

Revolutionary Age

An Organ of Marxism-Leninism in the United States

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

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Fight Against Unemployment!

THE orgy of speculation on the Stock Exchange ended in a crash that reverberated thruout the world. The faith of the masses in the propaganda of "permanent prosperity" received a telling blow. Such a wild panic on the Stock Exchange, the loss of billions, the wiping out hundreds of thousands of petty bourgeois investors and speculators as well as the savings of many workers, and above all the ushering in of a period of violent, jagged, sharply irregular, almost convulsive up-and-down movements is certain to have a serious effect upon the economic life of the country.

Such is the real nature of American "prosperity". What was this "prosperity"? It was prosperity for the small group of big exploiters. The masses of the workers and farmers never participated in this "prosperity". At a time when billions in profits were piling up for big business, starvation and misery stalked the land. The boasted "prosperity" was based upon the most intensified exploitation of the workers, upon the most vicious campaign of rationalization and wage-cuts. During this period the government came out more and more openly as the agent of big business. The smashing of strikes, the offensive of the Department of Labor, the use of troops, the frame-up campaign, "injunction democracy"—this is what capitalist "prosperity" means to the workers. We witnessed in the United States the new feature that during a period of feverish industrial activity the permanent army of the unemployed grew to great proportions. Capitalist "prosperity" itself brings unemployment to the workers!

What will follow now in the economic life of the country? This is of momentous importance to the workers of the United States.

It is unquestionable that there is being ushered in a *period of serious depression, the effects of which will be felt most by the workers.* There is already visible a definite slackening in certain basic industries. This slackening will unquestionably be aggravated by the speculative crash on the Stock Exchange. Unemployment on a large scale is sure to follow

and the large army of unemployed will be swelled. The automobile factories have already laid off tens of thousands of workers. The Ford factory alone lately discharged 30,000. The radio factories are practically at a standstill. The big drop in car loadings has affected the railroad industry. The continued slack in the steel industry is becoming more noticeable. In spite of these developments big business is trying to psychologize the people of this country that industry is "sound at heart" and that the so-called "prosperity" is permanent. All of the capitalist agencies of public opinion are being utilized in this direction.

Wall Street and its government are already taking steps to stave off the coming depression and to prevent its further development. But whatever will be done by the bosses will be accomplished at the expense of the working class upon whose shoulders even heavier burdens will be placed.

The speed with which the government and President Hoover in particular rushed to the assistance of Wall Street shows how completely the government is grafted on to big business.

With whom did President Hoover first seek counsel on the economic situation? With Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of General Electric Co., Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Co., Julius Barnes, chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He conferred with the directorate of Wall Street's monopolistic finance capital, with the real rulers of the U. S. A.

The government has utilized the occasion to give big business a present of over \$115,000,000 tax reduction, in spite of the fact that big business made billions out of the Stock Market crash. Now President Hoover is proposing to meet the situation with the following: 1) a conference of "representatives of industry, agriculture, and labor"; (2) to stimulate construction activities; and (3) to stimulate exports.

Will Hoover's proposals relieve the unemployment that is certain to develop on an ever larger scale as the recession grows? It is clear that this program is a program for big business. The stimu-

A Weekly by Lenin Day!

THE movement for saving the Communist Party of the U. S. A. from its present destructive line and leadership and for preserving Communist influence among the proletarian masses developed rapidly in the first few months of its existence and necessitated the publication of a semi-monthly organ to broaden the struggle and to reach larger numbers of Party members and revolutionary workers. The response to REVOLUTIONARY AGE has been so enthusiastic and its tasks have enlarged to such an extent that a semi-monthly has become absolutely inadequate. Our supporters thruout the country demand the conversion of REVOLUTIONARY AGE into a WEEKLY PAPER.

In response to this demand and in view of the broader tasks that face us the National Council of the CP-Majority Group has decided to begin a campaign for the establishment of the WEEKLY REVOLUTIONARY AGE by Lenin Memorial Day. The condition for this is the rallying of all our supporters—of all Party members having the interests of the Party at heart—of all revolutionary workers striving for proletarian unity—to the closest support of the WEEKLY REVOLUTIONARY AGE. Every comrade must support to the limit of his ability the campaign to establish a weekly fighter for Leninism and Leninist unity in the United States.

AGAINST OPPORTUNIST SECTARIANISM AND PARTY WRECKING!

FOR A UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE LINE OF LENINISM!

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF THE CP-MAJORITY GROUP!

BUILD THE WEEKLY REVOLUTIONARY AGE!

lation of construction as here proposed will at most absorb only a fraction of the unemployed but it will return huge profits to the exploiters. The stimulation of exports will be accomplished and can only be accomplished at the expense of the workers. It means intensified rationalization and speed-up, the reduction of wages, the stimulation of mass production and the actual increase of unemployment. It means a sharp offensive against the organizations of the workers, a concerted drive of union-bashing and open shop. It can moreover be achieved only in sharp competition with other imperialist powers and thru increased pressure upon the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the American Empire. It leads to imperialist war!

Hoover is going to confer with "labor"! Not with the workers—that is certain. He is going to confer with the reactionary leaders of the A.F. of L., with William Green and Matthew Woll. These gentlemen do not represent labor. They represent the bosses in the labor movement. They are called in by Hoover in order to help American capitalism in its offensive against the workers and to further the imperialist war preparations. Such is Hoover's program!

The coming depression, the increasing unemployment, wage cuts, and pressure upon the workers are bound to increase the discontent of the masses and to call forth growing resistance and revolt. They are bound to intensify the leftward swing of the American working class and to draw into the movement fresh new strata.

Hoover's program is put forward as a program of "planned economy". But planned economy is impossible in any capitalist country, no matter how highly developed. Only in the Soviet Union where Socialism is being built can economic chaos and anarchy be overcome. There planned economy is becoming a reality in the form of the Five Year Plan. Only the building of Socialism can overcome the chaos, anarchy, unemployment, poverty and misery of the capitalist system.

A period of recession with greatly increasing unemployment is facing the American working class. Neither the capitalist government nor the reactionary labor leaders offer anything to the masses other than increased exploitation and misery. Only the Communists have a program for fighting the ravages of unemployment.

1. Councils of the unemployed must be organized to fight for the unemployed!

2. Together with the unemployed the unions must engage in a struggle against unemployment and for the demands of the unemployed! A fight must be conducted to drive out of the unions the A.F. of L. bureaucrats and the reformists!

3. The workers must be mobilized for a struggle against wage-cuts!

4. The immediate demands for the unemployed should consist of the following:

- 1 Shorter hours—the establishment of a 40-hour, 5-day week!
- 2 Abolition of the speed-up system!
- 3 Abolition of overtime!
- 4 Abolition of child labor! State maintenance of all children at present employed! Free food and clothing for the workers' children in the schools!
- 5 Unemployment relief from the State amounting to a living wage!
- 6 No evictions of unemployed workers! Unemployed workers to be relieved from the necessity of paying rent! Unpaid rent must not be a charge against the future earnings of the workers!
- 7 Adequate, clean, sanitary housing and food provided free for unemployed workers who have no living quarters!
- 8 Unemployment insurance raised from levies upon the owners of industry! The insurance to be paid is to be equal to union wages paid in the industry and is to be administered by democratically elected committees elected

by the workers of the industries and the organizations of the unemployed!

- 9 Recognition of the Soviet Union by the U. S. government and the establishment of trade relations with the granting of huge credits!
 - 10 Full and adequate relief along the same lines for women and young workers on the basis of equal pay for equal work!
 - 11 Full and adequate social insurance—accident insurance—old age insurance, etc.
5. Complete equality for all Negro workers in unemployment relief, unemployment insurance, social insurance, and the rest. Complete equality for Negro workers in the unemployment councils.

The intensification of unemployment offers a splendid opportunity for Communist work among the masses. The Communist Party must take advantage of this opportunity and center its attention and energy upon organizing the struggle on behalf of the millions of unemployed.

But while we fight for our immediate demands we must realize that as long as capitalism exists, as long as the industry and resources of the country are privately owned and operated for profit and gain, as long as the government remains in the hands of the bosses just so long will there be unemployment. The workers must organize against capitalism and its strike-breaking government. Only by the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government will the American workers be able to overcome the unemployment, poverty and exploitation that oppress them!

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The Perspectives of Our Struggle

These paragraphs are taken from the pamphlet *THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.* that will be off the press in a few days.
—Editorial Committee.

IT is clear that against the widespread and deep-going revision of the line of Leninism which has thrown the whole Communist International into profound crisis, it is the duty of every true revolutionist, of every Communist to fight. But the problem is not exhausted with the formulation of this fundamental fact. On what basis to fight, how to fight, what shall be our perspectives in the fight are questions of primary importance which must be answered in clear and unambiguous terms.

Our struggle is not for the foundation of a "new" Party. There can not be two Communist Parties in any one country. The only circumstances in which the Communists of any country can be faced with the task of organizing a "new" Communist Party is when the hitherto existing Communist Party, for some reason or other, disappears as a Communist Party, when, in essence and in fact, it ceases to exist.

This, today, is not the case either in this country or in the Comintern as a whole. The Communist International and the various Parties—in spite of the disastrous consequences of the crisis—are still Communist organizations in the sense that they still stand upon the rock foundations of Communism (the Leninist theory of the State, the armed uprising, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet Power, etc.) On these questions we actually have no differences. Our differences are almost entirely concentrated on questions of the estimation of the present situation and on the various problems of Leninist strategy and tactics. It is on these points that the dangerous deviations from Leninism on the part of the present Ecceci have taken place. Of course, it is clear for any Marxist that if the revision on matters of analysis, policy, strategy and tactics is permitted to continue without resistance and goes far enough, then it will ultimately lead to an undermining of the fundamental principles of our movement and to the eventual loss of the Communist character of our Parties. But we are not in such a situation today and we should base neither our line of struggle nor our perspectives upon this contingency.

Basing ourselves upon the actual situation in the Comintern and in our Party and upon a realistic analysis of the forces at work, we must declare that we reject the perspective of a "new" Party or any tendencies in that direction. Now as always our objective remains: the winning and the saving of the Party and the Comintern, the restoration of their Leninist line!

What does the winning of the Party mean? Does winning the Party mean "converting" the "new leadership," winning over the individuals who now compose the first and second layers of the Party apparatus, after the best functionaries in the Party have been expelled? Nonsense! Altho we do not by any means deny the possibility—and even the necessity—of winning over certain elements of the present leadership, we do not base ourselves upon such expectations. We do not build a house on sand. We understand very well that the saving of the Party can only be accomplished thru the elimination from leadership of the bulk of those who today use their leading positions to destroy the Party. They have so compromised themselves by their unprincipledness in the eyes of the Party membership and of the revolutionary workers that a fundamental change of the political line of the Party can take place only thru the elimination of these elements. The winning of the Party means: the mobilization of the Party membership and the revolutionary workers for the overthrow of the "new leader-

ship" and its destructive political and inner-Party course. This is our objective and our perspective. It remains unchanged—indeed it is strengthened—by the slime and slander heaped upon us by the Party bureaucrats, by the mass expulsions of our best forces, by the whole campaign of terror and wrecking in the Party and in the mass organizations.

For this reason we are not for a "new" Party nor are we striving in that direction. We are an organized political tendency, a group, within the Communist Party, fighting against the anti-Leninist course that is eating away its very foundations, striving to save it and to restore it to its rightful position in the working class movement. All attempts to "expell" us from the Party and the Comintern cannot change this fact. For we do not regard the Party as the private possession of these "new leaders" to do with as they please. The Party is a definite section of its class—its advance section, and from this no one can expell us!

Altho our struggle is to win the Party for the Leninist line, it by no means follows that we are engaged in a purely inner-Party struggle. Such a conception is impossible and anti-Leninist. The Party is not separated by a Chinese wall from the class of which it is the vanguard. The Party is an organic part of its class and its very life depends upon its constant, live relations with the proletariat. The affairs of the Party are the affairs of its class; the struggle to save the Party is the concern of the entire working class.

Not only do we not limit ourselves to the inner-Party struggle but we cannot be satisfied with merely making the correct analyses and issuing in an abstract manner the correct slogans. We regard it as our duty to hold aloft the banner of Leninism where the official Party "leadership" has dropped it and to rally the workers around this banner. This is no tendency in the direction of a "new" Party; on the contrary, it proves that we are determined to do our duty as Communists and Party members for the Party under all conditions and in the greatest difficulties. Our struggle to win the Party and to save it is carried on not only within the Party organization itself but also in the mass organizations, among the masses of the workers. The exact relation and proportion of emphasis varies with the changing moment, but in any case it is clear that an organic relation exists between the two, for vigorous and correct activity among the masses and in the mass organizations results in the winning of new strata of Party members and vice versa. The two are inseparable and essential.

We are confident that the best elements of the Party membership will in the end rally to our struggle, no matter what their position may be now. The bulk of our members and of the sympathetic workers around the Party are Communists at bottom, and sooner or later, thru the experience of life itself, they will come to a realization of the great danger to the Communist movement in the present revisionist line and the present leadership. It is upon these forces that we base our confident assurance of ultimately winning and saving the Party.

The struggle for Leninism in America—or in any other country—is a part of an international struggle, since the revision of Leninism that is at the root of the present crisis exists on an international scale. The decisive defeat of the revisionist Party-wrecking course in one country cannot be fully accomplished unless it is accomplished internationally. The return of our Party to its Leninist course is directly bound up with the return of the Ecceci to the line of Leninism. National in immediate aspects and form, our struggle is international in essence and substance. It is a struggle for the future of the Communist International.

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Editorials

THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

WITH all the bombast and empty phrase-mongering so characteristic of its activities the "new leadership" has announced a membership drive to get "thousands of workers into the Party." After having expelled from the Party the best revolutionists and the leading proletarian elements, after having disgraced the Party and the name of Communism among large masses of American workers, after having succeeded in largely isolating the Party from masses of workers, the Party "leadership" has the audacity to ask for a vote of confidence from the workers thru their entry into the Party which that same leadership is doing its best to destroy.

The past activities and policies of this "leadership" make it a foregone conclusion that the workers will not respond to this call. In what way has the "new leadership" demonstrated that it can really lead the masses of workers in the struggle for their immediate and basic interests? Is it thru its revision of some of the basic principles of Leninism? Is it the opportunist sectarianism that characterizes its general policy? Is it its opportunism and legalism in the Gastonia defense campaign? Is it in the tremendous "successes" in the recent elections? Is it in the expulsions from the Party of its historically-developed leadership and the best revolutionary fighters like Gitlow, Lovestone, Wolfe, Bentall, Dawson and others? Or perhaps it is the present policy of splitting every labor organization which the Party does not mechanically control?

The Party is isolated from the masses. The workers today have no confidence in the Party leadership and no faith in its policies. The Party leadership knows this very well. It does not contemplate recruiting new members into the Party. A broad proletarian base for the Party would constitute a serious hindrance to the clique maneuvers which are essential to the maintenance of the present line and the present leadership in control. It does not wish to have in the Party active revolutionists who cannot be terrorized to abandon views which they believe are correct. It knows full well that an influx of large numbers of proletarian revolutionists into the Party would compel it to begin all over the campaign of expulsions which it has been carrying on against the best revolutionists in the Party since the arrival of the revisionist Address. Therefore, the announcement of a membership drive by the Party leadership is nothing but a camouflage of its incompetence and destructiveness, and to "convince" the C.I. that there is "activity".

The C.P.-Majority group, as well as the bulk of the Party membership, would welcome the influx into the Party of new proletarian elements because that would at once add to the forces fighting for the line of Leninism. The influx of new members into the Party would strengthen the fighting power of the Communist movement generally and therefore also the resistance to the revision of the principles of Leninism. It

would strengthen the growing demand for the reinstatement of the hundreds of expelled revolutionists. *The C.P.-Majority group calls upon the revolutionary workers to join the Communist Party of the U. S. A.* Their first task upon entering the Party will be to take up the struggle to save the Party from the revisionist Party-wrecking line of the present leadership and for the principles of Leninism and for the immediate reinstatement of the expelled comrades. Only in this way can a real mass Communist Party be developed and made the Party of the American proletariat fighting for emancipation.

THE WORLD BANK

A monument has just been dedicated in Washington "to the ideal of international justice and world peace" in honor of Owen D. Young. His contribution is the so-called *Young-Plan* and the *International Settlements Bank*.

This Bank, aiming to facilitate the liquidation of the effects of the last World War, is only a powder magazine storing the explosives for the next World War. Already this bank is viewed with increasing suspicion by the biggest capitalist powers. Great Britain fears it. France is dissatisfied. The U. S. distrusts it. Germany, for whose "benefit" the bank is being set up, is looking upon it with much disfavor.

The American imperialist government is still "protesting" that it will not participate in the Bank directly or indirectly. At the same time, the Federal Reserve Bank, thru the American delegates, one of whom is the chairman, Reynolds, are dominating the preliminary negotiations and have already secured an arrangement whereby the Federal Reserve Board will have the veto power over the new World Bank. This is only natural in view of the dominating position Wall Street imperialism today occupies in international capitalist finance.

But in wielding this very power it now has Yankee imperialism is digging its own grave. It is thus becoming entangled in a maze of contradictions and antagonisms which will only hasten the fall of the American capitalist edifice. The World Bank must have wide powers. But where will these powers stop? The new bank must own gold. If this "rudimentary right" were denied it, the new bank would be crippled in its operations. Thus, there is being set up a new competitor for the already limited world's gold supply. This is sending a quiver down the backs of certain sections of American capitalism. McFadden, Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, has already stormed to the effect that "Congress must take a hand in the situation which is threatening to draw us financially, if not officially, into the *monetary conflicts overseas*". (Our emphasis).

The new bank will not solve the reparations crisis. It will only sharpen the difficulties and magnify them still more. The U. S. has hurried to get a separate treaty with Germany for carrying out the Young Plan. British imperialism is thus still more aroused. In Germany the Fascists have taken the initiative in securing a popular expression against the Young Plan. Truly the new bank is a fitting monument to capitalist "harmony" and "stability".

"SONS OF THE WILD JACKASSES"

POLITICAL parties are agencies of classes—are engines of class warfare. Struggles between and within political parties are only expressions of the conflict of interests between and within classes. The battle in the Senate over the enactment of a new tariff law demonstrates this even to the purblind.

Senator Moses of New Hampshire, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee, has followed up the attack of Grundy, the powerful industrial magnate of Pennsylvania, against the senators representing the middle and big agricultural interests of the West by denouncing the latter as "sons of wild jackasses." Some superficial observers may dismiss these remarks as merely loose talk. Others who also base their con-

clusions on temporary and superficial phenomena may see in the Senate skirmishes the breakdown of the Republican Party and the birth of a third party. Both conclusions are unfounded. The struggle over the tariff schedules is only another index of the developing forces of disintegration gnawing at the very vitals of the capitalist two-party system—forces generated by the changes in the structure of American capitalist economy and the resulting changed world position of United States imperialism.

We are not witnessing here a fight between high and low tariff rates. We are examining here primarily a struggle between advocates of high tariff schedules on some commodities (agricultural) and higher tariff rates on certain other commodities (industrial). An especially significant feature of the conflict of interests in the Senate is to be seen in the fact that those industries already definitely dominated by finance capital are either against raising the tariff rates or are extremely passive in the contest. To see how true this is, one need but look at the role played by the auto manufacturers, the railroad barons, the forces controlling the electricity interests, and the steel magnates in the hearings on the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill.

Let no one have any illusions as to what the so-called "insurgents" will do in a showdown fight against the finance capitalists who, in the last instance, run the Republican Party. They, as spokesmen of the petty bourgeoisie, will reveal their basic class features—hesitation, wavering, confusion, impotence, cowardice and treachery. The pathetic role of indecision and betrayal, for years played by Borah, is symbolic of the helplessness and hopelessness of the petty bourgeoisie always finally playing into the hands of and openly serving the biggest bourgeoisie against the workers and exploited farmers.

STALIN VERSUS STALIN

"Emerging from the fact of partial stabilization of capitalism the Party considers . . . that the fundamental task of the Communist Parties is to lay down a road to the masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses, to capture the mass organizations of the proletariat and to prepare the broad masses of the workers for the forthcoming revolutionary battles.

"Having no faith in the internal forces of our revolution and scared at the partial stabilization of capitalism as a fact which may seal the doom of our revolution, they (the Trotsky Opposition) consider it possible to deny the fact of the partial stabilization of capitalism, consider the British strike as a symptom of the end of stabilization of capitalism. When, after all, it turns out that stabilization is a fact, they assert that it is possible to leap over these facts and by clamorous slogans demonstrate the revision of the tactics of the united front, the disruption of the trade union movement in the West, etc. But what does it mean to ignore facts, to ignore the objective progress of events? It means to abandon science and resort to witchcraft. This gives rise to adventurism in their policy."

These were the eloquent words of Comrade Stalin at the VII Plenum of the Ecce (December 7, 1926). The change that has taken place in the political line and leadership of the Comintern since then is most strikingly brought out by the fact that today this characterization of the Trotskyites applies to the last particular to the present line and policy of the Ecce under the leadership of Comrade Stalin himself.



Lenin Said:

ON "FASCIST" FACTS

NOT one professor of political economy, who is able to make the most valuable contributions to the domain of *factual, special investigations*, can be trusted even so far as a single word when it comes to the general theory of political economy . . . The tasks of the Marxians . . . is to be in a position

to grasp and elaborate those conquests which are made by these professors (for instance, you will not be able to make even a single step in your studies of new economic phenomena without having recourse to their works) and then to eliminate their reactionary tendency and to pursue the Marxian tendency . . .

—*Materialism and Empirio-criticism.*

ON WORKING IN REACTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS

THE Bolsheviks would never have been able to preserve, certainly not to strengthen, develop and reinforce the stable nucleus of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat in 1908-14 if they had not succeeded in maintaining, by a vigorous struggle, that it is obligatory to participate in the most reactionary parliament and in many other organizations bound by the most reactionary laws (Workmens Insurance Societies, etc.).

—*Infantile Sickness of "Leftism."*

ON THE ROLE OF THE STOCK EXCHANGE

THE change from the older capitalism of free competition to the new capitalism with its hegemony of monopoly is reflected, among other things, in the *decrease of the importance of the exchange*. "Exchanges have ceased to be," says *Die Bank*, "the indispensable means . . . they at one time used to be . . ." "Every bank is an exchange"—this statement holds true all the more, the larger the bank, the greater the progress made by the concentration of banking.

In other words, the former capitalism of free competition with its indispensable regulator, the exchange, is a thing of the past. In its stead there has appeared a new capitalism . . .

—*Imperialism.*

ON "ORGANIZED CAPITALIST CHAOS"

WHEN a large establishment becomes a gigantic one, and on the basis of accurately computed data, systematically organizes the supply of basic raw material to the extent of two-thirds to three-quarters of the total amount of this raw material which is indispensable to millions of people, when it systematically organizes the transportation of this raw material to the most convenient points of production, when one center directs all the successive processes of manufacture of this raw material up to the point of receiving many manifold finished products, when the distribution of these products is being carried out according to one plan among tens and hundreds of millions of consumers (the distribution of oil in America and Germany by the American oil trust), then it is clear that we have to do with the socialization of production . . .

—*Imperialism.*

ON STAGNATION AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

IT would be erroneous to think that this tendency towards stagnation precludes the rapid growth of capitalism, for such is not the case. Individual branches of industry, individual strata of the bourgeoisie, individual nations show, in the epoch of imperialism, more or less forcibly one or the other of these tendencies. In general capitalism develops with incomparably greater rapidity than before, but this development becomes generally not only more irregular but this irregularity appears also in the stagnation of the countries most powerful in capital (England).

—*Imperialism.*

Capitalist Monopoly and Organization

By Herbert Zam

AS part of the campaign of revision of the line of the VI Congress and of the basic principles of Leninism, there is now being conducted an offensive on all fronts against the outstanding representative of the traditional line of the Comintern and of the VI Congress, Comrade Bukharin. It is quite significant that the "theoretician" of this offensive should be none other than *Heinz Neumann*, from the Marxist viewpoint a perfect ignoramus, condemned at the IX Plenum as an adventurist and a putschist and very correctly branded by Clara Zetkin as the "evil genius of disruption." It is this Neumann—who together with Lominadze and Schatzkin have been more than once condemned for their opposition to the Leninist theory of the growing fusion of finance capitalism with the state apparatus (state capitalism)—who now appears as the champion against Bukharin.

The campaign against Comrade Bukharin is no case of an individual merely. It is part of the offensive against all those comrades who stand in the way of the revision of Leninism—not only those who fight vigorously against this revision (in the U.S.A.: the C.P.-Majority Group) but also those comrades who, while not taking up the struggle with the weapons at their command, still refuse to give up their Leninist views in favor of revisionism.

The full danger of the revision now officially promulgated by the Eccei is seen in the line of attack against Comrade Bukharin. In its campaign against the Leninist views of Comrade Bukharin the Eccei and the Neumanns are sinking deeper and deeper into the morass of ultra-Left Menshevism—which is essentially inverted social-reformism.

Lenin has pointed out more than once that ultra-leftism and social-reformism lead in the same direction: they are different only in form and expression, but not in substance. Ultra-leftism is "social-reformism standing on its head." This is amply illustrated in the present case.

The official campaign against Comrade Bukharin centers around the question of monopoly in three of its most important aspects: the relation between monopoly and competition in the period of imperialism, the question of state capitalism and the question of economic organization under imperialism. On all these three questions Bukharin represents the Leninist standpoint while the attack on Bukharin departs from this standpoint in a number of most important points.

The Question of Monopoly and Competition

Neumann and the Eccei begin by denying the very essence of the Leninist analysis of imperialism, namely that imperialism is based on monopoly. Lenin of course never declared that competition ceases to exist entirely. But free competition ceases to exist as the main characteristic of capitalist economy, since competition, as the main feature of capitalist economy has been replaced by its very opposite, monopoly. Monopoly is not a different form of competition, as Neumann insists, but is the exact opposite of competition. Lenin very aptly declared that:

"A half century ago, when Marx wrote his *Capital*, free competition appeared to the majority of the economists to be a natural law. Official science attempted thru a con-

1 Of course it is not deemed necessary to publish exactly what Comrade Bukharin actually says. We are therefore compelled to judge Bukharin's point of view from the distorted and broken citations contained in the polemic against him. But the general line of argument is clear enough.

2 Lenin: *Imperialism*, Chap I.

spiracy of silence to kill the works of Marx, who by theoretical and historical analysis, had proven that free competition leads to industrial concentration, and that this concentration at a certain stage in its development leads to monopoly. At present monopoly is a fact."

Today we have to re-emphasize this statement of Lenin's, because, it is not only the bourgeois scientists who are trying to kill the works of Marx but the Neumanns and their friends who are emasculating the works of Marx and Lenin by a systematic campaign from which not even falsified quotations are omitted. Neumann indeed does not yet dare to polemize directly against Lenin. His method is to quote Lenin and then modify the quotation by his own interpretation in such a way as to negate Lenin's statement. So much importance did Lenin place on monopoly as a characteristic of imperialism that he declared:³

"If it were only a question of the shortest definition of imperialism, then one could say that imperialism is the monopolistic stage of capitalism. Such a definition would embrace the most important characteristic of imperialism."

He then elaborates, pointing out that this embraces not only the aspect of the fusion of industrial with bank capital into finance capital but also the monopoly of the colonies, thus bringing about a struggle for the redistribution of colonies. The *Program of the Comintern* points out that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the period of free competition was replaced by the period of imperialism during which free competition rapidly gave way to monopoly.

"The law of the concentration and centralization of capital led to the formation of powerful combines (cartels, syndicates, trusts) to new forms of gigantic combinations of enterprises, linked up into one system by the banks.

"Free competition of the period of industrial capitalism . . . became itself transformed into finance capital monopoly"

Lenin continually emphasized that imperialism, as a stage of capitalism, has characteristics quite different from the previous stage of free competition, and he emphasized nothing so much as the substitution of monopoly for free competition.

"Imperialism emerged as the development and direct continuation of the essential qualities of capitalism in general. But capitalism only became capitalist imperialism at a definite and a very high stage in its development when certain of its essential qualities began to be transformed into their opposites. The feature that is economically essential in this process is the substitution of capitalist monopolies for capitalist free competition.

"Free competition is the fundamental quality of capitalism and of commodity production generally. Monopoly is exactly the opposite of free competition, but we have seen the latter beginning to be transformed into monopoly before our very eyes, creating big industry and eliminating small, replacing big industry by still bigger industry, finally leading to such a concentration of production and capital that monopoly has been and is the result."

It is in this clear manner that Lenin put the question, precisely, as we shall see later, to destroy the arguments of the opportunists that the tendency towards and the actual existence of monopoly eliminates the possibility of the proletarian revolution!

(Concluded in the next issue)

3 Lenin: *Imperialism*, Chap. VII.

4 *Program of the C.I.*, p. 4.

5 Lenin: *Imperialism*, Chap VII.

The Results of the New York Elections

by Bert Miller

THE results of the recent election campaign in New York present an alarming proof of the rapid loss in influence of our Party as a consequence of the operation of the false revisionist opportunist-sectarian line forced upon it by the present leadership of the Communist International. A former issue of the *Revolutionary Age* has already dealt with the character of the campaign itself; it was not difficult to foretell the consequences, but no one could foretell the speed with which the catastrophic consequences of the "new course" would become evident. Of course election returns are from being the only test of the success of a Communist campaign but we must remember that such figures have always been regarded as barometers worthy of study. The New York figures are especially significant.

The first question we must raise is: *Was there an objective basis for an increased Communist vote in the 1929 campaign in New York?* Undoubtedly, yes! The following objective conditions were favorable to an increase in the Communist vote: 1) New York has recently been the arena of a series of bitter strikes in which the brutal strike-breaking role of the police and the courts was especially clear; 2) the offensive of the U. S. Department of Labor in attempting to register and to penalize the foreign born workers in the Independent Shoe Workers Union and to destroy the Union; 3) the campaign for and the establishment of the T.U.U.L.; 4) the campaign around the Gastonia issues; 5) the rising sympathy for the U.S.S.R. especially crystallized in connection with the arrival of the Soviet Fliers; 7) the shifting of the social base of the S.P. more and more to the petty bourgeoisie and its development into an ally of the bosses; 8) the Stock Exchange crash and the general shaking of confidence in the permanence and stability of American capitalism; 9) the war danger and the increasing pressure of rationalization upon the workers in New York City and the growing dissatisfaction resulting therefrom. These issues and campaigns were not utilized by the Party in such a way as to gain the maximum results in the campaign.

In view of these favorable conditions—which made themselves visible in a definite leftward movement of the workers—what were the results? The following table gives the vote of 1925, 1926, 1928, and 1929 for Greater New York including all counties.¹

TABLE I

Year	Election	C. P.	S. P.	S. L. P.
1925	Mayor	3,388 ^a	39,574 (Thomas)	1,643 (Brandon)
1926	Governor	4,425 (Gitlow)	48,446 (Panken)	1,957 (Crowley)
1928	President	9,240 (Foster)	50,973 (Thomas)	2,764 (Reynolds)
1929	Mayor	5,622 Weinstone)	174,931 (Thomas)	6,602 (Johnson)

Especially significant is the trend of the votes, as shown in Table II.

1 1927 was a by-election year in which our Party had not city-wide candidates.

2 This votes was for comptroller because Comrade Gitlow, candidate for mayor, was ruled off the ballot because of his record as a class war prisoner.

In other words our Party made steady gains from 1925 thru 1928. In 1929, for the first time in its history in the New York elections, the Party lost ground—by 3,618 (38%) as compared with the 1928 vote. For the first time in our Party's history it fell behind the vote of the S.L.P., an almost extinct organization with no real press and no roots among the masses. Since 1925 the Socialist Party vote, the continually increasing, has been increasing slowly and by a smaller and smaller percentage each year—1926: 22% 1928: 5%. But in 1929 the S.P. vote jumped 243% over the previous year and 343% over 1925. The S.P. vote this year was 29,599 more than Hillquit's record vote in 1917.

TABLE II

Year	Communist Party Compared with Previous Vote	Party Vote	Socialist Party Compared with Previous Vote	Party Vote	Socialist Labor Party Compared with Previous Vote	Party Vote
1926	Gain over 1,037 (30%)	1925	Gain over 8,872 (22%)	1925	Gain over 314 (19%)	1925
1927	No Communist candidate for city-wide vote.					
1928	Gain over 4,815 (109%)	1926	Gain over 2,527 (5%)	1926	Gain over 807 (41%)	1926
1929	Loss from 3,618 (38%)	1928	Gain over 123,958 (243%)	1928	Gain over 3,838 (139%)	1928

How can this severe defeat of our Party and the complete reversal of relations between the C.P., S.P., and S.L.P. be explained? The gain in the S.P. vote is unquestionably to be traced primarily to the fact that thousands of workers, disillusioned with the two old parties, were swung into support of the Socialist candidate. Important contributing factors are the rapid transformation of the S.P. into a party of small business men and professionals which drew to it thousands of petty bourgeois votes away from the Democratic and Republican parties (especially in view of the Stock Exchange crash and the growing discontent of the middle class elements), the publicity maneuvers of leading capitalist press organs against La Guardia, and the increasing strength of the right wing unions and of the right wing in the mass organizations. Because of its false opportunist-sectarian line and its miserable election campaign our Party found itself absolutely incapable of winning over any of the thousands of workers who in 1928 for the first time openly broke with the old Parties in the New York elections. It could not even maintain its own vote. It is not unlikely that the increased S.L.P. vote is due to the fact that many workers who have in the past and would ordinarily vote Communist turned away from the Party in the direction of the S.L.P.

The severe defeat of the Party is due in the first place to its false general line which was recently forced upon it by the present leadership of the Communist International. This false line showed itself in the shameful opportunist municipal platform which, fortunately, was not published and in the "corrected" platform which was just as opportunist and which moreover appeared only one week before elections. It showed itself in the expulsions of hundreds of the leading functionaries of the Party in New York City, comrades with deep roots in the masses. The official campaign against these comrades as "renegades" and "counter-revolutionists" undermined the confidence of large numbers of workers in the whole Communist

The Decay of Trotskyism

By Will Herberg

THE Trotskyist movement all over the world is in a state of severe crisis. Political confusion reigns everywhere and organizational disintegration is already in an advanced stage.

This crisis reflects the growing crisis in the Comintern; it is in fact the other side of the same medal. The forces of disintegration of the official Trotskyist movement come from two directions. In the first place, Trotskyism is rapidly being deprived of its political platform. The revision which the principles of Leninism and the line of the Comintern are now undergoing—and it is this revision that constitutes the political basis for the whole crisis in the Comintern—is taking place in the direction of the main ideas of the Trotskyism. No one appreciates this outstanding fact better than Trotsky himself. In his Open Letter of August 25 Trotsky writes:

"The fact of a turn to the left of the official leadership is very clear.

"It is quite unnecessary to attempt to prove an undeniable fact that—just as the struggle against our platform was conducted on the basis of the arguments of the present right-wing group (Bukharin—Ed.)—so the official struggle

movement. Due to its revisionist and sectarian policies the Party lost considerable influence in the mass organizations and unions (Workmens Circle, Iron Workers, Bakers, Window Cleaners, Tenants League, U.C.W.W., etc., etc.). The Party failed to utilize the various local and national issues and campaigns for our election campaign in the Bolshevik manner. The nomination of Weinstone, who has neither the confidence of the Party nor any roots in the masses certainly did not help the campaign. Finally the organizational paralysis into which the Party has fallen showed itself in the failure of the Party apparatus and machinery in the campaign (open air meetings, *Daily Worker*, shop bulletins, factory gate meetings, etc.). Under such circumstances is it any wonder that the Party proved absolutely unable to take advantage of the good objective conditions and favorable objective situation?

The *Daily Worker* makes a very awkward attempt at covering up the actual facts by shouting: "The Communist vote practically doubled in Tuesday's election in New York, over the vote cast in the last majoralty campaign here in 1925." But this purely external manner of comparison will surely fool nobody; why go back to 1925 when there are figures in 1926 and 1928? Are there "mayoralty Communist voters," "gubernatorial Communist voters," and "Presidential Communist voters"? Such antics are deliberately misleading.

When the Address of the Ecce came, the "new course" was launched and the Party thrown into crisis we were all told:

"The Party is experiencing a crisis of growth . . . that is the way in which a Bolshevik Party grows.

"Success in the struggle for a Bolshevik Communist Party in the United States (on the basis of the line of the Address) is certain."

Well, the New York election campaign has shown what sort of "crisis of growth" it is, what sort of "success" is "certain"!

The results of the election campaign should be a lesson to all Party comrades and to all revolutionary workers. The road towards the reestablishment of healthy Party development lies in the struggle being waged by the C.P.-Majority Group and *Revolutionary Age* for the defeat of the present revisionist and Party-wrecking course and the restoration of the line of Leninism to our Party

against the right-wing group today is conducted with arguments taken wholly and completely from our platform."

The surreptitious but wholesale appropriation of the leading political ideas of Trotskyism by the new leaders of the Ecce inevitably brings profound demoralization to the Trotskyites. With their platform removed from under their feet the ideological bond holding them together disappears and the organization falls away.

The new turn bore immediate fruit. The readmission of Radek, Smilga, and Preobreshenski was only a beginning. Hundreds of expelled Trotskyites began rushing back to the Party once they saw their main ideas in the process of rapid adoption. And they have been welcomed back by the Party leadership in order to "help fight the right wing." Nor were events lost upon the leading strata. Things reached a head when, on August 22, 1929, *Rakovski, Kossior*, and 440 other Trotskyites signed a joint declaration to the C.C. and C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. applying for readmission upon the following basis:

"(There has been) a softening of the differences of opinion between us thru circumstances . . . The new conditions must lead to a softening of the sharpness of the relations between the Party leadership and the Leninist Opposition . . . We are of the opinion that the still remaining differences between us . . . can be included within the bounds of the program and statutes of our Party . . ."

On August 25, *L. D. Trotsky* signed this declaration. Its meaning is quite clear.

Meanwhile disintegration proceeds in another direction. In the recent Manchurian crisis Trotsky came out with the slogan: *Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union!* This slogan—and the whole perspective and policy upon which it was based—met with sharp resistance from the Trotskyist organizations in Germany, Belgium, France, etc. The majority of the Leninbund (Germany), for example, took a stand for a very conditional defense of the U.S.S.R., if defense it could be called at all. Other Trotskyist organizations (Belgium, etc.) even came out in support of the murderous Chinese war-lords. Behind this there developed a very definite system of ideas. The disciples of Trotsky were merely carrying to their logical conclusions the lessons they had learned from their master. But Trotsky himself retreated before the practical conclusions of his own doctrines. He has broken connections with the Leninbund (Urbahns) and with its organ *Fahne des Kommunismus*; he has established his own center and press in charge of Grylevicz and others who support him in the Leninbund. The split and rapid disintegration of the Leninbund is an immediate fact; it mirrors what is happening all over the world, America included.

On the one side, Trotskyism is rapidly losing its program and its following to the new revisionist line of the Ecce. On the other side, important Trotskyite organizations are breaking with Trotsky and are fast giving up even their claims to a "Communist" character altogether. The crisis proceeds in full blast.

The Party membership and the revolutionary workers must draw the political consequences from these developments. The crisis of Trotskyism is an immediate result of the fact that its main ideas—which the Comintern has condemned in the sharpest terms for many years as counter-revolutionary—have now become the basis for the current revision of the principles of Leninism and the line of the Comintern. The struggle against revision, for Leninism and for the Leninist line of the Comintern is the main task of the hour!

The Situation in the Shoe Workers Union

by Sidney Jonas

(Acting President of the Independent Shoe Workers Union)

OUR Union is today facing a battle against the triple alliance of the bosses, the government and the reactionary A.F. of L. A large part of our membership is now locked out and the offensive against us is becoming more and more vicious. The situation demands that our entire membership be unified and mobilized behind a militant fighting policy in order to defeat this offensive of the bosses.

The *Independent Shoe Workers Union* was organized in February 1928 by a group of militant rank and file shoe workers following the leadership of the Communist Party. Refusing to be misled and betrayed any longer by the Baines and Lovelys of the Boot and Shoe and the Nolans and Fitzgeralds of the Protective, they determined once and for all to throw off the shackles of the company union policies of these misleaders and to organize an industrial union based on the class struggle and controlled by the workers themselves thru the shop delegates system.

Starting with a membership of about 125 militant working class fighters the Union at once laid plans to organize the thousands of unorganized shoe workers in Greater New York.

To accomplish this an Organization Committee of workers from the shops was elected. With the present writer as Chairman and working under control of the Joint Council, it launched an organization drive in January 1929.

The phenomenal success of this drive is one of the bright spots in New York trade union history and was made possible by the correct, militant policies then pursued by the Communists and by the active and enthusiastic participation of the entire membership of the Union. It is significant that many of those who were in the very thick of that fight and are still conspicuously active in the Union have been expelled from the Party and are being sidetracked in the Union.

By March 1929 the drive had already yielded about 3000 members with control of about 30 shops in Brooklyn and New York. It was at this time that Biedenkapp came into the Union as general manager. Almost immediately his opportunist influence began to be felt. Among his first acts as general manager was the signing of agreements wherein arbitration in the form of "Equity Committees" was introduced. As an "antidote" to this opportunism he also attempted to introduce the "revolutionary tactic" of gradually eliminating from activity militant active members of the Union on the flimsiest grounds.

In this attempt as well as in his entire right-wing line, he was frustrated by the then leadership of the Communist Party which insisted on broadening the leadership of the Union to include active militant left-wing workers from the shops.

Biedenkapp and his lieutenants however, succeeded in gradually narrowing down the leadership of the Union until today the Executive Board, consisting mostly of paid officials of the Union and dominated by one individual, has usurped the powers and functions of the Joint Council and the shop delegates conference.

The immediate result of this side-tracking of active left-wingers who were among the most enthusiastic builders of our Union was the failure to undertake a new Organization Drive as was decided by the July Shop Delegates Conference.

And what has become of our Committees in the open shops?

This policy of isolation and elimination of active workers is showing itself now in the attitude of our membership to the work to organize a national industrial union of shoe and leather workers. The leadership of our Union has failed to enlighten

the membership on the importance of national work. They failed to make the membership realize that our Union has reached a stage where it must expand nationally and must become the base for such a Union of shoe and leather workers.

Altho a National Conference was held in August, the National Organization Committee elected at that Conference has not had even one meeting. As a result of this inactivity many of the progressive groups represented at that Conference have since been disbanded.

These narrow, sectarian policies found the Union absolutely unprepared to meet and resist the government-boss—Boot and Shoe (A. F. of L.) offensive. Even today, 3 months after the infamous Department of Labor letter, our leadership has no policy for resisting this attack.

The proposals made by Zimmerman and passed unanimously by the joint meeting of the shop delegates and the Joint Council, namely:

1. that we call a mass meeting of shoe workers in order to expose the registration and the letter of the Department of Labor.
2. that we call special shop meetings for thoro mobilization of the membership.
3. that we issue a leaflet on this attack.

were rejected by Biedenkapp on his return from his vacation and were never carried out.

Under the guidance and inspiration of the present leadership of the Party they show most energy and resourcefulness to day in getting rid of all those who dare to disagree with these policies and to demand that all available forces in our organization shall be mobilized to effectively resist this attack upon our Union. The great fight now confronting us demands the following militant fighting policies:

1. that our Union shall be democratically controlled not only in theory but in practice.
2. that the Shop Delegates Conference shall no longer be a mere paper form but shall become a real fighting organ of our organization.
3. that the Executive Committee shall be composed mainly of active fighters from the-shops.
4. that members of the Joint Council representing open shops shall really be those who work in open shops and who are fighting to organize these shops. We must adopt a Constitution that will guarantee workers control of the organization.
5. that the strikes we have on hand shall be made mass strikes and the entire membership shall be called to participate in the picket lines.
6. that a membership meeting shall be called at once for thoro and effective mobilization.
7. that a leaflet on this situation shall be issued at once and widely distributed among all shoe workers.
8. that general mass meetings be called for organization purposes.
9. that organization committees should be established in the organized and open shops to beat back the offensive of the bosses and to organize the industry.

This program, carried out by a unified, activated membership will show the bosses that they cannot smash our union.

Support "Revolutionary Age"

THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By Jay Lovestone

ONLY the wilfully blind can today deny that there is a crisis in the Communist International. Only the ignorant or politically feeble-minded can mistake its full extent and gravity.

Some of the basic conceptions of our movement are being revised on a world scale. The leadership of our Communist World Party has never been so unfit and unrepresentative as it is today. Never has the base of the leading Party of the Comintern, the C.P.S.U. been so narrow. The Old Guard, consisting of the closest Bolshevik associates of Lenin, has been destroyed—Bukharin, the recognized theoretician of the international revolutionary movement and the author of the Program of the Communist International, being the last to go. In the German Party, the flower of the revolutionary proletariat, the associates of Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Mehring, and Zetkin, almost the entire *Spartakusbund* have already been expelled or are now about to be expelled and the Party itself is rapidly losing both in membership and in mass influence. In France, some of the best militants (Vaillant-Couturier, etc.) have been removed and whole organizations, such as the famous "Red Belt" of Paris (Clichy, Saint Denis, etc.) and the entire Party in Alsace have been expelled. The C.G.T.U., the Red Trade Union Federation, is in danger of disintegration. The membership and influence of the Party are falling fast. In Czechoslovakia we see a picture of real disaster. The once powerful C.P.Cz. has lost 80% of its membership within 18 months. The Red Trade Union Federation and all mass organizations are split. The best Party leaders, Jilek, Muna, etc., the traditional "lefts," have been expelled with tens of thousands of others under the guise of "fighting the right-wingers" and the Party given over to the historical right-wing (Kreibich, Smeral, Zapotocky) in alliance with new incompetent elements. In England, despite the most favorable objective conditions, the Party has lost membership so rapidly that it now officially records only 2,500 members. The disastrous results of the last general elections and the impotence of the Party in the trade unions are further evidence of the situation in the C.P.G.B. In Sweden, the Party now is in a deep crisis that has already shown itself in the expulsion by the Eccl of precisely that leadership (Kilboom, Samuelson, Flyg) that was able to defeat Hoglund, increase tremendously the membership and prestige of the Party, and win the support of the overwhelming majority of the membership. In Norway and Denmark, the Parties have steadily lost in membership and are disappearing as factors in the labor movement. In Italy the foisting of a new version of the Bordiga line upon the Party has led to the expulsion of its most outstanding figure (Serra) and to a state of growing paralysis in the Party as a whole. In Austria the expulsion of many of the oldest revolutionary forces and the forcing upon the Party of the most extravagant ultra-left adventurism are proceeding hand in hand. In China, the C.P. is no more than a shadow of its former self while the Red Trade Unions are now officially liquidated. Thruout the whole Comintern conditions are the same.

The disastrous consequences of the "new course" in our Party—opportunist sectarianism and isolation on the one hand, and Party wrecking on the other—are too well known to need emphasis. To "fight the right danger" the Party leadership has been given—against the expressed will of 90% of the membership—to the extreme opportunist Foster group. Instead of the 13,000 members recorded at the time of the last Party Convention (March 1929) our Party now numbers no more than about 5,000. Its influence among the masses has declined even more.

All over the world the signs are the same. Considered most generally, the international crisis manifests itself mainly in the following ways: A serious revision of some of the basic principles of Leninism, especially in strategy and tactics, in the direction of ultra-left sectarianism, leading to an increasing loss of influence among the proletarian masses and to growing isolation. These are bound up

with a most ruinous and destructive inner Party course, and they all show themselves in a dangerous depletion of the best leading forces, the destruction of every sign of Party democracy, a huge loss in membership thru wholesale expulsions and demoralization, a sharp decline in the quality and social composition of the membership, and a process of disintegration of the mass organizations and of the revolutionary forces within them.

The crisis is international. No section of the Comintern is exempt from it. Its severity is brought out in especially tragic relief by the fact that it occurs in a period of increasingly favorable conditions for revolutionary activity and for the growth of the Communist Party, in a period of leftward movement and rising struggles.

THE BASIC CAUSES OF THE CRISIS

It is utterly wrong to maintain that the Comintern is "degenerating" and "going out of existence." This is the viewpoint of the Social-democrats who, to quote Mr. Hillquit, talk of the "almost total collapse of Communism" and brand our movement as "fictitious and unreal." The role the Comintern has played and will yet play—in fact, is still playing today in spite of everything—as the leader of the international proletarian revolution is a sufficient answer to the treacherous social-reformists.

The present crisis is not a crisis of collapse. Out of this crisis, as a result of the growing movement fighting for the restoration of the Leninist line of the Comintern, will arise a more healthy, a more powerful World Communist Party with sections far better equipped to lead the proletariat to victory!

There are some who hold Comrade Stalin, as an individual, responsible for the crisis. Without underestimating this side of the question and recognizing that Comrade Stalin more than any one else symbolizes the present ruinous course, and in full agreement with Lenin's estimation of his terrific destructive capacities, it is nevertheless clear that a deep international crisis cannot be traced to one man. The sources must be sought for deeper.

The basic cause of the crisis in the Comintern lies in the objective world situation. The fundamental reason for the present severe—tho temporary—crisis is to be found in the gap that has developed between the victorious proletarian revolution and the rapid construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and "the slow development of the proletarian revolution in West Europe" (Lenin) and in the U.S.A.

The difficulties and hardships confronting the Russian proletariat and its Party in the construction of Socialism form one consequence of this "gap". The other is the crisis in the Comintern.

THE COMINTERN AND THE C.P.S.U.

To the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, the Party of the first victorious proletarian revolution, naturally falls the position of the leading Party in the Comintern; therefore the developments within the C.P.S.U. have always been of great importance in the life of the Comintern. Since the October victory the various crises in the Soviet Party have generally been political reflections of the difficulties of Socialist construction. Since the death of Comrade Lenin the course of inner-Party struggles in the C.P.S.U. has been accompanied by a systematic thinning out of the leadership the C.P.S.U. has been able to give the Communist International, our world Party. Compare the brilliant forces of the Russian Party thrown into Comintern work up to the first four World Congresses with the incompetents and political ignoramuses who are "leaders" today. At the I World Congress the Russian delegation consisted of: Lenin, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Stalin, Trotsky, Chicherin, Ossinsky, and Vorovsky. Of these only Stalin remains! Today,

Molotov, characterized by Lenin as an "incurable fool," occupies the place in the Comintern once held by Zinoviev and later by Bukharin! Only yesterday, Petrovsky (Dr. Goldfarb), now expelled for his counter-revolutionary record, headed the Agitprop Department of the Comintern and decided the fates of the British and American Parties! Today, Lozovsky, an old Menshevik who joined the Bolsheviks only after he had failed to prevent their victory, lays down trade union tactics and leads the Parties to ruin and isolation! Today, Martynov, Menshevik until 1923, edits the official organ of the Comintern, *Communist International!*

These two factors—first, the growing gap between the upward march of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the slow development of the revolution in the capitalist world and, secondly, the narrowing of the leadership within the C.P.S.U. and therefore of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. in the Comintern—have led to the failure of the present leadership of the C.I., to draw the direct conclusions from the law of the uneven development of capitalism and to lay down for the various countries a line of struggle based upon a realistic Leninist estimate of the objective situation. Merely to suggest that this should be done has become a gross "opportunist" error—"exceptionalism"!

This condition has been aggravated by some other factors: the distortion of the leading role of the C.P.S.U. in the Comintern, the failure to develop a collective leadership in the Comintern and the initiative and self-reliance of the sections. Political leadership is one thing but mechanical clique domination is another. The first was exemplified by the role of the Russian Party in the Comintern under Lenin—the other by this present role of the Stalin-Molotov leadership today. Under the conditions of the present narrow factional regime it is out of the question to expect the real Leninist organic relationship between the leadership of the Soviet Party and the leaderships of the other Parties, which alone makes possible the realization of the leading role of the C.P.S.U. Every attempt at independent activity and thought is suppressed, every venture at self-initiative is frowned upon and Party leaderships are openly conceived as "rubber stamps" and organs of factional support to the ruling (Stalin) group in the leading Party.

This present unhealthy relation between the C.P.S.U. and other Parties in the Comintern is not a sudden manifestation. It has been growing for some time but it now expresses itself in an acute form. All of us, at one time or another have participated in various phases of this non-Leninist activity. The campaign against Trotskyism, for example, suffered from these anti-Leninist methods, especially in its last phases. Had such methods been avoided the ideological struggle against the errors of Trotskyism would have been far more effective and Trotskyism ideologically would not have become so strong as it did in the C.P.S.U. and in the Comintern. Moreover, had such methods been avoided there would not have been driven into Trotskyism and thus removed from effectiveness in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern such valuable and highly capable comrades as Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc. It is only after such methods were permitted to develop that the struggle against opportunism and right deviations could be transformed into a destructive factional instrument to overturn leaderships and destroy parties.

Nor is the problem of developing in the Comintern a broad collective international leadership a new one. Lenin more than once emphasized this task and pointed to it as one means of overcoming the "gap" caused by the slowing down of the revolution in the capitalist world. This problem was always linked up with the necessity of developing the initiative and self-reliance of the leaderships of the

individual sections. At the VII Plenum (December 1926) particularly, both of these problems were prominent and at that time the words of Comrade Stalin in the joint meeting of the Russian and American delegations showed the line of the Comintern:

"Hands off the American Party! It is developing in the right direction. It is doing good work. We must not do anything to interfere with the American comrades who are beginning to develop a real Communist leadership . . ."

But all this has now changed. Today instability, lack of political character, servility and unprincipledness are more and more becoming the prerequisites for "leadership" in the Comintern—from the Eccl down.

All of these factors have manifested themselves politically in a revision of some of the most fundamental principles of Leninism, especially on questions of strategy and tactics, and in a thorough un-Leninist estimation of the present objective situation and the course of development of the struggle. This is the course of the crisis in the Comintern.

THE OUTLOOK

The present crisis in the Comintern comes only as the climax of the cumulative effects of years. It appears in an especially acute form today because we are now at a turning point in the development of the post-war revolutionary movement. In the U. S. A. too the crisis broke out at a turn of the road, just as our Party was first beginning to develop into a mass Communist Party.

The crisis is acute and is growing more acute every day. But there is no ground for pessimism. We have unbounded faith in the revolutionary vitality of the proletarian forces organized in our World Party. The very sharpening of the class struggle itself will prove a powerful factor hastening the restoration of a Leninist political line and inner course in the Comintern. The Social-democratic prophets of "degeneration" and "collapse" are doomed to bitter disappointment.

Thru the present period of stress and storm we can already see the beginning of the concentration of precisely those forces in the world Communist movement which the Comintern most sorely needs. Today this concentration takes place largely in the ranks of the international opposition movements arising in the struggle against the revision of Leninism and against the effects of this revision in the various sections. But tomorrow the Comintern and all its sections will become once more the united banner-bearers of Leninism!

A number of positive features of the present international crisis are already visible:

- 1.—The growth of Leninist self-reliance and initiative in the ranks of the Communists—even at the pain of temporary "expulsion."
- 2.—The development of a truly Leninist critical approach instead of a mechanical formal routine attitude and outlook.
- 3.—The evaluation of principledness and firmness of political conviction above factional or "apparatus" advantage.
- 4.—The development on an international scale of firm Communist cadres who are learning to place in a theoretically correct manner the concrete application of the Comintern program on the basis of the specific objective conditions.
- 5.—An increasing seriousness of attitude towards the responsibilities of leadership and a welding together of earnest Bolshevik leading cadres rooted in the masses and consequently the laying of a basis for a genuine collective international leadership.

The forces in the various sections of the Comintern fighting for the restoration of the line of Leninism are not the appendix of any group in the C.P.S.U., victorious or defeated. Our fate is bound up with the struggle against the revision of the basic line of Leninism by the present Eccl leadership. In the end Leninism will triumph!

The Truth About the "Corridor Congress"

WHAT really happened at the VI Congress? What is the truth about the "corridor congress"? Up to now this question has been taboo in the Party; merely to ask it was to invite expulsion. But at last the political offensive of the C.P.-Majority Group has broken thru this wall of silence. In his article in the *Daily Worker* of October 18 ("Lovestone and the 'Corridor Congress'") Earl Browder has been compelled to take up this most important question. But now that it has been forced into the open the line of the revisionists is to confuse the real issue, to distort the actual events beyond recognition and even to "invent" facts that may be convenient. But a question like this cannot be solved by such methods; such a problem requires an honest and objective discussion of the real issues centering about the question of the "corridor congress" for these issues touch the very heart of the present crisis in the Comintern.

Before the VI Congress

At the XV Conference of the C.P.S.U. (December 1928) Comrade Bukharin made the report on the international situation and brought forward the main line which was later embodied as the political line of the VI Congress. Already at this time there were some comrades—chiefly Schatzkin and Lominadze—who carried on a bitter polemic against the chief ideas of Bukharin's report (the first approach to the question of the third period, the question of Trotskyism and the right danger, etc.). The line of their attack on Bukharin's report bore within itself distinct germs of a revision of some of the most important principles of Leninism and of the traditional views of the Comintern. Altho at the XV Conference Stalin came out in defense of Bukharin's report which was of course approved, a keen eye could already see that Stalin's attitude was far from wholehearted and that there was some sort of under-cover connection between him and the Lominadze-Schatzkin group.

At the IX Plenum of the Ecce (February 1928) the same situation arose. The line of comrade Bukharin's report was the same, the tendency to revisionism was more marked, not only among some Russian comrades but also among some Germans (Thalmann, Neumann). Stalin's position was even more ambiguous than before.

At the July 1928 Plenum of the C.P.S.U. (just before the VI World Congress) the situation was far more developed. Lominadze continued his attack on Bukharin's report (which was the line of the C.P.S.U. and the C.I.) and extended his polemic on a general international scale. For instance, he denounced the then American Party leadership (the present C.P.-Majority Group) as right wing. Manuilsky, speaking for the Russian Polburo, repudiated Lominadze's attack upon the American Party and Lominadze's views were rejected by the Plenum which characterized the previous Party leadership as the "most left" the American Party had ever had. But that the opposition to Bukharin (who represented the line of the C.P.S.U. and the C.I.) was wide-spread and that a so-called "Stalin group" was in existence as the expression of this opposition was already clear. Altho, as yet, Stalin himself said nothing, one could already clearly foresee the coming struggle in the C.P.S.U. Some of the American delegates (Lovestone) were approached by those who called themselves "Stalinites" and the attempt was made to line them up against Bukharin who was still the recognized head of the C.I. The "Stalinites" (as they called themselves) defended the removals that had taken place in Lenin-grad and Moscow. They attacked Bukharin and especially Rykoff as "right-wingers." They went out of their way to defend some of the Trotskyites who had just been re-admitted (Zinoviev) and said that "they were better than some of the members of the Polburo." The campaign of underground rumors and intrigues had begun. It was clear that Stalin was behind it all.

What was the political significance of these events? It was clear that for some time Stalin and his agents had been organizing an opposition to Bukharin both in the C.P.S.U. and in the Comintern. This opposition based itself upon what was then essentially and what came later to be very clearly a revision of the line of the Comintern and of some of the most important principles of Leninism. Because of the "relation of forces" (that is, the strength of Bukharin in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern) Stalin did not dare to come out in the open. Instead, he "agreed" to everything putting forward from time to time his ideas thru the agency of others, and particularly pre-

paring for the open struggle by means of the underground factional campaign and by certain organizational steps.

The VI World Congress

This was still the situation at the VI World Congress (July 1928). Comrade Bukharin was the reporter on both the international situation and the Program. (This is the first time any leader of the C.I. made two major reports at a World Congress or an Ecce Plenum.) The important questions that were to arise at the Congress naturally came up in the Russian delegation. The discussion on the international situation centered around the questions of the *third period*. The viewpoint proposed by Bukharin and finally adopted by the VI Congress was vigorously attacked by Lominadze who put forward the revisionist viewpoint now adopted by the present leadership of the Ecce. After a very stormy session the Russian Delegation endorsed Bukharin's standpoint by a vote of 70 against 1. Stalin was not yet ready to come into the open and so Lominadze stood isolated—officially. Another important question discussed was "decolonization." Here the position of comrade Bukharin against decolonization carried by a vote of 57 to 14. Bukharin's line was therefore endorsed by the C.P.S.U. delegation and when he presented his draft thesis to the Polsecretariat of the Ecce a few days before the Congress opened, it was presented in the name of the C.P.S.U. delegation consisting of Stalin, Molotov, Gussev, Manuilsky, Piatnitsky, Lozovsky, Moireva, etc.

In the German delegation also there was a sharp debate on the question of the third period. The leaders of the majority of the German delegation (Thalmann, Neumann, etc.—the loyal supporters of the revisionist Stalin group) came out openly against the conception of the third period and actually officially rejected it. It was only after pressure was applied by Stalin—who judged this action to be very undiplomatic and tactless, for the time was not yet ripe—that this decision was rescinded and the German delegation "approved" the line of the theses presented by Comrade Bukharin.

The VI Congress opened in the atmosphere of tense speculation on the differences that had already shown themselves at the July 1928 Plenum of the C.P.S.U. Simultaneously with the opening of the official Congress took place the formation of the Stalin factional caucus which constituted the "corridor congress" whose main task it was to carry on a vicious underground agitation against the main line of the Congress and against its chief defenders (Bukharin, etc.) and to prepare organizationally and politically for the time when the struggle would come out into the open. The "corridor congress" absolutely poisoned the atmosphere of the Congress. The "corridor congress" worked feverishly to undermine the prestige of the Congress and of its political leader (Bukharin), to organize its forces for an open struggle and to prepare its revisionist political line for this struggle. *While the VI Congress was officially approving the report and adopting the theses of Comrade Bukharin, the "corridor congress" was laying the political basis for the revisionist line that us to come and that was to destroy the entire line of the Congress.*

(Concluded in the next issue.)

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The Program of the T.U.U.L.

By Ben Gitlow

THE Program of the Trade Union Unity League should be a document for rallying the workers, organized and unorganized, for militant struggle against their exploiters. It should primarily be a program for immediate struggle against the bosses and their agents in the labor movement. It should tie up the immediate demands of the workers with the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

This is not done by the Program of the T.U.U.L. It fails completely in its approach to the American workers. Those who wrote the Program do not understand the American working class. The program is a guide (not a correct one) to Communists, the most class conscious workers in the United States. It is written for them and not for the workers that must be won for the T.U.U.L.

The overwhelming majority of the American workers have not yet developed to the point of class consciousness. By the millions they continue to vote for the Republican and Democratic Parties. They are influenced and enslaved by the bourgeois ideology of the powerful capitalist press of the United States. They are more deeply interested and more conversant with a prize fight, a football game and a baseball game than they are with the economic and political problems that affect them so vitally.

The Mechanical Appeal to the Program

To mechanically transfer the phraseology of a Comintern thesis to the Program of the T.U.U.L. does not serve to attract these masses but rather to establish a wide gulf between the T.U.U.L. and the workers it seeks to win.

This mechanical approach to the T.U.U.L. Program is best illustrated by the part dealing with Mondism. Mondism is the adaptation of American rationalization to British industry. The name *Mondism* was derived from the fact that—Sir Alfred Mond, a British capitalist, was the outstanding advocate of rationalization in England, insisting that it was necessary for British industry to adopt the American methods and latest technique if Great Britain was to survive as a leading imperialist power. To the American workers Mondism is so much Greek. But the speed-up, the stretch-out, mass production, class collaboration, company unionism, the conveyor system, etc., all the features of rationalization, are well known. To use the name of Mond who is unknown to the American workers instead of Ford and the system of rationalization he represents is folly.

The Abstractness of the Program—De Leonism

The Program of the T.U.U.L. should be a program of immediate struggle. It must be a fighting program for the workers in American industry, organized and unorganized. This it is not. It is too abstract and general for this purpose. How can the Program successfully lay down a program for immediate struggle if it fails to analyze the present economic developments in the United States and the relation of the class forces today? In other words what concretely will be the issues of struggle, where will the struggles take place and in what industries? The abstractness of the T.U.U.L. Program as a program-of-action for the United States in spite of its length is due to this serious shortcoming. The program is not the living, fighting program it should be.

DeLeonism, the essence of American opportunist sectarianism, never worried about a living trade union program. Its program of "revolutionary industrial unionism" was a blue print to

serve under all conditions and for all times. This program is still cherished by the Socialist Labor Party as a relic. It represents no vital living mass movement. After all, it is not blue prints we are after but living, fighting movements.

False Estimation of American Imperialism

The Program of the T.U.U.L. is full of errors in its estimation of American imperialism. For example it states:

"Child labor is still rampant in a country producing such vast masses of commodities that it cannot find markets to consume them."

In the first place this is absurd because child labor made its appearance with the very birth of capitalism. Secondly, this view of a deep crisis in the United States due to the inability of United States imperialism to find a market for the products manufactured by the industries underlies the whole analysis of U. S. imperialism in the Program. It is un-Leninist and wrong because it holds that the contraction of the domestic market is the reason for imperialist war—a theory rejected by Lenin and fought by the Comintern. The facts as I have already stated disprove this. United States imperialism is driving headlong towards war on account of its very strength; on account of its ability to expand its markets for manufactured goods and finance capital it is sharpening the antagonisms between it and its imperialist rivals.

False Theory of Rationalization

The wrong theory of rationalization contained in the program is the explanation of unemployment due to rationalization. The program states on this point as follows:

"Although these workers are willing to work and are in urgent need of commodities of all kinds, the chaotic capitalist system can give them no work because it cannot find markets for the great surplus values they produce over what they receive in wages."

Precisely the opposite is the cause of unemployment due to rationalization. Rationalization produces an army of permanently unemployed not because of a contraction of the domestic market and the inability of the workers to buy back what they produce. The facts do not bear this out. The speed-up and mass production have created a large permanently unemployed army of workers precisely at a time when the home market expanded and the export trade increased. We now have as a result of rationalization big unemployment during periods of the greatest production of commodities, during periods of so-called prosperity. This is due to the speed-up, to the minute division of labor, to the intensive savage, energy-consuming exploitation of the workers, that are the features of rationalization.

The Imperialist Offensive Against the USSR.

Another gem is the following in the program:

"But the most fundamental of all the antagonisms which create the danger of international war is the attack of the foreign capitalist countries upon the Soviet Union."

Nothing could be more misleading and confusing. World capitalism is hostile to the Soviet Union. It is preparing an imperialist attack upon the First Workers Republic in the world. It is not a question of *native* or *foreign* capitalist countries nor is it a question of the *native* Soviet Union and the *foreign* capitalists outside. It is rather the international solidarity of the workers the world over on behalf of the Soviet Union, the center of proletarian revolution and working class

power against world imperialism against the attacks of the imperialist powers. We, as proletarian revolutionaries, must see to turn such an imperialist attack on the part of the imperialist powers into international proletarian solidarity, into a civil war against the bourgeoisie into a world revolution for the complete overthrow of world imperialism.

Rationalization and War Preparations.

Another serious shortcoming of the program is its failure to see that the very intensification of rationalization is part of the war preparations of the imperialists. In the entire section on rationalization this is omitted.

Imperialism and the Labor Aristocracy

The analysis of the trend of development of the various sections of the working class stands in direct antithesis to the Leninist theory of the bribery of the upper stratum of the working class by imperialism. Lenin wrote in his book on *Imperialism* as follows:

"The drawing of monopolistically high profits by capitalists of one of the many branches of industry, or of one of the many nations, enables them economically to bribe separate strata of workers, and temporarily even a considerable minority of them, thereby drawing them into supporting the bourgeoisie of a given branch of industry or a given nation against the bourgeoisie of all other nations. The increased antagonism between the imperialistic nations over the division of the world strengthens this tendency."

But the T.U.U.L. program becomes "exceptionalist" as far as this Leninist theory holding good for the United States. It states the following:

"The A.F. of L. Program of basing the labor movement upon the skilled workers, a policy that was always wrong, is made increasingly disastrous and futile by the wholesale elimination of skill in the industries through standardization, specialization, mechanization and a thousand other devices and efficiency systems. The A.F. of L. is founded on the diminishing labor aristocracy; the new unionism bases itself upon the expanding masses of unskilled and semi-skilled who are the decisive factor in modern industry."

All the program can see going on within the American working class is the elimination of skill and the diminishing, or in other words, the disappearing labor aristocracy.

But United States imperialism is the richest, most powerful in the world today. It is the leading imperialist power. Yet, according to the T.U.U.L. Program, it seems unable to bribe a minority of the workers to make them supporters of American imperialism against the revolutionary working class movement at home and against other imperialist nations. This is not Leninism. This position of the T.U.U.L. is opportunistic and sectarian. America today, because United States imperialism enjoys the position of leadership and power, thru its fabulous super-profits has the most numerous and most strongly knitted labor aristocracy. This accounts to an extent for the lack of class consciousness among the American workers. This accounts for the fact, that the A.F. of L. is such a dangerous instrument of social-reformism. This objective fact, fully in line with correct Leninist theory, the T.U.U.L. Program fails to see because it seeks to give up completely the struggle for the united front from below and the struggle inside the A.F. of L. and reactionary unions.

The Struggle in the A. F. of L.

Further proof of this is the following phantastic conception in the Program:

"The day of craft unionism has gone forever in American industry; the day of militant industrial unionism is here."

The day of craft unionism is gone forever! What intellectual rubbish! The A.F. of L. is based upon craft unionism. It is therefore gone forever. How simple! How unique! Then

why worry about the A.F. of L.? Why such tirades about something that is gone forever? The sad truth is that the A.F. of L. bureaucracy is *not* gone. It is here with its poisonous influence upon the workers. It remains a powerful agency of U. S. imperialism. The craft unions that compose it continue to serve its purposes of betrayal of the workers interests and subserviency to capitalism.

But the T.U.U.L. leaders from W. Z. Foster down do not cherish the fight against these agents of imperialism in the ranks of the workers. Foster did not fight them in the last imperialist war. He deserted the revolutionary workers and became part and parcel of Gompers' imperialist crew. So now, run away from the reactionary unions! Don't continue to struggle inside of them! This is rank opportunism and sectarianism. "Craft unionism is gone," says the Program. In the language of the street: "Not so that you can notice it!"

False Estimation of Radicalization

The T.U.U.L. Program, moreover, has a completely wrong estimation of radicalization. When it speaks of the workers going over to an offensive against the capitalist exploiters it is exaggerating the growing discontent and radicalization of the workers. There are no facts to prove this contention. The facts prove that the workers have not yet in America gone over into a general offensive against the capitalist exploiters.

The Muste Group

As far as the estimation of the Muste group, the Program fails to see the two-fold character of this movement. The Musteites are a wing of the Socialist Party and of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. It seeks to keep the workers away from militant action and revolutionary unionism by misleading them with empty reformist left phraseology. It thus seeks to keep them in the ranks of the A.F. of L. under the influence of the reactionary bureaucracy. In this respect it is a reactionary capitalist force in the labor movement. But at the same time, we must recognize that its birth is due to the growing discontent and leftward drift of the trade union masses and unorganized workers in certain industries. Our task, the task of the T.U.U.L., is to develop united fronts from below on concrete issues that will expose these Musteite misleaders to the rank and file and help us to win these masses for the T.U.U.L. This kind of concretization is missing entirely in the T.U.U.L. program.

One of the main shortcomings of the Program is its failure to analyze the character of the industrialization of the South, with the rising new proletariat there and the new problems it raises for the revolutionary working class. On the basis of such an analysis a concrete program for the South should have been contained in the T.U.U.L. Program.

The Program fails to deal adequately with the problem of unemployment.

There is a superficial approach to the Negro problem. The developing political class consciousness of the working class is neglected. Not one word is contained in the whole Program on the need for the organization of a *Labor Party*.

The burning question of wage cuts is sadly neglected. No concretization of demands and slogans to meet the wage cutting movement of the capitalists can be found.

The demand that the United States government recognize the Soviet Union is omitted.

The fight against injunctions is not to be found any place in the Program!

The Program of the T.U.U.L. must be radically revised away from anarcho-syndicalism, away from DeLeonism, away from opportunist sectarianism, if the T.U.U.L. is to be built up into a living vital revolutionary center of the organized and unorganized masses in the United States.

The Tenth Plenum of the ECCI

By Will Herberg

(Continued from the last issue.)

Technical Progress and Rationalization

The VI Congress in its Thesis declared:

"There is not the slightest doubt that considerable progress has been made in the technique of industry in a number of capitalist countries. In some countries (United States, Germany) it has assumed the character of a technical revolution . . ."

The report of Comrade Bukharin in behalf of the delegation of the C.P.S.U. developed this point to great length. This was one of the leading ideas of the Congress.

At the X Plenum Comrade Kuusinen suddenly discovered a new "Right deviation"—the "overestimation of the technical development of capitalism." The objections of Comrade Varga that facts cannot be either "right" or "left" or even "conciliatory"—but are either facts or not facts—proved of no avail. It has now become a sign of opportunism to recognize facts and figures.

The main "argument" Comrade Kuusinen held out against the line of the VI Congress was his reference to the fact that: capitalism inherently places obstacles in the way of technical development and monopolist capitalism, in particular, because of its parasitic character, means stagnation for technique. Is it possible that Comrade Kuusinen has suddenly forgotten the fact that within a period of general decline it is possible to have stages of rapid and considerable advance? Lenin makes this very clear in his book on *Imperialism*:

"It would be erroneous to think that this tendency towards stagnation precludes the rapid growth of capitalism, for such is not the case . . . In general capitalism develops with incomparably greater rapidity than before, but this development becomes generally more irregular . . ."

In fact Comrade Kuusinen's argument is precisely like that of the ultra-lefts at the III Congress who opposed the very idea of recognizing a temporary rise of capitalist economy because imperialism is, as Lenin says, the period of "declining" capitalism! At the III Congress Lenin publicly declared that "if such a mode of argument finds any hold in the Comintern it would be a disaster for the whole revolutionary movement." This is especially true today.

But in its attempt to revise the conceptions of the Comintern on the question of technical progress the X Plenum found an obstacle in rationalization. Comrade Kuusinen then proceeds to "remove" this obstacle by revising every idea the Comintern and every Marxist has ever had about rationalization.

Comrade Kuusinen defines rationalization:

"Capitalist rationalization in the true sense means enforcement of maximum intensification of labor for the individual worker thru the reorganization of the process of labor according to the conveyor (belt) system or according to similar system of automatic speeding up and control of labor intensity."

This analysis—which makes rationalization simply a matter of the intensification of labor and omits entirely the factor of the heightened productivity of labor due to technical advance—is fundamentally anti-Marxian and against the often expressed views of the Comintern. But for the sake of another "argument" against the VI Congress the X Plenum was ready to confuse and falsify every idea the Comintern ever had on the vitally important question of rationalization. It should be remembered that this gross misconception of the nature of rationalization leads to very serious errors in the tactics for the practical

everyday struggle of the Comintern against capitalist rationalization.

Radicalization and the "New Revolutionary Wave."

On the question of the radicalization of the working masses the X Plenum completely rejected the objective, Leninist estimation of the VI Congress in favor of superficial impressionistic phrases without basis or content and often contradictory.

The Thesis of the VI Congress characterized the left-ward movement of the proletariat as follows:

"The resistance of the working class . . . is growing and assuming extremely diverse forms. The development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization, rationalization, etc. . . inevitably intensify the class struggle and broaden its basis. The general process of the 'proletarian swing' to the left continues further . . ."

Further on, the same thesis speaks in the following terms of the development of the revolution:

" . . . the slow rate of development of the crisis of capitalism in the course of which some of the principal parts comprising the capitalist system are on the upgrade while others are undergoing a process of relatively slow decline."

In contradiction to this balanced and realistic picture we have at the X Plenum such ideas as that of Comrade Molotov who maintains that "there can be no fourth period since the third period ends in revolution." Some comrades spoke of the "ripening of a new revolutionary wave," others maintained that we were already "in this new wave of revolution," while others went still farther. In his official report on the trade union question Comrade Lozovsky declared in so many words:

"The characteristic sign of the present . . . is the heightened political sensitivity of the broad masses . . . This is a characteristic sign of the eve of a revolution . . ."

But surely the height of "ultra-left" self-deception" was reached in the remarks of Comrade Moireva, member of the Presidium of the EccI, who asserted with the approval of the X Plenum.

"Unquestionably we stand today in a whole series of countries before extraordinarily significant revolutionary events. It is my opinion from the May events as well as from the recent Polish events that there were a series of elements in them that recall our July days. The fact alone that the Communist Parties had to restrain the most advanced sections of the working class in their surge forward, speaks for a rapidly approaching revolutionary situation."

When we recall that the July (1917) days in Russia were the days in which, after the first revolution, the proletariat was preparing for the struggle to seize power (which actually took place three months later), the full significance of the above remarks may be appreciated. *The substitution of wild impressions for objective analysis, the construction of strategy and tactics upon superficial phrases is bound to lead the Comintern to disaster if unchecked.*

(Continued in the next issue.)

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In the Communist International

The Conference of the German Communist Opposition

By M. N. ROY (Berlin)

THE crisis in the Communist International has become so widespread that practically all of its sections are affected by it. It is no exaggeration to say that the Communist Parties which in a number of countries were once powerful political factors are today well advanced in the process of internal disintegration and of isolation from the masses. Taking place in this alarming situation the *II National Conference of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition)* is of great historical significance.

Next to the Russian the German Party is the most important section of the International. In its ranks are to be found the best products of the revolutionary proletarian movement in a highly industrial country. But today these elements, who with their rich experience, high standard of political education and wealth of Marxian tradition, are so badly needed, are "outside" the Party. They have not left the Party! They have been excluded by the bureaucratic machine. From the Party as an organic part—the most advanced part—of the class they can never be expelled. This the Conference made clear.

The problem that attracted the keenest attention of the entire Conference was *the future of the Opposition*. Altho the question was naturally approached from the point of view of the German situation the answer is of international significance. For Oppositions have developed in practically all countries; the problems of one are the problems of all. To the disappointment of the official Party bureaucracy on the one hand and of the Social-democrats on the other, *the Conference emphatically rejected even the slightest tendency in the direction of the organization of a new Party*. It declared unequivocally that between Social-democracy and Communism there is no half-way house. The Conference decided that *the object of the Opposition must be to save the Party and the International from the dangerous ultra-left line of the Ecce and of the C.C. of the C.P.G.*

The definition of the object, however, was not enough. What is still more important is to clearly visualize the way in which the goal will be reached. Here the question is not one of principle but of tactics. Should the Opposition confine itself to the inner-Party struggle or should it develop its activities outside? Once it is agreed that it should operate in both of these fields there arises the question of the relation and the proportion between the two. The developments of the activities among the masses, simultaneously with the efforts at winning over greater numbers of Party members to the point of view of the Opposition, will make the struggle inside the Party more effective. It is not enough to criticize the mistakes of the present leadership. Nor is it enough simply to indicate the correct line. The Opposition is obliged to appear before the masses as the standard bearer of the correct Communist line which has been discarded by the present leadership. In doing this it does not thereby become a new Party. On the contrary, it demonstrates in action that it is a loyal and able defender of the Communist Party and performs its duties even when it is expelled by the official bureaucracy. The Party is neither a bureaucratic apparatus nor an abstract entity. It is an organic section of a class, consciously expressing the strivings of the entire class and leading it to the realization of its historic mission.

There cannot be two Communist Parties in any one country. If the official Party bureaucracy goes too far in the present ultra-left deviation it may eventually leave the ground of Communist principles. While this perspective is not altogether excluded what is more likely, however, is the overthrow of the present leadership thru an upheaval of the membership and the eventual restoration of the Leninist line of the Party and of the Comintern.

In addition to answering in this sense the burning question regarding the development of the Opposition the Conference concerned itself keenly with the problem of revolution generally. *A draft platform of the Opposition based upon the fundamentals of the Comintern program was submitted by Comrade Thalheimer for discussion.* The platform and the discussion of it showed that the basic tasks of the Communist movement, long neglected by the official "leaderships" are being tackled by the Oppositions.

The Conference presented a picture that has long disap-

peared from the Communist International. It was a picture of a free discussion of the problems facing the movement. It was a picture of collective work. It was a picture of how a Communist Party should be. The rise of competent new forces at the side of the old well-known leaders was demonstrated in the report of *Hausen* on the *Political Situation* and of *Kohlrauch* on *Municipal Policy*. These reports supplemented the *general report* of Comrade *Walcher* and of Comrade *Thalheimer* on the *Platform of the C.P.G.-Opposition*.

There were about 80 delegates and over 80 fraternal delegates at this Conference. On the first day the Conference met in the hall of the Thuringian Landtag, the Communist fraction of which (seven out of eight) belongs to the Opposition. On Sunday the Conference met in the Volkhaus so that a larger number of guests could be present. Less than one year ago a small group of comrades openly raised the standard of the Opposition. Today the Conference had ample reason for feeling satisfied with the progress made in such a short time. The dues paying membership of about 6,000 is no indication of its real strength. For the thousands still inside the Party who sympathize with and support the Opposition do not pay double dues. Then there are entire local groups expelled from the Party which control mass organizations all over the country. The Opposition has 8 weekly and bimonthly organs. The general circulation of the press is about 25,000. The preparations for a daily are well under way and the Conference resolved to begin publishing it November 15.

Representatives from the Oppositions in Czechoslovakia, Austria and Alsace, were present at the Conference. It is but natural that the Opposition movements in the various countries should wish to have close relations among themselves. But any definite organizational steps should be preceded by a period of preparatory work for clarifying a number of international problems in which there exist differences of opinion. Agreement on the basic questions of strategy and tactics reached thru a free and exhaustive discussion is a condition for the development of healthy Opposition movements.

For this purpose it is necessary to have an organ for carrying on such a discussion. Without proper understanding of these international questions it is not possible to work out the correct tactics for our struggle. The foundation of an *international review* is an urgent necessity of the day.

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MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN GERMANY

Thru an effective utilization of the Sklarek scandal, in which the Social-democratic Party and the bourgeois democratic parties were deeply involved, the *Communist Party* was able to score a big election victory in the municipal elections in Berlin, in spite of the great weakening of the Party and the fact that two Communist municipal councillors were themselves involved in the scandal. The victory of the C.P.G.—amounting to an increase of over 200,000 votes and 14 councillors—was, however, not so great as that of the *Fascist* parties which gained 27 councillors in contrast to the *single* member of the municipal council that they had before. The Social-democrats, altho gaining slightly in popular vote, lost 9 councillors. The other parties—there were 21 running in the elections—lost slightly or remained stationary. The great gain of the Communist and Fascist votes is to be attributed to a large influx of new voters awakened to political activity by the Sklarek scandal, the May Day events, the increase of unemployment and other events. It is to be noted that the C.P. did not succeed in tearing away any large sections of Social-democratic workers even in Berlin.

Contrary to the lying reports of *Inprecor* and the *Daily Worker* the C.P.G.-Opposition did *not* run its own list in the Berlin elections but supported the official Party lists. It is clear that had the Party not been greatly weakened by its revisionist ultra-left line and by the continual corruption scandals in its own ranks (Wittdrof-Thalman, Loew, Gabel, etc.) it could have decisively defeated the Social-democrats and taken full advantage of the rapid leftward movement of the German workers.

The real effects of the new ultra-left course upon the Party

The League Wreckers Destroy the Youth Section

By ROSE SACKS.

(Educational Director of Youth Section of the N.T.W.I.U.)

FOR some time the "new leadership" of the Young Communist League has been attempting to destroy the Youth Section of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and its activities because our comrades are influential in it and lead the work. Thus, they refused to allow the Educational Department of the Youth Section and the Social and Educational Club of the Millinery Workers Union to run a joint lecture as a means of drawing the young millinery workers to the Union and of attracting them into the Youth Section. As a result an excellent opportunity for winning these young workers was lost for the season. Then, when the Social and Sports Department of the Youth Section arranged a hike the League wreckers with Klinghoffer, organizer of the Youth Section at the head, openly and deliberately tried to sabotage it and told young workers not go just because one of our comrades (Fanny Levine) is the head of the Social and Sports Department and there were quite a few of our needle trades comrades at the hike.

The climax of their sabotaging activities came at the third session of the class organized by the Educational Department of the Youth Section. This class, which took place on November 20, 1929, dealt with the subject *The Role of the Young Workers in the Trade Union Movement*. Comrade Chas. S. Zimmerman, vice-president of the N.T.W.I.U., was supposed to lead the discussion. As it turned out later, the League-wreckers had organized in advance to disrupt the meeting and to destroy the class altogether. Hardly had the class started than disturbance began. The "100%-loyalists" raised all sorts of rumpus, made motions, points of order and used every other trick to disrupt the meeting. One of them demanded to know "where Zimmerman came from" (!) declaring she "recognized only the Y.C.L. and the Workers School and not any fake organizations" by which she meant the N.T.W.I.U. of which she is a member and of which our Youth Section is a part!

The disrupters had their way at this meeting. The class was broken off and the young workers left in disgust.

It is by such activity that the Young Communist League is certainly losing whatever support and influence it has won among the young workers thru years of hard work. But in spite of all terror and disruption our comrades will not cease their struggle to save the Communist youth movement in this country and its name and prestige among the young workers and to build the mass organizations of the working youth.

A Few Facts

THE present "leadership" of the Young Communist League is trying to convince the membership and especially the E.C.Y.C.I. that the Y.C.L.-Majority Group does not constitute any serious force in the League. To this end the *Young Worker* never seems to stop shrieking that the "renegades" are "only a small handful of petty bourgeois intellectuals and other non-proletarian elements." But, unfortunately for the League-wreckers, facts are facts! All we have to do is to compare the composition of the Y.C.L.-Majority Group in the New York district with the whole League membership in this district for which figures are available.

In the New York district we have a solid group of nearly 50 comrades out of a total membership of not more than 200. The social composition of our group is: industrial proletarians—74%; office workers—13%. Of the *New York League as a*

How to Build a Mass League!

THE complete perversion of the Young Communist League into a small super-Party taking upon itself the mission of watching over the ideological "purity" of the whole Communist movement reached its climax in a most ridiculous form in New York City. The Downton Unit, upon the initiative of the League-wreckers in the District Committee, adopted the following:

Prerequisites for Membership in the Young Communist League

1. Full acceptance of the line and discussion of the X Plenum.
2. The full acceptance of the position of the X Plenum as regards:
 - a—the increasing antagonisms of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism which lead to war.
 - b—the radicalization of the working class in all countries.
 - c—the growth of social-reformism in all countries.
 - d—the fascization of the bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucracy.
 - e—the worsening of the standard of living of the working class of all countries, including the U. S. A.
 - f—the growing success of socialization of the Soviet Union as witnessed by the Five Year Plan.
 - g—the full endorsement as to the X Plenum position as to the right wingers and conciliators as social-imperialists and agents of the bourgeoisie.
 - h—the necessity of purging the ranks of our League and Party from the right wing and conciliatory elements.
 - i—no fraternization with the expelled renegades from the Communist movement.
 - j—the rejection of the theory of the primacy of the external contradictions.

And this is the League that is supposed to defend the interests of the masses of the working youth! This is the League that is supposed to win to its ranks large numbers of young workers *who are not yet Communists!* Is not the setting up of such "prerequisites for membership" for the American young workers just the same as the demand of the Catholic priest that his flock believe in the "mysteries of the faith" recited to them in Latin?

On such a basis what will the League become expect a narrow impotent sect, continually torn apart by clique struggles and "heresy hunting," and without any influence whatever among the masses of the working youth? Yet this is the end to which the present revisionist "vanguardist" line of the E.C.Y.C.I. is leading at an ever rapid pace.

It is only necessary to add that this Downton Unit which now sets up its "Thirty-nine Article of Faith" as prerequisites of membership in the League is precisely the unit in New York from which the largest number of proletarian elements, active trade union workers, have been expelled!

whole, as a result of the steady process of deproletarianization, the social composition now is: industrial workers—30%; office workers—30%; students—40%. In other words, from the point of view of proletarian content, our Y.C.L.-Majority Group has a social composition more than twice as good as the League as a whole! What does the Rijk-Mates-Davis clique say as to that?

The Y.C.L.-Majority Group already concentrates in its ranks some of the very best elements in the League, its best trained and most devoted fighters. In its ranks belongs every honest League member and every revolutionary young worker who realizes the real depth of the crisis in the Y.C.I. and who is determined to take every measure to overcome it and restore health to the world Communist youth movement.

PARTY LIFE

The Twelfth Anniversary Celebrations

This year should have been a banner year for the Twelfth Anniversary celebrations. The arrival in the United States of the Soviet Fliers, the achievements of the Soviet Union in the field of economic construction, the Five Year Plan, the recent threat of war against the U.S.S.R. in Manchuria and the growing danger of a new imperialist war, the increasing rationalization and speed-up, the struggle in Gastonia, the effects of the Stock Exchange crash, increasing unemployment, all these factors furnished the basis for unusually successful meetings this year. The reports from the various districts show that the present Party "leadership" was unable to capitalize these favorable factors. The results were the poorest in the history of our Party.

In Philadelphia, the meeting was the smallest meeting ever held in that city. The attendance was about 500 as compared with the usual attendance of 1500 to 2000 at previous meetings. Stachel, who was slated as the main speaker, was replaced by Bedacht, a few days before the meeting, but Bedacht failed to appear. Richard B. Moore of "left god" fame, the main speaker, after attacking the "Lovestoneites," ended his speech with these stirring words: "We are fighting for the establishment of a land of liberty—with freedom and equality for all workers." The non-Party workers expressed their bitter disappointment as follows: "Well this meeting is just in line with everything else in the Party now."

In St. Louis only about 80 were present, mostly petty-bourgeois elements and not a single Negro (one-third of the population is Negro). There is not a single Negro in the Party or the League.

The Los Angeles meeting was arranged not by the Party but by the Los Angeles Conference for Celebrating the Russian Revolution!

In Chicago, Ashland Auditorium (which is usually filled to capacity of 5000 to 6000) held only 1500 workers. The meeting was spiritless and without enthusiasm.

In Baltimore the attendance was not more than 180, the poorest meeting yet held in that city.

In New York the Garden meeting held not more than 9,000 as compared with 15,000 to 18,000 in previous years. Weinstone, the candidate for Mayor, was received very coldly. Not one mass figure spoke, except Hendrix of Gastonia, who made a spirited appeal. Dave Mates, responsible for wrecking the League in Pittsburg, was the Y.C.L. speaker. Compared with the attendance, mass enthusiasm and the spirit of past years, this meeting was a disastrous failure.

In San Antonio, the political character of the leaflet advertising the meeting serves an expression of the general attitude toward Communist work. The leaflet reads as follows:

"The 12th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution will be held on November 14, 1929 at Labor Temple, 126 North St. Comrade Roy Stephens, District Organizer of Kansas City, Missouri will address the meeting. Speeches will be made in English and Spanish. You and your friends are cordially invited."

The omission of any mention of the Communist Party is not accidental, but is fully in line with the policy of hiding the face of the Party, and capitulating before difficulties in Negro work and in the Palestine situation.

In New Bedford, the attendance was not more than 300 at the highest, as compared with more than 3,000 in previous years, when the overflow meeting required a second hall. Last year the meeting was characterized by the greatest enthusiasm, the masses participating in the program, furnishing also a huge band of 100 workers. This year Nahorski utilized the occasion for an attack upon the "Lovestoneites". Such a showing in this important industrial center is a serious setback for our Party.

De Leonism Running Wild

In its mad rush toward sectarianism and isolation, the Party "leadership" is going to the most unheard-of extremes in the various unions. In the *Amalgamated Food Workers of America*, an industrial union of 15,000 members, the Party leadership is proposing to split the Amalgamated if it refuses to affiliate with the T.U.U.L. In that case, it is planned that the Cafeteria Workers Union shall split away from the Amalgamated, a

policy of suicide for the Cafeteria Workers Union, which has grown so successfully under the previous Party leadership. Already the insane policy of the Party has cost it the leadership of Bakers Local 164, which it held for many years.

Upholders of the "New Line"

The New York District bulletin of November 15, announces: "By unanimous decision of the District Secretariat, Comrade John Di Santo has been removed as Organizer of Section One for misappropriation of funds. Further action on this case has been referred to the District Control Commission."

This is the same Di Santo who charged us with raiding the Section 1 headquarters and who, with Dr. Mindel, played so prominent a part in "defending" the present "leadership" from criticism at the last N. Y. membership meeting. The Control Commission should also look into Di Santo's record in the South and in Passaic.

Harry Eisenman, whose letter condemning the "Lovestoneites" was given such prominence in the *Daily Worker*, and Metataxis, who was the leader of the "Defense Squad" at the membership meeting, have been expelled for white chauvinism.

Unemployment is Growing—What is the Party Doing About it?

In Hartford, Conn. the U. S. Rubber Co. moved out its plant leaving 1800 workers unemployed. Here was a splendid opportunity for the Party in Connecticut. But absolutely nothing has been done by the Party. However our Comrade Epstein, recently expelled, took the initiative to arrange a number of successful factory gate meetings for these workers. In Detroit the auto industry is slowing down perceptibly. Even the City Council has been forced to take up the unemployment problem. But the present leadership is so busy expelling the most active Party elements, that it is doing nothing about the matter. Part time work and unemployment is today confronting thousands of textile workers in New Bedford. Every large industrial center is being confronted with the unemployment problem on an increasingly larger scale. It is high time that the thoroughgoing program on unemployment, formulated by the previous leadership, should be put into practice and that we have more than lip service to the "tasks of the third period."

Driving Out the Proletarians

After having expelled Vratovic, Gallia and Borich, the leading comrades in the Anthracite, and after having installed Frankfeld to finish the job which Gorman began, a so-called Plenum was held in Scranton on Sunday, November 9. Out of 32 present there were 7 paid officials. H. Benjamin was given the floor for 2 hours, Frankfeld 1½ hours, Martha Stone, 15 minutes, Zaldokas half an hour, Harrison, half an hour, Buriak, 15 minutes. The rank and file members were given a total of about one hour for questions and discussion. Finally a resolution was introduced approving the expulsion campaign and calling for the immediate expulsion of all those who voted against it and of all those who fraternize with the "Lovestoneites" or work with them in mass organizations. No mention was made of the struggle against the reactionaries in the U.M.W.A. and the A.F.L. The vote was 16 for the resolution (including the 7 officials) and 14 rank and file comrades against, two abstaining. The 14 who voted against, and who were automatically expelled, represented 6 units, 3 street nuclei, 3 mine nuclei, one of which published the first Communist mine bulletin in the United States. Two of the expelled comrades were well-known American miners.

In Shop Nucleus No. 1, Section 2, New York, situated in a large leather goods factory, the following comrades were recently attached: Radwansky, editor of the *Novy Mir*; Rose Pastor Stokes, employed in the W.I.R., Rappoport, bookkeeper in the *Freiheit*, and Litwin, cashier in the Cooperative Restaurant. On the motion of Stokes, and with the help of these four functionaries, the organizer of the nucleus, who is at the same time the shop chairman, was expelled from the Party!

In Shop Nucleus No. 1, Section 3, New York, in an important needle trade shop, out of a membership of 28, from 8 to 10 attend meetings, the two most active comrades have been expelled, among them the editor of the shop paper, which has not appeared since August 1, three have dropped out and four are on "leave of absence."

Preparing a Split in the A.F.W. The Present Crisis in the Party

By B. KALFIDES

(Member of Executive Board of Hotel, Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers Union)

UNTIL the recent strike of the cafeteria workers (April 1929) our Party and the T.U.U.L. did not pay sufficient attention to the food industries. Yet the food industries constitute one of the biggest basic group of industries in the U. S. A., exceeding by far the steel, textile and automobile industries. Tremendous trusts and monopolies are continually merging; rationalization and the speed-up has reached an advanced stage in these industries.

The great bulk of the food workers are unorganized. Out of the three million workers in the industry only about 30,000 are organized in the different locals of the A. F. of L. and about 8,000 in the Amalgamated Food Workers. The field for the organization of the unorganized is full of possibilities, yet neither the A.F. of L. nor the A.F.W. as they are constituted today are in a position to organize these workers, altho, as I believe, the A.F.W. can serve as a basis for a real Industrial Food Workers Union which, under the direction of the T.U.U.L., can undertake this tremendous task.

But the way the present Party leadership approaches this task leads directly to the isolation of the left-wing forces rather than to broadening them as a basis for real organization.

The situation in the Cafeteria local reflects the general situation. Nobody can deny that the last strike of the cafeteria workers was one of the most militant strikes in New York City. Despite tremendous difficulties the cafeteria workers succeeded in organizing about 35 shops. Hundreds of workers joined the union and quite a number of proletarians were drawn into the Party, the I.L.D., the W.I.R., etc.

In this strike naturally a number of mistakes were made. These mistakes were utilized by Gertrude Welsh and the Foster clique for most vicious and provocative attacks under the guise of "self-criticism". Policies were proposed by them which would inevitably lead to demoralization and defeat. As long as the former leadership was in control these constituted no danger for they were always rejected. Now, under the "new course" the policies of Comrade Welsh have become the official policies of the Party fraction. Anybody who dares oppose these policies is immediately branded as a "right winger" and "renegade."

Next December will come the biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Food Workers. Intensive preparations are being made to affiliate the A.F.W. to the T.U.U.L. While the aim is absolutely correct the line pursued by the Party to achieve the affiliation is absolutely wrong and if persisted in will have disastrous results for the A.F.W. as a whole.

From an article of Comrade Obermeier in the *Free Voice* and from the resolution introduced into the cafeteria workers union it is obvious that the Party will make this affiliation a splitting point. Both the article and the resolution brand the **bakers' locals** in the A.F.W. as out-and out reactionary, with no distinction whatsoever. This is tactically wrong for there is a great amount of progressive sentiment in the A.F.W. which we must know how to utilize. The bakers' locals gave \$10,000 for the cafeteria strike and Bakers Local No. 3, which is singled out for attack in the resolution, can show a receipt from the I.L.D. signed by Engdhal for \$1,000 for the Gastonia defense! We do not win the support of workers by calling them names without thought or distinction; certainly we cannot get them to affiliate to the T.U.U.L. that way.

There has been no real preparation for the T.U.U.L. campaign. Moreover, the character of the T.U.U.L. Program is such that it is almost impossible to rally around it anybody

Demands:

that every Party member and revolutionary worker read and reread the basic works of Lenin and the documents dealing with the Party situation.

FOR THIS PURPOSE

WE HAVE MADE AVAILABLE THE FOLLOWING:

<i>Imperialism</i> —Lenin35
<i>State and Revolution</i> —Lenin25.
<i>Proletarian Revolution</i> —Lenin25
<i>Leftism</i> —Lenin25
<i>The Mass Strike</i> —Rosa Luxemburg25
<i>Proletarian Dictatorship and</i> <i>Terrorism</i> —Karl Radek15
<i>Dictatorship of the Proletariat</i> —Kamenev05
<i>Pages from Party History</i> —Lovestone10
<i>The 1928 Elections</i> —Lovestone10
<i>Labor Lieutenants of American Imperialism</i> —Lovestone	.05
<i>The Crisis in the C.P.U.S.A.</i>25
<i>The "New Course"—An Old Curse</i> —(An analysis of the Last C.C. Plenum Thesis)10

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else except the Communists and their closest sympathizers.*

I am almost sure that the bakers will not be convinced at the A.F.W. Convention to affiliate with the T.U.U.L. And then if the Party decides to make this a splitting issue (as the National Committee of the T.U.U.L. has already done) the T.U.U.L. will not get a single baker. Only the cafeteria workers and some hotel workers will then be split off and all the rest will be left in the A.F.W. A new three-cornered fight will then begin here in New York between the A.F. of L., A.F.W. and the "new union". Such a split would have the most disastrous consequences for the organization of the unorganized and for the work of the left-wing in it, yet it is straight towards such a split that the present Party policy leads.

The "new course" of the Party in the trade union field is a policy of splits, demoralization, disintegration and isolation. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the food workers situation.

*See articles by Ben Gitlow on this question in the last two issues of Revolutionary Age.

IN THE COMING ISSUES

THE SITUATION IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THE YOUNG PLAN AND EUROPEAN POLITICS.

"EXCEPTIONALISM" AND LENINIST STRATEGY.

THE VI CONGRESS AND THE WORLD SITUATION.

WHAT ABOUT THE ANTHRACITE?

THE NEEDLE TRADES AND THE LEFT WING.

THE HOUSING SITUATION IN NEW YORK AND THE RENT LAWS.