

# Revolutionary Age

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

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## Unite Against Unemployment!

*Out on International Unemployment Day, Feb. 26!*

**U**NEMPLOYMENT in the United States has reached large proportions. Over five million workers are tramping the streets looking for jobs. For every job there are hundreds of workers. The climax of the boasted "prosperity" of the U. S. is starvation and misery for millions.

In millions of homes there is intense suffering due to the fact that the bread providers are out of work and cannot supply the where-with-all to buy the bare necessities of life.

The bread lines are growing, those long lines of hungry men who stand for hours in the bitter cold for a cup of coffee and a piece of bread. These shivering hordes are an indictment of the whole system of society under which we live. The producers of wealth, the toilers, the workers whose energy, vitality and health is used up in industry, crowd the bread lines while the rich, the capitalists, wallow in wealth and bathe their delicate idle bodies in the warm sunshine of southern climes.

Unemployment is the worst scourge of the working class. In the United States, a land of gigantic industries, of fabulous wealth, there is absolutely no excuse for unemployment. Nevertheless, in the best times, during periods of great industrial activity, there is an unemployed army of approximately two million. This is due to the rationalization of American industry which is characterized by the introduction of labor saving machinery and the intense speeding-up of the workers. Another reason for the permanent unemployed army of two millions is the industrialization and rationalization of agriculture which is coupled with the prevailing chronic crisis in agriculture. Bankruptcy of the individual farmers and the mechanization of the remaining farms is driving large numbers of farmers and agricultural workers into the industrial centers to augment the ranks of the industrial workers. Many of these cannot be absorbed profitably by capitalist industry, and many replace industrial workers who are not reemployed. Thus the permanent army of jobless grows.

The crisis in industry following the Stock Market crash has added over three million men to the existing permanent army of two million unemployed. The A. F. of L. reports that 700,000 of its members are unemployed or approximately 25% of its entire membership. The steel industry is working only 65% of capacity. The automobile industry is employing only a

fraction of the workers it usually employs. In the textile, railroad building and other industries unemployment on a large scale prevails.

What is the United States doing for its millions of unemployed? The United States is the richest country in the world. The United States is doing absolutely nothing for the unemployed. The capitalists are graciously handed hundreds of millions of dollars in tax reductions but not one cent is given to aid the unemployed workers.

Any proposal for unemployment relief is howled down by the spokesmen of the capitalist government. Unemployed workers demanding relief are savagely

and brutally attacked by the capitalist police.

How does Hoover, speaking on behalf of the capitalist rulers and owners of America, handle the unemployment situation? On the one hand, by trying to chloroform the workers into believing that unemployment is not serious, that there is "nothing to worry about." Hoover's assurances that business is sound and everything is well will not satisfy the empty stomachs of the jobless workers. On the other hand, Hoover is utilizing the situation to further strengthen and consolidate the forces of big business, against the workers, for imperialist aggression and in preparation for war. Hoover's National Business Council has not been formed to handle and solve the unemployment situation. It has done absolutely nothing for the unemployed. It has been formed for the purpose stated above and to put big business directly in control of the most important affairs of government.

The reactionary officialdom of the American Federation of Labor is not doing a thing for the unemployed. Mr. Green and

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his satellites of the A.F. of L. have given full support to Hoover's fake building program and to the anti-labor activity of Hoover's National Business Council. From all over the country come reports of wage cuts, increased exploitation, greater speeding-up of labor, etc. The capitalists are utilizing the unemployment situation to further enslave and rob the workers. The A. F. of L. officials have promised Hoover and the National Business Council that they will keep the workers from striking so that big business can put thru its program without resistance from the workers.

The building program proposed by Hoover has proven just empty talk. It did not materialise. There has taken place a steady slump in building and construction.

Hoover and big business have only one program: to get out of the depression by making the workers pay for it. The Hoover program means increased pressure upon the workers. More speed-up, more stretch-out, wage cuts, longer hours, smashing of unions. That is the Hoover program. It is an imperialist program to drive labor costs down so that American business can at the expense and impoverishment of the workers compete effectively for the market of the world.

The Hoover program is a program of imperialist aggression which leads directly to war.

The central point of Hoover's fake unemployment program is strike-breaking. Strikes must not take place. When they do they must be ruthlessly crushed. Existing unions must be smashed. Injunctions, registration of unemployed workers and foreign-born workers, use of police, and the widest possible use of the treachery of the reactionary labor officials are all part of this program against labor.

What are the prospects for the workers and the unemployed? Increased misery, intensive exploitation and brutal suppression of all movements of the workers, employed and unemployed, to better conditions on the one hand and, on the other hand, their butchery and slaughter by the millions in imperialist war to safeguard the billions of the capitalists.

In only one country are the workers not subjected to the greed, arrogance and exploitation of the rich, of the capitalists. That country is the Soviet Union where the workers and the poor farmers are the government. There, industry is being built on a Socialist basis not a capitalist basis, for the benefit of the entire working class, of all those who work and produce.

The capitalist powers including the U. S. are preparing thru bloody war to overthrow the Soviet Union. Its defense is a matter of concern to the entire working class of the world and to all oppressed and subjected people. The workers must demand that the U. S. recognize the Soviet Union and that one billion dollars in long term credits be extended to the Soviet Union. This will help the building up of Socialist industry in the Soviet Union, and will provide work for a large number of the unemployed workers in the United States.

Today unemployment is international. The unemployment crisis prevails in all the capitalist countries and in the countries dominated by them. The Communist International has set aside February 26 as *International Unemployment Day*. On this day the unemployed workers together with the employed workers must demonstrate on behalf of the unemployed and against the capitalists.

In the United States we must develop a mighty mass movement of the unemployed. Unemployed councils must be organized thruout the country to fight for the demands of the unemployed. The employed workers, all trade unions and all workers organizations, must be tied up with the councils of the unemployed and must fight side by side with them for the demands of the unemployed workers.

Unemployed workers, employed workers! You, must fight together! Hoover's program is a program of big business. It is not a program for the workers. It is based upon exploitation,

wage cuts, strike-breaking, speed-up and brutal suppression of the workers. It is a program of imperialist aggression leading to war and the butchering of millions of workers. Organize and fight against it! Demonstrate on February 26 by the millions! Demand work or wages for the workers.

Unemployed and employed workers! Fight for the following demands:

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.
12. Complete equality for all Negro workers in all forms of unemployment relief and unemployment insurance.

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# For Proletarian Unity!

*The Needle Trades Workers Demonstrate for Unity!*

THE recent elections in the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union in New York constitute a striking indication of the influence and prestige our comrades, the supporters of the CP-Majority Group, have won among needle trades workers thru their devoted activity and thru their correct policies. They show conclusively that the militant workers are rejecting with indignation the slanders the Party bureaucrats are hurling upon our comrades in the trade unions, are rejecting them with increased indignation to the degree that these slanders grow more vicious and shameful.

During the middle of January there took place the shop meetings for the election of delegates to the Shop Delegates Council. The Party bureaucrats and the loyalite Union leaders stopped at nothing to prevent our comrades from being elected. "Conferences" with individual workers were held; manoueuering at shop meetings on the voting was common; special "emissaries" were sent to many shop meetings openly agitating

against our comrades. But in vain! Wherever our comrades were found in the shops their prestige among the workers was so well established thru years of struggle and activity that they, were elected thru the will of the workers in spite of the bitter resistance of the Party bureaucrats and loyalites. In many cases the loyalites in the shops were completely isolated from the workers as a result of their wrecking policy. Scores of our comrades were elected. The elections in one shop after the other show this!

On January 30, 1930 the Shop Delegates Council (which meets monthly) had its first meeting. An Executive Council of 63 was to be elected. The meeting was a very spirited one and contrasted very favorably with the recent "conferences" of the TUUL. The workers realized the importance of the occasion in rooting the Union in the shops thru the shop delegates system. Our victory in the shops cooled down the zeal of the loyalites in their slander campaign against

us and theonly attack against the "Love-stoneites" that could be heard at the conference was contained in the message sent by the District Committee of the Party! But this "warning" went unheeded by the workers. A large number of our comrades were elected! The workers spoke!

In spite of the barrage of misrepresentation and slander that the *Freiheit* and all Party organs have been heaping up against the most active comrades in the needle trades because they will not tolerate the destructive new Party line, the campaign for proletarian unity in the mass organizations that the CP-Majority Group has been carrying on for this past few months, the drive for the unification of the left-wing in the face of great difficulties in the struggle against the boss-government-union bureaucrat trinity, have shown workers how things really stand and who are really the militant fighters with the interests of the union at heart. The elections just held show this!

## Unite the Forces of our Union!

By O. SIGNER

THE members of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, both Party members and sympathisers, are aware of the systematic campaign of slander carried on against Gross, Zimmerman and all the active members of the Union who were expelled from the Communist Party. The following are some of the methods used in this campaign: desperate and vicious self-destructive speeches by Gold, Boruchowitch and others at the mass meetings, a whispering campaign of unbelievably wild rumors about the comrades of the opposition, an individual canvassing conducted by Gold. The dangerous method in this slander campaign which will be most dangerous for our Union, if not checked in time, is that of carrying the fight into the shops.

What is the price that the Union is paying for this unprincipled fight conducted by the official leadership? The price that the Union, the left wing movement, and the Communist leadership, above all, is paying at present for this irresponsibility is too heavy to be continued. Those who were present at the T. U. U. L. meeting at Irving Plaza and at the shop chairmens conference at the same place recently, saw how Gold broke loose with his name calling. He did not even stop at such words as "charlatans", and others of equal repute. What these meetings really achieved was cynical remarks from some rank and filers who left the meeting before it was over. It is quite natural that when a shop chairmen conference, called for the purpose of discussing important reorganization matters, is converted into a name calling contest against those members of our Union who in the past, as well as today, are always in the forefront of our struggle, distrust, pessimism and cynicism should be brought into our ranks.

The ruinous wrecking course of the Party leaders is paralyzing our union, in this most serious stage of our struggle, when

the International Union is preparing to sell out the dressmakers thru a fake strike. The leaders of our Union should mobilize all our forces and inspire them to greater activity and resistance to the sell out.

The most criminal method of the campaign is that of carrying the fight into the shops. First and foremost in the shops, we all as Union members have one objective; that is to enforce union conditions. The greatest possible unity of the workers in the shops is needed to control the shops. But when the followers of the present leadership are trying to convince the workers in the shops that well-known and trusted comrades whose loyalty and devotion to our Industrial Union is known to the workers are "agents of the bosses", such a campaign in the shops does not unite but divides and demoralizes the workers.

At the first general needle trades fraction meeting held after the Cleveland Convention, Foster made the statement that within six months Gross and Zimmerman will be with the right wingers. With this statement the Party, thru Foster, started its campaign of slander against the opposition. The Party will be held responsible by the workers for the leadership and policies which it is giving to our Union.

We know that this demoralizing and destructive policy of the new Party "leaders" is not limited to our Union alone. It is present in every Union and mass organization in which the Party has been able to bring it in; in the National Textile Workers Union, in the National Miners Union, in the various left wing organizations and groups. Everywhere the effects have been the same. Everywhere it is destroying the organizations and driving workers away.

Stop this destructive policy! It is making our Union into a small sectarian organization, consisting of Communists and immediate sympathisers only.

Unite all the forces in our Union for a real campaign to build our organization into a strong, powerful Industrial Union of all the workers in the needle trades industry!



# Revolutionary Age

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## Editorials

### DEFEAT THE BOSSES AND THEIR RIGHT WING AGENTS!

ON February 4, the strike of the dress workers in New York City engineered by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union materialized. This strike was the culmination of a long period of publicity in the capitalist press in which the International Ladies Garment Workers Union was given the fullest support by the capitalist newspapers. Before the walk-out statements were issued by Mayor Walker and Clubber Whalen that the strike and its picket activities would be protected by the police. Before the strike took place the right-wing leadership thru the statements of Schlesinger and others promised that the walk-out was called for the purpose not only of organizing the industry but also for the purpose of organizing the bosses and aiding them.

From the very start the Governor of the State of New York Mr. Roosevelt, was intimately bound up with the preparations of the strike and statements were given out to the effect that the strike was called as part of the Governor's move to stabilize the dress industry, which is part of the garment industry, one of the largest and most important industries in New York State. The preparations for the strike, the forces working together with the International, prove conclusively that the strike was planned as a concerted move by the bosses, the right wing officials, and the Tammany Hall politicians for the purpose of serving the interests of the bosses and the political ambitions of Tammany Hall. Another phase of the strike must be kept in mind. It is clear that the strike has been called not against the bosses but against the left wing and the Communists who have succeeded in establishing a genuine union in the needle industry in New York, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom thru its Executive Council and thru the statement of its President, Mr. Wm. Green, have recognized this fact and have given full support to the move of the International in the dress industry. The defense and support of the left wing in the needle trades is today one of the most urgent necessities for all workers. The organization campaign which the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is conducting must be made a real mobilization of the workers against the strike-breaking, union smashing, boss serving activities of the International and its right wing leadership! Already the workers in the industry are demonstrating their distrust of the right wing and their lack of faith in their false promises.

The Socialist Party, the Hillquits and the Thomases, are trying to utilize this situation to create illusions in the minds of the workers that class collaboration, joint action between the workers, the bosses and the capitalist politicians, is better than militant class struggle on the part of the rank and file workers in the industry. That will be part of the whole campaign against the left wing and the Communists. In many subtle ways the right wing will try to hypnotize the workers into accepting the betrayals and sellouts which are surely going to be the result of the activities of the right wing in the dress industry.

The situation presents good opportunities to the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union to further organize the industry and to increase its influence among the needle trades workers. This they can do by an energetic campaign to organize the unorganized in the industry. To the degree that the left wing will succeed in organizing the unorganized, to that degree will they defeat the vicious strike-breaking, union smashing campaign against them.

Note: In our next issue of *Revolutionary Age* we will analyze in detail all the questions, tactical and otherwise that are connected with this strike.

### DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION!

MEXICO has severed diplomatic relations with the USSR. The relations with Great Britain, under his Majesty's "Labor" Government, were "resumed" in a strained condition. The French semi-official press is full of sinister threats in connection the monarchist Kupietoff's "disappearance"—presaging a more official diplomatic offensive against the Soviet Union.

In London the statesmen of world imperialism are engaged in "peace" talk! Naturally the Soviet Union has drawn first fire from the congregation of the defenders of the imperialist faith in London.

It is no accident that in these days of unending "peace conferences," the Polish capitalists, the barking dogs of French and American imperialism, demand that the Baltic Sea must be "protected" by the London decisions. This is a blow aimed directly at the Soviet Union. Likewise, it is clear as broad daylight that the scare about two Soviet warships passing thru the Dardanelles is only another menacing roar of the hard-pressed British imperialist lion at the Russian Workers and Peasants Republic.

In the same light must be viewed Mexico's breaking of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. It is the voice of Mexico's ruling class but the hand of Wall Street. But it is not the voice of the Mexican worker and peasant masses.

Apparently the Hoover government is hitting back at the Soviet Union for the deserving and stinging rebuke the Workers Republic gave it when, under cover of the Kellogg fake peace pact, it tried, at the eleventh hour, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the war lords and the other imperialist agents and despoilers in China. This Mexican incident is a rude jolt to those "innocent" liberals who saw friendship for the Soviet Union in Stimson's policies towards the crisis over the Chinese—Far Eastern Railway. We hope that this American imperialist manoeuvre will also prove the final eye-opener to the so-called "left" Political Committee of the American Communist Party which, in the first stages of the Manchurian crisis, saw in Stimson's policies a lack of hostility or even friendship towards the Soviet Union—forced by that "onrushing wave of radicalization in the United States."

The workers cannot afford the too-costly luxury of illusions.

The danger is great. We must be on guard more than ever. United States imperialism is taking the active lead of the imperialist powers in their plans and plots against the Soviet Union. We must smash the conspiracy by uniting the working masses on the broadest possible basis for defense of the Soviet Union—the fatherland of the workers of all countries!

### COSSACK DEMOCRACY ON THE JOB.

ONE of the uniformed gunmen-strikebreakers of the New York Police Department murdered Comrade Steve Katovis in true democratic fashion—shot from behind. This cold-blooded killing has already received the stamp of approval of a county grand jury which declared that in shooting this Communist fighter the guardian of Wall Street's law and order "performed his duty in a way that reflects credit upon himself and the Police Department of the City of New York. . . ."

This brutal class murder should serve as a storm signal to the workers of the entire country. It is no accident that Comrade Katovis was shot while doing strike duty. In the eyes of the Hoovers, Whalens and Walkers and their lieutenants in the labor movement, the Greens, Wolls and Hillquits, a strike is criminal even tho it is waged for the smallest, most pressing everyday needs. The injunction against which Comrade Katovis fought was secured for the employers by one of the Socialist Party leaders, Charles Solomon. And the above-mentioned grand jury "investigation" came as a result of the appeal of the outstanding Socialist Party leader, Norman Thomas, for New York's chief-strikebreaker Whalen "to establish the facts" of the case.

Ruthlessness and brutality are old "virtues" of the American exploiting class in its robbing and oppressing the workers, the Negro and colonial masses. The killing of Katovis is only symbolical and the damnable traditions of butchery of the American ruling class at Homestead, Nashua, Ludlow, Columbine, Tulsa, Haiti and the Philippines. Machine-gun diplomacy, Cossack-democracy and lynch-law are the fruits of the same tree.

In the light of the gun-fire, the workers can see how terribly ugly the face of American democracy is. The anti-working class character of all capitalist government was also displayed with painful clarity at the New York City Hall demonstration against Cossack-democracy. It is no wonder that when, by mistake, the police clubbed a merchant passing by this demonstration, the latter sought safety and protection by yelling: "I'm a business man! I'm a business man. Don't hit me."

The magnificent demonstration of mass solidarity at the funeral of Comrade Katovis shows where the way out lies for the working class. The only language which all ruling classes understand is *power*. We are sure that if the Communist Party had tried to organize a broad united front of working class organizations, the number of workingmen and women demonstrating in protest at the funeral would have been swelled manifold and thousands of workers, today still estranged from the Communist movement, would have been brought nearer to the Communist Party as the most energetic and loyal champion of the working class against the capitalist class.

Today, there is only one effective way of avenging the murder of Comrade Katovis by the "municipally-owned" strikebreaking machinery of New York—the police department. That way is for every workingman and workingwoman to fight against the capitalist exploiters and their A. F. of L. and Socialist Party henchmen with the militancy and courage of the fallen fighter. This means that we must redouble our resistance to the bosses' offensive, that we must work overtime to win the masses of the workers and to hasten the development of a mass Communist Party with a Leninist line in the United States.

## Believe It Or Not!

By C., Detroit

IN the *Daily Worker* of Oct. 28, there appeared a very significant article by John Williamson.

It is significant for two reasons: first of all, it shows not only a complete political bankruptcy of the present leadership, but indicates also a tendency to discredit the whole past history of the Communist International.

Comrade Williamson in his article very unfortunately stated: "In the present situation, our Party for the first time in many years, has a correct political policy. The Address of the C. I. was the instrument to win the Party membership away from its past opportunist policies."

If the policies of the Party have been wrong for many years, then the question arises; *What about the Communist International? Was the Communist International in the past also always wrong?*

What are the facts? It is well known that the C. I. has endorsed the policies of our Party since 1925. It is well known that the C. I. has rejected repeatedly the charges of the Foster group that our Party followed an opportunistic line.

And, it is important to know that this rejection of the Foster charges against our party, was made, not only by the previous leadership of the C. I. but also, by the present Ecce (although not very willingly). Has Comrade Williamson forgotten the cable of the Ecce after the VI World Congress, and the Open Letter to the Party Convention, March 1929, in which these absurd charges were again rejected?

But, nevertheless, Comrade Williamson in fact declares that even the present leadership of the C. I. followed an "opportunistic line" until the birth of the Address. This is a very bad compliment for the present Ecce; which is of course, a bitter pill to swallow.

Of course, we cannot agree with Comrade Williamson, for the simple reason that his opinion is wrong. But Comrade Williamson is not alone in trying to prove that the C. I. followed a wrong line until the "new course" was put in.

Among numerous proofs which were already pointed out in *Revolutionary Age*, we have the *Daily Worker* of Sept. 24, 1929, in an "enlightenment article" in which attempts were made to justify the present policy of the Ecce, we found the following quotations:

"Comrade Kuusinen reported how Bucharin at the First Congress of the Communist International, in spite of the objection by Lenin, succeeded in getting his idea into one of the resolutions.

"And the Tenth Plenum was right in correcting this. . . ."

Let us see the political significance of this newest theory.

First of all, this article attempts to show that the line of the C. I., since the First Congress was false, and furthermore, that this false line was adopted with the full knowledge of Comrade Lenin, who only "objected" but did not struggle against it. This is something new for the whole Communist International and we are glad to offer our congratulations to our new "super"-Lenins for discovering this about Comrade Lenin. And now we are forced to ask the question: *Why is such dangerous nonsense served out in the Daily Worker?* The answer is simple and very clear. The present leadership of the Party as well as the Ecce know very well that they can no longer hide their policy of revision of Leninist principles. Furthermore, they know that they cannot come out openly and admit this before the membership.

For this reason they are coming out with slanders against Lenin and the past history of the C. I. with the purpose of throwing sand in the eyes of the working masses and thus justify their present destructive policy.

# Can American Capitalism Be "Organized"?

*A Review of Lyon's "Hand to Mouth Buying."*

By Jay Lovestone

FOR years high-priced economic experts have been advertising the notion that in the United States capitalist production and exchange have reached a state of happy "equilibrium". As a result, these bourgeois economists say the United States has entered upon a "new era", an era in which there would be no more business "cycles", no more depressions, and in which, therefore, all poverty would soon be "abolished" (Hoover, Carver, etc.) !

One of the main props of these "theories" was the much-hailed system of *hand-to-mouth buying*, i. e., "placing no orders ahead, buying in small lots, buying only for immediate requirements." For instance, one hears much talk, nowadays, that there can be no serious depression in the country because, as a result of hand-to-mouth buying, inventories have been kept down.

Of course the crash on the Stock Market has wrecked many of the "new era" philosophies as well as the fortunes of some of these philosophers. But there is still much talk about the capacity of capitalism in America or elsewhere to organize a completely planned economy.

It is in this light that Lyon's book\* is especially timely today. It is a valuable contribution to the study of the basic problems of capitalist economy, to the study of one of the recent significant structural changes in American capitalism. This book deals concretely with an important phase of the problems of capitalist rationalization and "stabilization." The main findings of Mr. Lyon are based on a thoro investigation of the actual conditions and trends in such industries as steel, textile, shoe, canning, oak-flooring, etc., over a representative number of years.

## *Not a New "Panacea"*

Most people believe that hand-to-mouth buying began as a result of the post-war "boom" collapse in 1920-21. This is only partly true. Hand-to-mouth buying was much in evidence immediately after the Civil War as a result of the economic readjustments, improved transportation, doing away with the necessity of stocking-up commodities, etc. This was then especially true for the dry-goods and shoe industries; nor is hand-to-mouth buying only a post-war development in the iron and steel industry.

Here we have a case where a quantitative change becomes a qualitative one. After the War, the practice of hand-to-mouth buying became so much more extensive that it really constituted structural changes in post-war capitalist economy.

## *The Effects of Hand-To-Mouth Buying.*

The author raises the basic question: "Does hand-to-mouth buying stabilize production?" He does not give a decisive answer, affirmatively or negatively, in regard to its effect on capitalist production and exchange as a whole, but he does speak of some effects of hand-to-mouth buying "to release for other purposes, capital invested in supplies and inventories, to make American industry less speculative and more nearly a matter of planning and control".

This conclusion of Mr. Lyon is untenable. It is false. The very lack of substantial advance orders tends to make planned production more difficult and can only add hesitation and in-

stability to capitalist industry. Mr. Lyon himself has shown that, for instance, in the knit-underwear industry, production is much less stable during periods of hand-to-mouth buying than during periods of substantial advance orders. The general conclusion of Mr. Lyon does not chime with another statement of his to the effect that "hand-to-mouth buying has affected stability of production differently in different cases".

Furthermore, the system of hand-to-mouth buying only adds to the general wastefulness of capitalism. It has been estimated that about \$10,000,000,000 is wasted every year in marketing commodities in the United States. Hand-to-mouth buying means an increase in the proportion of smaller orders and a consequent increase in the cost of the selling and marketing per order.

It is a fact that in the last two years, the volume of American production has increased at least 15%. Yet, commodity inventories in the hands of corporations and warehouses have not only not increased proportionately, but, with the exception of such industries as the automobile and radio, have even declined. What has happened? To the superficial observer, this would mean that hand-to-mouth buying has thus served to stabilize American capitalist production. Nothing of the sort is the case. Hand-to-mouth buying, like the rest of the rationalization schemes, has only made American capitalist production more unstable, has only sharpened and has not solved its inherent contradictions.

Because of the wide-spread installment buying—at least \$6,000,000,000 every year—"the inventory of merchandise is held by the public rather than by corporations". In reality, we see that hand-to-mouth buying, and its counterpart, installment buying, do not do away with heavy inventories but only tend to hide them by taking them out of warehouses and placing them in the hands of the installment buyers who have paid for them only in part. It is clear that a prolonged period of severe unemployment will undermine the whole installment system. In this way installment buying which only yesterday was one of the buttresses of capitalist "prosperity" and "stability", becomes in time of economic crisis, a powerful factor for deepening and sharpening the inherent instability, chaos, and anarchy of capitalist production by rocking the whole credit system, by helping to paralyze production and consumption.

## *The Problem of Planned Economy.*

To an extent Mr. Lyon vaguely sees this. But he fails to arrive at a proper conclusion, when he says:

*"The most dramatic conflict in American economic ideas is the struggle between our engineering and our private enterprise attitude.... The two issues do not harmonize overly well. Effective 'planning' in the grand manner appears to involve planning by some for the many. If America is ever ready for the great economic strategy, for the supremacy of the engineered society, she will have modified greatly her faith in individual enterprise and consumer freedom. In the meantime America embodies both faiths in a marked degree. Russia is the only modern country in which there is, as some see it, vision and imagination, or as others see it, the blindness and despotism, to undertake the planning of national economy."*

We do not deny that capitalism has been making desperate efforts, thru rationalization, to organize a generally planned economy. A special indication of this is the recent Hoover Busi-

ness Conference. We do not deny that in some industries certain elements of planning have been introduced. But even this introduction of limited planning has not stabilized production. On the contrary, it has actually tended only to sharpen the basic contradictions of American capitalist economy as a whole. What we do deny is that genuine planned economy, as we have in the Soviet Union today, making great strides under the Five Year Plan, is possible under or even compatible with capitalism. Of course, the kulak and Nepman in the Soviet Union, and their prototypes and defenders in the United States cannot but consider such genuine planned economy as "despotism", since it systematically and steadily wipes out all exploitation and exploiters.

The "Engineered Society" is a meaningless term in any other light. Or else, as it is used especially by the American capitalists, it is only a means of exploiting the workers most intensely, or enslaving the workers effectively.

Lenin some time ago estimated the whole problem dialectically, scientifically, when he said:

*"Present economic conditions have caused the disappearance of planless capitalism. Up to the war there were monopolies, trusts, syndicates; since the war we have had state monopoly. Universal labor service is something new, something that constitutes part of a Socialist whole,—this is often overlooked by those who fear to face present economic conditions frankly."*

*"The central point of the first part of the resolution is an analysis of conditions of capitalist economy thruout the world. It is noteworthy that 27 years ago Engels pointed out that to characterize capitalism as something distinguished by its planlessness, means to overlook the role played by trusts, and is unsatisfactory. Engels' criticism was that 'when we come to the trust, then planlessness disappears', tho there is capitalism. This remark of Engels is particularly appropriate now, when we have a military state, when we have state-monopoly capitalism. The introduction of planning into industry keeps the workers enslaved none the less, tho it enables the capitalists to gather in their profits in a more planful way. We now witness the metamorphosis of capitalism into a higher, a regulated form of capitalism."*

## *How Capitalism Is Being Undermined.*

And recent developments, particularly since the collapse of the Stock Market, have borne out the correctness of the estimate which we have time and again made of the very higher technique of American capitalism itself undermining its existence.

In fact, in the last decade, in which there has been so much talk of capitalist "equilibrium", we have had such severely violent upsettings of capitalist "stability" and resulting disruptions of economy as in 1921, 1924, 1927, 1929-30. Today, in a large measure, because of the very advance of rationalization itself, capitalist economy is fundamentally less stable than before the War. This explains why many capitalist economists consider 1925, 1926, and part of 1927 as "Back to Normalcy" years—that is years approaching "stability"—years which are now arbitrarily and without foundation considered by them as "normal" and "stable".

A study of Lyon's *Hand-to-Mouth Buying* affords much valuable proof of the fact that no such thing like genuine order is possible in capitalist economy, even in the strongest and richest capitalist country. Indeed, the very structural changes in American capitalist economy have only served to sharpen its inherent contradictions—for instance, between overproduction and underconsumption. Herein lies the basic cause of the present economic crisis in the country. All the factors which are supposed to have brought prosperity a

# A Great Demonstration!

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN GETS GREAT OVATION AT WEEKLY REVOLUTIONARY AGE BANQUET.

FIVE hundred workers, including many Party members and sympathizers, crowded the hall at the New Harlem Casino, Saturday evening, February 1, at the great banquet for the *Weekly Revolutionary Age* arranged by the New York organization of the C.P-Majority Group. The hall presented a striking appearance with the red banners, revolutionary decorations, slogans and pictures. It was an occasion that few who were present are likely to forget!

The militant workers of New York showed their determined support of the struggle of the CP-Majority Group. There were delegations present from among the striking furniture workers, the striking shoe workers, from the needle trades workers, from the Harlem Tenants League and a number of other working class organizations of various kinds. Cheer after cheer rent the air as the speakers greeted the growing strength of the movement represented by *Revolutionary Age*.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, whose name is identified with some of the best traditions of militant class struggle on the part of the American working class, was received with a tremendous ovation. Eli Keller, former secretary of the National Textile Workers Union, N. Nelson, of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, William Battles, President and A. Elizabeth Hendrickson, Executive Secretary of the Harlem Tenants League, M. Perlov, leader of the striking furniture workers, S. Jonas, vice-president of the Independent Shoe Workers Union, Bertram D. Wolfe, Ben Gitlow, J. O. Bentall, Eddie Marshall (of the YCL-Majority Group), and finally Jay Lovestone were among the speakers. Harry Winitzky was a chairman worthy of the occasion. The speakers' program was interrupted for a few moments by a rising tribute to the memory of Steve Katovis.

The entertainment at the banquet included revolutionary ballads by Louis Cibulsky, Negro work songs by Flourney and Clark, selections from Schumann and from Tosca by Janet Kean, and a violin solo by Sarah Nemser. The banquet was concluded with the singing of the International.

For a week previously the Party burocrats had schemed and planned on how to break up this banquet. They organized "strong arm" squads, and mobilized all elements who would consent to be used for such shameful work. But at the last minute, realizing the strong mass support behind our banquet both in the Party and among the militant workers and having seen the strong defence our comrades had prepared against any sort of hooliganism, the Party burocrats "changed their mind a little." A few "scouts" under the leadership of Bydarian and Harfield hung around the hall for some time and then beat a hasty retreat to the "Cooperative" Restaurant.

The spirit of the banquet, the tremendous enthusiasm for the *Weekly Revolutionary Age*, was shown in the collection which netted a large sum in cash, including donations by comrades still in the Party. The Harlem Section group, in addition to a substantial donation, presented a splendid banner.

The whole banquet—the largest gathering arranged by the New York CP-Majority Group—is a splendid political demonstration of the headway our struggle has made among the ranks of the militant workers inside and outside the Party.

year ago remain, and yet we have a very severe economic depression in the country.

## *Genuine Planned Economy In the Soviet Union*

The more the capitalists in the United States and in every other capitalist country strive for order in their economy based on the exploitation of the working class by the owning class, the more they are widening the chasm of chaos towards which their system is heading. It is only in a country where capitalist exploitation has been abolished and where the workers have set up their own government that effective steps can be taken towards genuine planned economy, free from panics and crises, and towards completely socialized economy operating solely in the interest of the great mass of the population—the working and farming masses. The Soviet Union is an inspiring, living proof of this great truth taught us by Marx and Lenin.

\*HAND-TO-MOUTH BUYING by Leverett S. Lyon. Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institute. 1929.



# AGAIN A "NEW TURN" IN THE COMINTERN . . . . by Herbert Zam

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International has made a "new turn"—a sensational turn! It has begun a "campaign" against the "ultra-left danger." The development of this campaign against the ultra-left is seen in a series of recent, almost simultaneous events. In the *Czechoslovakian* Party, Fried and Reimann, who became the ideological leaders of the Party after the expulsion of its leaders (Jilek, Muna, etc.), have been denounced as "ultra-lefts" and removed from the Polburo of the Party. At the recent *Plenum of the YCI* the Comintern representatives, Remmele and Manuilsky, developed the theory that for the Young Communist Leagues at the present time, the main danger is the *ultra-left danger*. Chitarov, who up to a few weeks ago was shouting loudly against the "right," has rushed lustily into the breach with a broadside in *Pravda* (January 10) against the "left deviation." In *Germany*, Ulbricht, a hero of the "new line," seems to have taken up the "struggle" against putschism. In the *Communist International* (Vol.6, No. 28) there are printed an article by Remmele against the "left danger" in the YCI and a speech by Manuilsky at the YCI Plenum with the same content.

## THE CRISIS SHARPENS—A "NEW TURN"

This "new turn" is of great importance for the whole International and must be carefully studied. Has the Comintern leadership, under the blows of the International Opposition, abandoned its ruinous ultra-left course? Is it returning to the tactical principles of Leninism which have been abandoned? Is it preparing to take back into the Party the comrades who were expelled for saying *some time ago* what Manuilsky and Remmele *now* say? Everything indicates that these questions will be answered in the negative by the present leadership of the ECCI. The so-called "fire against the left" on the part of the ECCI does not indicate that the crisis in the Comintern is becoming less sharp. On the contrary, it indicates that the crisis has become so great that it can no longer be hidden from the membership. It is no longer possible to delude the Party membership with fine phrases of "bolshhevization" in the face of the loss of thousands of members in all Parties. It is no longer possible to hide the fact that, in the face of a general upward swing of the working class movement, the Communist Parties have been going backward in the past two years. The "new turn" of the ECCI is in actuality an effort to shift responsibility from itself for the disastrous condition in the Comintern. It is an attempt to keep the membership from going over to the support of the Opposition which is now demonstrated to have been correct in all its proposals and warnings.

The new turn of the ECCI will not bring the Comintern out of its crisis. It will only plunge it deeper into the crisis. *Only the complete abandonment of the course which has led to the crisis, the overthrow of the leadership which has foisted wrong policies upon the Comintern, the restoration of the correct Leninist policies and a leadership capable of applying them, the institution of internal Party democracy—in short the adoption of the main program of the Opposition (in the U.S.A., the CP-Majority Group) will restore the Comintern and its sections to health and vigor, to leadership over large masses of workers and to the road for winning the majority of the working class!*

For the present leadership of the ECCI it is important to put up an appearance of "combating all deviations." This is part of the game of confusing the Party masses and preventing them from seeing thru the false policies of the ECCI. But in reality the ECCI is continuing its ultra-left adventurist line which is at the bottom of the leftist errors committed thruout the Comintern. It is important to note that at the very moment when the so-called campaign against the "ultra-left" begins, the Comintern adopts an estimate of the present situation (the comparison of the present crisis with the World War in its consequences) and a policy on one of the most important problems facing the Parties (unemployment), which are not only ultra-left, but which are actually putschist. The ECCI is quite ready to destroy a Reimann or a Shatzkin, but the basic policies

which are responsible for the errors of the Reimanns and Shatzkins remain intact and even become worse!

## WANTED—A SCAPEGOAT

It is characteristic of the present condition in the Comintern that in the discussion of the ultra-left danger, the Manuilskys and Remmelles are more anxious to find a scape-goat for the ills of the Parties (they cannot very well blame the "renegades" whose expulsion has "strengthened" the Parties!) than to analyze the conditions of the Parties and to find remedies for the serious crisis. In the Soviet Union there is found a Shatzkin and Sten who are held up as the "ultra-left danger" and upon whose shoulders are heaped all the blame for the ultra-left errors in the Soviet Union. In Czechoslovakia there is found a Fried and Reimann. The YCI comes in for criticism. No doubt in every country similar individuals will be selected. But those really responsible for the ultra-left policies and for the crisis will continue their ruinous domination of the Comintern and of its sections. Manuilsky becomes indignant at the losses of the YCI, but remains absolutely unperturbed at the losses of the CI.

*"When any bourgeois general suffers a defeat, he is replaced; but we can lose half the membership of a Party and the members of the CC remain at their posts. We need a system of political responsibility when the Party will call its leaders to account for every failure, which will place the work of the leading bodies under diligent control."*

Well said, Comrade Manuilsky! But let this apply all around and let it start immediately! If the YCI lost 20% of its membership in one year: that you agree is indicative of a crisis! That arouses your indignation! But why are you silent at the fact that the Comintern has lost over 30% of its membership in the same period? Nay, more! Why do you expel those who call it to your attention? And are you not a general of the Communist army, a member of its general staff? Have you lost just *one* battle? You and your fellow-members on the ECCI have lost battle after battle, campaign after campaign; you have lost 30% of your soldiers! But when the membership tries to call you to account, according to your own formula, you expel them, denounce them as "renegades" and as "servants of the bourgeoisie" and even organize physical attacks on them!

In the light of the above remarks, the examination of the recent events in the YCI becomes of special significance. It must be remembered that at the Tenth Plenum of the ECCI the representatives of the YCI played a very important role in the struggle against the "right" and in pushing thru the ultra-left line of the ECCI. The EC of the YCI was the banner bearer in the whole ultra-left course. Precisely for this reason does the YCI offer a shining target for the diplomatic manouvers of the leaders of the ECCI in their "game of right and left." It was the new line of the ECCI, embraced by the ECI, that led to the abandonment of the conception of the YCL's as broad organizations of the working youth. Every attempt to emphasize the fundamental tasks of the youth movement was met with the cry of "depolitisation" and finally with expulsion. The theory of vanguardism was officially adopted by the YCI, by the CI and by all Leagues. Only the various Oppositions (the United States, Germany, Sweden) fought determinedly against vanguardism and for this they were expelled. The result has been the continual decline

of the YCI at a time when the young workers are playing a particularly important role in industry and in the class struggle. Today the Young Communist Leagues have less members and less influence than ever before.

But it would be wrong to believe that this situation is confined to the YCI, or that it originates with the YCI. The basic causes are the same as those which lie at the root of the general crisis in the Comintern. But the Leagues are smaller and less consolidated organizations; their members are less politically developed, and their contact with the workers is weaker than that of the Parties. Naturally they can less afford to stand losses than the Parties. Not even Manuilsky can hide this connection between the crisis in the YCI and the crisis in the Comintern. In his speech to the YCI Plenum, he declares:

*"You mustn't think that the defects and weakness of the YCI are quite separate from the general state of the Comintern sections. The morbid phenomena of various sections of the YCI are bound up with the abnormal state of the corresponding CP's. These morbid phenomena merely find even clearer expression in the YCL. And so in the YCI we are now feeling the defects and weaknesses of the Comintern."*

What is characteristic of Manuilsky and of the entire leadership of the ECCI is that while ready to see the crisis in the YCI, they "refuse" to see that in the CI the crisis is even worse. While in the abstract they talk of self-criticism, in actuality every effort at genuine self-criticism is ruthlessly crushed. In words, the crisis is recognized, but in actuality those who first point out its symptoms are expelled. In words, ultra-leftism is condemned but in deeds ultra-left policies are more in the saddle than ever before. It is clear that the theory is now being put forward that, at the present time, the "left danger" is the main danger in the YCI and is becoming the main danger in the CI. Thus Remmele:

*"These scholastic discussions within the Leagues . . . are typical manifestations of the leftist disease. . . ."*

*"However much these obstacles of a right wing opportunist nature weigh down the scale in carrying out the bolshevik policy of the Communist Parties, in the Youth Leagues they are not the preponderant and dominant causes which prevent the application of bolshevik policy and strategy. On the contrary. . . it is the ultra-left tendencies which explain the weakness and ineffectiveness in the work and methods of the Leagues."*

Thus, while still uttering some face-saving phrases about the "right danger" being the "main danger," the ECCI actually abandons this view without any explanation. The "right danger as the main danger" was the conception which—the ECCI insisted—arose out of the very characteristics of the "third period;" it was to remain the "main danger" during the entire duration of the "third period," that is, "up to the revolution." If now this change of front is accomplished while we are still in the "third period," and, as Manuilsky declares,

*"not in circumstances of reaction, but in circumstances of a radicalization. . . ."*

In other words, if there has been no corresponding change in the objective situation, then it is living proof of the complete bankruptcy and unprincipledness not only of the inner-Party course but of the entire line of policy which necessitated such an inner-Party course.

## NEW PHRASES—BUT THE OLD LINE!

Manuilsky finds that the YCL's are "dominated by a contempt for the rest of the masses of working youth." This, he declares, is a sign of ultra-leftism. Correct! But the cause of this "contempt" is the theory of "social fascism" which originated in and still dominates the Comintern. Manuilsky asks: "Is it third period tactics, for instance, to exclude the application of the united front tactics in its new forms?" He directs this shaft against the ultra-left. But at the Tenth Plenum Manuilsky himself propounded the theory that the united front tactic was necessary when "we were weak; but now we are strong." And to Manuilsky the "new form" of the united front is represented by—*revolutionary competition!* "It is indisputable that the chief form of capturing the masses has always been and still remains the trade unions," declares Manuilsky. But it is also indisputable that today the Communist Parties, under direction of the ECCI, have given up the work in the trade unions and have even developed such anti-trade union work theories as the "fascisation of the trade unions from top to bottom." Manuilsky condemns the "shop-window aspect" of the Leagues. "On paper everything is O. K. Everywhere there is nothing but success but in reality the situation is otherwise." But how about the theory that every loss of the Communist Party represents "bolshhevization" which Manuilsky repeats even in this very speech? What Manuilsky, in the name of the ECCI pretends to criticize in the YCI, is precisely what Manuilsky and the ECCI have brought about and are still bringing about in the Comintern.

Remmele indeed is compelled to recognize that "these clear manifestations of irresolution and ultra-leftism in the Leagues are also apparent in the Parties, even in some sections of the most advanced Parties of the Comintern." But this "recognition," which is an admission of the correctness of the line of the Opposition (in the USA, the CP-Majority Group) does not mean that the correct line has been adopted and the crisis overcome. On the contrary, it means a deepening of the crisis and an aggravation of the non-Leninist methods in the Comintern. Only the overthrow of the present leadership, the complete abandonment of the present false line and the restoration of the tactical principles of Leninism can restore the Comintern and the individual sections to a healthy condition, to its position as vanguard of the working class!

## THE WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

The crisis in the Communist International is a serious one and is growing more serious every day. To solve it is necessary a complete change in the strategical line and method of leadership on the part of the ECCI and not any hypocritical turns or diplomatic manouvers. For a serious change in the situation in the Comintern the following steps are necessary:

1.—The rejection of the theory of "mechanical uniformity" that has been developed in the struggle against the "theory of exceptionalism"—the return to the Leninist conception of the uneven development of capitalism and the flexible application of tactics to the concrete situation.

2.—The rejection of the false ultra-left estimation of the world situation—the return to Leninist realism in estimating the objective situation.

3.—The return to the Leninist tactics of the united front for winning the masses—the rejection of such dangerous sectarian theories of "social fascism" and the like.

4.—The return of Leninist tactics in the trade unions and the mass organizations—the rejection of the sectarian split course of the present ECCI.

5.—The return to real inner Party democracy on the basis of democratic centralism: the readmission of the expelled into the Party—the end to the regime of terror and suppression.

# JUST OUT!

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# Chicago Under the "New Leadership"

by S., Chicago

IN order to estimate what is going on in Chicago, a banner district under the previous leadership, one has only to look beneath the boasts and "socialist challenges," at the concrete evidence of decline which manifest themselves on every hand. This was to be expected with the expulsion and elimination of such leading and active comrades as Sam Cohen, Jack Reed, William F. Kruse, Minnie Lurye, Sol. Held, Rose Rogers, Wasserman, and others who, not yet expelled, have been safely put in storage and separated from all Party activities. It was to be expected from the "leadership" headed by Hathaway which has replaced these comrades.

Hathaway, the new D.O., is quietly eliminating the entire former leadership, whether "loyal" or "disloyal." Thus in spite of the most devout professions of loyalty and in spite of their strongest resistance, Carl Sklar and S. Milgrom have been sent to California and Buffalo, respectively, for reasons not made public. Sam Don, the most bitter factionalist of the Y.C.L., has graduated into the Party. Notoriously lazy and utterly incompetent in establishing even the slightest mass contact he has been made Agitprop Director and member of the Secretariat. Another member of the Secretariat and now Organization Secretary is Paul Cline, who will be remembered, among other "achievements," for his complimentary remarks to John Fitzpatrick at the time when this bureaucrat was expelling left wingers from the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Those members of the former majority who are still tolerated and remain are not trusted and their days in the Chicago district leadership are numbered. Held is a member of the Polcom nominally only, for he has not the confidence of the ruling Fosterite clique. Feingold, one of the first to jump on the bandwagon, is headed for the skids, as are all those who don't belong to the old, factional diehard clique. Hathaway, Kjar, Don, Rubicki & Co. are as firmly in the saddle in Chicago, as the discredited Foster group is nationally.

Nowhere has the present suicidal Party policy in the Workmen Circle been put over on the Party membership and the left wing with more dangerous illusions and with more disastrous results.

## The Miners' Struggle

The miners' struggle is the key problem in the district. Never was the objective basis for building the National Miners Union better in Illinois because of the developing insurgency against the rule of Lewis and Fishwick. With careful tactics and the proper utilization of this movement, the left wing was in a position to make marked progress. In spite of these opportunities, the leadership did not succeed to win significant economic demands, to break the check-off and the strangle hold of the Fishwick-Lewis machines, and to prepare, organizationally and morally, for the present struggle.

The Party membership is kept in the dark regarding the policy of the Party leadership, and to the relation of this policy to the situation in the Anthracite, where the agreement expires in September. The district leadership has still the task of mobilizing the membership of the Party, and the forces of the left wing, ideologically and organizationally, behind the miners' struggle, which up till now, has been inadequately carried out. In fact the Party "leadership" has openly admitted its lack of leadership and adequate preparation for this strike.

## What Is Happening in the Needle Trades?

The Chicago needle trade bosses are attempting to establish the yellow dog contract thruout the industry. This offers the left wing union an excellent opportunity to lead the struggle

against this campaign and considerably increase its influence. What have the needle trades "leaders" been doing about this situation? This "leadership" has thus far been unable to mobilize for a real struggle against the campaign of the bosses.

Thru its narrow sectarian policy it has alienated the most active left wingers. Having removed and expelled active comrades like Cohen, this "leadership" is totally unable to mobilize the left wing forces to utilize the opportunities in the needle industry. Meanwhile Cohen is successfully leading Local 104 and securing substantial gains for the workers—30 weeks guaranteed work, and, increases up to ten percent in wages.

## The "New Line" and its Effects in Our Mass Work.

The Chicago district for a time was the center of a most vicious attack by the government against our Party. The campaign of wholesale arrests, exorbitant bail, and general persecution, offered an excellent opportunity for mobilizing real mass sentiment around the Party. The comrades will remember what the Party did in the Michigan cases, how the broadest possible united front movement, including many non-Party elements, was mobilized in support of the class war prisoners. Just the opposite was the case in Chicago. No united front movement was organized around these cases, typical of the present sectarian line. In fact the Party "leadership" is alienating such active non-Party elements as Prohansuk, who was denounced by Milgrom for refusing to indorse the expulsion campaign in the I.L.D.

In spite of the voluminous figures and screeching about the final crisis of American capitalism, very little has yet been done about the unemployment situation.

The meetings and affairs arranged under the Party leadership are practically half the size of those held in previous years and absolutely spiritless. Examples of these are the November 7 Meeting, the T. U. U. L. dance, and the Gastonia mass meetings.

Certainly the basis for a successful membership drive should have been laid in the Election Campaign and in the campaign to welcome the Russian Fliers. This was not done.

Of course the Party situation is most sharply reflected in the units. In spite of the fact that two and three units are often combined in one, yet the attendance is lower than ever. The shop nucleus in the Northwestern Car Shops has disappeared. Shop papers have taken a marked drop. Membership meetings, according to official estimates, are attended by less than 50% of the comrades, with very little discussion or active participation on the part of the membership.

## Conclusion

The overwhelming body of those still within the Party in the Chicago district are fully aware of this situation. Many, unfortunately are dropping out entirely. Many comrades, on the other hand, are passively watching the Party being shot to pieces without lifting a finger to save the situation. Such an attitude indicates a criminal failure to shoulder the responsibilities of membership in a Communist Party. Failure to speak, failure to protect, failure to criticize in such a critical period of the Party's history, means aid, comfort and encouragement to the campaign of Party wrecking.

Read **REVOLUTIONARY AGE**

# The Swedish Party Against the "New Course"

by E. Karas

(Continued from the last issue)

## The July Plenum and the Moscow Negotiations

IN its special letter the Ecce demanded the calling of a new plenary session of the C.C. since in its opinion the "differences of opinion had not been made sufficiently clear at the January Plenum." This Plenum took place in July 1929. A whole host of Ecce representatives and the representatives of the various Parties came to attempt to overawe the Plenum. At this Plenum the representative of the Y.C.L. demanded the right to make a co-report! The Plenum ended with two resolutions: one of the C.C.-Majority and the other of the C.C.-Minority. Meanwhile, the Ecce decided to "negotiate" with the Swedish Party—again. A commission of Samuelsson and Flyg and two comrades of the minority went to Moscow. In the properly "prepared" commission Samuelsson held three speeches—and was met with heckling and interruptions on the part of Manuilsky, Ulbricht, Reimann, Remmele, Purmann, Rust, etc. Forty questions were put to him! Samuelsson and Flyg were required to "recognize their errors"—that is all "errors" attributed to them. But they refused. A resolution was brought forward and the Swedish comrades proposed a number of changes and amendments—otherwise they could not sign it. The proceedings were interrupted because the comrades had to return for the August 1 demonstrations. The negotiations were resumed by Kilboom and Olsson and finally an Open Letter was worked out which the representatives of the C.C.-Majority signed with a series of reservations. The Open Letter provided for a four month discussion period and then the calling of a regular Congress.

## The Party Is Split!

The Open Letter was of course the occasion for the most vicious intensification of the factional struggle. The destructive factional activities of the "left minority" knew no limits. As a result, about 100 local organizations adopted resolutions demanding the ending of the "discussion" and the immediate calling of a Party Congress. The C.C.-Majority was compelled to accede to the spontaneous demand of the membership and called the VIII Congress in six weeks.

Thereupon the expulsions began! The Ecce delegation immediately expelled the C.C.-Majority from the Comintern. This occurred at a meeting (October 9) that was held outside of the Party headquarters—at the request of the Ecce delegation. While the meeting was on a few supporters of the "left-minority" seized the headquarters which were left unguarded. The Communist workers of Stockholm (who support the majority practically unanimously) attempted to retrieve the headquarters but they met with the police who had been called by the "lefts." The Ecce had begun the split of the Party.

## The VIII Congress

On November 16-19 the VIII regular Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden met. In spite of the most violent fulminations of the Ecce which called for the boycott of this Congress it proved to be the biggest congress the Party had ever had as far as the number of delegates goes. There were 202 regularly elected delegates to the Congress and a large number of fraternal delegates (members of the C.C., Party and trade union secretaries, members of the parliamentary fractions, etc.) The total number reached about 300. Then there were a number of organizations that solidarized themselves with the C.C.-Majority but could not send delegates for financial reasons. The Congress showed that the overwhelming majority of the Party membership supports the C.C. and is determined to re-

sist the splitting course of the Ecce. As *Folkets Dagblad* said it was: *A day of triumph!*

## The Attitude of the Social-democracy

The attitude of the Swedish Social-democracy to this whole situation is very characteristic. At first, when the C.C.-Majority was forced to come out against the duplicity and the ultra-left policy of the Ecce, the Social-democracy rejoiced and declared that "at last Kilboom was becoming more Swedish than Russian." But, when it became clear that the Party was not going in their direction, that on the contrary the C.C.-Majority was the most dangerous enemy of the social-reformists, the whole attitude changed. The Social-democrats discovered that "Sillen and Linderot (the leaders of the loyalites.—Editor) were the honest and consistent Communists" because—so the Social-democrats argued—"you cannot be a Communist if you are expelled from the Comintern"! In a number of cases in non-Party organizations the Social-democrats have since collaborated with the representatives of the "loyal" minority against the Party.

## The Party After the Split

The Ecce and the "left" leaders in Sweden bent all their energies towards making every possible inroad in the Party and in the movement. As compared with only four full-paid secretaries that the Party has, over 40 agitators were taken out of the Western University and the Lenin School and were sent home to Sweden to tour the country. But in vain!

Of the eight Communist members of the lower house of the Swedish Parliament, seven are with the C.C. and one undecided. Of the two in the upper house both are with the C.C.; The entire municipal fraction in Stockholm supports the C.C.; the same in Goteberg, the second largest city; the same in Norrköping, a textile center. The C.C. has retained the central organ, the daily, *Folkets Dagblad*, which has a circulation of between 20,000 and 30,000, a well as two other provincial papers, one appearing three times and the other twice weekly. The "lefts" have got hold of a Party paper in North Sweden (Norrbotten) with a circulation of 5,000 and a weekly provincial paper with a circulation of 3,000. Behind the C.C. stands the district organization of Stockholm practically unanimously, as well as the districts Södermannsland, Uppland and Dalarna. All other districts—except one—support the C.C. between 80-85%. Only one small district—Norrbotten-Smoland—supports the "left minority." Altogether it may be said that between 12,000-14,000 members support the C.C. while about 4,000-5,000 have split off with the Sillen group. Accurate information will of course be obtained only later. It can be foretold, however, that a certain number of members will drop out in demoralization. The most important industrial centers (iron, textile, mining, lumber) support the Party.

The Young Communist League of Sweden which included 14,000 members in 1928 but which lost at least 4,000 members within the last years as a result of its "left" leadership, is also split. So far about 98 local organizations including about 5,000 members have come out in support of the Party.

The C.C. also retains the papers and periodicals that are being issued for women, peasants, trade unions, etc.

In Sweden the opposition to the ultra-left course of the Comintern has already won the Party! This places upon the Swedish comrades an especially responsible task in the international struggle for winning the Comintern back to its Leninist line!



# Rosa Luxemburg

"In Spite of all Her Errors She Was and Remains an Eagle!"

By Will Herberg

THE life and works of Rosa Luxemburg," Lenin once declared, "should serve for the instruction of generations of Communists in all countries." The political life of Rosa Luxemburg is a clear mirror of the course of the proletarian revolutionary movement during a most important phase of its development. From the the period of its very origin down to its definite crystallization in the fires of struggle, Rosa Luxemburg was one of the best recognized leaders of the revolutionary internationalist wing of the Social-democracy and its outstanding theoretician. In the Polish revolutionary movement, in the German Social-democracy (which in those days occupied a position of undisputed leadership in the world Socialist movement), at International Socialist Congresses, Rosa was always in the forefront—the fiery agitator, the gifted organizer, the profound theoretician!

The process of differentiation within the Socialist movement began almost simultaneously with the consolidation of the national Socialist parties into the Second International. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the differences had already reached the point of open struggle—in France over the question of ministerialism, in Germany over the revisionist offensive of Bernstein, in Russia over economism and organizational questions. In this first phase of the struggle Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Kautsky were comrades-in-arms against Bernstein and Millerand. The conflict between revolutionary Marxism and centrism was still in the future.

The world-historical events in Russia in 1905 and the political mass struggles in Belgium and elsewhere at about the same time carried forward the inevitable differentiation process a step further. The rift between the vacillating center and the newly crystallized group of "radical Marxists" grew greater and assumed open theoretical form. Again Rosa was in the forefront, this time fighting with determination against Kautsky himself and exposing the inner nature of the so-called "Marxian center." The three great historical tendencies in the German Social-democracy had now assumed distinct form and were openly fighting for hegemony within the revolutionary labor movement.

August 1914! The imperialist butchery has engulfed Europe! The growing split in the Social-democracy has matured. Opportunism has become transformed into social-patriotism; Kautskyan centrism into a form of social-pacifism in essence indistinguishable from the chauvinism of the opportunists. The "radical Marxists" have taken up the banner of international Socialism, of the revolutionary struggle against war!

Again Rosa in the forefront! Denouncing the treacherous Social-democracy—"a whitened sepulcher," organizing the forces of proletarian mass action and revolution in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties and the bitterest persecution! Spartakus raises its voice!

Spartakus and the November days! Spartakus on the barricades! Soviets spread thruout Germany! Red Rosa is everywhere—leading the flower of the German proletariat for the decisive struggle!

The streets of Berlin run with blood. The Social-democratic leaders marshal the forces of "law and order." Spartakus is "crushed." "Order reigns in Berlin!"

Liebknecht, Radek, and Luxemburg are in hiding. The bloody incitement in the Social-democratic press against Spartakus

reaches incredible heights. January 15, 1920! Rosa and Karl are discovered and brutally murdered! But Spartakus cannot be crushed! It rises again in the form of the young Communist Party of Germany, the enduring monument to the glorious Rosa!

Spartakus is international. "The stream of revolutionary Socialism," said Lenin, "for which the Spartakusbund stands in Germany, is represented in all countries." The consolidation of the revolutionary Marxists thruout the world proceeds indeed by stages but proceeds surely to its goal. Thru Zimmerwald and Kienthal on to the Communist International in 1919! In spite of hesitation and wavering Spartakus is there and the name of the *Spartakusbund* is found among the little group signing the Manifesto of the First Congress of the Communist International.

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The theoretical achievements of Rosa Luxemburg in Marxist research, in the study of economic and political questions, in the analysis of the basic problems of strategy and tactics of the proletarian struggle are monumental. Lenin was of the opinion that next to Marx and Engels Rosa Luxemburg was probably the most original and fruitful theoretician in the Socialist movement; if we except Lenin himself it is not very hard to agree with this judgment. In the columns of the German Social-democratic press, in her classes at the Berlin Party School, in innumerable books, pamphlets and polemics, in the flaming *Spartakus Letters* during the war, in the famous *Junius pamphlet*, in the new revolutionary *Internationale* and *Rote Fahne*, Rosa Luxemburg wielded her brilliant pen as the most powerful weapon in the struggle for revolutionary Marxism.

The theoretical achievements of Rosa Luxemburg lie in every field. Her *Introduction to National Economy* is still a textbook deserving the closest study. The *Accumulation of Capital* remains a monumental work of Marxian economic analysis which has evoked the highest praise on the part of those who, like Lenin and Bukharin, criticized its errors most sharply. Of striking interest is that wonderful series of articles on *Social Reform or Social Revolution*, probably the most vigorous polemic against reformism in all its aspects in the West European Social-democratic movement. The masterly work on *Mass Strike, Party and Trade Unions*, a landmark in the development of Marxist theory, is still a valuable guide for a revolutionary policy on these basic questions. We come much nearer to our own times when we approach Rosa's work during the war and the German Revolution, especially the famous speeches and articles on the programmatic and tactical questions of the Spartakusbund in which the striking similarity of viewpoint with the line of Lenin is clearly visible.

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The differences between Rosa Luxemburg and Russian revolutionary Marxists (in the first place, Lenin) were many and important. They were inevitable differences. They were differences due either to the different stages of maturity of the same movement or else to the different conditions which the revolutionary movement necessarily met in countries as different as Imperial Germany and Czarist Russia. In the first category fall the national and agrarian questions; the rapidly accumulating experiences of the revolutionary struggle con-

## In the Communist International

### THE CRISIS IN THE FINNISH COMMUNIST PARTY

Under conditions of illegality and bitter White terror following upon the defeat of the Finnish Revolution of 1918, the revolutionary proletariat of Finland succeeded in building up a strong and well functioning Communist Party as well as powerful militant trade unions under left-wing control. The hold of the Social-democracy was loosened from the best sections of the working class. The Communist Party developed a strong press and other legal and semi-legal institutions. The Communist Party of Finland was growing as one of the best sections of the Comintern.

But Finland could not be exempt from the international crisis. The ultra-left line hit the Finnish Communist movement towards the middle of 1928 when the Eccl and the R.I.L.U. ordered a right-about-face in the trade union policies of the Party and in general in the policies of mass work. The tactic of the united front—thru which a powerful Soviet-Finnish Trade Union Unity movement had been built up—was to be given up and to be replaced by the new course of isolation and sectarianism. This new course was championed by Kullervo Manner, the secretary of the Party. It met with the resistance of a large number of the best and oldest Party comrades, especially those active in the trade unions and the mass organizations. It did not take long before these comrades were expelled and the real wrecking campaign inaugurated. The expelled Opposition group retained control of the most important trade unions and mass organizations.

The illegal Finnish Party press overflowed with the worst sort of abuse against the Opposition comrades as "opportunists," "conciliators," "traitors," etc. in order to destroy their influence among the workers. These articles were reprinted verbatim in the organ of the Finnish Social-democracy, *Suomen Sosiali-Demokratti*, and even in the Fascist papers because they too were interested in discrediting the revolutionary leadership in the trade unions. But in spite of all these efforts the numbers and the influence of the Opposition has continually grown.

Towards the end of 1929 and the beginning of 1930 the Finnish political police—the notorious *Ochruna*—conducted a whole series of arrests of Communists and left-wing workers. (These arrests were made possible thru the carelessness of the Party leaders and also the fact that one of the "loyalite" Party lead-

vinced Rosa herself of her errors on these questions. In the other category are to be found such questions as organizational centralization, a question that would inevitably take on different aspects under the very different conditions of the Social-democratic movements in Germany and in Russia. The war, the split in the International and the establishment of independent Communist Parties brought another change in the situation and the history of the Spartakusbund and of the C.P.G. makes it clear that Rosa fully absorbed the principles of democratic centralism and revolutionary discipline, in the spirit of Lenin and not of the Party bureaucracy.

"In spite of all her errors Rosa Luxemburg was and remains an eagle!" said Lenin who certainly was not one to forget or to gloss over any differences!

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Rosa Luxemburg does not belong to the working class of any country any more than Marx belongs to the German or Lenin to the Russian workers! She belongs to the international proletariat for it is as the expression of the revolutionary strivings of the proletariat that she has attained world significance. Her life was the very expression of the inner development of the revolutionary movement in its most important phases. It is as the embodiment of the revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary will of the class whose historical mission it is to overturn the very basis of modern society in order to rebuild it on new foundations that Rosa Luxemburg stands before us, alongside of Marx and Lenin!

ers, Jalmar Rasi, turned out to be a police spy). The revolutionary trade unions immediately decided upon a big mass protest strike for the political prisoners who were on a hunger strike. *The lives of over a hundred political prisoners were at stake.* But, so far had the mad self-destructive course gone, that the official Party press and the press under Party influence refused to publish the strike call or to call upon the workers to come out in protest strike—just because revolutionary trade union leaders are with the Opposition! The Communist papers in Uleaborg, Vasa, Tammerfors and Viborg maintained a silence that was well utilized by the Social-democratic and Fascist press in their offensive against the protest strike. Naturally, the protest strike was greatly crippled by this shameful sabotage on the part of people who call themselves Communists.

However, all these experiences are clearing the air and making it plain to the Party membership and to the revolutionary workers as to who really stand for proletarian unity and revolutionary struggle. The influence of the Opposition is growing stronger continually and on February 1, 1930 will appear its first daily paper, *Finnish Worker*.

The Communist Opposition in Finland has a great but difficult task before it; the heroic revolutionary traditions of the Finnish proletariat give us the confidence of its success.

### ERNST MEYER DEAD.

According to *Imprecor* reports, Ernst Meyer, the well-known German Communist leader, died in Berlin on February 2, 1930 following an operation.

Comrade Meyer was one of the outstanding forces in the Communist movement of Germany. While still a student he joined the Social-democracy in 1908. Four years later (1912) he became an editorial worker on the *Vorwarts* but in 1915 he was dismissed for his struggle against the war. He took part in the Zimmerwald Conference and was subsequently imprisoned in Germany. The German Revolution of 1918 freed him. Ernst Meyer was one of the founders of the *Spartakusbund* and a close collaborator of Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

In the last period Comrade Meyer was to be found in the group of the "conciliators" (Ewert group, which could not swallow the destructive new course of the Eccl and of the CPG but which did not possess the political determination to come out in open struggle against it. For this reason his great abilities lay practically unused by the revolutionary movement in the last year or more. Nevertheless, his loss is a severe blow to the proletariat of Germany and to the revolutionary movement. In a coming issue of *Revolutionary Age* we will publish an account and estimation of the life of Ernst Meyer.

FEBRUARY ISSUE ALREADY OUT!

## Revolutionary Youth

Organ of Young Communist League  
(Majority Group)

5 cents a copy

50 cents a year

THIRD ISSUE OUT SOON!

## Jewish Monthly Bulletin

of the Communist Party (Majority Group)

5 cents a copy

50 cents a year

# The Facts Speak For Themselves

By Harry Winitsky

**I**n the *Daily Worker* of December 23 Earl Browder comes out with a tirade against Lovestone as a witness in the case of the State of New York against me. On November 30 the *Daily Worker* carried an editorial attacking Lovestone, also mentioning this case and referring to Lovestone as a former "police officer" of the state.

Since both the editorial of the *Daily Worker* and the article of Browder involve me and since I know the intimate details of this case I feel called upon to settle this matter definitely once and for all.

First, I want to take up the editorial of Nov. 30. In this editorial is mentioned the fact that Lovestone was once a "police officer" of the state. I want to brand this statement as a contemptible lie. It is true that Lovestone was a social worker in 1918. He was in the employ of a charitable and social agency supervising delinquent children and was not a police officer. I also held the same position. This position we held while we were members of the Socialist Party and not while we were members of the Communist Party. Since the *Daily Worker* condemns Lovestone for having been a social worker and thus proves conclusively that this is the reason why Lovestone is now a "renegade" I wish to point out that two of the staunchest supporters of the Party-wrecking policies, two of the strongest "loyal revisionists" of the present C.E.C. also worked as social workers with Lovestone and myself at the time, and they are no other than W. W. Weinstone and Edward Royce, the super-bolshevik businessman and employer of seaf labor, who was a social worker at the time. And Weinstone the former D.O. of this district and now the American representative to the C.I. has also forgotten when he was a social worker too.

And now we come to the tirade of Browder in his article of Dec. 23 which appeared in the *Daily Worker* under the heading, *Lovestone Ends his Isolation*. Here Browder writes as follows:

*"In the light of Lovestones' latest evolution, new understanding may be had of his appearance in court in 1920 as a state witness in the case of Harry Winitsky, which was mentioned in passing in the Daily Worker editorial of Nov. 30. He received immunity from prosecution by agreeing to testify; his testimony was referred to by the judge in charging the jury as the basis for a verdict of guilty against Winitsky."*

In the last issue of *Revolutionary Age* there appeared two letters dealing with this case. One letter was from Comrade Ruthenberg while he was in Sing Sing with me, in which he accepted the entire responsibility for Lovestone's appearance at the trial as a witness. Browder in his article lies when he states that Lovestone agreed to testify against me when he was offered immunity from prosecution. During the interval between Comrade Gitlow's trial and mine, a period of a few weeks, a special law was enacted by the state legislature making it mandatory for a witness to appear and testify in any cases involved by the Criminal Anarchy statute. When Lovestone was called to the stand he refused to testify but was compelled to testify by the State. Many of us, myself included at the time, felt that Lovestone should have refused to testify and should have gone to jail for contempt of court. However since there was no ruling of the Party in this matter, Lovestone as a disciplined member of the Party accepted the instructions of Ruthenberg, then the secretary of the Party, and testified. Browder further states that "his (Lovestone) testimony was referred to by the judge in charging the jury as the basis for a verdict of guilty against Winitsky." This I again brand as a deliberate lie, a contemptible trick used by Browder to cover the truth. I have read and reread the minutes and proceedings in my case and nowhere is there a single word to justify Browder's statements. Lovestone did not say a word at the trial which was not already in the record at the time; he merely repeated some of the testimony which was in the record, and his testimony had nothing to do with my conviction. If Browder will take the trouble to look up my statement on this case which I submitted to the International Control Commission at Moscow, he will see therein that I stated that Lovestone's testimony had nothing to do with my conviction. My only objection at that time was that Lovestone should not have appeared at all as a witness; I thought he should have refused to testify and gone to jail. But I now recognize that this would have done no good whatever, but merely made another victim of the capitalist class. I had

no illusions as to my fate when I went to trial, and I frankly told the Communist International in my statement of the case that I was convicted by the court even before my trial had started and that Lovestone's testimony had nothing to do with my conviction.

The question now arises: *Why did I make my statement to the International Control Commission, and why was this question reopened a few years after the affair was closed?* I will now take up a few minutes time to refresh the memories of such sterling Bolsheviks as Lore, Cannon, Foster, Browder, Dunne, Bittleman, Krumbein, Poyntz, Grecht and others who were then in the same caucus and of which I was also a member. If they remember, we all used to meet at the office of Lore in the *Volkszeitung* building. While I was in prison, during 1921, Cannon came to visit me, and tried to get me to file charges against Lovestone, stating that he was wrecking the Party. However, knowing Jim Cannon as well as I did I refused to do this. When I came out and a year later joined the Foster caucus and the inner-Party fight became very intense the caucus decided that it was necessary to "eliminate" Lovestone if the fight was to be won. They all felt that Lovestone was the brains of the opposition caucus and that if he were discredited and eliminated the fight would be over. At these meetings they kept pleading with me to bring charges against Lovestone. In fact at one meeting in Lore's office, at which Lore, Poyntz, Krumbein, Grecht, London, Cannon, and others were present, plans were discussed to get some money from a certain rich man *in order to hire a detective to shadow Lovestone and if necessary to frame him up!* Finally after a good deal of persuasion on the part of Cannon, Foster, Lore, Bittleman and Co., I promised that I would draw up the charges which they would then present to the C. I. Foster and Cannon left for the other side and I promised to forward the charges. I hold no brief for what I did at the time in those conditions. After they left I thought over the matter and decided not to go through with this dirty job. In the mean time they had made the charges at the control commission in Moscow, and when my written charges were not forthcoming the commission began to suspect that there was something wrong. Foster and Cannon were worried to death and finally cabled to Krumbein and Manly and they brought pressure to bear on me to send my charges, stating that the International Commission had threatened to expel Foster and Cannon from the Party if they did not back up their charges against Lovestone with written charges by myself. It was under these conditions that I finally sent my charges over, in order to save the necks of Foster and Cannon the leaders of the caucus.

After this affair was over, and the C. I. had rendered its verdict closing the case, and I realized what a disgusting, and non-Communist role I had played in the entire matter, and after carefully thinking over the entire case and realizing how I had been used as a dupe by Cannon, Foster, Lore, Bittleman, Dunne and the rest, and while I was still in their caucus and fighting against the Ruthenberg group, I wrote the following letter to Lovestone,

Dear Jay:—

*Now that the C. I. has rendered its decision in this case of mine against you and I have had time to thoroly digest all the events leading up to my presenting the charges I want to say that I am sorry that I made these charges against you. As I told you once before, even tho I disagreed with your position and that of Ruthenberg in taking the stand as a witness, I nevertheless know that you did what you did, feeling that it was your duty to carry out the decisions of Ruthenberg and Ferguson, who were on the small executive comm. and that you acted as you did knowing that it would not help the party for you to refuse to testify, and knowing full well all the time that no matter what you did you could not help me. All that I can tell you at this time is that I did this job, which is a nasty one because I was led into doing it by a few "good friends" of mine. I did it to save their necks and there are now times when I often wonder and doubt their sincerity and loyalty as Communists. Even tho I am at present fighting the Ruthenberg group in the Party, because I feel that you have an incorrect position, and I feel that you are not following a policy that will build*

## PARTY LIFE

### ORGANIZING THE UNEMPLOYED IN SAN ANTONIO

The CP-Majority Group of San Antonio, Texas has taken up seriously the task of holding aloft the banner of Communist struggle where the Party has dropped it. The unemployment situation in San Antonio is very severe, especially among the Mexican workers. The "official" Party has done nothing. The CP-Majority Group took up the task. A Spanish leaflet was printed and widely distributed. A mass meeting was arranged for January 26. This meeting was an overwhelming success! *Over three hundred Mexican workers were present!* An Unemployment Council was immediately established, officers elected, etc. Some very valuable contacts were made. The loyalites were supposed to come to this meeting to distribute leaflets for the Mother Bloor ILD meeting but they failed to appear, declaring that "they don't go where there are renegades!" Inevitably the Mother Bloor meeting was a failure. Only 23 were present, among whom some were "Lovestoneites."

The developments in the Party generally, and in San Antonio particularly, are beginning to tell upon hitherto "loyal" Party comrades. An important comrade has recently declared that he wanted to have a talk with our comrades because he felt that "something is wrong in the Party." A whole group of American Party comrades feel the same way, great progress is being made all along the line.

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### WHAT IS HAPPENING IN NEW BEDFORD.

A demonstration in front of the Dartmouth Mill was held by the Union in connection with the Beal ten days' campaign for organization. On Tuesday, Russak announced in the local papers that the Union would have a mill gate meeting in front of the Dartmouth Mill on Wednesday at 12.30 P. M. When Beal, Russak, and Hegelias arrived at the gate there were a dozen policemen waiting. As soon as they started to speak, they were arrested one by one.

At 7.30 P. M. the union held a meeting and Russak told the workers that the next day the Union would have a meeting at the same gate. When the organizers arrived the police force was already on the job. Forty policemen headed by a deputy chief broke up the meeting, clubbed a few workers and arrested sixteen.

One hour after the Dartmouth Mill gate meeting, a score of policemen raided the Union Hall at the South End with the intent of driving the workers out. It happened that I was there at the time. The sergeant went to me and told me that he would clean up the hall. I answered that he had no right to do it because the hall belongs to the Union and the workers were there talking peacefully. He said that he knew me very well and drew a club to strike me. When the workers saw that I was in danger they jumped on the police and we succeeded in driving them out of the hall. I was arrested with two more fellow workers.

The police knew that if they clubbed me the workers would

*up the Party in this country, I nevertheless want you to know that I am sorry that I took the stand that I did. This is a personal matter between the two of us, and I hope that you will consider it as such and not make this letter public.*

Sincerely and Fraternally,  
Harry Winitsky

Even at that time, as this letter to Lovestone proves, I already felt that the Foster, Bittleman, Dunne, Cannon and Lore menage, were hurting the Party, were interested in their personal selves first, and that they would not hesitate to smash the Party if they felt that they could not win out otherwise. And I think I was correct in my letter to Lovestone, in doubting their sincerity. The reign of expulsions of the best Communist in this country, the present campaign of slander and filth of the present misleaders of the Party, the frame-ups that they use now as they did then (when they wanted to hire a detective to shadow Lovestone and frame him) proves beyond doubt what I then suspected.

I have always been ashamed of the part I played in this affair and now I am certainly glad of the opportunity to expose the slimy schemes of the Party wreckers.

become very angry. Therefore they did not touch me until we got to the station, where five policemen attacked me with their fists and clubs. My right eye is still black, my head is still swollen and my body is still black and blue from the brutal attack. I went to the court with the others and Hoffman, the defense counsel, had the case postponed until January 31.

Due to unemployment and the wrong policy, the Union is facing a deep crisis. I heard a speech made by Beal in which he admits that the Union in New Bedford is in danger. Nahorski claims that Comrade Keller fooled him about the situation in New Bedford. He asked to be removed so as not to take the blame for the destruction of the Union.

Russak is using new tactics. He does not attack the "Lovestoneites" openly in the Union meetings, but directs his attacks at Weisbord, Keller, Dawson and Pires, as the "right wing." The protest meeting Sunday was not properly organized and was attended by only 400.

The situation in the mills is growing worse every day. In New Bedford there are about 15,000 without work. In Fall River the Cotton Association held a meeting last week and decided to regulate the wage scale, which means wage cuts. This already started. The Carlton Mills gave the workers two more looms and a 38% cut. The NTWU has nothing in Fall River except two organizers, Piser and Sameiro. The AFTO called a strike and succeeded in calling out 1,800 workers. It seems that the NTWU has done nothing in Fall River at present due to the weakness of the present leadership.

The Party situation is the following. Hegelias still has only 15 members. For a long time they have held no meeting. In spite of the hot air carried in the *Daily Worker* about the membership drive here, it is unfortunately clear to everyone that the Party is dying very quickly in New Bedford.

Jan. 20, 1930.

R. PIRES.

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### IN THE BALTIMORE COOPERATIVE.

In accordance with a motion passed at the last meeting of the Workers Cooperative in Baltimore, the motion of the loyalites for the removal of all "Lovestoneites" from office was taken up at the meeting held on Sunday, February 3. Previous to this meeting the Party held a caucus with some non-partisans. Here a dispute developed which lasted until two in the morning on the question of the attitude of the Cooperative toward the Negro workers. As a result of this caucus the Party dropped completely its previous demands on the Negro question and centered its fight on the expulsion question. Meanwhile the Board of Directors under the leadership of Comrade Gallant and Leibowitz, presented a number of positive proposals insuring the Negro workers full rights and privileges of membership in all activities of the organization, and rejecting the factional demands of the loyalites. This resolution was carried by a vote of 50 to 38. Then the loyalites made an appeal for the *Freiheit*. When Bauerberg, who voted against the expulsions, offered to give \$150, Hurwitz the *Freiheit* manager refused the offer saying: "We don't want money from those who vote against our resolution." This aroused such a storm of indignation that Hurwitz had to flee from the meeting.

\* \* \*

### NEWS FROM PHILADELPHIA.

Attached you will find another letter calling a meeting of Unit 2B sent by the too-honest Fosterite secretary, J. Drill. The letter deflates the "prosperity" talk of the *Daily Worker* about "the thousands of workers pouring into the Party." The letter says among other things: "We are in the midst of the recruiting drive, and yet our unit has not accomplished anything." This is a unit of over 40 members, working in Kensington and North Philadelphia, the textile area, and containing most of the Americans in the Party.

It is rather peculiar when one contrasts the statements in the *Daily Worker* with the situation as reported at the Philadelphia membership meeting. At this meeting Browder reported 3,000 actual dues paying members in the Party, that is, on the old dues basis!

A report of the Independent Workmens Circle Convention was made Tuesday night by Sultan. To our surprise, only 135 attended the meeting; we had expected 300 to 400. It seems that the reaction of the non-Party workers to the downright



# Greetings!

REVOLUTIONARY AGE, as the central organ of the CP-Majority Group, heartily greets two fellow-fighters in the struggle for the restoration of the Leninist line in the American Party and in the Comintern: the *Jewish Monthly Bulletin* and *Revolutionary Youth* (the organ of the Y.C.L.-Majority Group).

The *Jewish Monthly Bulletin*, two issues of which have already appeared, deals very effectively with the important problems facing the Jewish Party members and revolutionary workers in America. The third issue of this paper will appear very soon.

The first issue of *Revolutionary Youth*, dated January 1930, represents a distinct achievement for the reestablishment of the League on a basis of healthy growth and development. It is a bright and interesting youth paper that is sure to have a good effect upon the League membership and upon the young workers. The second issue, just off the press, in an enlarged form, is even better than the first.

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betrayal of the Party is not so much open resistance as disgust, apathy, going away to other benevolent organizations, etc. Two of our comrades got the floor and we put up a good fight.

B., Philadelphia, Pa.

Jan. 24, 1930.

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## LIFSHITZ AT SPLENDID MEETING IN PHILA.

In an effort to prevent discussion of the disastrous policy of the present Party "leadership" in the Independent Workmens Circle, the loyalites of Philadelphia organized on Wednesday, January 29, a squad armed with baseball bats and iron pipes to attack a large meeting of Jewish comrades arranged to hear Comrade Ben Lifshitz speak on Workmens Circle question. The squad, which numbered about two dozen, was repulsed by the workers who refused to permit their meeting to be disrupted. The attack, in which two workers were injured, only increased the dissatisfaction of these workers with disastrous results of the "new line" in the Workmens Circle. A collection of \$18.00 was made for the *Jewish Bulletin*. To hide their mortification and defeat, the loyalites spread rumors afterwards that no meeting was held.

\* \* \*

## ULTRA-LEFT SECTARIANISM IN FULL FLOWER!

For months the Labor Department, the police, in connection with the officials of reactionary "Shoe Workers Union" and the shoe manufacturers, have carried on an intensive attack against the militant Independent Shoe Workers Union. This attack has taken on all the viciousness characteristic of Tammany police and has gone so far as to evict the strikers from their own headquarters. In view of this most serious situation, coupled with the many injunctions that have been issued both against the Independent Shoe Workers Union and workers of the struck shops, our comrades, members of the Publicity Committee, presented to the General Strike Committee a draft of an Appeal. The object of this statement was to rouse the interest and sympathy not only of those workers that are closest to the left wing movement but also of those in all labor organizations, irrespective of their particular affiliation. This Appeal took up the question of injunctions of police brutality, of the strike of 2,000 shoe workers, of the needs with which these strikers are faced, of the general organizational work that the Union is conducting, and generally appealed for moral and financial support, in the name of working-class solidarity.

When this Appeal came up for discussion at the Joint Council and the General Strike Committee, it was rejected on the ground that while "the contents was not objectionable," the Union as an organization "does not recognize any labor organization or Union that is not controlled by the left wing."

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## POLICE ARREST PICKET IN FURNITURE STRIKE.

Michael Intrator, was arrested on Monday, February 3, while assisting on the picket line of the striking furniture workers. He was taken to the Raymond Street jail on a charge of disorderly conduct. The case was postponed until February 20 and meanwhile Intrator was released under \$500 bail.



## A Worker writes:

Dear Comrades:

Revolutionary Age No. 6 is splendid! Wolfe's *Lenin* is an eye-opener and Lovestone's *Plowing the Sands of Capitalist "Peace"* is a masterpiece. A copy of Lenin's *Letter to the American Workers* should be sent to the present leadership of the Party. They never saw it, I am sure! The sooner you will make *Revolutionary Age* a weekly and then a daily—the better for the Communist movement of this and other countries. The enclosed \$10 towards a *Weekly Revolutionary Age*.

Fraternally yours,

STEVE APPLETON, Richmond, Va.

This worker expresses the sentiments of hundreds. There are, however, thousands of workers and Party members who have to be reached with the same message. Comrade Appleton has done his share. Every reader of REVOLUTIONARY AGE must do likewise. It is especially important that every worker, in addition to sending his donation at once, should immediately get his fellow workers to take advantage of the special offer which will be found on another page. REVOLUTIONARY AGE, together with the CRISIS IN THE CP of USA, will be eye-openers for thousands of workers. Let's do the job right!

## Significant Words!

IN Portland, Oregon there is an individual by the name of H. H. Stallard. The less said about him personally the better. For years this personage has been carrying on a bitter campaign of slander and vilification against the Communist movement of this country and against the Communist Party. Some of his milder characterizations of the Party were: "... a gang of disruptionists, self-seekers... their low, vile and unscrupulous tactics in extorting money from the public..." Well, for a long time this worthy has been carrying on his attacks on the Communists thru his own unaided efforts; he even thought, as he confesses, that "the Third International was of the same tribe." But suddenly he discovered something:

"After reading the *Daily Worker* of May 20th... I have changed my mind as to the Third International. By reading this carefully (the *Address of the Third International to the Communists of America*) one will see that the charges that have been made against this tribe of misfits (the *Communists of America*) has been tame indeed. The Third International should expel the whole American tribe..."

Then to prove his point he proceeds jubilantly to reprint the *Address of the Comintern* in full, verbatim, and to issue the whole in an eight page folder specially prepared for the occasion! And then he ends up in a "personal statement":

"My object in publishing this leaflet is as much to show the honest Communist that the leaders of his organization are self seekers and have no interest only for power that they may plunder."

Is it accidental that this worthy, Mr. Stallard, has "changed his mind about the Third International" after reading the *Address*? Is it an accident that he can find no better weapon against the Communist movement than reprinting the *Address* and broadcasting it? Is it accidental that the leading bourgeois papers as well as the organ of the Socialists (*Forward*) and of the SLP (*Weekly People*) all gave great publicity to the *Address* with undisguised satisfaction?