hand the progress and strengthening of the Soviet Union—politically, economically and socially—contributes greatly to the forward march of labor all over the world. *The cause of the workers and farmers of the USSR is the cause of the workers and farmers of the whole world.* That is why the slogan for the workers of all countries must be: *Stand by the Soviet Union! Defend the Soviet Union!*

The American workers have the special job of fighting for the recognition of the Soviet government by the American government. The U. S. A. is the only large country that has not yet established regular diplomatic relations with the USSR. That shows the bitter hostility of the American capitalists to the USSR. The workers and farmers of this country must demand the recognition of the USSR by the US government.

All together! Against the united imperialist anti-Soviet offensive—a united front of labor in defense and for the recognition of the Soviet Union.

Britain Makes Anti-Zionist Turn

Shaking Empire Forces Manover; India Congress Duped Into Endorsing Zionism

Over 40,000 New York Jews packed Madison Square Garden and gathered in huge crowds around it on November 2 in protest against the recent change of policy of the British government in regard to Palestine and Zionism. The meeting was addressed by Mayor Walker of New York, Senator Wagner, and others and received messages from both of the candidates for the governorship, Chas. H. Tuttle and Franklin D. Roosevelt. This meeting was the most startling expression of national-chauvinist frenzy that has been seen among the Jewish masses for many years.

The turmoil into which the whole Zionist movement and large sections of the Jewish masses have been thrown arose with the publication of the report on Palestine by Sir John Hope Simpson on October 2, 1930 and of the British White Paper on Palestine policy (especially Lord Passfield's statement) some weeks later. These documents not only urge the necessity of stopping Jewish immigration into Palestine but even raise the question of the re-emigration of some of the Jews already domiciled in Palestine. They propose the placing of great restrictions on the further transference of land into Jewish Zionist hands. They involve for what the Zionists call "discrimination" in the composition of the "Legislative Assembly" (an imperialist fraud resembling the similar "assemblies" in India). The other proposals are all along the same lines.

The publication of these official documents produced an immediate reaction everywhere. The World Zionist Organization was thrown into consternation altho the general trend of British policy had been well known for some time. Resignations followed one after the other. Stanley Baldwin and Lloyd George immediately utilized the occasion for an offensive against the MacDonald government. The Zionists set themselves to work mobilizing the Jewish communities all over the world in protest against the recent turn of policy of the British government and in support of Zionism.

The new departure of British policy comes as an inevitable result of recent world political developments. Within the last few years the Zionist movement has been orientating itself more and more in the direction of the United States and in recent times this orientation has been very marked. In fact Zionism has practically become an adjunct to Wall Street imperialism. Taking place in the general frame-work of the sharpening of the Anglo-American antagonisms on a world scale, this change of orientation of Zionism could only lead to very strained relations between it and British imperialism. This is precisely the significance of the Passfield declaration. Then there is a second and equally important factor. These are sad and difficult days for British imperialism. India, China, Egypt, the Near East! In India, especially, is Great Britain hard pressed; here there has been built up a united front of the Hindu and Mohammedan peoples in the struggle for independence. England now falls back upon the time-honored policy of despots and tyrants: *Divide and rule!* The British diplomats have now executed the maneuver of reaching an agreement with a group of leading Arab mufitis and politicians that Great Britain would modify its Palestine policy if the Arabs would exercise their influence as leaders of the Moslem work to detach the Indian Mohammedans from the Indian National Congress and to dampen the nationalist movement in Egypt. The Passfield declaration is one side of the bargain; the news of defections among the Mohammedan nationalist forces in India, that has already appeared in the American press, is the other side of the picture. A third factor in the same direction reflects the sharpening Anglo-French antagonisms and the bid of both imperialist powers for influence and hegemony in Arabia.

It must be pointed out, however, that the "new turn" in British Palestine policy represents nothing permanent; nor is it a fundamental revision of the British

Results of the Elections

The outstanding feature of the elections that have just taken place is the maintenance and the strengthening of the two-party system—the most reactionary factor in American political life. It is from this viewpoint that the election results must be interpreted.

In general the results of the elections may be described as a sensational Democratic landslide. In New York State Roosevelt (1,744,832) received a plurality of nearly 750,000 as against Tuttle (1,021,589). In Illinois Lewis swept the state. In Minnesota, for the first time in history, a Democratic senator was elected! And so on all along the line.

The main factors in the Democratic landslide are obvious. The critical economic situation and the widespread unem-

ployment have created considerable discontent and unrest among practically all sections of the population and have given rise to a growing dissatisfaction with the Hoover Republican administration. With this basic situation has been intertwined the Prohibition issue which emerged in this campaign as an economic issue in itself ("Do away with Prohibition—Open the breweries—and provide work for tens of thousands!") There can be no doubt that these were the underlying issues of the campaign. But the significant feature is: *this general feeling of discontent and unrest could not break thru the iron ring of the two-party system and therefore could not manifest itself in any form leading to working class action.* On the contrary



—from the New York World

course. It represents a flexible readjustment to a new world situation in the unscrupulously skillful manner for which the British imperialists are so notorious. With a change of world situation the policy of British imperialism, including its Palestine policy, will assume quite a different aspect. Only one thing will remain unchanged and unchangeable: *the determination of the British imperialists to rule and to exploit.*

The Executive of the Indian National Congress has already made public a declaration which exposes the perfidious diplomacy of British imperialism and which pledges support to the "Jewish people in the construction of its national existence in the home of its ancestors." Thus the Indian National Congress goes on record in support of Zionism. This as every clear and conscious anti-imperialist nationalist must realize, is a serious error. Zionism is not a progressive nationalist movement. Zionism is a reactionary pro-imperialist movement—at first it was an adjunct of British imperialism and now it is becoming a tool of American imperialism. It aims at expropriating the Arab peasants and of driving them out of their native land and of establishing a fictitious "Jewish home-land" in Palestine, really as the instrument of imperialist oppression. Just because the British imperialists have executed a complicated maneuver which puts them in momentary opposition to Zionism is no reason for the nationalists of India and the friends of the oppressed peoples everywhere to fall into the trap and support Zionism. The fact that Zionism is vigorously defended by the ultra-reactionary Stanley Baldwin, by Jan Smuts and by Lloyd George should convince the Indian nationalists as to what Zionism really is. The slogan must be: *The unity of the oppressed peoples of India and Arabia against British imperialist deceits as Zionism!*

What were the reasons for this sensational triumph of the two-party system and of the forces of reaction? The basic factor unquestionably is the general backwardness of the American workers politically, the fact that they have not yet taken—either organizationally or ideologically—the first step in the class separation of the working class from the capitalists. The American working class has not yet developed to the point where it expresses its dissatisfaction primarily thru the channels of the labor movement, especially politically. Another factor that must be considered in the present

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Brazil Insurgents Seize Power

Backed by Great Britain Against U. S. Imperialism

The victory of the Brazilian insurgents headed by Getulio Vargas over the Federal government marks a triumph for British interests in South America which goes a considerable way to make up for the sensational successes Yankee imperialism has had in helping put over and profiting by the recent insurrections in Argentina, and other Latin American countries. It became quite clear towards the conclusion of the struggle that Washington was backing the Federal government while London was standing behind the insurgents. The act of the U. S. State Department in stopping any arm shipments to the insurgents while permitting and encouraging arms shipments to the Federal government of Brazil caused a furry in the British press and some very frank and cynical comments. "The Brazilian rebels," declared the *Manchester Guardian*, "therefore, will be able to count on sympathy and perhaps on active support from those who dislike the United States. . . ."

The background of the insurrection in Brazil was the profound economic crisis dominating the country, especially in the basic coffee industry. Tremendous dissatisfaction spread among the popular masses and the insurgent elements found a good basis for revolt. In many cases the unrest manifested itself in a class movement, as for example, in the riots and striking in the Sao Paulo region which took on a distinctly proletarian character. (The "anarchist excesses" of the capitalist press.)

With the victory of the Vargas forces, backed by British imperialism, the United States made a change of strategy. It immediately began negotiations within the triumphant insurgent movement with the object of corrupting a section of it and winning it for the service of Yankee imperialism. Recent reports indicate that some success has already been achieved thru this strategy.

South America now exhibits the aspect of a gigantic chess-board with Uncle Sam and John Bull as the players. Recently the game has been going to Yankee imperialism. But the last move has not yet been made! The last move remains for the toiling masses in Latin America to arise and overturn the whole dirty imperialist game and assert the independence of Latin America from both British and American imperialism!

AND NOW: THE WAGE-CUT DRIVE!

The *Revolutionary Age* has more than once called attention to the big wage-cut drive being prepared by the bosses and already begun in many places. We declared that by Thanksgiving a huge wage-cutting drive would be launched in all important industries of the country.

Just before elections attempts were made to postpone and camouflage this wage-slashing campaign. But what will happen after elections was told by Dr. V. Jordan in an address before the National Electrical Manufacturers Association:

"Those who are leading it (the wage-slashing campaign) will probably defer their outright attempts to liquidate labor and lower American standards of living till after the November elections." There could be no franker threat! The workers must take warning! The workers must organize and fight against wage-cuts! Working class unity against the offensive of capital!

WILL WE KEEP THE WEEKLY?

That depends on You!

The Weekly will be out Dec. 6. But to KEEP it we must get in \$2,000 by January 21, 1931.

DO YOUR SHARE

Revolutionary Age

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

JAY LOVESTONE, Editor
WILL HERBERG, Managing Editor

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ONE YEAR OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

This has been a most eventful year in the life of the American working class. Every organization of labor has been facing crucial problems. The entire labor movement is in a most critical condition.

In the Communist Party the crisis is today deeper and more serious than ever. It is solely with the purpose of hastening the Communist Party's return to the correct policies of Lenin, strictly with the aim of uniting the Communist forces that the REVOLUTIONARY AGE was launched a year ago.

For us, for the Communist Party USA (Majority Group), this has been a year of great trial, of severe test, of considerable sacrifice—but a year worthwhile from the viewpoint of achievements for our basic aim—"Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle." From this angle, the first year of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE must be viewed as the most important and effective means for restoring our Party to correct Communist tactics and leadership. When one looks into the almost insuperable obstacles in our path—the terrorism, slander and abuse of the Party's misleadership, the persecution of the government, the slender resources at our disposal, etc.—it is an especially notable achievement to have been able not only to carry on but constantly to increase the influence of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE.

A revolutionary paper must be judged by its enemies as well as its friends. Here, we can say with true revolutionary pride that it is no accident that the Wall Street government has singled out the REVOLUTIONARY AGE as the first labor paper for attack and suppression. The Civil Liberties Union is not at all exaggerating when it says that the attempt of the U. S. government to suppress the REVOLUTIONARY AGE is the most important civil liberties case since the war. The enemy class spokesman, Chas. H. Tuttle, defeated Republican candidate for Governor in New York State, only showed real class consciousness and zeal for his ruling class masters when he denounced the REVOLUTIONARY AGE with special vehemence, because it fights "for Communist unity in the revolutionary class struggle." Precisely for the same reason we must record as one of the bright spots of the year that despite tremendous difficulties there has been a response to its call for support from so many sections of the Party, from organizations of Negro masses, from workers benefit and educational societies, from labor unions, from the ranks of those interested in the defense of civil liberties. The Conference for the Defense of the Labor Press, to be held on November 16 at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., shows the best way for the workers to answer this boss attack.

In the first twelve months of its existence the REVOLUTIONARY AGE struck many a blow for the working class and against the exploiters. Its economic and political analysis, its merciless criticism of the adventurist, sectarian course forced upon our Party today, its systematic advocacy and explanation of correct Communist policies, its startling exposures of Whalen, Green, Woll, the War Department, the wage cut drive, its leadership in putting forward sound programs for meeting the unemployment crisis, the costly divisions in the ranks of the working class, and its timely and accurate information on developments in the Communist International insure the REVOLUTIONARY AGE support ever-more by the class conscious workers.

Entering the second year of our existence we must overcome our shortcomings and correct our mistakes—beyond repetition. The REVOLUTIONARY AGE must become much more of a mass paper. It must be much more popular. It must sink its roots deeper in the factories, mills and mines. Of course, the financial difficulties must be overcome, so that regularity will be assured. The REVOLUTIONARY AGE must become a weekly in the quickest possible time.

We have made a good beginning. But it's only a small beginning. As we begin the second year we say: For a bigger and better REVOLUTIONARY AGE—the most effective weapon for Communist unity and for correct Communist policies to enable the working class to go forward in its historic mission, the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the classless, the Communist society.

New Workers School Scores Big

Great gains have been made by the New Workers School in the opening of its courses for the second year as compared with the first year of its existence. Judging from registration figures at present available the total registration this year will be about 50% over last year. Another outstanding gain is shown in the number of non-Party workers who have registered for courses. Last year the registration was made up very largely of members of the CP-Majority Group. This year fully one third of the total student body are non-Party workers.

The school committee, having set a minimum quota of ten before any class is started, it has yet proved possible to start every class as scheduled. The Sunday night course of popular lectures on current questions had 100 registrations and at its last session 140 were present, the difference being made up by single admissions. The courses holding their third session are: "The Class War To-day" (Instructor: Jay Lovestone),

"Fundamentals of Communism" (D. Benjamin), "Program of the Communist International" (Herbert Zam), "Marxism-Leninism" (Will Herberg), "Marxism Philosophy" (Bert Wolfe), and "English for Foreign Born Workers" (Speare). The courses in "Marxism Economics" (B. Herman) and in "Social Forces in American History" (Jim Cork) have already held their second sessions.

All courses are given on Wednesday and Thursday nights in such a manner that no worker will find an undue conflict between his educational training and his other activities—the school offering a rich and varied curriculum of courses of basic importance in a maximum of two week day nights a week. The popular lecture course is given on Sunday nights. The fees are kept at an incredibly low figure, \$2.50 for a one-week three months course, the deficit being made up by voluntary contributions, debates and social affairs run by the student council. Special arrangements are made for unemployed workers.

For Communist Unity Against the Hypocritical Manoeuvres of the Party Officialdom

The Party officials are at the point of initiating another "clever" manoeuvre! The air is full with talk about the "change of line" in trade union work! The old policy of physical attacks upon the "renegades" seems to be supplemented by a new policy of fraternization and so-called "friendly approach." Rumors are being spread about "breaks" in our ranks and about certain "unity developments" that are coming. What is the meaning of these developments?

It is now more than two years that the new ultra-left and sectarian policies and bureaucratic methods achieved full domination in the Communist International. The results of these policies and methods are now clear to all who have eyes to see. The tried and tested principles underlying Communist work in the trade unions, in particular, are held in official neglect and scorn. The Communist Parties all over the world have lost in influence, membership and prestige. The whole Communist movement is deeply split in three different directions. The parliamentary representations of the Finnish and Norwegian Parties have just been wiped out of existence in the recent elections. The catastrophic losses of the German Party in influence among the organized workers are shown in the recent trade union and factory councils elections (especially, the absence of any CPG members at the last congress of the German Metal Workers). It is officially admitted that the French Party has lost over half its membership in the last few years. In India the official Communist group has no influence and is completely isolated from the great nationalist revolutionary wave overwhelming the country. The crisis in the Young Communist International is so bad that it is widely declared in official Comintern circles, that outside of the USSR the Communist youth movement is well nigh wiped out. The Red International of Labor Unions was never as weak in membership, powerless in influence and in a state of such disruption and division as today. All of these developments are the inevitable consequences of the false policies and methods that dominate the Communist International and the individual parties today.

But as a result of the crisis there has developed also the international Communist Opposition movement—the movement around which concentrate those forces in the revolutionary working class that are fighting for the reunification of the Communist International and for its restoration to the path of Lenin. The two years of struggle of the International Communist Opposition movement against almost insuperable obstacles have been rich in results. In Sweden and in Alsace the Communist Opposition movement represents the main stream of the Communist movement as such and its influence among the masses is being extended and deepened. In Germany the Communist Opposition has matured politically and organizationally to a stage where it represents a powerful Communist force, the only force today in Germany with a program rallying the working class against fascism. In India the Communist Opposition movement has won great influence among the national revolutionary forces and is bravely carrying on the struggle for proletarian hegemony in the nationalist revolution. In most sections of the Comintern an Opposition movement has developed or is in process of developing. In the USA too, in spite of the most difficult conditions, the Communist Opposition movement (the CP-Majority group) has succeeded in establishing itself as the center of concentration of all those elements, regardless of old factional affiliations, who are fighting for the restoration of Leninism and mass work.

From the very first the Communist Opposition movement met with the most bitter and desperate attacks from the side of the officialdom in the Comintern and in the leadership of the various Parties. Unprincipled attacks, rumors, lies and physical attacks were some of the methods of the irresponsible leaders. But all to no avail! The Opposition movement grew stronger and more menacing to the bureaucrats while the results being made up by voluntary contributions, debates and social affairs run by the student council. Special arrangements are made for unemployed workers.

insistent. In the face of this situation the Comintern leaders have decided to supplement the frontal attack by a so-called "peace" manoeuvre. While maintaining its campaign of lies, slanders, and attacks, they decided to initiate, in a number of countries of which the USA is one, a hypocritical "campaign for unity," hoping thereby to improve the morale of their own forces, to satisfy the rising wave of protest of the Party membership, and at the same time to reap advantage of any moods of passivity, pessimism and capitulation that may arise in the Opposition ranks as a result of the prolonged uphill fight. Such a campaign our Party leaders (with the assistance of the Ecci) has been planning for some time and is now about to launch.

The so-to-speak "political background" of this campaign for "unity" is the widely heralded "change of line" in trade union work. Anyone who has read the decisions of the recent congress of the Red International of Labor Unions or who has studied the article of Comrade Foster in the last Communist, anyone who looks honestly at the trade union practice of the Party, can see that this "change of line" is no more than a fraudulent manoeuvre. A cynical and unprincipled division of labor has been established: While the Moscow *Emes* and other individuals and papers speak of the "over-hastiness of some American comrades," of their "misunderstanding" the line of the RILU, CI and our Party continue the old anti-Leninist trade union course and even carry it to more suicidal extremes than ever. Such is the real meaning of the "change of line" propaganda.

The workers inside and outside our Party want Communist unity; the interests of the whole working class demand it. But it must be real unity, not factional manoeuvres. Such real unity has from the first been the prime objective of the whole international Communist Opposition and of the CP-Majority Group in this country.

When the forces of capitalism concentrated for a bitter offensive against the working class, and especially against the Communist movement, we issued an appeal for Communist unity, for the closing of our ranks in the face of the enemy. The Party officials never so much as felt it necessary to make any answer to this appeal. When the capitalist offensive struck at the labor movement by attempting to suppress the *Revolutionary Age*, we again appealed for a united front against the capitalist reaction but again the Party officials answered with silence or slander. This is how much the Party officialdom really wants or strives to achieve unity.

Our whole appeal to the recent VII Convention of our Party was an appeal for unity. We declared:

"Let us weld our forces to unify our Party, to overcome its crisis, to put it on the road to becoming a mass Party. To accomplish this the following steps are necessary:

1. The unconditional readmission with full rights of all comrades expelled for disagreeing with the present ultra-left course of the Party leadership.

2. The initiation of a free and thorough discussion in the Party with a guarantee of freedom of expression for all viewpoints.

3. On the basis of this discussion and calling of a special Party Convention at which there shall be the fullest and freest representation of all viewpoints and which shall re-examine the recent course of the Party and shall decide its future policies." These words still hold true today.

We do not make the acceptance of our views in any sense a condition for unity. All we ask are the ordinary rights of Party democracy, the right to express our opinions and make them known to the Party membership. Only Party democracy can lead to unity. And today unity is still the prime need of the hour. The way for all Party members and revolutionary workers to defeat the demoralizing and hypocritical manoeuvres of the Party officialdom is to consolidate their forces to fight for real unity, for the unity of all Communist forces against the common enemy.

Thirteen Years of the Soviet Union

by Jay Lovestone

The thirteenth anniversary of the first victorious working class revolution is being celebrated in a decisive historical moment.

The capitalist world is in the throes of a deepening economic crisis. Even the wealthiest and mightiest imperialist countries are oppressed with crushing unemployment, mass misery and starvation. Everywhere the class struggle between the workers and the exploiters is becoming more sharp and bitter. The colonial and semi-colonial countries are becoming more and more estranged from and hostile to the imperialist rulers of every flag and country. Among the giant capitalist powers the conflicts and antagonisms are growing ever more acute, driving the entire world headlong into a new hellish conflagration—a devastating war for profits and plunder.

It is in such a tense atmosphere, it is in such a dynamic, explosive situation, that the working masses of the world are hailing the Soviet fatherland of the international working class. We must be fully aware that the present is fraught with promise and peril for the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic. The very fact that at a moment of acute crisis in capitalist economy the Soviet Union has been making great strides in the building up of its heavy industry, in the social reorganization of its agriculture, in short, towards the construction of Socialism, has indeed proved a great source of inspiration and encouragement to the oppressed toiling masses the world over. But it is precisely this Soviet economic progress which increases manifold the danger of a concerted imperialist onslaught against the Soviet Union. It is just this which is behind the latest international anti-Soviet drive—in the U. S. in France, in Roumania, in England, in China.

Of course, the charge of dumping levelled against the Soviet Union is ridiculous. It is only a smoke screen behind which there is being prepared a financial, military, aerial and naval war on the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics. Every one knows that it will take many years of the present rate of economic growth, many more than one five-year plan, for the Soviet Union to be so decisive a factor in the world market as to prove a serious competitor with the giant imperialist powers. And before that time arrives, there will, either be another break in some one or more of the weaker links in the chain of world capitalism or another world war in the form of an outright attack on the Soviet Union or starting as a conflict among the imperialist powers themselves. Only the simplest of fools can believe that the inherent contradictions of capitalism will pause in their tendency towards ever-growing acuteness, that the revolt in the colonial countries will be stilled, that the working masses in the capitalist world will suspend the class war, that the imperialist war danger will abate in the coming years and that instead capitalism will be shaken to its foundation and brought in ruin by the economic progress of the Soviet Union in the capitalist world market. Capitalism isn't built that way, the capitalists are not such fools, and the historical laws of the class struggle don't work this way.

After thirteen years of working class victory in the Soviet Union and especially in the present world-wide economic crisis, some simple but basic lessons can be brought home even to the most backward workers. It is in the Soviet Union that we have the greatest democracy based on Soviet power. In the capitalist countries Fascism is growing. The Soviet Union is which the base of inspiration and example for the working class and the oppressed colonial masses of the world. Without exception every other country is a fortress of capitalist reaction, is dominated by a ruling class hopelessly hostile to the aspirations and interests of all the exploited and oppressed. Then, in these days of feverish imperialist war preparations, it is more clear than ever that the only effective way to world peace is the road of militant class struggle, is the road of turning the imperialist war into a civil war against the owning class. Last, and above all, in celebrating this greatest

holiday of the world's working class, the thirteenth anniversary of the Soviet Union, we cannot possibly lay too much stress on the all-decisive role of "the organized political lever, by means of which the more advanced proletarian masses"—the Communist Party—lead the masses as a whole. It is the Communist Party with correct Leninist policies that was and will remain the absolute prerequisite for winning class victory in all countries, even under the most favorable objective conditions.

In the light of these lessons and in the light of the present world objective conditions, the line of the Executive Committee of the Comintern appears painfully false and ruinous.

In the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the most experienced and tried leaders, the very ones who conceived and

initiated the Five Year Plan at the 15th Party Congress (Bukharin, Rykoff), are being hounded, removed, threatened with expulsion and deportation from the Soviet Union because they dare even in the faintest manner criticize the ultra-left and bureaucratic course of the Stalin regime which all too often has been pursuing policies, harmful in the long run, to the best interests of the Soviet and world proletariat. The Stalin leadership deserves the sharpest rebuke for applying the tactics and strategy of factionalism, in which it is unbeaten and unbeatable, to economic policies of the Soviet Union, to the leadership and policies of the Party.

In England where the objective conditions have never before been as favorable for building a mass Communist Party, the Communist movement was

never any weaker. And in Germany, where we still have the greatest Communist Party outside of the Soviet Union, the Fascists have been able to garner the greatest gains from the present very acute economic and political crisis primarily because of the ultra-left, sectarian course of the official line. In India and China the adventurist policies likewise plague the progress of the Communist movement under extremely favorable objective conditions.

Nowhere has the course of the "new line" proved its bankruptcy more painfully clear than in the U. S. Here our Party is only a shadow of its former self. Despite the most favorable conditions in its history for building a mass movement, despite the deep-going economic crisis, despite its being practically alone in the field of working class militancy, the Communist Party membership has declined to about 5000; its influence in the conservative unions of mass character has been wiped out; the new revolutionary unions are shattered; the press on the verge of collapse; a spirit of paralysis and fear grips the Party ranks. Really, whatever successes the Communists have achieved within the last year and a half have come mainly in spite of the new line and only thru the greatest sacrifices of our membership. With a correct line, such sacrifices by the rank and file would bring far greater results.

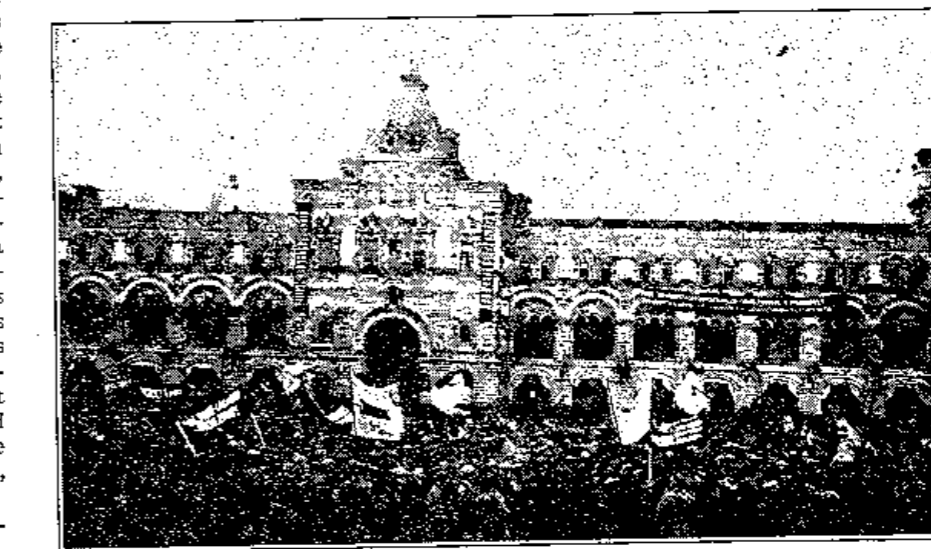
Under these conditions, on the thirteenth anniversary of the Soviet Union, it becomes more necessary than ever for us, fighting for Communism in the most powerful imperialist ruling class in the world, to draw inspiration and learn from the achievements, mistakes, and victory of the Russian Bolsheviks, of the Party of Lenin.

To what nobler revolutionary purpose could we today dedicate ourselves than to the task to which we have many years given our all—the task of building in the United States a mass Communist Party—a mass party with a Leninist line, with correct Communist policies, with mighty roots in the depths of the working class? Than this there can be no more effective weapon for the defense of our revolutionary fatherland, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Today, more than at any time since the crisis has broken out in the world Communist movement, can we correctly and energetically reaffirm our adherence to our main aim: "For communist unity in the revolutionary class struggle."

Forward to a united Communist Party in the U. S.!

Forward to a united Communist International, under the banner of Leninism, leading to victory the working class and oppressed colonial masses of the world!

Hail the Soviet Union!



Socialists Save Bruening Regime Big Attacks Against Masses Planned—Communist Opposition Leads Struggle Against Fascism

By a large vote the Reichstag motion to declare lack of confidence in the Bruening government was defeated and the Reichstag, after a one day's session, adjourned to the beginning of December. The vote of lack of confidence was the first to come up after the convening of the Reichstag on October 13, 1930.

The survival of the bitterly anti-labor Bruening government was made possible by the support given to it by the Social-democrat fraction. For the Bruening government voted: the Social-democrat Party, the Center (Catholic) Party, the People's Party, the State Party, and a number of smaller parties. Against the Bruening government voted: the Communist Party, the German National Socialist Labor Party and the German Nationalist Party (both of the latter fascist parties). During the interim between the September-14 elections and the convening of the Reichstag the Bruening government had announced its program: wage cuts for workers, salary cuts for employees, abolition of the whole social insurance system, especially the unemployment benefits. The program met with hearty response from the top circles of trust capital and the Fascists were prompt in endorsing it in general, pointing out, however, that the Bruening government could never carry thru such a program except by fascist means. In spite of this, in spite of the openly anti-labor and semi-fascist character of the Bruening government, the Social-democrat fraction decided to support it on the plea of "saving parliamentarism and democracy!" Such are the fruits of the treacherous coalition policy of Social-democracy!

Great dissatisfaction began to be manifested among tens of thousands of rank and file members of the Social-democratic Party upon the announcement of the decision of the S-D Reichstag fraction to support Bruening. On October 4 there took place a special congress of

the Berlin district of the SPD. Hilferding came as representative of the Reichstag fraction, Crispian of the party leadership. But in spite of all their efforts the congress, with practical unanimity, repudiated the position of the Reichstag fraction and demanded the calling of an extraordinary party congress! In all parts of the country there is deep fermentation among the members of the SPG and among the members of the trade unions.

The Communist Party of Germany is rendered absolutely impotent to profit from this situation by the well-nigh insane policies of its leadership. On the one hand the anti-trade union course of the Party and its rejection of the united front has succeeded in isolating it from the organized workers; on the other hand, it is engaging in an orgy of suicidal self-deception, declaring that the "Communist Party was the only real victor in the elections" and that "the slogan of the day, to-day, is: Soviet Germany!"—and this at a time of the tremendous victory of reaction in the elections. Nor have the vagaries of the Party leadership in the direction of petty bourgeois "national bolshevism"—as manifested in the notorious Program-Declaration—been forgotten.

The only force that has put forward a program capable of meeting the offensive of reaction is the German Communist Opposition. On the basis of a correct estimation of the results of the elections, the Communist Opposition has put forward the slogan: "A workers block against the fascist block." It has issued an Open Letter to the Communist Party, to the Social-democratic Party, to the trade unions and to other labor organizations calling for the establishment of non-partisan anti-fascist cartels, for the calling of a national congress of factory councils, and outlining a program of economic and political demands appropriate to the situation. In spite of the

scanty forces of the Opposition, its campaign of working class unity against fascism has had notable success. The plenary session of the factory councilors of the German Metal Workers Union (DMV) in Opladen (Rhineland) unanimously passed a resolution calling for the convening of a national factory council congress. The DMV, district Essen-Borbeck, passed the Opposition resolution for anti-fascist cartels and for a struggle against the Bruening government. The DMV of Nuremberg passed the resolution for the calling of a congress of factory councils. The district meeting of the DMV in Sindelfingen (Wuerttemberg) passed similar resolutions. In the DMV, district Stuttgart-Osten, a resolution was adopted endorsing the Open Letter of the Opposition. In Offenbach a session of the Municipal Political Council, a delegate body of all important labor organizations in the city, adopted the resolutions of the Opposition and arranged a tremendous demonstration against fascism. On October 11, the quarterly general meeting of the DMV, Stuttgart, and on the same day, the quarterly meeting of the DMV, Suhl, both adopted Opposition resolutions. Besides a large number of factory meetings have endorsed one or more of the resolutions proposed by the Opposition.

Marine Workers Fight Against Sectarianism and Bureaucracy

(Continued from page 1)

- responsive to their will.
 - Build a left wing in the reactionary unions to fight for a class struggle program.
 - Fight against sell-out policies and leadership.
 - Against the fink halls, and the shipping Board and the Lake Carriers' Association for shipping only thru the union halls.
 - For a constructive policy of struggle against the ship owners and their agents. For a militant struggle for better working and living conditions and higher wages.
 - For the establishment of a genuine dock and ship committee system.
 - Against bureaucracy no matter where it appears.
- For democracy in the unions—for genuine rank and file control.
- For immediate, actual relief for

THE MARINE WORKERS SOLIDARITY LEAGUE

This press service issued by the newly formed Marine Workers Solidarity League on November 4, 1930, throws a clear light upon the chaos and disruption that the sectarianism, irresponsible adventurism and bureaucracy of the Trade Union Unity League has brought about in the Marine Workers Industrial Union. It also shows that in this union as well as in the other organizations of the marine workers (International Longshoremen's Association, International Seamen's Union, the Independent Tide Water Boatmen's Union, the I W U union, etc.) there are arising the forces of constructive opposition, an opposition that holds out the promise of healthy reconstructive and union building.

These forces in the various marine workers unions met together on Saturday, November 1, and launched the Marine Workers Solidarity League, issuing the following declaration:

The need of the hour for the marine workers is unity for a militant struggle against the shipping magnates. Our conditions of work and living are intolerable. Jobs are scarce. Even when jobs are available the wages are low, the speed-up is terrible, the hours are long and the working conditions are unbearable.

While the bosses are united and have the full backing of the government, the workers are divided into many unions. But only a small proportion of the industry is at all organized. The majority of the organized workers are in unions controlled by corrupt, reactionary officials. All the existing unions are weak. Many of them are suffering from reactionary leadership which systematically betrays the interests of the marine workers. These bureaucrats have wiped out every semblance of rank and file control and trade union democracy. It is the wrong policies that cripple our unions and play into the hands of the shipping magnates.

There is great discontent among the marine workers generally—deepwater, coastwise and on the lakes. There is acute suffering among the unemployed marine workers, many of whom have been jobless for months. The workers more and more resent the oppression and exploitation of the capitalists. There is a real chance to organize the un-

THE BACKGROUND OF THE REVOLT OF THE MARINE WORKERS

The launching of the Marine Workers Solidarity League (MWSL) has brought a healthy breath of constructive militancy in the ranks of the marine workers who have been betrayed and sold-out time and again by the reactionary leaders and are now being made the victims of the narrow sectarianism, irresponsibility, and adventurism of the Mink and Hines in the Marine Workers Industrial Union. The formation of the MWSL opens a new and promising chapter in the history of the struggles of the marine workers.

the hungry and homeless seamen and unemployed longshoremen—for food and shelter for the unemployed marine workers. For social insurance—accident, old age and unemployment.

The Executive Board, comprised of seven actual workers in the industry, issues the foregoing statement and appeals to all class conscious workers who believe in the solidarity of the working class to support our cause.

Don't split your union! Stay in and fight for unity and rank and file control!

Funds will be needed for a headquarters, to conduct activities, unemployment meetings, etc. Contributions and communications can be sent to:

Issued by Executive Board,
Marine Workers Solidarity League,
John S. Morgan, Chairman,
H. D. Sigmore, Sec'y-Treas.
31 Coenties Slip, New York, N. Y.

organized and to rally masses to fight for decent working and living conditions.

We believe the marine workers, dissatisfied with the intolerable conditions prevailing in the industry, are ready to fight militantly and determinedly for better conditions. We believe the marine workers realize that only thru united action of the rank and file against the bosses and their agents, the corrupt reactionary labor officials of the workers' organizations, can a successful fight for better conditions be waged. In order to achieve such united action it is necessary for the marine workers in all the existing organizations to fight together for a common program of immediate action. All splitting policies must be opposed and combated. We stand for working class unity in the ranks of the marine workers and in their organizations so that through the united action of all the workers a genuine union embracing the entire industry can be built.

We recognize this most urgent need for a policy of unity. We must record that the officials in the existing marine workers organizations, A. F. of L., I. W. W. and Marine Workers Industrial Union (Mink, Hines, Harvey), pursue policies that are against unity and prevent the building up of a united front of all the marine workers and their organizations against the bosses.

These false policies, bureaucratism and sell-out to the bosses (Ryan, Maer, Furseth, Olander) in the conservative unions, and adventurism, sectarianism, and bureaucracy (Mink, Hines, Harvey) in the TUUL union are a severe handicap to us marine workers. These wrong policies must be thrown overboard and together with them all the officials who insist upon their continuance. The crisis in our ranks is made all the more acute and demands all the more speedy action because of the widespread suffering in our midst due to the terrific unemployment.

In order to help overcome these bad conditions in which we marine workers today find ourselves and in order to help us get a better deal, the Marine Workers Solidarity League is organized to fight for the following:

(Here follow the ten points in the program as repeated in the press release given above.)

The movement that led to the formation of the Marine Workers Solidarity League arose primarily as a result of a movement of protest in the Marine Workers Industrial Union against the sectarian and adventurist policies and bureaucratic methods of the Mink-Hines clique supported by the present leadership of the TUUL. For a long time the feeling of protest grew stronger, in the Communist Party fraction of the union as well as among the union membership as a whole. But the terror that had been unleashed against any sign of op-

position in the Party as well as in the TUUL tended to retard the development of the movement of protest. Finally the situation grew intolerable. On October 22, 1930 a group of the most active Party members in the union decided to issue an appeal to the Communist fraction. This appeal which took up in detail the questions of aims and tactics and which gave a scorching picture of the mismanagement and bureaucracy of the clique in charge of the union was distributed to the Party members and had a telling effect. At the next fraction meeting—which the TUUL bureaucrats tried in vain to postpone—this became clear. Johnstone and Mink threatened expulsion and banished the club of the Control Commission but he scared nobody. The signatories of the appeal to the fraction immediately drew up an Appeal to the union membership to which the signatures of sixteen of the leading members of the union (the names are given below) were attached. The Party bureaucrats tried to prevent the leaders of the rising opposition movement from coming to the union meeting by arranging a Control Commission session the same night—but of course in vain. At the union meeting Joe Golden, one of the signers of the Appeal, was chairman. The Appeal was read officially to the membership. All of the non-Party workers and a good many of the Party members signified their agreement with its main points. Finally, the whole situation in the union was referred to the National Committee of the union. It was clear that the opposition movement in the union had the support of the largest section of the union membership and that the policies proposed in the Appeal really corresponded to the best interests of marine workers. Since then, the Appeal has already won a response among marine workers out of New York City.

The Appeal to the Members of the Marine Workers Industrial Union (MWIU) was signed by the following well known militants organized as the Marine Workers Industrial Union Rank

PERSPECTIVES AND TASKS OF THE STRUGGLE

The Communist Party (Majority Group) heartily welcomes the establishment of the Marine Workers Solidarity League and the whole healthy movement it represents. In spite of a number of important shortcomings the Appeal to the Union Membership as well as the Declaration on the founding of the MWSL are in accord with the trade union policies for which the CP-Majority Group has been fighting all along. It is especially important to note that this movement is not the creation of any group or tendency in or outside the Party but it is a spontaneous reaction of the marine workers themselves to the conditions in the industry and the ruinous policies of the TUUL. In view of all this, the CP-Majority Group calls upon its members and supporters to give this movement their utmost support in every possible way, to work more energetically than ever in building up the MWSL and in spreading the principles it stands for.

It is necessary, however, for us to point out that the open appearance of the opposition in the MWIU has been a little too delayed; for the best interests of the union and of the marine workers as a whole it would have been better had the movement made its open appearance at a much earlier date. However, the energy and vigor with which the leading militants have taken up the job now is a guarantee that this delay will be made up for and with interest!

It is necessary for the MWSL now to be on guard against dangers which the whole situation among the marine workers, their traditions and recent experiences make especially serious. While of course the MWSL must be absolutely a non-partisan organization and must admit all workers without regard to political opinion, it will be necessary to avoid the danger of a dogmatic syndicalist "no-

and File Committee: Larry Murphy, M. Sonderston, W. Crockett, John Starkovich, Joe Kass, S. M. MacDonald, Joseph Murphy, Aal Erickson, A. Franson, Edward Simmons, Ralph Duncan, C. H. Dorr, Ernest Lobart, John S. Morgan, Joe Golden, and John Anderson. After a short introduction it takes up the aims of the Rank and File Committee, dealing with the building up of one powerful industrial union of all marine transport workers, with the question of a fighting program of economic demands, with the unemployment situation as it affects the marine workers, and with the political aspects of the struggle of the marine workers. It then describes the proper tactics that must be followed both by the MWIU and by the left wings in the various conservative unions. It lays great emphasis upon the necessity for building up such left wings and fighting to oust the reactionary leaders and win control of the union for the workers. The questions of strike strategy and union leadership are touched upon. There follows a vigorous indictment of the present leadership of the MWIU and the TUUL in which it is shown that the line of these bureaucrats is directly the opposite of what the proper line and tactics should be. The rest of the document provides illuminating material on the background of the wrong policies of the bureaucracy, on Mink's hectic career as the "great leader" of the marine workers. It concludes with some startling examples of the incompetency and irresponsibility of the bureaucrats, of their contempt for the masses, of the ruinous strike strategy, of the bossism that has gotten its hold over the organization and of the crippling of whole union and its work by the bureaucrats. Only lack of space prevents us from reprinting this very valuable document word for word. Any marine worker or any other worker who would like to get a copy of this Appeal can do so by dropping a postal card with his name and address to the chairman of the MWSL; John S. Morgan, H. D. Sigmore, Sec'y-Treas., 31 Coenties Slip, N. Y. C.

politics-on-principle" attitude which has always been the curse of those sections of the labor movement influenced by the IWW. The criminal actions of the Mink, Hines and Johnstones who unfortunately speak in the name of the Communist Party have greatly strengthened this tendency. Another danger of the same kind is a tendency to narrowness, a tendency to disregard or to neglect the AF of L unions such as the ILLA and the ISU. Today the base of the MWSL is entirely too narrow. It is still predominantly a movement of the members of the MWIU and certain IWW elements. The Marine Workers Solidarity League will go forward only if it is able to win into its ranks increasing numbers of workers in the conservative unions and among the unorganized Marine Workers. But while the dangers exist we are confident that the MWSL, basing itself on the program and principles it has already formulated, will overcome these dangers and will make advances along the road of constructive militant unionism.

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The Coming Dress Strike of the Industrial Union

What Should Be Our Demands - How to Prepare for the Strike - The Unity of All Dressmakers

by Chas S. Zimmerman

In the last few years the conditions of the dressmakers have grown from bad to worse. Union conditions and standards are almost completely wiped out. Even in the so-called union shops, whether of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union or the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, there is absolutely no control. Neither wage scales nor the 40-hour week is being enforced. It is generally admitted that the prevailing conditions in the industry are the 50 to 60 hour week and wages ranging between \$5 and \$6 a day.

These long hours, rationalization and the speed-up, resulting from the standardization of the garments to \$3.75 \$6.75, \$10.75, etc.—the latest scheme of the employers to slash wages — have shortened the seasons and lengthened the slack periods, bringing more unemployment and more misery for the dressmakers. No dressmaker is secure with his job. The boss has a free hand and discharges workers at the least sign of dissatisfaction or discontent. The workers walk around the market voicing their discontent thru bitter complaints and curses.

What Is To Be Done?

What is to be done? It is clear that there is only one way to remedy these conditions, to improve the lot of the dressmakers—and that is by uniting all the workers in a genuine struggle against the employers. Only thru a *real general strike* can the dress industry be organized and the conditions of the workers improved.

The dressmakers are ready for struggle; they are ready to take up the fight against these intolerable conditions. With a realistic and sane policy it would be possible to mobilize the workers for a general strike that would again awaken the old fighting spirit of the dressmakers and would compel the bosses to grant the demands of the workers.

Demands of the Strike

Unfortunately we are now in a situation where realism and sanity are branded as counter-revolution and empty phrases and adventurism are substituted as the means to organize workers.

Let us see what is happening. The agreement of the NTWIU with the dress manufacturers is expiring at the end of the year. The leadership of the union drew up a set of demands for the coming strike. The demands include: week work, the 7-hour day 5-day week, i.e., the 35-hour week and a number of other minor demands. These demands were brought to the membership for discussion. In reporting the meeting the *Freiheit* stated that only a few Lovestonites were opposed to week work and the 35-hour week. Nothing is further from the truth! The fact is that most of the non-partisan workers who had the courage to speak at the meeting were opposed to putting forward these demands.

What was really our position? I will attempt to state it here as clearly as possible so that the dressmakers should not be confused by those who are interested in deliberate misrepresentation.

We pointed out that as a first prerequisite to mobilize the workers must be demands that the workers should believe are obtainable and enforceable. The question is not whether week work is good or bad. Of course week work would eliminate many evils in the industry; of course the only way to check the speed-up system, to eliminate competition among the workers themselves, to stop the fight for bundles and generally to improve the working conditions is thru the institution of week work. It is also clear that enough dresses can be produced not only in the 35-hour week but even in a 30-hour week to supply the demand. The 7-hour day would help workers physically and materially. It would give the workers more leisure, would reduce unemployment, would lengthen the seasons and reduce unemployment. But the problem is not whether week work is better than piece work or whether the 7-hour day is better than the 8-hour day. The problem is: *how can the union best mobilize the*

large masses of the workers?—and is the union in a position to take up a fight for such demands? I maintain that the workers do not take seriously the demands put up by the unions because they do not believe them to be obtainable now. I believe that, in view of the present situation when every one admits that the 30-hour to 60-hour week prevails, it would be a considerable improvement in the conditions of the workers if the union succeeded in the coming strike in establishing the 40-hour week. It is also agreed that in the present situation where wages are \$5 to \$6 a day and in many cases even less, it would be a considerable gain if the guaranteed minimum scale of \$44.00 a week for operators could be enforced. I therefore proposed that the demands for the coming strike should be: the 40-hour week, guaranteed minimum wage scales, no discharge, recognition of the union, unemployment insurance, etc.

Trying To Outbid Reformists

But the great "revolutionary leaders" of our union say: "The company union has these demands. What will be the difference between us and the company union?" (By the phrase "the company union" they mean the right wing ILGWU.) They "forget" that the right wing reformist leadership of the ILGWU does not fight for these demands, cares nothing about them and does not enforce these conditions. Our "revolutionary" leaders "forget" that the right wing

union bureaucrats act rather as agents of the bosses helping to "stabilize" the industry—which means a higher level of speed-up, longer hours, and wage reductions for the workers. It is now generally known that when the right wing officials called their so-called strike for union demands, they had already made an agreement with the bosses. The main objective of this strike maneuver of theirs was to get the bosses to join the Association so that in return the bosses would compel the workers to join this union. The result is that not even in 5% of the shops in the industry is the 40-hour week or the other union conditions enforced.

Let me quote to these "revolutionary" leaders from the decisions of the IV Con of the RILU (English edition, p.15): "To be a revolutionary does not mean that its one's duty to outbid the reformists in making demands on the employers; the success of a strike depends on the economic situation, on the degree to which the masses are prepared, and particularly on the activities of the revolutionary wing of the labor movement; it is necessary to avoid blustering phrases with no punch behind them."

That is just what the "revolutionary" leadership of our union does not know. They are trying to outbid the reformists, disregarding the economic conditions and just shouting blustering phrases with no punch behind them.

What has our union done to prepare for the coming strike? Since the last

In those countries where revolutionary and reformist unions and federations exist side by side (France, Czechoslovakia, etc.) our task is to secure the combination of these organizations and the establishment of a single trade union federation in each country.

VII Plenum of the ECCL, November 1927.

How is this (trade union unity) to be attained? We propose a very simple means: By arrangement between Amsterdam and the RILU summon a world congress of trade unions at which all organizations affiliated to the RILU, to the Amsterdam International, and also those standing outside both internationals (the American Federation of Labor, etc.) should be represented. In order that the labor movement of the big countries shall have corresponding influence, we propose proportional representation. We declare in advance that the RILU will cease to exist as such and will be merged into the new International. We further state that if we remain in the minority we will observe discipline and remain in the single organization. We also invite the Social-democrats to undertake the same obligations. Both sides will preserve the right of free agitation and propaganda within the united organization. We ask: What is there unacceptable is such an offer for all those who pose as desiring to overcome the present condition of split?

Losovsky at the VI Plenum of the ECCL, 1926.

Building a Left Wing Among the Milliners

The Opposition of the Workers to the Collective Agreement—The Struggle to Establish A Unity Center—The Sabotage of the TUUL

Over 900 millinery workers, members of Local 24, packed Bryant Hall (big and small halls), Thursday, November 6, 1930, at the meeting of Local 24 of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union—the largest meeting ever held in the history of the local.

The issue that drew so many workers to the meeting was the threat of a lock-out on the part of the Headwear Association in order to force a collective agreement upon the union. To this was added the dissatisfaction of the workers with the error regime of Zaritsky and his lieutenants in Local 24 and the growing opposition movements against this regime.

After a two hour report by the manager of the Local, N. Spector, I. H. Goldberg, an organizer of the union, read the letter of Zaritsky in reply to the employers. First to speak in the discussion was H. Zukowsky, the leader of the left wing forces. Zukowsky sharply criticized Spector for not having taken a stand of outright opposition to the collective agreement, pointing out that his report serves as a cover for Zaritsky's schemes. He further bitterly attacked Zaritsky (and the General Board) and exposed, on

the basis of Zaritsky's own letter, the bureaucrat's long continued and now successful effort to organize the bosses into an Association and to put over the collective agreement. In his final declaration, Zukowsky disclaimed responsibility for the leaflet issued by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union (the TUUL) which called Local 24 a "company union" and which failed to urge the workers to defeat the collective agreement. He declared that such an attitude of the TUUL was an indirect help to Zaritsky in putting over his schemes. The response of the workers to Zukowsky's speech at the meeting and their sentiment in the market on the day showed their readiness to struggle and defeat the agreement.

After Zukowsky, Malinach, the leader of an opposition group in the Local, spoke in a very evasive manner on the issues involved. A good deal of his speech was taken up with an exposure of the corruption of the administration, especially of Alex Rose, the secretary.

When Alex Rose tried to get the floor the resentment of the membership rose to such heights that it took an hour for the chairman to make it possible for him

strike in February 1929 not one organization campaign was carried on. Instead a drive for 6,000 new members was attempted. This drive was a complete failure. The reason is obvious to every worker. A union is not a Salvation Army or a fraternal society. It cannot base itself on capturing individual souls. It must base its activities upon the shop. To the extent that a union is able to organize shops and improve the conditions of the workers, to that extent can it grow. The base of the union has been narrowed. The activities of the revolutionary wing of the labor movement has consisted in empty phrases, fake campaigns, slander and the elimination of active workers from union activities.

How to Prepare for the Strike

What is necessary now to prepare for the strike is to cut out adventurism and to stop playing with blustering phrases. *Misleadership from the left is just as bad as misleadership from the right.* It brings the same damaging results. It is just as bad for Potash to call the workers to strike for demands that he himself knows are not obtainable as it is for Schlosinger to sign an agreement with the employers and then call a strike.

The demands that I proposed are popular with the dressmakers. The dressmakers know that these demands can be obtained now thru a fight. They would take them more seriously than the empty phrases of the "revolutionary" misleadership and would rally to the call of the union to strike for these demands.

We must bring back realism and sanity. We must adopt measures and tactics that unify the dressmakers—those who are in the ILGWU, those in the NTWIU, and the unorganized workers—and together, as a united force, will we dressmakers be able again to take the lead in a struggle against the bosses and build up a strong militant union of needle workers.

to get the floor. The spontaneous outburst of opposition against Zaritsky and his lieutenants was so great that the administration was forced to announce that another meeting would be called in a week or two where the workers would be able to express themselves and act on the various questions.

At the conclusion of his remarks Zukowsky introduced the following motion: "That the Local decides to issue a public statement denouncing the threat of the bosses for a lock-out on November 15 and declaring our determination to fight any attempt of the employers to force a collective agreement upon us."

The announcement of a threat of a lock-out on the part of the Headwear Manufacturers Association on November 15 in case the union does not agree to the negotiation of a collective agreement with them, places the membership of the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International and all millinery workers generally face to face with one of the most critical situations in which they have ever found themselves. The present situation can well be compared in significance to the other two great historical periods in our union development: the organization of the union in 1915, and the period of 1919-1921 which saw the great general strike for week-work and the 44-hour week as well as the ending of the collective agreement with the bosses. Like these critical periods the present situation is the concern of all millinery workers. The fastening of the collective agreement upon the union members will be a blow struck at all millinery workers of every craft (blockers, operators, cutters and trimmers), of every political opinion, whether organized or unorganized. A collective agreement for the millinery workers would mean an attempt to take their union and to turn it into a tool of the bosses against the workers under the cover of a so-called "impartial" chairman.

The militants in the union, including the comrades of the CP-Majority Group, began an agitation months ago trying to mobilize an effective force of the

(Continue on page 15)

Communists and the Trade Unions

The following paragraphs conclude the Resolution on Trade Union Work passed at our July National Conference.

14. The formation within the trade union of a fighting opposition movement (a left wing) directed against the anti-labor policies of the bureaucrats and fighting for militant trade unionism is the basic organizational form in which the trade union struggle of the Communists expresses itself. The bosses are engaged in one of the bitterest offensives against the labor movement. The officials of the labor organizations make it their main job to help the bosses in their attacks. It is to have no faith in the working class and absolute faith in the power of the bureaucrats to believe that the membership in the reactionary unions will remain static and will not react against the capitalist offensive. The

THE FALSE TRADE UNION LINE OF THE PARTY

15. The present trade union line of the Party is precisely the opposite of what a correct trade union line should be. The present line of the Party represents a new and degenerate edition of DeLeonism. It is a line of undisguised leftist sectarianism. But it must be clearly borne in mind that this false trade union line of the Party did not originate in the United States; the false trade union line was forced upon our Party by the present leadership of the Comintern and of the RILU. The false trade union line in America is merely the application of the generally false trade union line in the International. The new trade union line was first brought to America in the beginning of 1928 and the then leadership of the Party, in spite of its basic opposition and resistance to this line, yielded a little to the pressure of the RILU apparatus in the control of Lozovsky. With the Comintern Address the new line was ushered in into America officially and with full force and about the same time it received official and public sanction (at the X Plenum) and became the recognized line of the Comintern all over the world.

16. The main features of the false trade union line of the Communist Party are:

a—A false estimation of the character of the trade union as a workers organization, especially of the reactionary unions. The present line regards the trade unions not as broad organizations of workers united for economic struggle without regard to existing political differences, but as auxiliaries of the Communists and sympathizers under the immediate control of the Party. The reactionary unions, which, as has been pointed out, are genuine workers unions misled by the bureaucrats, are called "company unions" and "fascist"

b—A false estimation of the relations of the organized and unorganized workers. The official theory regards the organized workers as the most backward, the most "hopeless" section of the working class and the unorganized workers, on the contrary, as the most advanced and revolutionary sections of the proletariat. This viewpoint arises out of the false estimation of the character of the trade unions as elementary class organizations of the workers.

c—A false attitude on the question of building a left wing in the trade unions. Having given up the objective of winning the trade unions and aiming now to destroy them, the party leadership can naturally see no purpose to a left wing struggle, and in fact the left wing groups in the unions have been liquidated and no attempt whatever made to take advantage of the growing leftward sentiments among the workers. Not only that but the present Party line condemns all movements of opposition as "social-fascist" and "boss-organized maneuvers" without any attempt to examine the objective basis for such movements and their possibilities.

d—A false attitude on the question of organization of new unions. Instead of examining the question of the formation of new unions from the viewpoint of existing class relations, the present Par-

ty line is to withdraw the Party members and sympathizers from the existing unions and use them to form "industrial unions," without mass basis and without influence. The methods of forming artificial blueprint "new unions" by decision of the Party committee is absolutely fatal to any real campaign for the organization of the unorganized.

17. What have been the results of this fundamentally false trade union line? (a) The left wing in the trade unions has been virtually destroyed. There is today no organized left wing in the A. F. of L. and in the independent unions. (b) The TUUL-unions have all lost severely in membership, have suffered serious defeats in struggles, have ceased to be a factor in the industries and expect-

tionally a policy has been introduced of expelling or removing from activity all those elements of the TUUL who are not in complete agreement with every point of the current trade union line of the Party. The worst features of the "enlightenment campaign" have been introduced into the TUUL and the TUUL-unions. Both the TUUL and the TUUL-unions are openly regarded and treated as official auxiliaries or departments of the Communist Party.

18. The work of the Communists in the trade union movement at the present time must center around the fact that the employers have just initiated one of the bitterest anti-labor offensives in recent years. This offensive manifests itself in: wage cut drive, union smashing campaign, the intensification of rationalization, political reaction. For this drive the employers have united and organized all their forces and they have the effective assistance of the trade union bureaucrats. As against the capitalist offensive the Communists must raise the slogan of working class unity, a slogan that corresponds to the deepest interests of the workers at the present moment. The entire trade union work of the Communists should be based on this slogan.

19. The immediate task for the Communists at the present time should be to regain contact with the masses of the workers from whom the Party has been isolated thru its false policies. For this it is necessary to drop all illusions of the "already existing mass Communist Party in the United States" and face facts as they are. "The real strength of a Communist Party is the actual influence it has on the workers in the labor unions" declared the III Congress of the Comintern and this criterion shows the deplorable weakness of our Party today.

20. Advantage must be taken of the favorable situation developing for the rebuilding of the once powerful left wing in the trade unions. In the development of a left wing in the reactionary unions we should welcome all genuine developments that are to the left. In the various industries left wing programs should be worked out to rally the workers to the left wing. On the basis of programs of immediate demands blocs

21. There must be a serious campaign for the organization of the unorganized. The issue must be raised in all existing unions (where it forms one of the foundations for building up the left wing). At the same time systematic efforts must be made to develop struggle among unorganized workers on the basis of which new unions may be built. Of course, this means a complete break with the present system of forming paper "unions" by Party decree. At the same time those TUUL-unions that still have any life left must initiate vigorous campaigns to organize the unorganized workers in their industries.

22. There must be initiated a drive for trade union unity as the unifying campaign for out work in the old unions, in the new TUUL unions, in organizing new unions and in all fields of trade union work. The struggle for trade union unity is not a maneuver or trick; it corresponds directly to the most basic needs of the working class. The slogan of: one industrial union in every industry, is under present conditions of fundamental importance in the trade union struggle against the bosses and the bureaucrats whose strength consists in the weakness and disunity of the labor movement.

23. The character of the TUUL and of the TUUL-unions must be changed. The TUUL must cease parading as a dual trade union center to the A. F. of L.; it must be made into an effective instrument to help rebuild a center for the left wing movement (left wing groups in the old unions and new left unions) fighting under the slogan of trade union unity. The TUUL-unions must put an end to their narrow sectarian political basis and must try to become broad economic organizations admitting workers of all sorts of political views. They must, moreover, really become economic organizations, fighting on economic demands and economic issues, and cease trying to be political auxiliaries of the Party. The intolerable regime in the TUUL-unions, the regime of removals and expulsions, the regime which converts these unions into groups of "orthodox" Communists, must be positively ended and the regime of democracy restored.

24. The Communists must also take up the task of mobilizing the organized workers in the struggle against unemployment. The present unemployment crisis has hit the organized workers very hard and the possibilities of mobilization of the trade union members for unemployment relief and insurance are good. But this will not be accomplished unless the suicidal attempt to confine the unemployment movement within the narrow bounds of the sectarian TUUL is completely given up.

25. The Communists must raise the struggle against the dangerous so-called "non-partisan" policy of the A. F. of L., a policy that ties the workers hand and foot to the chariot of the capitalist parties. Under the slogan of: For independent political action of the workers and farmers! For a Labor Party! we must strive to break away the masses of the workers from the influence of the old capitalist parties. The leftward movement observed among many sections of the workers offers a favorable basis for such a campaign.

26. These are the vital tasks of trade union work dictated by the objective situation and by the demands of Leninist policy. But they can never be accomplished unless the whole new trade union course is consciously scrapped and a determined effort made to steer the Party back to the fundamental principles of Communist trade union tactics.

27. It must be clear to every comrade that, under its present line and regime, the Party will not be able to take up the burning tasks in the trade union movement. But, we—the CP-Majority Group

What must be our attitude to this oppositional movement (the centrist opposition movement in the Amsterdam trade unions—Editor.)? There is no doubt whatever that the oppositional movement has not been put into proper shape and form. There are still in the actions of many of its leaders relics and traditions of an ideology alien to us. But in spite of the lack of adequate forms, lack of ideological clarity and consistency in these groups, Communists have no occasion to adopt a hostile attitude towards them or to act against them. On the contrary, we must support their work, we must cooperate with them and must support them to our utmost to increase their influence in order that new sections of workers be enlisted for the idea of the united front and unity. Every tendency within reformist economic and political organizations which is in opposition to the policy of these organizations must have our whole-hearted support. Hitherto our main failing on this field was that we frequently made the same demands on these tendencies as on Communists. We must not ask of them what is impossible for them to carry out; we can form a bloc with them by adopting an acceptable and concrete program of action. This program will not include our slogans . . . but this does not mean that we cannot come to an agreement with them and form a bloc with them. They are our allies. If we did not do that all our talk about the united front would be soap bubble.

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The International Opposition Conference

by Will Herberg

The conference of representatives of the Communist Opposition groups of the various countries of the world which will meet in Berlin towards the end of this year will not only be a highly significant gathering in itself but will mark the completion of one stage and the initiation of another in a movement of the greatest historical importance in the development of the international labor movement. It will mark the concentration on a world scale of all those forces, scattered thru many countries and over many continents, which are striving to save the Communist International and to restore it to the path marked out by Lenin for winning the leadership over the masses of the toilers and oppressed peoples of the world in the struggle for emancipation from the bloody yoke of imperialism. With this conference the chapter of the international struggle of the Communist Opposition will really begin!

Who can today deny that the Communist world movement is in a deep crisis? Quite apart from the profound ideological crisis characterized by an open contempt for the best-tested teachings of Lenin and the most valuable experiences of the Communist movement, the Communist International today presents a picture of defeat, demoralization and decline. The French Communist Party has—according to official admissions—lost 55 per cent of its membership. The Italian Communist Party—according to Manuilsky—"no longer exists as a political factor." The Communist Parties of Germany, Great Britain, and other countries have lost all vestige of influence in the mass trade unions—again by official admission: The Finnish Party has just lost all (23) deputies in the elections. The Communist International plays no role whatever—except a destructive one—in the world-shaking Indian events. And so on. . .

At the same time the world Communist movement has completely lost its unity. It is now clearly and definitely divided into three main streams, both on an international scale and in the various countries: the tendency of the Trotsky-

cannot sit by and wait until somehow the trade union line of the Party changes. As Communists we cannot stand idly by and see the workers leaderless and at the mercy of the bosses and the bureaucrats. It is therefore our mandatory task to throw in all our forces to carry thru a Communist line in the unions, to accomplish what the Party leaves undone or misdoes. This independent activity in the trade unions must become one of our central tasks as a group.

28. The initiative in rebuilding the left wing in the trade union movement must be taken by us. In the reactionary unions our comrades must raise the struggle for militant unionism and in this way rally the advanced workers to the left wing movement. Wherever possible left wing organizations (clubs, leagues) should be set up by our comrades, to include all workers ready to fight against the bosses and the bureaucrats.

29. In the TUUL-unions our comrades must take the lead in mobilizing whatever non-Party workers there are for a struggle against the ruinous policy of the TUUL and the union leaderships, along the line outlined above. Our work in the TUUL-unions is coordinated with our work in the old unions thru the slogan of trade union unity—one industrial union in every industry. In the TUUL-unions also we establish clubs or organizations of workers who support our line and these groups we tie up with the corresponding groups in the old unions.

30. The independent activity of our group is not something separate and apart from our work in winning Party members for our line. On the contrary the two are complementary. The winning of Party members for our course is necessary for a successful execution of our independent line while, on the other hand, the best way to convince the Party membership of the correctness of our line is to show them what it means in practice in contrast to results of the official line of the Party.

ites, the official (Stalin) tendency and the tendency of the Communist Opposition. This three-fold split has for several years assumed an organized and regular character.

From our vantage point today we can see the fundamental objective cause of this disastrous situation. We can see now that the gap that has been progressively developing between the course of the Russian revolution and the revolution in the capitalist world has not been bridged by the development of an international collective leadership for the Communist world movement; on the contrary, the leadership of the Communist International has been growing more narrow, more and more a CPSU leadership, more and more a leadership concentrated in the hands of the leading clique of the CPSU. Basing itself upon the outlook, perspectives and methods of work of the CPSU (or rather of its leading clique), the leadership of the Comintern has proved unable to solve the great problems of analysis, strategy and tactics brought forward by the complex conditions of world capitalism in its present stage of development. The leadership of the CI has attempted to meet this situation with a schematic ultra-left sectarian line and with bureaucratic factional methods. . . and the results for the Comintern are clear to be seen!

The Trotskyist movement which stands today in opposition from one direction to the line of the Communist International is quite incapable of becoming the bearer of the struggle to save the Comintern. In its traditional policies Trotskyism represents a consistent, if somewhat abstract form of ultra-leftism—in spite of all its recent "new turns" in its methods it is no more than the inverted reflection of the well-known methods of Stalinism.

The historical task of mobilizing those forces within and without the Communist International which alone can carry thru to victory the struggle for saving the Comintern falls to the movement represented by the Communist Opposition groups thruout the world whose very existence is tied up with this great problem.

The Communist Opposition movement in the various countries did not arise in accord with a prearranged plan along a prearranged scheme—from the "top," so to speak. On the contrary, it arose in the different countries at different time and under different circumstances as far as external appearances go. The issues on which the various Opposition groups first made their appearance are quite various and are closely rooted in the specific conditions of the individual parties and countries. We need not compare the origins of the Opposition in Germany, Sweden and the USA to be convinced of this. But all Opposition movements, without exception, arose as movements of resistance to the application of the new ultra-left course of the EccI in the specific conditions of the various countries. This was the fundamental bond of unity of the individual national Opposition groups.

The oldest Opposition group (Germany) is hardly two years old and the youngest are still in the process of formation, while many are still to come. Yet these few months have been months of great events. These months of struggle have shown to everybody that a common political point of view is to be found in the ideas and activities of all Opposition groups and it did not take long to make it apparent that this was no more common point of view but a profound agreement on the most important questions of political analysis, strategy and tactics and methods of struggle. Any sort of study of the important programmatic documents of the various Oppositions (especially German, Austrian, Czechish, Swedish, Alsatian, etc.) will show this.

By the beginning of 1930 attempts at common international action of the various Communist Oppositions began to be made. It is only necessary to call attention to the common international appeal sent to the CI in March 1930 and

to the international Opposition manifesto on India that has proven of such great political importance.

In March 1930 also there took place a preliminary international conference in Berlin attended by German, Swedish, and Czechish comrades which did some important preparatory work in the direction of the international consolidation of our struggle. The most important achievement of this preliminary conference were the proposal of a Draft Platform for the international Opposition movement and the establishment of the International Information Center in Berlin with an international organ, *The International Information of the Communist Opposition*, appearing in German and English. It was this preliminary conference that laid the basis for the first international conference to take place towards the end of this year.

What will be the great tasks of the international conference? In the first place, the international conference will make clear that no tendencies for the formation of a "new" Communist International will be tolerated. It will make clear that the purpose of our international consolidation is the concentration of forces to save the Communist International, to reunite it, to restore it to

the road of mass work and revolutionary effectiveness. Just as individual Oppositionists combine into local groups for greater effectiveness, local groups unite into national organizations for the same reason, so it is necessary for the various national groups to consolidate into an international faction of the Communist Opposition.

The conference will have to discuss the question of a Platform for the International Communist Opposition on the basis for a thoro consideration of the draft presented at the Berlin conference by Comrade Thalheimer. A report of the development and status of the international Opposition movement, followed by special reports of the representatives of the various groups, will provide a basis for a thoro consideration of the achievements, shortcomings and tasks of our Opposition movement. The conference will also have before it the task of thoro discussing the question of trade union tactics which has shown itself more and more to be the pivotal point of the whole struggle. Finally, it is certain that that it will be the task of our conference to establish a strong, functioning international center for the Communist Opposition, a real international center of information, guidance and direction. Our struggle is becoming more and more an international struggle, a struggle which cannot be conducted without a functioning international center.

The plumbers helpers to-day find themselves in a condition as never before. Being the only unorganized men in the industry, they face more hardships than any other men in the industry, such as the cutting of their already low pay, speed-up, and unemployment, etc.

The plumbers' helpers show a willingness to fight against these conditions. They proved this by their walking out on spontaneous strikes when the five-day week went into effect which meant the cutting of wages for the helpers. The plumbers helpers fought these strikes without a leadership and in so many cases were successful in getting 40c a day more than before. They were getting the miserable wage of \$4.00 when all other helpers in the building industry got from \$7.00 a day to \$11.00 a day. Today some of the plumbers helpers in comparison with the \$66.00 a week of the journeymen, get \$22.00 a week and many cases as low as \$3.00 a day. What did the Communist Party do about it or the American Association of Plumbers Helpers? The A. A. of P. H. was a real organization at one time. The answer can be seen by the fact that the plumbers helpers fought without a leadership. What was the cause for it?

The Communist Party expelled three of its leading members in the Plumbers Helpers Union for supporting the "left opposition." (The Trotsky group). Comrade Spranger, the vice-president of the American Association of Plumbers Helpers, and the other brothers who worked in the organization as members of its executive board, were aware of these conditions and wrote asking Comrade Helfand, then the president of the A. A. of P. H. to call a meeting. They wrote twice or three times. As yet they have received no reply. The three brothers got together with some plumbers helpers in the trade and founded the United Association of Plumbers Helpers which the party tried to capture or smash. But they did not succeed. Today we have between 200 and 250 members in the U. A. of P. H.

It's about time we stopped fighting and get together and build one big union for all of the plumbers helpers instead of fighting independently, and for the Communist Party to drop its stupid policies in the trade unions and fight the common enemy.

It is not too late yet to start a real organization of the plumbers helpers in the face of the unemployment, speed-up and cutting of pay, etc. etc. Together we must fight like never before against the A. F. of L. fakers and the bosses. Only by uniting our left-wing forces can

we organize the plumbers helpers and all other workers.

The plumbers helpers are willing to fight and will fight. Let us strike while the iron is hot.

I will deal more correctly in a future article on the present situation of the plumbers helpers. I am sending these articles to all left-wing papers.

I am not affiliated with any of the left-wing groups.

Mac. Kudler.

Unite the Plumbers Helpers!

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Call for an International Conference of the Communist Opposition

On the basis of a preliminary discussion with the Swedish, Czechish, and American comrades, we hereby call for December 16 and 17, 1930 an

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
of the
COMMUNIST OPPOSITION
for Berlin, Wilhelmstrasse 135.

Agenda:

1. Reports of the various countries.
2. The international platform of the Opposition.
3. Organization of international cooperation.

Participation with decisive vote is allowed to all Opposition groups who agree in principle with the draft of an international platform made public in the spring of 1930. Groups that want to be present with advisory vote must send a notification before November 1930 to Berlin, Wilhelmstrasse 135 (Junius Verlag).

Proposals for the order of business must be made before December 1, 1930. The expenses of delegations must be born by the various national groups themselves.

With Communist greetings
National Council, Communist Party of Germany (Opposition)

HEINRICH BRANDLER

Repairing the Ruins in India

A Letter From India

It is hardly realized abroad what great harm the official Comintern tactics, adopted after the VI. World Congress, have done in India. The growing activity of the proletariat—the great strikes during the years 1926-28—was the factor which essentially contributed to the realization of the nationalist movement. In that period of preparation, the working class definitely rejected reformist leadership, and conducted bitter economic struggles under the leadership of the Communists. The concrete result was the rise of the revolutionary mass organization of the Bombay textile workers (the so-called "Red Flag Union"), the membership of which went up to 83,000 in the beginning of 1928, and the desertion of the reformists from the Indian Trade Union Congress. The task of exercising hegemony in the struggle for national freedom devolved upon the proletariat. But the ultra-left policy prevented the proletariat to measure up to its historic task. Consequently, its mass organizations are today in ruins, the Communists following the official line, are entirely isolated from the great movement sweeping the entire country, and the masses of workers are relapsing under the treacherous influence of petty bourgeois pseudo-radicalism.

Meanwhile the nationalist movement is in a crisis. It cannot develop further within the limits of bourgeois leadership. Indeed, the bourgeois leadership, while ruthlessly persecuted by imperialism, would gladly call off the movement, if it were possible. But the movement is deeply rooted in the masses. It cannot be betrayed by the bourgeois leaders as easily as in 1921. But it must have a revolutionary leadership which can come only from the proletariat. Otherwise, it may be disintegrated by the twin forces operating against it, namely, imperialist violence and treachery of the bourgeois leaders.

Apparently, the official C. I. line has also been based upon the view that a real anti-imperialist struggle can be conducted only under the leadership of the proletariat, that the success of the national revolution is conditional upon the political organization and activity of the proletariat as an independent force. But the vital question of the moment is: how to establish this leadership? The present leadership of the C. I. has completely failed to give the correct answer to this fateful question. In India where the Communist movement is very immature, the sickness of "left Communism" assumed the crassest form. The Communists were given the thankless task of condemning as "counter-revolutionary" a movement developing precisely under the influence of the activity of the proletariat. The relation between the sharpening class-struggle conducted by the proletariat and the radicalization of the petty bourgeois nationalist masses was established spontaneously. The road to the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle obviously lay in strengthening and developing that relation. Instead, the official Communist tactics were to break the relation. The radicalization of the nationalist movement drew a line of demarcation between the bourgeois leaders and their petty bourgeois followers. The discontent of the latter with the compromising policy of the former broke out into an open revolt. In that situation, the task of the proletariat was clear. It was to support the nationalist rank and file against the bourgeois. The support should have taken the positive form of a platform on which all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces could stand together engaged in a common struggle. This the Communists failed to do. They failed to lead the proletariat as the driving force of the entire situation. Their activity was reduced to criticizing the policy of the nationalist leaders. The criticism by itself was correct; but in the absence of any positive activity on the part of the Communists, it produced just the opposite result. Instead of winning the nationalist masses away from the bourgeois leaders, the former were driven back under the influence of the latter. The process of radicalization continued, the nationalist movement developed as a revolutionary mass struggle; but still under treach-

erous bourgeois influence, and the class destined to play the decisive role remained isolated.

The isolation, however, was complete only as far as the official Communists were concerned. The proletariat as an entire class could not remain out of the movement which had been produced by its own activity. Workers, who for three years had waged bitter class-struggle under Communist leadership, deserted this leadership when it took up a negative attitude towards the struggle for national freedom. When the handful of half-baked Communists thundered anathema against the Congress and its leaders, the proletariat drifted back to the ranks of the nationalist movement. Being without any organization and leadership of its class, the proletariat did not play the role belonging to it. On the contrary, it largely relapsed under petty bourgeois influence. In great masses they demonstrated under the Congress flag, bravely faced the armed forces of imperialism, and contributed the majority of the victims of the struggle, unconscious of the demands of their class. Only a year ago numerous street-fights had taken place in Bombay and other industrial centers under the Red Flag. The emblem of proletarian class-struggle was replaced by the national flag which flew everywhere in the working class quarters of Bombay. Workers were even found plying *takti* (primitive hand-spindle) and *charakha* (spinning-wheel). In many mass meetings the Red Flag was torn down by the workers led by the Congress Volunteers. While the small group of Communists (mostly youthful students) were waging valiant war (of course of words) against treacherous bourgeois nationalism, the latter regained influence over the working class.

It was in such a situation that we took up the very difficult task of repairing the ruins of the official Communist tactics. The smallness of our force, the utter want of material means are, however, compensated by the favorable conditions for our activity. A real Communist leadership of the proletariat is the crying need of the situation. Spontaneously the working class has already for some years been acting as the driving force of the anti-imperialist struggle. There is no organized Communist Party representing the official C. I. line. The grievous wrongness of this line prevented the rise of the party when all conditions were favorable. The Communists can function as a party only when they play a role of any importance in the political situation. Besides, numerous revolutionary elements, who during the last year of class struggle, came near to Communism, were bewildered and thrown back by the ultra-left deviation of the official line. Further, the system of apparatus rule has had its influence in this far-off land also. In its fight against Comrade Roy the C. I. bureaucracy backed up a few young Indians having little role in the movement. These "leaders" made on the authority of Moscow, were so arrogant that they repulsed all but a few students who followed them obediently in consideration of something more substantial than a correct political line. On the other hand, repression has very powerfully hindered the growth of the Communist Party. The older Communist cadres, result of the earlier years of pioneering propaganda and leaders of the great strikes of 1926-28, are all in jail. So, our task is not to organize an opposition to the official line but to build up the Communist Party itself.

We began work in two directions: to point out to the leaders of the important trade unions—particularly the Red Flag Union—how their hostile attitude to the National Congress has destroyed the initial organization of the working class, large masses of workers having deserted the unions for the Congress; and to show the radical petty bourgeois nationalist masses the way to an effective struggle against imperialism. The latter was done in a manifesto drafted by us containing a program of action

in the struggle for national freedom. As a result of some preliminary conversations, about a hundred active members of the Congress and the nationalist Youths' League counter-signed the manifesto which was published immediately after the publication of the Simon Report. The central point of the manifesto was the slogan of *Constituent Assembly*. The crisis precipitated by the publication of the Simon Report and by the invitation to the London Conference had placed the nationalist masses before the big question: *What is to be done now?* The bourgeois leaders were fever-

A Significant Analogy

Colonial Question at the II Congress

The main error of Trotskyism on the question of colonial revolution—an error that follows directly from the doctrine of "permanent revolution"—is the failure to make the necessary distinction (in strategy and tactics and estimation of forces) between the bourgeois-democratic and proletarian stages of the revolutionary movement. This expresses itself theoretically in an essential disregard of the bourgeois-democratic character of the struggle of the colonial masses against imperialism. The following are characteristic Trotskyist declarations on this question:

"The Indian revolution can only be successful as a proletarian revolution." "The tasks of the colonial revolution can only be accomplished thru the dictatorship of the proletariat." "It is not the bourgeois-democratic nationalist revolution that is on the order of the day in Indo-China but the proletarian revolution" (*La Lutte de Classes*, No. 21-22, editorial).

"The victory of the democratic revolution is only conceivable thru the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Trotsky, "What Is The Permanent Revolution?")

On such a basis, Trotskyist theory rejects the possibility of an anti-imperialist political bloc between the colonial proletariat on the one hand and the peasantry, urban petty bourgeois and some sections of the native bourgeoisie, on the other. Trotsky even expresses great scepticism as to the revolutionary possibilities of the bloc between the proletariat and the peasantry (see his article: *On the Reactionary Idea of Workers and Peasants Parties in the Orient*). This orientation is an essential element of the Trotskyist system.

But this orientation has an interesting background. The colonial question was discussed with the greatest thoroughness at the II Congress of the Communist International in 1920. The Congress had before it the theses of Lenin and Roy which were finally adopted and which today stand as one of the fundamental documents of the Comintern. But the Congress also had before it amendments to the theses of Lenin and Roy, amendments of quite different political tendency. The most important of these amendments read:

"The real revolution of the oppressed peoples can only be achieved thru the proletarian revolution and thru the Soviet regime, but not thru any temporary alliances, even the indirect, between the Communists and the bourgeois parties calling themselves national-revolutionary. . . . Such alliances can only lead to the degeneration of proletarian class struggle against capitalism."

Who was this pre-historic Trotskyite? Who was this zealous defender of proletarian purity? None other than—Serrati! Of course the II Congress rejected Serrati's amendment and carried the theses of Lenin and Roy—which Serrati denounced as "counter-revolutionary."

No clearer light could be thrown upon the political genealogy of Trotskyism!

But the political analogy goes further, for who can distinguish in fundamentals between the viewpoint of Browder and Cannon on the basic questions of colonial revolution on India, etc)? For the official leadership

of the Comintern and of our Party have taken over, lock, stock and barrel, the essential ideas of Trotskyism on the colonial question as developed in classical form in 1926-28. And so the proposal of Serrati which was rejected by the II Congress of the Comintern under the leadership of Lenin has become the gospel of the Maoulsky's, Kousinen's and Safarov's in Moscow (and now Radek too!) and of the Browder's and Plot's here.

(Concluded in the next issue)

Demonstration for Freedom Of Indian Militants

On Saturday afternoon, October 18, a protest demonstration was staged before the British Embassy under the auspices of the Communist Party (Majority Group). This demonstration was staged particularly against the recent death sentence of B. K. Dutt, Baghat Singh, and Sukhdev, in the special tribunal at Lahore, India. These three men were sentenced for alleged responsibility for the shooting of Police Superintendent Larson.

The police under the direction of Captain Edward J. Hanley prohibited the holding of any meeting within the immediate vicinity of the Embassy. They also attempted to stop any picketing of the Embassy, but finally were compelled to permit a number of pickets to parade before the building, while another group stood at the south end of the building at 44 Whitehall Street, displaying the following banners: "Stop the Murder of Dutt, Singh and Sukhdev," "Release Dutt, Singh and Sukhdev," "Down with British Imperialism," "Immediate Freedom for India," "Down with MacDonald the Executioner," "Down with British Rule in India," "Down with American Imperialism," "India will march on if Gandhi betrays," etc.

After a half hour of picketing, the crowd assembled at the foot of Whitehall and South Streets, where the police had shifted the meeting to protect the British consulate. Among the speakers were Bert Miller, I Zimmerman, Rothchild Francis and William J. White, who denounced the methods of the police and appealed for support for the struggle of the Indian masses. The final speaker was Krishna Dutt, a nephew of one of the condemned men.

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.

Problems of the Negro Masses in America

The Negro Workers and the Trade Unions

by Abram L. Harris

The following paragraphs are taken from a pamphlet from Abram L. Harris entitled: THE NEGRO WORKER. The pamphlet is published by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action in New York City.

The problem of the Negro workers in the United States is one of grave concern to the entire Labor movement. It is one of the key problems of American labor. It especially challenges progressive laborites. The solution of the problem depends in the first place on the development of a greater degree of solidarity than now exists among the workers. . . . The two great obstacles to such labor solidarity are the psychology of craft unionism and the psychology of race prejudice. White workers, both organized and unorganized, have sought time and again to prohibit the employment of Negro workers, or to limit it to menial occupations and to such jobs as offered little direct opposition to white labor. . . . The employers have not hesitated to exploit this attitude of white labor for achieving the historical policy of the ruling class, the policy of divide and rule. . . .

Around 1913, when large numbers of our recent immigrants returned to their former homes to answer the call to arms, huge waves of this southern Negro labor poured into the northern industries. . . . When the United States entered the war more of this labor went north in response to the demand created by industrial expansion. And after the war it continued to come because of the cessation of foreign immigration, and because employers, traditionally hostile to the employment of Negroes, awoke to their value in breaking strikes or in defeating the purposes of unionism. . . .

The fact that Negro labor was chiefly unskilled meant that it had no place in a labor movement that was based mainly upon skilled craftsmanship. But thanks to the increasing mechanization of heavy industries, Negro labor was used to defeat the purposes of unionism. This applies with almost equal force to the attitude of organized labor to the unskilled white workers. The unions of the machinists, the boilermakers, the blacksmiths, the molders, the plumbers, the sheet metal workers, were never too friendly to their less skilled white brother, the helper. As a matter of fact, these unions for a long time opposed the admission of the white helper and sought to confirm this status in order to preserve their monopoly of the job.

Some of these unions who were most bitter to the white helper were likewise hostile to the Negro. They sought to forestall Negro competition by excluding Negro mechanics from the union. So clauses were written to that effect in the unions' constitutions or rituals. And many unions like the carpenters, the bricklayers, the confectionery workers, and the hotel workers, that had no constitutional barriers against Negro membership and that felt keen competition from the employment of Negroes, were forced to organize them into segregated locals. . . .

The Federation has sought to get around the racial discrimination of its affiliated bodies by empowering the Executive Council to charter directly local and federal unions of Negro workers who are debarred from the workers of their craft, or who are unskilled, and therefore, unorganizable into craft unions. This gesture has not materially improved Negro organization or increased Negro trade union affiliation. . . .

In the first place, the responsibility for the members of a Negro local obtaining the prevailing wage is likely to fall upon the very union that denies them admission; and the Federation, which is the "international" of such Negro locals, as it has been claimed, surely cannot force a local of a national or international union to handle wage grievances of one of the Negro locals directly chartered by the Federation. In the second place, these locals of Negro workers usually become mere dues paying entities that are separated from the main currents of the trade union world. In the third place, the leaders of the Federation have been too well satisfied with meager results vigorously to push organization among Negroes. And in

the fourth place, when persons inside and outside of the Federation have called attention to the weakness of its Negro organizational policy, it has merely passed resolutions, or congratulated itself that it could find no fault with its past methods and results. Yet of the hundreds of Negro locals and federal unions, organized by the Federation between 1917 and 1924, there are not more than 22 at present. . . .

The known Negro trade union membership was about 45,000 in 1926. If the membership of the independent Negro unions, chiefly paper unions, are included, the total membership was about 56,000. According to the census for 1920 there were almost 1,300,000 Negroes em-

tion of Negro labor if for no other reason than that organized white labor is fully protected only when Negro and white workers are equally organized. Progressive laborites will not close their eyes to the obstacle in the way of unity between white and black labor. But they should realize the fact and emphasize that these obstacles are not insuperable. . . . What is most needed is an intelligent appraisal of situations where Negroes and white are being brought or have been brought into industrial relationship. In such situations, and adequately equipped with a knowledge of all facts progressives won't find it difficult to show white and black workers how race prejudice defeats their mutual

On the economic side, the Negro masses have been taught that their welfare is best promoted by adopting a conciliatory attitude to those who control industrial and economic opportunity, thru subservience to the wealthy, and thru the establishment of a sort of self-sufficient Negro petty-capitalism. Here the progressive laborite must demonstrate to the Negro workers that their problems like that of the white workers, are inevitably that of work and wages. For even if the Negro leaders who look upon the creation of Negro financial and business enterprise as the economic salvation of the Negro mass, are successful in realizing their ideal, the institutions that they hope to establish are to be run on the basis of economic individualism and private profit, despite the tendency of these leaders to confuse "racial cooperation in business" with genuine consumers cooperation.

IN GODLESS RUSSIA AND IN CHRISTIAN AMERICA



—from the Chicago Defender

employed in transportation, extraction of minerals and manufacturing. So Negro workers, including those above ten years of age, were about 4.3 per cent organized. But only 20.8 per cent. of all American wage earners, excluding agricultural workers, are trade union members. The Negro, therefore, is about a third as well organized as all workers. When skill is made a requirement for trade union affiliation, less than 10.6 per cent. of the 825,000 Negroes employed in manufacturing industries are available for affiliation, since 68 per cent of them were unskilled and 15.5 per cent. semi-skilled.

Moreover, those industries in which trade unionism is weakest, having capitulated to the offensive of welfare capitalism, or where craft unionism can make little headway because of technological integration and specialization, have the greatest number of Negro workers. For example, in iron and steel there were 106,000 unskilled and 24,000 semi-skilled Negroes in 1920; in the food industries, mainly packing, there were 28,000 unskilled and 16,000 semi-skilled; in textiles, there were 18,000 unskilled and 8,000 semi-skilled and 21,000 unskilled, 107,000 unskilled; and in tobacco 20,000 semi-skilled and 21,000 unskilled Negroes. It is the duty and the opportunity of the progressives to precipitate action among workers in these industries. A labor movement which hopes to be effective cannot ignore the posi-

tion of Negro labor if for no other reason than that organized white labor is fully protected only when Negro and white workers are equally organized. Progressive laborites will not close their eyes to the obstacle in the way of unity between white and black labor. But they should realize the fact and emphasize that these obstacles are not insuperable. . . . What is most needed is an intelligent appraisal of situations where Negroes and white are being brought or have been brought into industrial relationship. In such situations, and adequately equipped with a knowledge of all facts progressives won't find it difficult to show white and black workers how race prejudice defeats their mutual

The success of a Negro petty-capitalism will give economic reality merely to our contemporary Negro middle class which is temperamentally detached from the realities of the working class life. But however successful Negro business enterprise may be, whether it proceeds on a quasi-self-sufficient racial basis or takes its chances for survival in the general competitive arena, it must in the nature of things remain a diminutive force in modern industrialism, which is to say, that its heralded power for meeting the problem of Negro unemployment will be of small importance. The great masses of Negro workers will continue to find their employment with those who now control finance and industry. And the few Negroes who will obtain work at the hands of the black capitalists of tomorrow will not thereby cease to be wage earners. Their problem will merely be shifted from the center of modern economic life where white capitalists dominate to the margin where small Negro enterprisers earn the wages of management.

The Negro working masses ought to be made to understand the causes of unemployment, low wages, and the need for labor unionism and co-operation, in general. They must be made to see the reasons that explain the specific severity of industrial disadvantage upon them as a racial group, in particular. But none of these lessons will take root if they are presented in any but a realistic, clear-cut and progressive way, and, above all, if the white workers are unwilling to accept Negroes into working class fellowship. The difficulties ahead are great, to be sure, but a policy of letting well enough alone or one of delay will not overcome them. . . .

It is the duty of advanced, thinking laborites to begin to grapple with the problems and difficulties now. Thus they will take an important step in the accomplishment of their general tasks, viz, the organization of those workers who have been neglected by traditional trade unionism.

The re-establishment of unionism in those industries where it has petered out or failed to establish control because of lethargic and self-satisfied leadership which refuses to recognize the inadequacy of craft unionism in such highly integrated and mechanized industries as packing, steel, rubber and automobiles; the stimulation of an offensive against the open shop, company union, employee welfare, capitalism of the trustified industries; and

Wearing labor of subservience to the two major political parties in order to create independent working class political action.

Rationalization in the Textile Industry

by Eli Keller

What about the textile industry? What is going on in the sickest of all industries?

In his annual report to the stockholders of the Botany Consolidated, Col. Johnson, the president, attributes the company loss in 1929 of a million and a quarter to the revaluation of the company assets and the placing of the company property at a value two million dollars below the previous figure. The lower figure is placed despite improved machinery of the latest type that was bought the last few years and which constitutes the last word in the rationalization process of the finest wool and worsted cloth production.

The Reorganization of the Industry

It is needless for me to point out that the loss of which Col. Johnson complains is only a paper loss and in fact a huge profit. With this revaluation loss, however, as a pretext, the colonel further reveals in his report that "we have brought down our overhead expenses to the lowest minimum. Wages were again adjusted." The workers who were at first sped up and forced to accept more and more machines, with the promise that their wages would be increased as production goes up, got another wage cut, and some were laid off altogether as a result.

The Botany mills that previously employed 5,500 workers now employ 1,000 workers only. Also the conditions of the wool and worsted section of the textile industry are considerably more aggravated on account of the present trend in styles, yet the report gives us a good insight as to what is happening in the whole textile industry.

A definite break with the past is now taking place on all fronts. Textiles has been a sick industry since the end of the war. First the war and then the post-war expansion out of the surplus profits which the textile manufacturers used to build new mills and machines rather than pay to the workers as wages and to the government as war tax, came back like a boomerang. There were more mills, more spindles, more looms and less consumers. The textile manufacturers intensified their quest for outside markets but on an international scale almost the same thing holds true. England and Germany are strong competitors while textile mills were established in India, China, etc. in the colonial countries. Fierce competition began and the "survival of the fittest" held good here as well. We therefore see that in the United States in 1919 there were 28,457 textile establishments—in 1921, 25,960—in 1925, 24,433—and in 1927, only 11,324. This is the result of the fierce competition. In a short space of eight years more than half of the textile establishments were left standing idle and bankrupt. The next census will show a much further decline in the number of establishments and the number of workers employed. Some mills, the older ones, could not stand the competition and went bankrupt, while the other were merged in larger combination under the domination of finance capital, under the banks. This cycle is now being completed, this period will soon close and that is the reason for the revaluation of such strong concerns as the Botany Mills and others. They can not afford to carry losses each year, not even in name only. The banker must sell the mill stocks in the open market and if the books show continuous losses, even the paper losses, the shares will not sell. The banker also never comes in contact with the mill worker. He therefore uses more open and severe methods of exploitation and oppression.

Rationalization in Production

The rationalization process in the financing of the textile industry brought along with it also the rationalization of the processes of production and vice-versa. In the first place many mills acquired by the same banking firm are placed under a central supervision. Some of the older and less profitable mills are abandoned. The old machinery is replaced by the latest automatic machines which throws out hundreds of workers of employment. The bosses are thereby saving thousands of dollars in wages to the workers. Just a few ex-

The following paragraphs are from the first part of the report prepared by Eli Keller as national secretary of the National Textile Workers Union. As is well known Comrade Keller was subsequently removed by the Party bureaucrats from his post and his report remained undelivered.

amples to illustrate this point. The loom used to average about 90 picks per minute, now it is going at a speed of 150-175 picks a minute. A loom is now being tested which can run at a speed of 250 picks per minute. One worker used to run two looms before, now with the increase of the speed to almost double, the weaver is required to run from 8 to as much as 64 looms. The electric spooler is another machine making one beam in 45 minutes compared with the old machine that did the same job in three hours. The installation of the electric spooler throws out of work 8 out of every 10 workers employed in the beaming department. We can go down the line from the card room to the shipping department: everywhere we will see a striking shrinkage of human labor and the increase of automatons, as compared even with a couple of years ago.

The Period of Readjustment

In respect to rationalization of the methods of production, we are also about to complete a definite period. Improvements and more modern inventions of course will continue here and there, but it will not be on such a wide and sweeping scale as in the last eight years. Each mill owner will now try to consolidate positions already gained by the industry

as a whole. We are therefore reaching a new stage, so to speak, in the textile industry. Textile has at last survived its crisis in the United States. It may be only for a short time, but certainly we can say that the equilibrium which was upset as a result of the war and post-war expansion have been reestablished again, but now on a much higher plane in the direct and relative methods of exploitation. Consider also the fact that textiles is one of the oldest industries and most of its routine had slumped into so many worn-out grooves. The readjustment that took place, therefore almost rebuilt it into a new industry.

Another thing has happened within the last ten years. The largest section of the textile industry, the cotton section, has moved down South. In most instances it proved much cheaper to build new plants and install new machinery rather than to rebuild the old mills. Then again in building new mills it was more advantageous to build the mill South near the source of raw material and with an abundant supply of "cheap labor" from the pauperized southern population. A new working class was built up in the South, while in the North, thousands of workers were rapidly thrown out of employment as the many

textile mills shut down. Fall River, Lawrence, Lowell, etc., are good examples. For the youngest branch of the textile industry, the production of rayon, is also being concentrated in the South.

The manufacturers were very quick in taking advantage of the slump in the industry, and of the shift of the cotton section to the South. While they increased the number of machines per operative and the speed of each machine, they simultaneously cut the wages of all textile workers. The textile worker gets now about 55% of his former wages and produces no less than 33% more than before—in some cases even more than double.

Summary

From our brief observation we can see three outstanding facts:

1) The financing of the textile industry is rapidly shifting from the many private family ownerships into the hands of a few banks. This trend can now easily be recognized by the many horizontal and vertical mergers that are taking place throughout the whole industry.

2) The rationalization of the processes of production is now at its highest peak. It has been put over on the workers almost everywhere in spite of some opposition. In various places and at various times, it was put over in different forms and under diverse names, but always one object in view. The net result is a considerable decrease in the cost of production. It has considerable increased the profits of the mill-owners, while thousands are practically driven out of the

(Continued on page 15)

Big Textile Meeting in Passaic

The Textile Unity Committee held its first mass meeting in Passaic since its organization, on Friday, October 10, at the New Russian Home. The hall was packed with workers who came to hear the message of the leaders who had built the National Textile Union, who had led their great strike in 1928, and who had been expelled from the NTWU for fighting against the ruinous ultra-left line in the Party. Over 500 workers were present.

Eli Keller was chairman. Albert Weisbord was the first speaker. He exposed the union-wrecking of the present leadership of the Party, which drove out of the union every capable and principled comrade who dared to put up a fight against the wrong line of the Party.

A group of loyalites from Paterson interrupted constantly, but the workers in the hall had come to hear their leaders and expressed their indignation at the hooligan methods of the Party loyalites. After Vera Bach, the second speaker had concluded and the collection, taken the loyalites attempted to disrupt the meeting and the attempt to quiet the most vociferous one resulted in a fist fight. The loyalites had their cue, they at once started a free-for-all fight and riot. They had come to break up the meeting,—here was their opportunity. The hall keeper turned out the lights, the police made their appearance, anxious to take advantage of the Party's "good work" to arrest Weisbord, Keller and the other leaders who had earned their bitter enemy.

This meeting showed the great prestige which the Textile Unity Committee enjoys amongst the textile workers of Passaic. It was one of the biggest textile meetings ever held since the strike. The role of the loyalites was here clearly union-smashing. They can boast of breaking up (at least near the end of the meeting) the biggest meeting to organize the textile workers in Passaic in years. This action on their part has turned the workers away from them in disgust. Workers declared after the meeting that they would never go to the Party's Workers Center again, although they were warm sympathizers of the Party until that time.

Frightened by the success of our meeting, the bureaucrats of the National Textile Union have attempted to hold several counter-meetings since then, securing the same hall, the Russian Home, and advertising as their speaker, ALFRED WAGENKNECHT, "THE LEADER OF

THE PASSAIC STRIKE." The result was a total and complete failure of the meetings arranged for the "leader of the Passaic Strike."

The Textile Unity Committee will hold further meetings in Passaic and other textile centres, will continue its struggle to unify the forces of the textile workers for struggle against the textile barons.

THE STRIKE OF LOCAL 38

"For a 100% Strike." "For a 100% Victory!" begins the leaflet and appeal issued by the Needle Trades Workers Union League to the striking workers of Local 38, ILGWU, New York. These workers, who are custom dressmakers and tailors in the big Fifth Avenue shops, went out on strike against the bosses association which refused to renew the agreement and tried to break down the union standards won thru long years of sacrifice and struggle.

This leaflet of the Needle Trade Workers Union League—the first public leaflet issued by this newly formed organization—created a splendid effect among the workers of Local 38 who saw that there was again in existence a left wing force in the reactionary unions fighting to win these unions and to oust the bureaucrats, for the one powerful militant industrial union in the needle trades. The leaflet of the NTWUL was in direct contrast to the leaflet issued by the TUUL and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union which could be characterized as a strikebreaking leaflet.

The issuance of this leaflet has had a big effect in beginning the revival of the left wing movement in the needle trades.

EXPOSE THIS FRAUD!

The tremendous nationalist revolutionary movement in India and the wave of sympathy that this movement has aroused among large sections of the American people has given the opportunity for all sorts of political swindlers and frauds to raise their heads and attempt to cash in. One of the worst of these is a worthy by the name of Kedar Nath Das Gupta who has organized the "Gandhi Fellowship" and has managed to rope in such prominent Socialists as John Haynes Holmes and Vladimir Karapetoff. That this outfit is really a pro-British affair under the guise of being "non-political" is shown by the following declaration of Das Gupta:

"Please make it plain that this venture is non-political. We are not

LEFT WING IN DRESS AND CLOAKMAKERS REVIVES

A definite sign of the revival of the left wing struggle in the reactionary needle trades unions of New York City is the organization of the *United Cloak and Dressmakers Progressive League* made up of militant workers in the ILGWU. After a short examination of the conditions of the cloak and dressmakers, the statement of the United Cloak and Dressmakers League puts the following program:

1. For a militant fight for an economic program based on the class struggle.
2. For a struggle against the "company union" leadership and "company union" policies in our union.
3. For amalgamation. Against craft unionism. For one union in the industry.
4. For the shop delegates system.

In its platform it has the following demands:

1. Strict enforcement of the agreement: (a) enforcement of wage scales. (b) against Saturday and Sunday work. (c) No overtime to be permitted unless all machines are taken. 2. The establishment of a Labor Bureau. 3. An unemployment insurance fund to be paid by the employers and managed by the workers. 4. The organization of the unorganized. Special measures to be taken to stamp out seab nests such as Brooklyn and every other such center. 5. Rank and file organization committees. The abolition of gangsterism. 6. The amalgamation of cloak and dress joint boards. 7. The unification of Locals 1 and 17. 8. The abolition of local managers and local treasurers. 9. Full proportional representation to joint boards and conventions. 10. Democracy in the union. 11. Against expulsions. 12. Against bureaucracy and corruption in the union. 13. No discrimination on account of political opinions. 14. General elections of business agents instead of local elections. 15. The recall of officers. 16. The salaries of officers to be fixed according to the average wage of the workers in the industry. 17. The general officers to be nominated at the convention and elected thru a referendum. The vote to be counted by a special committee elected by the convention.

seeking to support the Indian revolutionary movement, but to promote the life teachings of Gandhi."

It is certainly an illuminating comment on the "life teachings of Gandhi" that they do not involve "support of the Indian revolutionary movement!"

Exploding the Bluff of "Change of Line"

The V Congress of the RILU

The Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions which took place in Moscow during the month of August was the first congress at which Lozovsky had an absolutely free hand for his policies and his intrigues. The first three congresses took place under the influence of the Leninist trade union course and Lozovsky felt it necessary to "agree" if only formally. At the IV Congress (March 1928) the relation of factional forces in the Comintern indeed permitted Lozovsky to make considerable advances in putting over his line but he was met in the congress with a strong and determined opposition (Tomsky, Yaglom, from the USSR; Walcher, Germany; Gitlow, USA, etc.) which could count on the unofficial support of the head of the Comintern (Bukharin).

But the V Congress followed two years of "enlightenment" and expulsions. The Congress was purified in advance. The only discordant element was Santini of the Italian CGTU, a leader of the "new opposition" (Trotskyist) in Italy and he was made short shrift of in the approved Lozovskyan manner. Yet the shadow of the opposition forces all over the world hung heavy over the congress and more than one speaker referred to them with great uneasiness.

The revolutionary workers of the world should study the line laid down at the V Congress of the RILU very carefully. It is the trade union line of the official Communist movement and, as Lenin said, "the trade union question is the life and death question for the Communist movement."

1. THE ANALYSIS OF THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION

The analysis of the objective situation presented in Lozovsky's report and accepted as gospel truth by the congress is full of the usual "third period" phrases about the "collapse of capitalism," the "wobbling of imperialism," the "collapse of stabilization," etc., etc. filled in with masses of meaningless and random facts and statistics. One point, however, is very interesting. The course of the strike struggle within the last two years proved a hard nut for Lozovsky to crack with his dogma of the "revolutionization of the workers," and of "world-shaking radicalization." During 1929 and 1930 there has been an astonishing falling off of strike struggles in most countries of the world. Now, every worker knows

that the strike is the most elemental and the most fundamental form of class action of the proletariat. How can the falling off of strike struggle be squared with the "world-shaking radicalization"? Lozovsky, however, is ready. First he insists that in the first half of 1930 there has been "a considerable increase of the number of strikes in most countries"—which is directly contrary to all available facts and figures. Secondly, according to Lozovsky, even if there were fewer strikes their "quality" was much higher! Thirdly, the versatile Lozovsky discovers that the strike is not such an important sign of radicalization after all. But he could not conjure away the hard facts.

2. THE SITUATION IN THE RED INTERNATIONAL

Thru all the camouflage of bombast and phrases the devastating situation in the RILU became clear in Lozovsky's report and in the remarks of the delegates. In defiance of all facts and rule of arithmetic Lozovsky complacently insisted that the RILU was the largest world trade union federation but when it came to examining the situation another picture emerged. Outside of the Soviet Union what is there? In Germany, the RILU adherents have—as Platinik has pointed out—lost practically all contact with and influence among the organized workers (the factory council elections, the German Metal Workers Congress, the convention of the revolutionary building trades workers union, etc.). In France the CGTU has, according to official figures, lost about 200,000 members in the last few years and is fast losing more. In it moreover there, are at least three discernible opposition movements, controlling tens of thousands

of workers and many organizations. In Czechoslovakia the Red unions were expelled from the RILU and fake paper "unions" with no membership set up. In Sweden and Norway the revolutionary elements in the unions are being attacked as "counter-revolutionaries" and dissociated from the RILU. In the Balkan countries and in Italy the Red federations have been practically destroyed. In China the Red unions are acknowledged to have no membership. In Great Britain the Minority Movement has completely collapsed, as the recent Trade Union Congress showed. In the USA the blackness of the situation is only too obvious. In India the "Red Flag" union has declared against the policies of the RILU. It would not be too much to say that, in the two years since the IV Congress, the RILU has been reduced to a mere skeleton with very little and rapidly diminishing influence outside of the Soviet Union.

3. THE TACTICAL LINE OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL

What is the reason for this black picture? The reason for the collapse in influence of the RILU is the absolutely false and destructive policies it has been following for the last two years or so. Nobody dared criticize these policies at the V Congress. On the contrary, in Lozovsky's report and in the resolution these false and dangerous policies, which have disrupted and destroyed the RILU, were not only officially approved but were even extended and carried to their logical conclusions.

1. The course towards dual unionism as a system. As the whole revolutionary movement learned thru bitter experience, the system of dual unionism is the curse and blight of revolutionary trade union work. Yet this is precisely the course of the V Congress. What does Lozovsky declare is the main task before the RILU today? Perhaps, to win influence among the millions of organized workers in the mass unions? No! Lozovsky declares:

"The consolidation of the independent revolutionary unions must become our most important task."

No more thoroughly destructive conception could be imagined!

2. The course of deserting and splitting the mass unions is complete. Every lesson of Leninism on mass work and on

the trade unions is flouted. The task of splitting the unions is laid down as a principle. The slogan-of: "Into the unions" is officially rejected as a left wing slogan; instead of which the unorganized are to be told to join the trade union opposition directly and simply just as they would a trade union.

What the meaning of the decisions of the V Congress on this head are is made clear in the official report of Thaelmann, secretary of the German CP, at the Berlin functionaries meeting:

"This (the line of the V Congress) is the last and decisive step towards the establishment of the principle of new trade unions and therewith to the general splitting of the German trade union movement."

3. The course of "independent leadership" is complete. The system introduced about two years ago of the left wing functioning as the union, even tho it may represent a small fraction of the membership, calling strikes, making agreements, etc. has received official sanction and been extended. The directives of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum "Communist trade union work must be conducted within the framework of the statutes and decisions of the respective trade unions" is now denounced at the worst

The Congress of the Metal Workers

AN OBJECT LESSON:

Elections in Europe

In Finland

On Aug. 17 began the 19th Convention of the German Metal Workers Union, which—since the collapse of the United Miners Workers of America—is the largest national union in the world, with a membership of over 600,000. The convention which lasted a week—is very rich in lessons to the revolutionary workers all over the world.

The German Metal Workers Union (DMV) was always a stronghold of Communist influence. In 1923 the Communists had almost a majority of the delegates at the convention of that year while even at the last convention there were nearly 50 Communist delegates. Today—after two years of the new course—there was not one single member of the Communist Party of Germany at the Convention. Of the 309 delegates, 301 were Social-democrats and 8 were members of the Communist Opposition! Such are the results of the ultra-left trade union policy in practise.

The delegation of the Communist Opposition put up a valiant battle against the Social-democratic leadership on all important questions of policy and administration. On some questions they were able to rally a considerable group of Social-democratic delegates against the leadership, so that on these questions the vote was 187 to 118 and 190 to 115.

The Social-democratic press revelled in malicious joy at the bankruptcy of the official policy of the CPG which they paraded as the "collapse of Communism in the trade unions."

opportunism. The results of this course in the recent strikes in Germany and elsewhere and the factory council elections are only too well known.

4. The course towards trade union unity is scrapped. The slogan of trade union unity—in every industry, in every country, on a world scale—has always been the fundamental slogan of the revolutionary trade unionists. Today it is sneered at and officially dropped. Lozovsky devotes a whole section of his report in attacking this slogan. Today, because of the course of the CI and the RILU, the Communists appear before the workers not as the unifiers of the trade union movement but as the splitters of the movement. This, as Lenin pointed out many years ago, is "rendering the best possible service to the bourgeoisie."

Today the way is open for the forward march of fascism in Finland, Swinhufrud, the White Guard butcher of 1918, is now again in the Finnish parliament. The fascists are openly calling for the destruction of the labor movement and for hostility to the USSR. The fascist victory in Germany has helped them a great deal. Meanwhile the Finnish Communist Opposition, formed less than a year ago, has already, in spite of the greatest difficulties, formed its organizations and greatly strengthened its influence in the trade unions where it has become a decisive force. It is upon the work of the Finnish Opposition that the reestablishment of the prestige of Communism and the rebuilding of the CP in Finland depends.

Such is the course of the RILU—a course of isolation and demoralization for the revolutionary forces. It is a course of anti-Leninism, open and unashamed! But for popular consumption, so to speak, this course is sugar-coated. It is camouflaged with phrases about "mass work" and "winning the majority of the working class." It is hidden by unprincipled attacks upon specially chosen scape-goats upon whom all the blame for the consequences of the new course is unloaded. It is confused with all sorts of "new turns" which remain peacefully on paper to deceive the gullible while the official course of destruction is carried thru—the left wing forces dissipated and demoralized—unions split—the masses deserted—the working class left leaderless! It is up to the Communist Opposition movement to brush aside these evasions and subterfuges and to resist the disintegrating policies of the leaders of the RILU and CI to the bitter end. It is up to the Communist Opposition to take up now the task of rebuilding the left wing and reestablishing the prestige of the Communists in the trade union movement remembering that:

"The strength of a Communist Party depends upon its influence in the trade unions."

5. The course of "independent leadership" is complete. The system introduced about two years ago of the left wing functioning as the union, even tho it may represent a small fraction of the membership, calling strikes, making agreements, etc. has received official sanction and been extended. The directives of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum "Communist trade union work must be conducted within the framework of the statutes and decisions of the respective trade unions" is now denounced at the worst

In Norway

Following hard upon the heels of the annihilating Communist defeat in the Finnish elections, come the results of the Norwegian elections held on October 20.

The Conservative Party gained 12 seats, raising its quota to 44 members of the Storting (parliament). The Agrarians have 25, the Radicals 33—both substantially unchanged. The Norwegian Labor Party lost 12 seats, its number being reduced to 44. The Communist Party of Norway lost all of its three deputies, and is now, for the first time, without any representatives in the Storting.

6. The course of "independent leadership" is complete. The system introduced about two years ago of the left wing functioning as the union, even tho it may represent a small fraction of the membership, calling strikes, making agreements, etc. has received official sanction and been extended. The directives of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum "Communist trade union work must be conducted within the framework of the statutes and decisions of the respective trade unions" is now denounced at the worst

In Sweden

The elections in Sweden very fortunately present an entirely different picture. Here the Comintern bureaucracy did not succeed in destroying the Communist Party; all it could do was to organize a dual Communist Party under a loyalty leadership. The old Communist Party (expelled from the Comintern) maintained the prestige of Communism in Sweden against great obstacles and the election results showed this. As against the 40,000 Communist votes cast in the last elections, there were cast this year about 50,000 Communist votes; 36,000 for the CP of Sweden and 14,000 for the loyalty Party. The CP of Sweden (Samuelson, Kilboom) moreover gained greatly in all large cities (Stockholm, Uppsala, etc.) and its influence was great strengthened.

The above figures refer to the provincial elections. In the municipal elections

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Report of the Gitlow Tour

As has been announced in the last two issues of the *Revolutionary Age*, Comrade Ben Gitlow, secretary of the CP-Majority Group made a tour thru a large part of the country in the month of October. The tour proved to be an extremely successful one, the open meetings which Comrade Gitlow being the most successful yet held by our group.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The tour had a successful beginning in Philadelphia. On September 13 there was a meeting with some active needle trades workers and in the evening a membership meeting. On the next day 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 Rothchild Francis spoke before a very interested crowd of over 200 Negroes. Seventy five copies of *Revolutionary Age* were sold and over 60 names obtained.

THE ANTHRACITE

The economic crisis has effected the anthracite coal region very seriously. Unemployment dominates the whole region. Those working work part time. Many miners are making only 15 days pay in two months. The companies are tightening their grip on the mines and the conditions are becoming more and more unbearable. The contract system is especially detested by the miners. The Lewis machine is working hand in glove with the operators. General pessimism prevails in the rank and file and in the Grievance Committees. A continuation of these conditions is bound to force some action on the part of the rank and file.

The coal companies are determined to put thru a big wage cut under the new agreement. The lack of an effective left wing opposition in the UMWA plays right into the hands of the bosses and Lewis. There is crying need for such an organization in this region.

The Party keeps a crew of incompetent organizers whose main task it is to slander and vilify the active workers. They are working overtime to discredit the movement. The "National Miners Union" is dead. Its role in Pittston against the Grievance Committee and the

now going on the CP of Sweden has scored an even greater victory. Everywhere it has increased its vote, having already gained scores of seats in the municipal councils. Nowhere have the "loyalists" got as much as 25% of the CP vote! Final figures on the municipal elections will be published in the next issue of the *Age*.

In Alsace

On Sunday, October 12, took place the preliminary elections for municipal council in Strassburg, in Alsace, France. These elections proved a tremendous victory for the Communist Party of Alsace (which has been expelled from the Communist Party of France and which adheres to the International-Communist Opposition). The preliminary votes of the CP amounted to 9,000, a considerable increase over its previous vote.

The victory of the CP was especially marked over the Social-democrats. In the section East Comrade Schall of the CP received 1,600 votes more than the Social-democrat Hincker. In the section West the Social-democrat was beaten by 1,200 votes. And so on. A particularly miserable showing was made by the little loyalist "Communist Party" in Alsace which received less than 1,500 votes as against 9,000 of the CP-Opposition.

strike has embittered the rank and file.

Our group is making good headway in the anthracite. Local 1616 of the UMWA passed our resolution and later introduced it into the General Grievance Committee of the Lehigh Valley Coal Co. consisting of 8 local unions comprising over 12,000 members. It passed there. The Federation of the Anthracite Slovenian National Benefit Society consisting of approximately 10 branches and about 1,500 members also adopted our resolution.

Our meeting in Luzerne on October 3 was well attended. Over 60 workers were present. The banquet the following day was a very good affair. In spite of the very hard times the collection at the banquet amounted to \$53; at the mass meeting \$12.

DETROIT, MICH.

Detroit has been very severely hit by the economic crisis. The politicians and business men of the city are extremely worried about the situation. All kinds of promises are made, all kinds of ineffectual schemes are proposed. The Mayor's committee on unemployment is a huge joke. Its first job was to register one unemployed worker from a family. In a few days 30,000 unemployed registered. The City Council appropriated \$20,000 to aid the unemployed but it was allocated to pay the salaries of the ward heelers and petty politicians hired by the Mayor's committee. There are dozens of bread lines all over the city. About a third of those on the bread lines are Negroes. The conditions among the Negroes are frightful.

The petty bourgeoisie has been hard hit by the economic crisis and by the sweep of the chain stores. Thousands of stores are empty. So are thousands of flats. There are approximately 200,000 unemployed in Detroit. The automobile industry is at a standstill. Ford who is employing half his crew has gone to a two day and a two and a half day basis.

These conditions are making the workers think. The Party policy has completely discredited the Communists. This is to be seen on every side.

The group meeting in Detroit took place on October 8. On October 9 took place our open meeting. There were 175 workers present, including 20 Party members who have given attention and gave appreciative approval to the proposals to organize a broad unemployment movement. Comrade William Miller was chairman. A large number of workers handed in their names as contacts.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Unemployment has hit Chicago and hit it hard. At nights the parks and viaducts are crowded with hungry, homeless jobless men. The newspapers are full of it. Here, as everywhere else, in capitalist America, no genuine relief is proposed. The wealthy are very much worried over the situation. So they have made a proposal to open up Cook County jail to the unemployed—a place unfit for any kind of human habitation. The labor movement in Chicago is almost completely in the grip of the gangster-racketeer-labor faker combination. Union conditions, wages and hours have broken down. There is much dissatisfaction among the workers.

The line of the Communist Party here is a crazy sectarian one—as everywhere else. They have attempted to organize a couple of printers into a new printers union and a few milk drivers into a new food workers union. Their policy is mass work and in the mass organizations such as to make it impossible to take any advantage of the favorable conditions.

Our group in Chicago is taking on life and activity. The prospects are for better work and more results in Chicago. We had a group meeting on October 12. Our open meeting took place on October 11, 1930. It certainly was a surprise. There were 83 workers and 3 dicks present. There were about 10 Party members and 5 Trotskyites there. The enthusiasm and spirit of the meeting could not have been better. The Party tried to run a counter meeting but failed. They called a campaign meeting in a hall near-

by but only 35 were present and practically all party members.

SUPERIOR, WIS.

In Superior everybody was busy in preparation for the National Convention of the Cooperative League of North America which was just to open in Superior on October 16. The Central Cooperative Exchange has been growing stronger and making good ground in the period since the Communist Party bureaucrats expelled the leading communists in the cooperative movement (Halonon, Hayes, etc.) and broke with the cooperative movement and its leaders with the result of destroying its own prestige and completely discrediting itself. The cooperative leaders have established the control through the movement, have organized a well-functioning Cooperative Youth League and Women's Cooperative Guild and have set up union committees in every town in the region. On the eve of the cooperative convention the *Tyomies* (Party Finnish paper) came out with a full blast that Gitlow had come to Superior to cement an "alliance" between Warbasse, Halonon and the "Lovestonites!"

On October 15 there took place an open meeting at Superior in the Workers Hall. A. J. Hayes was chairman. There were over 150 workers present, more than were present when Gitlow was in Superior in 1928 as vice-presidential candidate.

In every way the meeting was an excellent one. There was also a conference with the leading Communist functionaries in the cooperative movement in

which the questions of trade union work and the labor party were prominent.

HARTFORD, CONN.

In Hartford there took place a group meeting and an open air meeting on October 20.

BOSTON, MASS.

In Boston there took place a group meeting on October 19. It was impossible to hold an open meeting because of time.

BALTIMORE, MD.

In this city there was a meeting arranged by the Liberal Club of Johns Hopkins University on October 23. The subject was the situation in the trade union movement. The next day I appeared before Bakers Local No. 209 of the AF of L which donated \$10 to the *Revolutionary Age* in its struggle. On the same evening there took place a good open meeting.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

In Philadelphia on October 26 there took place the second Conference for the Defense of the Labor Press called to resist the government attack on the *Revolutionary Age*. There were 23 delegates present, practically all not members of our group. Among them were 8 Negro delegates. The conference was very successful. On October 25 there was banquet at which 85 workers were present, 25 Negroes among them. There was also a group meeting in Philadelphia.

Results of the Elections

(Continued from page 3)

ent situation is the defeats that the labor movement, especially its advanced sections, have suffered in the last two years—the loss of strikes, the smashing of labor organizations, the weakening of the labor movement generally. Not the least of the factors in this direction was the catastrophically sectarian and adventurist policies of the Communist Party. All in all the results in the elections certainly did not indicate the "wide-spread and deep-going radicalization" we have all heard about.

The Communist Party has shown itself unable to make good its campaign of bluff and bombast of the last year and a half. The gain registered in the elections is certainly there. But how can a vote of 15,000 in New York City be matched with the 125,000 workers who were supposed to have rallied around the Party in New York on March 6? With the "scores of thousands" who were supposed to have rallied on May Day, on August 1 on September 1 and who "packed Madison Sq. Garden" so many times? With all due allowance for foreign-born, etc., the discrepancy must certainly be explained!

What is the analysis of the *Daily Worker* of the elections? In the editorial on November 6, there is not a word about the significance of the elections in relation to the two-party system! A complete misunderstanding of the significance of the SP vote! The very same people who were so ready to consider the vote for Al Smith in 1928 as a sign of "radicalization" refuse to look upon a worker who breaks with Tammany and votes Socialist as moving to the left! They completely miss the objective significance of the Socialist vote because of the very true fact that the SP is really a bourgeois workers party. Above all there is no attempt made to square the high-flown talk of the "revolutionization" of the workers with the actual vote. The editorial declares:

"Only those who voted against the democratic and 'socialist' candidates, as well as Republican, can be counted as representing a definite move to the left of the American working class." So, the "move to the left" is limited to a few thousand workers throughout the country! Where then are the "million masses moving to the left?" This re-mains the insoluble contradiction of the

Daily Worker!

The elections put more clearly than ever as the main task before the American working class the breaking of the vicious circle of the two-party system and the initiation of the first step in the direction of independent working class political action. That is why the Labor Party (or the Farmer-Labor Party) rises as an issue more immediate and current than ever. It is now clearer than it has been for many years that the first step in the direction of the political formation of the proletariat as a class will take place thru the struggle for and the formation of a Labor Party.

IN A TERRIBLE PLIGHT

The Richmond Council of Social Agencies two years ago appointed a Negro Welfare Survey Committee to study the conditions of the Negroes in Richmond, Va. The report of this body, just made public, makes the following significant findings:

- (1) "In every division of human welfare the position of the Negro was immensely disadvantageous, and accordingly perhaps dangerous. . . ."
- (2) "From the evidence before it the committee agrees, first, that the inferior economic status of Richmond Negroes constitute their most fundamental and pressing problem and is related directly and inexorably to every other social problem of the group. . . ."
- (3) The report further emphasizes that the Negroes are for the most part the lowest paid and that only unskilled occupations are open to them.
- (4) The Negroes are forced to live in the poorer streets, in houses often unfit for habitation, overcrowding prevails; rent exorbitantly high.
- (5) "Often the mothers are obliged to supplement the fathers' earnings by work away from home."
- (6) There are very few recreational facilities for either children or adults.

The report concludes by emphasizing that the high death rates and "delinquency" are due to these miserable conditions forced upon the Negroes. The findings offer a scathing indictment of the horrible situation in which the Negro masses especially find themselves under American capitalist democracy.

The Left Wing in the Milliners

(Continued from page 7)

workers for resisting the coming attacks of the bosses in alliance with the Zarsitsky machine. These efforts to awaken and mobilize the masses were systematically frustrated and blocked by the Party and TUUL officials, as the article below shows so clearly.

Finally, on Saturday, November 1, with the menace of the collective agreement staring in the face, a group of left wingers held a meeting with the determination of creating a unity center with a regular left wing organization to begin a campaign against the collective agreement and for one union mass meeting to take up the question (instead of the separate local and branch meetings proposed by the union bureaucrats). But here again the TUUL officials came in to sabotage this very important job. They sent some Party members to this meeting and by making evasive promises they helped in preventing the organization of the left wing forces at this meeting. The motion of Comrade Zukovsky, however, that in case the meeting promised by the TUUL officials does not materialize, another meeting to organize a unity center should be called was passed by a big majority. The workers want the organization of such a center very much, but, not wanting to be subjected to the attacks of the TUUL as yet, they are still hesitant in taking the decisive step. In this whole situation, the TUUL officials, whose real policy is to smash the millinery workers union (which they call a "company union") and to pull the workers out into the NTWU—act as a brake on the organization of the workers into a left wing; they are in fact making it easier for the bosses and Zarsitsky to put over the collective agreement. The millinery workers must wake up and realize that the policies and promises of the TUUL can lead to nothing but disaster, demoralization and passivity. They must realize that unless a struggle is initiated now the right wing will put its plan thru. The left wing workers must organize a fighting unity center and organize it right away. This is the demand of the hour!

On Saturday, October 18, 1930, there took place in Irving Plaza, New York a meeting of the left wingers (former TUUL members) in Locals 24 and 42 of the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International. The anti-trade union policy of the official Communist Party had created a good deal of demoralization and passivity among the left wingers in the last eighteen months and it was only thru the direct and indirect efforts of some former leading left-wingers and the comrades adhering to the CP-Majority Group that the left wingers were gotten together again. There were about 115 workers there, members of these two locals. Altho the meeting had been called under non-partisan auspices yet when the meeting came together the representatives of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union (that is, of the TUUL and of the Party) declared that the meeting was under their auspices! Sazer spoke for the official Party viewpoint. He devoted most of his time to matters that had nothing to do with the question at all. He urged that all left wingers in Locals 24 and 42 should, as individuals and as shop groups, join the NTWU, thus giving up entirely the objective of working in the mass unions. He also proposed the formation of so-called "shop committees" which should exercise all functions of a union (call strikes, make settlements, etc.) and which should therefore constitute the first step in openly splitting the mass unions. He called the CHC&MWI, in which all of the organized millinery workers are found, a "company union" and argued that it should be smashed! At this point J. Goldstock, who claimed to speak for the non-Party workers, read a declaration full of details which evaded the important questions under consideration. This declaration reflected the confusion and demoralization that had been spread as a result of the Party policy.

For the Communist Party (Majority Group), H. Zukovsky, leading militant in the union, read a short resolution pointing out that the union was the workers organization which was being misled and misused by the officials. The

resolution sharply condemned all attempts to desert or to split the mass unions under the false cry of "company unionism". It pointed out the favorable conditions for the rebuilding of a left wing group and for winning the workers for class struggle unionism, and outlined a program of action for such a movement.

In his remarks Comrade Zukovsky analyzed the situation in the industry and in the union and severely criticized the line of Sazer's proposals which meant the liquidation of all struggle to win the workers in the millinery union. He concluded by strongly emphasizing that the left wing should be the unifying force against the attempted splitting of the right wing officials.

M. Petrushka, a non-Party worker, read a declaration calling for work in the mass unions and emphasizing the point in Comrade Zukovsky's remarks that in spite of the fact that these unions are under reactionary leadership they are workers organizations and belong to the membership.

A general discussion followed in which the Party members attacked the viewpoint of the non-Party workers and of Comrade Zukovsky in the bitterest terms.

In his final remarks Sazer declared that it was absolutely wrong to say that the union belonged to the workers; according to his ideas (the ideas of the new Communist "leaders") the conservative unions are "organizations of the bosses" just like employers associations, etc.!

The debate lasted six hours. Towards the end it became clear to Sazer and his followers that it would not do to put the propositions to a vote at this meeting because the sentiment of the non-Party workers was clear. They deferred the voting on the resolutions and there took place the election of a committee to "consider the various proposals." The disgust of the non-Party workers at this was so great that none of them would accept on the committee because it did not include representatives of all viewpoints.

Because of the attitude and tricks of the Party representatives, this meeting—which might have marked the beginning of the revival of left wing action—did not end the demoralization and passivity among the workers. The strategy of the Party bureaucrats is to let things drag along and to let the passivity deepen so that their policy can be "put over" with less resistance. Nevertheless this meeting showed that the non-Party workers are in general opposed to the anti-trade union policy of the Party; it is up to the former TUUL members and the CP-Majority Group comrades to take the lead in reviving the left wing and left wing action.

BIG BANQUET IN PASSAIC

The CP-Majority Group in Passaic held a banquet with Jay Lovestone as the main speaker, on Saturday, Oct. 18, in celebration of the opening of their new headquarters at 60 Dayton Ave. Fifty workers attended. A splendid international meal of Hungarian goulash and Polish stuffed cabbage was served, amidst the speeches of Comrades Keller, Herman, Dawson, Gede and Solor, (who spoke in Polish) and Irene Markewitz, the secretary of the youth group.

Over a hundred dollars was raised in cash and pledges. One new member joined the group at the banquet.

STEPHENS SPEAKS IN OMAHA

On October 18, 1930 Comrade Roy Stephens, organizer for the CP-Majority Group, spoke at the entertainment of the Russian Progressive Club in Omaha, Nebraska. Over 150 workers were present.

His speech dealt with the achievements of the Soviet Union in building up Socialism. He took up the situation in America calling attention to the offensive of the bosses and the necessity for working class unity. He deplored the impotency of the Communist Party in the present situation and called attention to the false policies that were making this impotency even worse. His speech was enthusiastically received by the workers present.

Is There a Change Of Trade Union Line?

Just a commentary on the now famous "change of line in trade union work"—so well advertised at the V. RILU Congress. The RILU is "changing its line"—we are told; it is no longer for deserting or splitting the unions, etc. Such is the propaganda; now let us see the facts:

1. In Berlin there was a strike of 135,000 metal workers. The vast majority of these workers were sympathizers of the left wing. Then came the RGO (the German TUUL) and, with its slogans of "independent leadership," alienated the workers so that the bureaucrats had a free hand in selling out the strike. And now the last act: The RGO has decided to split the German Metal Workers Union, to withdraw the members and followers of the RGO, and to organize a new dual "revolutionary" metal workers union. The *Daily Worker* now reports the carrying out of this line: a couple of hundred "delegates" (of nothing and nobody) met together in Berlin and formed this new "union."

2. In the *Freiheit* of November 8, 1930 there is a first page editorial which concludes:

"Jewish workers! Out of the organizations led by your enemies! Your place is in the class struggle organizations together with the workers of all nationalities. Join the industrial unions, the International Workers' Order. . . ."

Well, Well! What a "change of line" . . .

ANOTHER RESHIFTING OF PARTY BUREOCRACY

During the recent RILU Congress in Moscow a special commission of the Eccei took up the situation in the American Party. The organizational decisions of this commissions are reported:

1. William Z. Foster is to be made General Secretary of the Party. Browder is to be removed as executive secretary.
2. The Secretariat is to be abolished. Browder and Bedacht are to be demoted to the position of "rank and file leaders."
3. Because of his sharp criticisms of the trade union line of the Party which he declared "tended to isolate the Party from the masses," Wm. F. Dunne is "retained" in Moscow for one year.

The decision to make Foster General Secretary is the organizational expression of the attempt to introduce the "new turn" of the Eccei in the USA. It is a characteristic factional twist of the Eccei bureaucrats to cover up the chaos and disaster which the last year has brought to the Party. At the same time it is the carrying out of the original instructions of the Eccei made to the VI Party Convention (March 1929), almost unanimously rejected by the Convention and later "disavowed" by Stalin himself. Now at last it can be put over. . . .

It will be noticed that never by any chance is the membership of the Party consulted about the selection of their leaders. Towards the end of November a Plenum will be held, the new leaders will be chosen and installed. . . .

The changes at the top are the beginning of a renewed factional struggle throughout the Party as a whole. There will now begin a process of the replacement of the present function of the Party, the factional henchmen of the transitional Browder-Bedacht leadership, by real "Foster men." In fact the process has already begun.

The demoralization, disgust and pessimism among the membership will increase. It is our task to see to it that the protest of the membership are turned into constructive fighting channels.

RATIONALIZATION IN TEXTILES

(continued from p. 12)

textile industry.

3) The shift to the South has already reached such a high stage that we can measure its revolutionary effects upon the working class which has developed there as a result. The recent events in Gastonia, Marion and Tennessee indicate very boldly the mood of the textile workers there. We can therefore say that the textile industry has also in the South reached a certain definite period of development.

The Negro Masses In Philadelphia

By J. A. Newby (Philadelphia)

There are above two hundred thousand Negroes in Philadelphia and like most members of the Negro race, they have to earn their living by manual labor. It does not take one of great imagination to judge the condition of the overwhelming majority of the Negroes. In times of industrial depression such as we have been having of late there is no group of workers who feel the situation so keenly. The Negro at the bottom of the industrial ladder has felt it more keenly than others, being the first one fired and the last one hired in most lines of industry. The lot of the Negro is harder than that of the rest of the workers. And yet in a number of industries Negroes are not permitted to work at all, which makes their living conditions very bad indeed.

About two thirds of the Negro workers here live in run-down shacks in crowded alleys and are forced to pay as much rent as if the property was kept in the best condition. Some of the places are not fit for the habitation of the lower animals. I need not say that the Negroes living in them are more susceptible to disease than if they were living in constant terror of hunger, sickness, and misfortune, since they live from hand to mouth without a spare penny from one day to the other.

Last winter I was in such a house as described above. There were four small children and a mother at home, the father was looking for work. The children were crying in hunger but there was nothing to feed them. This is a typical case. There are thousands of such families facing winter with no prospect of relief.

The question naturally arises: What is the Negro worker doing to improve his conditions? Unfortunately it must be said most of them are doing absolutely nothing. The average Negro leader cares nothing about how the broad masses of the Negroes fare just so long as he is kept on Easy Street. Religion, politics and secret orders—this seems to hold true in all of them. In politics the object of the leaders is to keep the Negro workers loyal to the existing political machines no matter how they are treated by the parties in power. Most of the ministers are more interested in getting the people to Heaven when they die than in helping them live bearably. Such is the conditions of the Negro workers in the "City of Brotherly Love."

LOVESTONE SPEAKS IN NEW YORK

On Thursday, October 16, 1930, took place an open membership meeting of the New York organization of the CP-Majority Group. The meeting was very well attended and the number of non-Party workers was especially large. Comrade Jay Lovestone reported on: "The Fifth Convention of the AF of L and the Rebuilding of the Left Wing." After a thorough analysis of the political significance and the results of the Convention, Comrade Lovestone outlined the main tasks of the Communists in rebuilding the left wing in the AF of L unions. The meeting will have an important effect in stimulating the trade union activities of our group.

THE STALIN CULT GROWS

The indecent absurdity, to which the Stalin Cult is being carried by the servile toadies who unfortunately make up a good section of the apparatus of the CP SU can be seen from the following announcement in the Sunday, September 14, issue of the *New York Times*:

Stalin Speech To Music
According to a report in the Frankfurter Zeitung the students of the Moscow State Conservatory, in cooperation with the Association of Proletarian Composers, have begun a symphonic work with Joseph Stalin's long speech on the progress of the "Five-Year Plan" at the recent Communist Party convention as the central theme. The speech is to be enlivened by choruses by Davidenko, political hits by Shekhter and song themes by Koval. Most of the orchestration is being done by Byely and Tchemberzhny.

Revolutionary Age Conference in New York

Trade Unions and Other Labor Organizations Send Delegates - Du Bois, Negro Leader, Endorses Move
Labor Unites Against Boss Attacks on the Labor Press

The New York Conference for the Defense of the Labor Press, which will meet at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84 Street, on Sunday afternoon, November 16, 1930, has already received the support of a large number of influential figures in the labor world and promises to mobilize a large number of workers organizations in protest against the banning of the *Revolutionary Age* and in support of the freedom of the labor press. In addition to the original list of signatories of the call for the conference (Ludwig Lore of the *Volkszeitung*, Carlo Tresca of *Il Martello*, Rothschild Francis, formerly of the *Virgin Islands Emancipator*, Louis F. Budenz of the *Labor Age*, August Burkhardt the secretary treasurer of the

Amalgamated Food Workers, Chas. S. Zimmerman of the Needle Trades Workers Unity League, Ben Gitlow secretary of the Communist Party (Majority Group), and Jay Lovestone editor of the *Revolutionary Age*, W. E. B. DuBois, the well-known editor of *The Crisis*, the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has announced his readiness and willingness to serve on the list of signatories. His support is greatly welcomed by the *Revolutionary Age*.

The decision of the U. S. District Court upholding the action of the Post Office in banning the *Revolutionary Age*—and especially the sweeping character of the decision which destroys all pre-

tence of freedom of the press—places a great responsibility before the labor movement which the Conference for the Defense of the Labor Press will try to meet. The case is being appealed to U. S. Circuit Court but the only real defense of the *Revolutionary Age* and of the entire labor press is the solid front of labor!

At the time of writing, with the drive for the Conference just getting under way, the results already indicate that the Conference will be attended by a considerable number of representatives from trade unions (Butchers Local 174, A. F. of L. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Local 2090, locals of

the Amalgamated Food Workers, etc.), from the IWW, from workers fraternal societies (Workers Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Workmen's Circle branches, the International Self-Educational Club, the Liedertafel Singing Society, the Banner Mannerchor, etc.), from a number of Negro organizations (Negro Monarchs Lodge, No. 45, Negro Elks Lodge, the Garvey Club, the Inter-racial Forum of Brooklyn, American Virgin Islands Society, etc.), from the Irish-American Friends of India's Independence, from the Civil Liberties Union, and so on. The response of these organizations, many of which have never been associated with the radical movement, is very encouraging for the success of the conference.

GREETINGS TO THE

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

On the Occasion of its First Anniversary

SECTION 2

Communist Party—Majority Group
(New York)

SECTION 3

Communist Party—Majority Group
(New York)

SECTION 4

Communist Party—Majority Group
(New York)

SECTION 6

Communist Party—Majority Group
(New York)

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Communist Party—Majority Group

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LETTERS from WORKERS

Canton, Ohio, Sept. 14, 1930
Dear friend and comrade:

... I have a little group of neighbors interested and some of them would join the Party but it is another case of being all dressed up and no place to go, as I am all at sea on this split in the Party and will not take them into the Party until I know what I am doing. In the *Revolutionary Age* of September 1 the article on: For Revolutionary Unity! surely is a fair proposition and I can't help thinking there is something wrong with those on the other side if they turn it down.

Yours comradesly,

Bill

* * *

Comrade Editor:

In response to circular matter sent by the New York section of the American Negro Labor Congress (A.N.L.C.) to the Frederick Douglass Interracial Forum of Brooklyn, I was sent as a delegate to a "United Front Anti-Lynching Conference" called by that section to be held on Wednesday October 29th in St. Lukes Hall.

Its "credential committee" refused to seat me as a delegate. Grace Lamb and Theresa Fox received similar treatment when they demanded recognition.

Upon the flimsy plea that we do not agree with the policy of the A.N.L.C., Herbert Newton, national organizer, made a motion to uphold the decision of the "credential committee." He was supported by the majority of the "conference" which consisted of members of the official Communist Party and representatives of organizations it controls.

Miss Lamb and I are Negroes.

Two days after this "conference" was held I note in the *Daily Worker* that no reference was made to the crude manner in which we were treated. On the contrary, its readers were given to understand that the whole "conference" was a huge success.

As a matter of fact it lacked enthusiasm—received no support from the Negro masses and was proud to go on record as the rejectors of two Negroes and a militant white worker who were sent as delegates.

Obviously, fanaticism on one hand, and bureaucracy on the other have taken absolute control of this section of the A. N. L. C.

ROTHSCHILD FRANCIS.

* * *

Dear Comrades:

I want to tell you that the *Revolutionary Age* is the finest little paper I have ever read. It sure does appeal to me especially the fact that you refrain from mud-slinging.

If you could only get it into the proper hands. I do not know about the cities but here in the country there is a strong spirit of dissatisfaction and it only requires some propaganda to turn it into revolt. We have here quite a number of Flint strikers and there is material for Communism. It is too bad that such splendid opportunities are being overlooked—Communists are busy fighting

each other!

This depression has created a condition where the slaves are willing and eager to listen to a new word of hope. They are in a condition where they feel they have nothing to lose.

Coming in contact with the workingmen and tenant farmers everyday as we do, I am awfully surprised to hear them talk. This is a great time for revolutionary propaganda.

—A Worker.

Coolidge the Columnist

Of all the parrot-patter turned out by the columnists in the capitalist press, that of Calvin Coolidge takes the cake. Note some of the typical ex-presidential twaddle in the *New York Herald Tribune* of August 9: "The real standard of life is not one of quantity but of quality; not of money, but of character." Really, on such high compliments any jobless worker can grow fat! And on such insults the multi-millionaire denizens of Southampton and Newport can starve magnificently for a rather long life-time! Then, Coolidge continues his daily prayer for Wall Street: "Some day a sufficient organization, balancing productive output and consumptive need, will give us economic emancipation. Meantime we must live and learn. . . But the great realities do not depend upon prosperity. Getting a living is not the most important part of life." Well, Hoover had better beware. The Republican Party's "prosperity" trump card of 1928 evidently was a deuce. And what a withering damnation of American capitalism by its spokesman of yesterday and perhaps tomorrow! But, Mr. Coolidge, how are those who *have* to work in order to exist going to live if the class that owns the machinery doesn't allow them to work? What's happening under capitalism is that the owning class does all the living; for them "getting a living is not the most important part of life." They have no worries about such little things as food, clothing, shelter. That's why this same parasitic class gets all the best chances to learn. Yet, in one sense the bosses do all the living and the workers do all the learning—from their experiences with capitalism and the misery it brings them. If only the workers would learn as fast as the bosses live! On the whole we must confess that after reading the daily Coolidge column for some time, we are more convinced than ever that he well deserves the title he was given some years ago: the sap from Vermont.

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