

Revolutionary Age

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

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April 21, 1930.
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In Brief

"President at Camp, Finds Fish Biting." This is a front page *New York Times* headline. This is at the *Rapidan* where Hoover once before thought he caught a big fish biting—in his talks with MacDonald. But at the London Conference these British and American anglers have been dishing out some of these *Rapidan* fish. And what a miserable mess this "disarmament" conference has proven to be! Really, only the poorest Liberal and "Socialist" fish ever believed the imperialist fishermen to be seriously angling for peace. The whole conference has turned out to be such a hopeless tangle, that many capitalist statesmen are now sorry that it was ever called. Regardless of what "brilliant" diplomatic strokes may be played before the Conference goes into history, it has already dragged along too much to be a real success. When King George and "Comrade" MacDonald opened the Conference, the imperialist delegates acted like a bevy of doves. Within a week, the delegates began to behave like a flock of carrion crows. And now many millions of workers can see these "peace" delegates as they really are—imperialist vultures.

* * *

Bigger and better bluff seems to be what the *Pravda* is after—we are sorry to say. The entire policy is based on a flat rejection of the great value placed by Lenin on "the precisely established objective facts." Thus, the world is being told that the American working class is becoming "rapidly revolutionized." We are "promised" that *May Day* will be celebrated in the United States by "mass political strikes." This time, we are forced to be more accurate than polite and to call a spade—a spade. This line of talk is just plain bunk. We heard the same promises for March 6 when the much-heralded "general strike" was a miserable fiasco. Why spoil the splendid chances for Communist leadership of mass struggles with such poppycock? Oh, yes! Perhaps the present Party "leadership" has cabled across "exact" information about the "revolutionary, mass political strike" in Greely County (population 11,375), Kansas where four census takers have gone on strike against the Government for higher wages! But even Comrade Stalin should know that there is a limit to "excesses" and "dizziness." We hope so.

* * *

Tears were shed for Lord Balfour at the Council of the World Zionist Organization in London. Especially loud wailing came from several British Millionaire-delegates at the death of the author of the "Magna Charta" of Zionism. This is nothing to wonder at. The notorious Balfour Declaration, by which the Zionists swear, very properly begins with "My dear Lord Rothschild." And there could be no more fitting godfather to so reactionary a movement as Zionism than Lord Balfour. It was "The Late Great Balfour" who as Queen Victoria's Chief Secretary for Ireland ruthlessly slaugh-

(continued on page 2).

Down Tools on May Day!

Manifesto of the C. P. - Majority Group

WORKERS AND FARMERS!

Hoover's "permanent prosperity" has exploded! Millions of unemployed are tramping the streets and crowding the bread lines. Acute suffering prevails among the workers of this country. In a country bulging with wealth we see the most terrible conditions of abject poverty. Wages are being cut and part-time employment established in most industries. Capitalist reaction is growing more brutal every day. Strikes are being smashed in the most vicious manner. The unemployed are being clubbed and imprisoned everywhere.

American imperialism is spreading its bloody rule over Latin America, over the Philippines, in Asia, everywhere. The growing rivalry between Great Britain and the USA for the hegemony of the world is laying the basis for the outbreak of a world war of unheard of proportions. The United States government is taking the lead in preparing an attack upon the Soviet Union. It is the front ranks in the "holy alliance" of imperialists, the Pope, the bishops and the rabbis in trying to incite the masses into an attack upon the first workers government in the world.

The reactionary labor bureaucrats, the Socialist Party leaders, are working overtime to serve the capitalists by hindering militant revolutionary action on the part of the masses.

The discontent of the masses is growing. Signs of this are everywhere. In the trade unions the rank and file are beginning to give expression to their discontent. The unemployment demonstrations show that the unemployed workers are ready to fight against unemployment and for immediate relief.

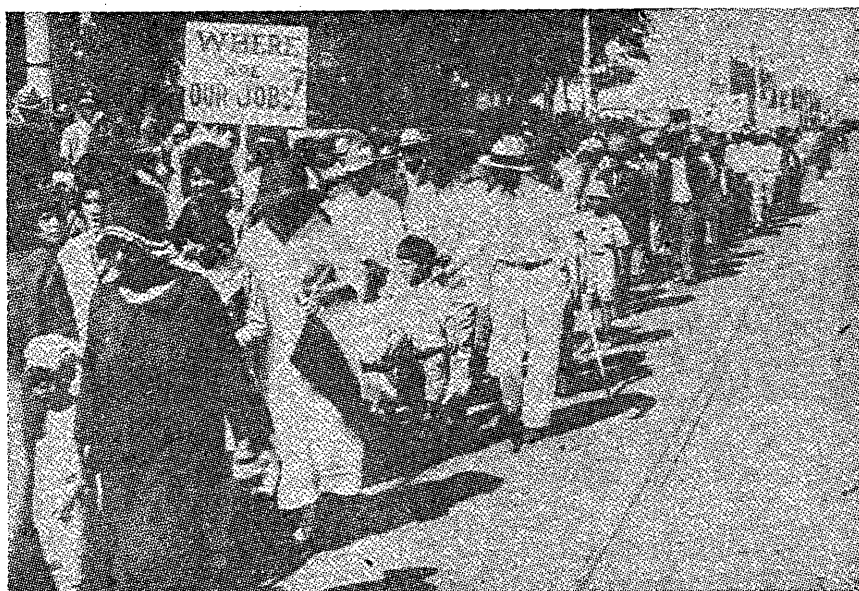
The unity of the working class forces is the best weapon against capitalism, against Hoover's schemes to crush the workers, against the treacherous actions of the reactionary officials of the A. F. of L. and the treacherous leaders of the Socialist Party.

To achieve this unity must be the first task of the Communists. *May Day*, the day of international solidarity of the working class, must be a demonstration for proletarian unity against the capitalists!

Workers of all races, of all nationalities, Negro, white and yellow! *May Day* is your holiday! Down your tools! Leave the factories, mines and mills, by the hundreds of thousands and together with the millions of unemployed demonstrate your solidarity as a class! Demonstrate the might of your numbers and your determination to fight to free yourselves from unemployment, exploitation, and imperialist war!

Demonstrate your solidarity with the workers of all countries! Join with them in the international revolutionary struggle to wipe out capitalism with its oppression, its brutality and bloodshed, off the face of the earth!

(continued on page 2).



THE SAN ANTONIO UNEMPLOYMENT DEMONSTRATION

15,000 Demonstrate in S. Antonio

Nearly fifteen thousand workers, including thousands of Mexicans, participated in the unemployment demonstration and parade organized by the Mexican Labor Council of San Antonio, Texas, under the leadership of Jacob Shaffer, Magdaleno Rodriguez, S. S. Shaffer, and C. P. LeFrank on Monday morning, April 7. After marching thru the scheduled route, thereby passing the Mexican consulate, in spite of protests of Governor Moody, the parade wound up before the City Hall where a demonstration took place for the demands of the unemployed.

Ten different demands were handed Mayor Chambers by Magdaleno Rodriguez in a resolution adopted by the unemployment council. These demands were: Unemployment insurance; the abolition of child labor; the abolition of the speed-up system; the abolition of overtime; a 40-hour, 5-day week; food for the unemployed workers children attending school; no evictions of unemployed workers; the abolition of the vagrancy laws against the unemployed workers; the abolition of the vagrancy laws against the unemployed workers; the abolition of contracting the laborers and the demand that laborers be hired by the day or week.

The first speaker at the demonstration before City Hall was J. Shaffer, the representative of the Communist Party (Majority Group). He declared that strong organization was the only road to the solution of the problems facing the unemployed workers. He urged the formation of an unemployed council embracing all of the unemployed workers in San Antonio. Rodriguez who followed him called attention to the condition of the large numbers of Mexican workers in the Southwest.

The huge number of Mexican workers who came out to demonstrate upon the call of the Mexican Labor Council frightened the business men and the authorities of San Antonio. "I think they turned Mexico loose in San Antonio", one business man is reported having declared. "Send them back to Mexico if they want jobs," was his solution. But the workers demonstrated in their solidarity that this was not the solution for them!

The huge demonstration in San Antonio is especially important since San Antonio is the leading center in the entire Southwest and even exercises considerable influence in Mexico.

* * *

The San Antonio Mexican Labor Council, which organized the demonstration, was established some time ago with the help and initiative of the Communist Party (Majority Group). In the short time of its existence it has already won the support of the decisive elements among the Mexican workers, and, as the demonstration showed, has spread its influence over large masses of the Latin American workers in San Antonio and vicinity. This success has been made possible by the policy of united front and the broad mobilization of the masses which our comrades have taken up when the Party dropped it. In the whole situation the official Party unit, which has almost disappeared, was completely out of the picture and made no effort whatever to do any Communist work. It actually boycotted the demonstration. In San Antonio the CP-Majority Group is the Party!

Hail International May Day!

In Brief

tered Irish workers fighting for their national independence from British imperialism. That's why he was called in Dublin "Base and Bloody Balfour." To the Arabian, Jewish and the Irish toiling masses, Balfour was only a cunning, bloodthirsty British imperialist butcher—and never a force for national or any other kind of freedom.

American capitalism is again on the threshold of a stock boom. Already the market has won back more than 50% of what it lost in the great panic. Six million share days are drawing near. New York's biggest banks are once more dumping hundreds of millions into the stock market. Hundreds of millions of dollars are again being put into speculation on the New York Stock Exchange by the biggest European business interests. But the economic crisis is as serious as ever. "Easy" money rates have helped speculation and not production. The slackening trade is itself driving money into the securities market in search of higher profits. It should be clear to everyone that the Stock Market is no longer an accurate barometer of the basic conditions of production and exchange. And if one will peel off even only the first layer of skin of the new boom now being reared, he will find that in all probability the dazzling boom will, within a few months at the outside, turn into a dangerous boomerang. One thing is already certain. The higher the tops, the deeper they will topple.

Who says the government isn't doing anything for the unemployed? Only the other day the United States Senate voted to pay \$25,000 each to "Senators-Respect" William Vare and W. W. Wilson of Pennsylvania to help them get along now that they have not gotten the much-coveted Senatorial jobs. At the same time the House of Representatives has shown real "worry" for the health of the unemployed workers by raising the salary of the Surgeon General from \$7,500 to \$9,700 a year and by passing a bill "to co-ordinate the Government's public health activities." All of which makes us wonder what the Hoover government will engineer next. But nothing will surprise or disappoint us. So far the working class has gotten from Wall Street's government everything we expected. Hundreds of millions have been handed out to the biggest open shop corporations in subsidies, refunds, and juicy contracts. Not even the crudest lick-spittle or most menial agent of Big Business has been forgotten. But no one cent has been or will be voted to help the starving unemployed.

DOWN TOOLS ON MAY DAY

(continued from page 1)

Demonstrate your solidarity with the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union! Let your demonstration be a fitting expression of your loyalty to the Soviet Union, the only workers government in the world! Demonstrate that you will fight with all your might to beat back and to crush any attempt on the part of the imperialist powers to attack and make war upon the Soviet Union—the fatherland of all the workers of the world!

In the entire capitalist world today there is starvation and misery. Millions of workers are unemployed. The demand for bread, the demand for work and for relief are met with clubs, rifle-fire, machine gun bullets and imprisonment. In India, China, in Palestine, in Egypt, in Haiti, in the Philippines in Nicaragua, the imperialist powers, thru bloody military occupation are trying to keep in a state of subjugation the millions of workers and farmers who are being robbed of their country and exploited for the benefit of the bankers and industrial barons of the imperialist countries!

Demonstrate your determination to end the whole system of exploitation and slavery!

Workers! Demonstrate! Down tools! Make May Day a mighty united demon-

Whalen's Provocations Must Not Succeed!

An Appeal to the Party Members

The forces of reaction are gathering to deliver a smashing blow against the Communist Party and the whole Communist movement on May First. Careful preparations for such an attack have been going on for many weeks. In New York, Mayor Walker, Police Commissioner Whalen, the American Legion and other veteran and patriotic societies have entered into a deliberate conspiracy to turn the May First demonstrations of the workers into a veritable blood-bath. For this purpose Clubber Whalen has "granted" to the jingo societies the use of Union Square for anti-Communist and anti-working-class demonstrations on May First as a deliberate provocation against the revolutionary movement in order to maneuver it into position where it can be attacked and smashed. The patriotic societies have already made it clear that they will come "prepared;" gangs of hired thugs will be ready; and Commissioner Whalen has announced that "10,000 policemen will be available." Never was a more criminal scheme more deliberately hatched in order to attack the most advanced section of the working class and to deliver a telling blow against the whole labor movement.

In this critical situation the false policies of the Party leadership have thrown the Party into an exposed position. The abandonment of the united front policy, the narrow sectarian line of the Party in mass work, has built up a chasm between the Party and even the militant sections of the working class who are being alienated from the Party and driven into indifference, let alone the broad masses of the backward workers. And every further step the Party takes widens this chasm!

In this situation the Party leaders have permitted themselves to fall into the trap so carefully laid by the forces of reaction. To the provocations of the police and the jingos the Party leaders have answered not with a cool, carefully considered policy based on the real situation and the relation of forces. They have answered with a policy of dangerous bravado and irresponsible adventurism. Precisely as Clubber Whalen expected and hoped the present policy of the Party has within it the danger of turning the May Day demonstration into an unequal pitched battle with the police and the jingo thugs. This is not revolutionary determination. This is dangerous adventurist irresponsibility! Lenin said:

"To take up the struggle under conditions favorable to the enemy, the bourgeoisie, and unfavorable for the working class is not only stupidity but a crime against the working class."

To fight the police and the armed forces (official and unofficial) of the capitalists is a necessary phase of the revolutionary movement for which the workers must be systematically prepared but it can only take place on the basis of certain objective conditions, of a certain relation of class forces. No one—not even the empty phrase-mongers in the Party leadership—will maintain that these conditions or that this relation of forces exist today. It would indeed be a crime against the Party and against the working class, if the continuation of the dangerous adventurist policy of the Party leadership threw the Party and the revolutionary movement into a position where it would stand exposed to the blows which the reactionary forces are preparing for it. The provocations of Commissioner Whalen and the World War Veterans must not succeed!

We say quite openly: The Party members and the revolutionary workers must force the Party leadership to change its course which can only lead to disaster. It is not yet too late! We must force the Party leadership to make a retreat from its false position so as to get the Party and the militant workers out of dangerous position into which it has been led thru the maneuvers of capitalist reaction! The Party must avoid a pitched battle with the police and with the armed thugs under the present conditions. The Party must arrange a huge demonstration for May Day in some other part of the city. New York City is large enough for the workers to demonstrate their solidarity in opposition to capitalism, to the schemes of Clubber Whalen, and to defeat the provocation planned against them. The Party must even now, at this late date, make an effort to build up a real united front for May Day, and must throw all its forces for real mass mobilization on May Day under the slogans of: *Fight Unemployment!* and *Smash Capitalist Reaction!*

Such a course may yet save the Party from paying the price of the adventurist irresponsibility of its leadership. Such a course makes possible even now a great and powerful mass demonstration on May Day, a demonstration that will be a significant step in the struggle against unemployment, a demonstration that will be fitting answer to Clubber Whalen, to the jingo thugs and to the capitalists whose tools they are!

stration of the workers! Make the capitalists tremble at the might and power of the workers! Let May Day resound with the slogans and demands of the workers:

Down with unemployment! Demand immediate relief for the unemployed workers!

Down with imperialist war! Down with the imperialist attacks upon the Soviet Union!

For the defense of the USSR!

For the recognition of the Soviet Union!

For a united front of labor against capitalist reaction!

For the seven hour day!

Down with speed-up, wage-cuts and the strike-breaking acts of the government!

Full social, racial and political equality for the Negroes!

For militant industrial unionism!

For a Labor Party!

For a Workers and Farmers Government!

Hail May Day, the workers International holiday!

Hail the international solidarity of the workers of the world!

Workers! Unite! Fight for your class! Win the world for the workers!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A. (Majority Group)

READ!

THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.

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REVOLUTIONARY AGE
37 East 28th Street New York City

Communist Leaders Convicted

The five Communist leaders, Comrades Foster, Amter, Minor, Raymond, and Lester, were found guilty of "unlawful assembly" before the Special Sessions justices on April 11, 1930. Sentence will be pronounced in the following week.

Wm. Z. Foster, I Amter, Rober Minor and the others were arrested on March 6 in the murderous attacks made by Clubber Whalen upon the demonstration of the unemployed. After their arrest they were unlawfully refused bail and were in general treated with the greatest brutality. The trial at which they were convicted was a good example of capitalist "justice"; everything was "ruled" against the accused and no evidence as to police brutality was even permitted by the watchful judges. The conviction of the five Communists came as a matter of course.

The Party leadership has failed completely in mobilizing any sort of mass movement in defense of the arrested Communists. Its sectarian policies condemn any such movement to failure. The Party membership and the militant workers must force a change of policy so that the convicted Communists can be properly defended.

Unemployment Conference in Harlem

On Sunday, March 30, and Monday March 31, took place the two-day conference called by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on the question of unemployment.

In spite of the fact that the call was addressed to "all religious, fraternal, benevolent and labor organization," the reformist policies of the leadership of the Porters Union made it impossible to mobilize any real masses behind the conference with the result that it was almost wholly a failure. The "mass meeting" on Sunday was a fiasco. The conference on Monday was poorly attended and hardly representative of all of the elements that could have been mobilized for such a conference.

The conference was run in the approved steam-roller manner by A. Phillip Randolph, the president of the Union. There was no report of the credentials committee so that the actual representative character of the conference remained a deep secret. The representative of the American Negro Labor Congress was ousted, after he had made it easy for the bureaucrats to do this by his actions which lost him the sympathy of the audience.

The note of militancy in the conference was brought in by the delegation of the Harlem Tenants League: William Battles, Grace B. Campbell, C. B. Jenkins, Anna Thompson, and J. O. Trotman. In their criticism of the "program" presented by Randolph and in their attack upon the "steam-roller methods" of the conference they found considerable response among the delegates and visitors present. Randolph attempted to prevent this delegation from introducing their resolution which, after analyzing briefly the situation of the Negroes in unemployment, presented a clear and militant program of immediate demands. In spite of Randolph, however, the resolution was introduced but the chairman was able to prevent it coming to a vote.

This conference, which might have been a rallying center for mobilizing the Negro masses in the struggle against unemployment, turned out to be a complete fiasco because of the reactionary hold over the conference by the officialdom of the Porters Union, an integral part of the A. F. of L. machine.

Lovestone Reports on Soviet Party Questions

Before a crowd of five hundred workers at an open discussion meeting of the New York organization of the Communist Party (Majority Group), Jay Lovestone reported on *The Situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Recent "New Turn."* The report, which lasted over two hours, was followed with the closest attention by the comrades present.

The "Russian Question"

An American Question

The so-called "Russian question"—he started off—is a major American question and is a the greatest significance to the American workers. Comrade Lovestone took occasion to repudiate in the most emphatic terms the counter-revolutionary propaganda being spread that the Five-Year Plan and Socialist construction in general have collapsed in the USSR. Socialism is being steadily built regardless of changes of tempo and methods.

As the starting point for an objective examination of what the Five-Year Plan really is—declared the speaker—we must turn to the unanimously adopted reports and resolutions of XV Congress of the CPSU in December 1927, especially the report of Comrade Rykoff on *The Five Year Plan of Economic Development* and the supplementary reports of Comrades Krzhizhanovsky and Molotov.

At this Congress there was complete unanimity but it did not take long before there were already rumors of "differences." By the middle of 1928 it could already be seen that on such questions as the use of "extraordinary measures," on the price of grain, and on other questions, differences were arising as a result of the perversion in practise by the Stalin majority in the Central Committee of the line laid down at the XV Congress. Nevertheless, these differences were suppressed and covered with deceptive declarations of "complete unanimity."

At the April 1929 Plenum the struggle emerged sharper than ever into the open. The secret resolution of this Plenum, from which the reporter quoted at length, accused Bukharin of "supporting the right-wing renegades in the Communist International," condemned Bukharin's *Notes of An Economist* (which Stalin himself had officially endorsed in November 1928) as an "opportunist platform," and branded the "Bukharin group" as a "right-wing group." It gave official authorization to the perversions of the line of the XV Congress that were taking place under Stalin's leadership.

Our Attitude to the Russian Question

At this point Comrade Lovestone turned to a brief consideration of the policy of the former CC of our Party towards the "Russian question." Our attitude—he declared—was founded upon an uncritical endorsement of everything the Russian leadership did, based not upon knowledge but primarily as a matter of formality. This attitude was promoted by the absolute lack of information from the CPSU and by the constant official repetition of "no differences" made by both groupings in the Russian CC. This attitude naturally led to the gross error of the Bukharin resolution at our VI Party Congress last March.

Thruout 1929—Comrade Lovestone continued—the factional struggle in the CPSU continued in more and more open form and the practise in carrying out the Five-Year Plan became more and more perverted in a Trotskyist direction—a fact which Trotsky himself recognized immediately.

The reporter then turned to the November 1929 Plenum which marked the last open appearance of the Bukharin group, for Bukharin's capitulation followed in a few days. It was in the period following the November Plenum and the capitulation that the ultra-left perversions of the Party line reached their height and thus precipitated the present serious economic situation. Serious dislocations began to appear in industry, individual branches began falling far

behind the plan and the original coordination almost disappeared. But it was in agriculture that the dangerous effects of the new course, were clearest. As Stalin himself later admitted the distortions of policy had gone so far that they brought about "the danger of breaking with the peasant masses and undermining the proletarian dictatorship!"

The "New Turn"

Suddenly, like a bolt from the blue came the "new turn" heralded in Stalin's famous article on "dizziness." The tension inside and outside the Party had reached such a point that the "turn" was inevitable; in line with the methods of the Stalinist leadership it was accomplished in a thoroughly bureaucratic and therefore dangerous manner. Scapegoats were found—"certain overenthusiastic young Communists"—and all blame shifted to them. Instead of recognizing—in a Leninist manner—that the new turn was made necessary by the perversions that he himself had forced upon the line of the Five-Year Plan, Stalin again reiterated the doctrine of the infallibility of the Russian Party leadership (that is, his own) and traced the necessity for the retreat to the very "successes" that had been achieved!

Comrade Lovestone then analyzed the actual form which the new turn was taking—the new rules in regard to collectivization, etc. He showed that altho these provisions are probably made necessary by the critical situation and the previous false course, yet they constitute perhaps greater concessions to the kulaks than had ever been made before. This—Comrade Lovestone emphasized—is the price of the ultra-left perversions of the previous year.

The speaker then called attention to the recent reorientation of L. D. Trotsky and the Trotsky groupings on the question of Soviet economy. Trotsky, who had hitherto occupied an ultra-left position on these questions, is now criticizing Stalin's line from the right!

Comrade Lovestone turned to the question of perspectives. Yes—he said—there has been a change of practise, a change in the manner of carrying out the Five-Year Plan and a change unquestionably for the better, a change helping to assure the success of the Five-Year Plan. But still there is no Leninist approach to the great questions at stake, there is no objective examination, there is no self-criticism. The method of the bureaucratic and factional manipulation of these great problems still remains as before. This is the basis of the great dangers facing the CPSU today: the danger of zig-zag, the danger of factional excess, the danger of going far to the right.

The Crisis in the C. I.

In connection with the situation in the CPSU stands the crisis in the Comintern. The reporter showed the incorrectness of the Trotskyist conception which traced the crisis in the Comintern to an alleged Thermidorian crisis in the CPSU. He explained the source of the crisis as the gap between the steady building of Socialism in the USSR on the one hand and the slowing up of the world revolution in the capitalist countries on the other. The failure to help bridge this gap thru the development of a *collective*

Out Soon!

THE THESIS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE FEBRUARY PLENUM OF THE CP-MAJORITY GROUP.

1—The Thesis on The Present Situation and the Tasks of the Communists.

2—The Resolution on The Crisis in the Communist International and The International Opposition Movements.

3—The Resolution on The Crisis in the Young Communist League and Our Tasks.

Watch for It!

A Plot Against Foreign-Born

The bills to register and finger-print the foreign-born workers are very acute issues in Washington. The economic crisis, the huge unemployment and growing resistance of the mass of workers to the speed-up and wage cuts are increasing the determination of the reactionaries to rush thru such legislation against the workers. Already many employers have dismissed workers because of their not being born in the United States or their being unnaturalized. In numerous cases workers have also been dismissed because they were unable to show papers from the Federal authorities that "they are not undesirable citizens and are lawfully here."

An event of tremendous significance to the entire American working class which has passed unnoticed is the vicious practice begun by the United States Department of Labor on July 1, 1928 of issuing certificates to incoming immigrants. These certificates have been properly labeled "respectability certificates." They are like cards from an organization showing that one is a "member in good standing." Senator Blease of South Carolina who has introduced one of the worst registration and finger-printing bills, plainly says that his bill aims to legalize formally and officially this practice of the Department of Labor so that all foreign-born workers who have entered the country before July 1, 1928 will be compelled to receive these "certificates of respectability." Each immigrant is to pay \$3.00 for this certificate which will bear a photograph and a detailed personal description of the bearer.

The bill plainly aims to put under suspicion any immigrant who does not secure such a "certificate of respectability."

Senator Blease defends his bill by saying:

"I do not see how any honest man could object to my bill. Its aim is to protect the alien who wants the protection of the United States government and I believe that it will be helpful to aliens generally."

These bills against the foreign-born workers are part of the whole scheme to strengthen the strike-breaking and Wall Street espionage bureaucracy against the workers.

These bills now have the blessings of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

international leadership—the speaker explained—has given rise to the political and organizational crisis in the Comintern. Precisely because of this fact (the monopoly of leadership of the Comintern by the CPSU, and today even by a clique in the CPSU) the developments in the CPSU have decisive influence upon the Comintern. Comrade Lovestone showed the relation between the "new turn" in the CPSU and the contemporaneous "new turn" in the Comintern.

The speaker concluded by drawing the conclusions of the whole situation for the struggle of the international opposition and for our struggle in the U. S. A.

The report was followed by a period of questions and discussion.

This discussion meeting will be remembered for a long time by the comrades who were present for it was the first time in many years that Russian questions were discussed frankly and honestly on the basis of conviction not on the basis of ulterior consequence.

Shoe Workers Jailed as Pickets

Thirty-six militant shoe-workers were sent to jail for thirty days because of their "violation" of the injunction issued by the court in order to break the strike against the Benjamin Schwartz Shoe Company in Brooklyn. The injunction which the striking workers defied prohibited picketing of any sort; it was grant-



SIDNEY JONAS

ed by the court with "surprising" speed so that it was already in force a day after the application.

The sentencing of the 36 militant workers to thirty days in prison or \$100 fine took place on April 1 before Justice Mitchell May in Brooklyn. Among those serving out the sentence at Welfare Island, is the vice-president of the Union, Sidney Jonas, as well as a number of members of the Shop Delegates Council. The victims of injunction—"democracy" include a number of members of the Communist Party (Majority Group), such as Max Lacker, I Zimmerman, Edward Wright, Sidney Jonas (a member of the National Council of the CP-Majority Group), and M. Plotkin.

The conviction of these 36 shoe workers is but a prelude to the conviction of 56 more on April 28.

The mass arrests of the militant shoe-workers is a part of the bitter offensive waged for many months by the shoe bosses hand in hand with the government and the U. S. Department of Labor against the militant Independent Shoe Workers Union. Labor Commissioner Woods recently addressed a circular-letter to the shoe bosses urging them to break their agreement with the ISWU. This same Woods also tried to introduce a system of registration and blacklist in the shoe industry.

The struggle against this boss-government offensive on the part of the Union was crippled thru the narrow sectarian line of the official leadership of the Communist Party which was forced upon the Union and which prevented any real mobilization of the workers in the shoe industry and in the labor movement as a whole. The same isolating and doing nothing policy is being followed by the Union leadership and by the International Labor Defense. What is needed now is an end to this sectarian policy and a real attempt to build up a united front of the workers to beat back the union smashing of the bosses and the government and to fight for the defense of the victims of capitalist injunction—"democracy."

2,000 KENTUCKY MINERS STRIKE

Disregarding the fact that their strike vote had never received the sanction of the Lewis reactionary machine of the United Mine Workers of America, 2,000 or more Western Kentucky coal miners walked out on April 8 demanding the 1917 scale. When 270 workers of the Diamond Mines No. 1 and 2 struck after being refused better working conditions and restoration of the 1917 scale, the number of men out in Webster County alone reached 1,777.

The miners claim that that they have been paid 20 percent less than the 1917 scale. Mines in this field have been working only a few days a week for months.

The strike is an indication of amount of militant sentiment which exists among the rank and file of the UMWA and the splendid possibility of building a broad left wing among the coal diggers.

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Organ of the National Council of the
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Editorials

A BILLION DOLLARS FOR "DISARMAMENT"

At last the London fog has lifted! The naval "disarmament" plans of the five biggest imperialist powers have been dashed to the earth with a terrific cloud-burst. After three months of fruitless conferring, the world is now much safer for the next imperialist war. A bigger and "better" world war is now more clearly in sight.

The London Conference is a futile fiasco for world imperialism. Called to delay, if possible, the oncoming world war, the Conference has gone a long way towards hastening another hellish crash. All the desperate efforts of the biggest capitalist powers to cut the costs of naval preparations have failed miserably. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Snowden, has summed up the whole affair quite correctly when he said: "Another such a peace conference and we have the war."

When Hoover and MacDonald were still "cooing" on the Rapidan, over six months ago, we said that the London Conference would not be after disarmament but would simply try to get a rationalization of armaments, a cheapening of the most up-to-date devices of destruction. We then said that the Conference would be "saluting the dove of peace with a salvo of shotguns and crossing the olive with poison ivy." Every word we have said has turned out to be true. For us the London Conference held no surprises in store. Everything turned out just as we expected.

But even the United States which has gotten away with most from the whole sordid affair must now spend more than a billion dollars in order to catch up with the "disarmament" Great Britain has today—parity with the British navy. And after this Hoover has the monumental gall to talk to the world about the "great accomplishments for peace" and "the final abolition of competition in naval arms between the greatest naval powers and the burial of the fears and suspicions which have been the constant product of rival warship construction." Even after the "cheapening" of the naval race Great Britain will spend about a billion dollars for this "disarmament." To Japan this "peace" plan will mean spending at least 350 million dollars. France and Italy have so far not agreed even to be partners to this "disarmament" farce.

Still, this is not all! The road to the coming world war is paved with still more billions of dollars. The Three Power Agreement (Great Britain, Japan, and the U. S.) reserves the right to increase still further their newest naval programs in case France and Italy go thru their present building plans. Thus, the London Morning Post has already let the cat out of the bag:

"The three-power agreement, we greatly fear, will make more trouble than it is worth."

Every working man should now be able to see the fakery of all capitalist peace pacts and plans. If "the fears and suspicions" between the biggest imperialist powers are buried, then why spend so many billions of dollars for war preparations under cover of "disarmament"? Against whom are all the big imperialist powers disarming? Does the United States need such a big navy against Abyssinia? Does Japan fear invasion by Korea? Is England afraid South Africa will overwhelm it? Only hopeless idiots would seriously ask such questions. The great upbuilding of the navies for which the London Conference provides knocks Hoover's hypocrisy into a cocked hat. The biggest capitalist powers are arming against each other, against the Soviet Union, and against the colonial masses who are more and more threatening to topple some of the most gigantic imperialist fortresses. The events in India are only shadows of what's ahead. Such are the costly and hollow triumphs of the imperialist "peacemakers" and their Socialist lackeys!

There is a terrible storm ahead! Let the American workers heed the warning signals before it is too late. After London, what? More economical and effective infernal weapons than the battleships will now come to the fore! More crushing burdens on the workers! More speed in the head-long rush to another world war! More deadening drive and speed-up for the workers in the factories and mines! More war preparations against the Soviet Union! All roads to capitalist peace lead to devastating imperialist war!

It is not the Hoovers, the MacDonalds and the Briands who can bring genuine world peace. They have always fought against all genuine disarmament efforts—for instance, the Litvinoff plan. These champions of world imperialism were leaders of the last world war, are now preparing the ground for the next one and will again work overtime for the capitalist class when the next imperialist war does break out. Only the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party can end all imperialist wars.

Let the London Conference indelibly impress upon the consciousness of the working masses: The road to world peace lies not under the Stars and Stripes, the Union Jack, the Tri-Color, or the Rising-Sun, but only under the Red Flag of international working class solidarity which must turn the imperialist war into a civil war against the exploiters and their whole system of robbery and oppression!

B-O-O-K-S

TWO SPLENDID PAMPHLETS

The American Race Problem, No. 1 of Heresy, "Bad Bishop Brown's" Quarterly Lectures, by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, 1930.

The Pope's Crusade Against the Soviet Union, by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, 1930.

The Socialist movement in America once got out scores and hundreds of propaganda pamphlets that used to circulate in the millions. Some were good, many indifferent and most bad—but good, bad, or indifferent they had this in common: they spoke straight from the shoulder and spoke in a way such as to be understood by the American worker. They therefore had immeasurably greater influence than literature theoretically more correct perhaps but lacking their close touch with the masses.

Bishop Brown's pamphlets have not only recaptured the really popular character of the old Socialist literature but they carry a profound Communist lesson as well. Comrade Brown better than anyone else knows how to speak straight to the American people, the workers, the farmers, who certainly need "being spoken to." And he speaks to them on precisely those questions with which they should be acquainted—he tells them precisely those things they should know!

In his pamphlet on the *American Race Problem*, Comrade Brown uncovers the roots of the Negro question and shows from personal experience the factors making for race prejudice and the oppression of the Negroes. Comrade Brown explains very clearly the Communist position on the race question in language that every single worker in this country can understand. Altogether it is a splendid piece of literature with which to draw the Negro masses closer to our movement and with which to fight the influence of race prejudice upon the white American workers.

The pamphlet on the Pope's crusade against the USSR should be a very valuable instrument in the campaign to defeat the imperialist incitement against the Soviet Union. On this subject the Bishop writes with real facility. He exposes the stupendous brazenness of the Pope posing as the champion of the "freedom of thought." He makes thoroly clear the profoundly reactionary role of the Christian Churches:

"The churches serve the rich as political support against the poor—always for the landlord, the manufacturer and the banker."

He smashes the age-old superstition that religion is the source of culture and shows that culture has grown precisely in periods of deep scepticism. Comrade Brown shows in a way that cannot be misunderstood the real basis for the crusade of the Churches against the Soviet Union:

"It (Christian America) is interested now, not because of any concern for religion, but because it knows that if Communist Russia stands, capitalist America, the great fort of world capitalism, falls."

BEGINNING IN THE NEXT ISSUE!

WALL STREET'S LABOR LIEUTENANTS AND THE COMING WAR

A startling exposure of the relation between the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the War Machine, taken from the Confidential documents of the Army War College and the Army Industrial College.

SECRET ARMY PLANS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

From the secret material of the War Department.

DON'T MISS IT!

"The churches . . . are sicking the war dogs on Soviet Russia because they care a good deal more for the owners of the world than they do for the workers. The crusade . . . is to sustain clerical power in alliance with conservative politics and big business."

Incidentally Bishop Brown pays a glowing tribute to the tremendous work the Soviet workers and farmers are doing in building up a Communist society in the Soviet Union.

Both pamphlets—but especially the one on the Pope's anti-Soviet crusade—are just the thing to put in the hands of your fellow-worker, especially if he has been misled by the preachers whom Bishop Brown very correctly brands as "the intellectual prostitutes of the exploiters!"

—W. H.

FASCISM AND THE LIBERALS

Escape, by F. Nitti. New York 1930.

Why is it that when a liberal goes to prison for a political crime and then writes a book on his incarceration he always writes of his experiences in a sloppy sentimental mood and entirely forgets to discuss the political issues at stake? And when he does discuss them he approaches them from an entirely wrong angle. This volume written from the point of view of the sufferings of Nitti, and his two friends Carlo Rosselli and Emilio Lussu, who finally made their escape from the prison on the Island of Lipari is interesting reading matter, but as a discussion on fascism the book is a failure. Who are these three political prisoners? Nitti is a bank clerk, Lussu is a lawyer and Rosselli is a professor. In the introduction by Francesco Nitti, the ex-prime minister of Italy and the uncle of the author we read the following: "They (the political prisoners) are not revolutionists. In America or England they would represent progressive elements of great moderation."

Throughout the entire book we are left to believe that the only opponents of the fascists are the liberals and the conservatives who believe in liberty. Throughout the entire narrative we see an attempt to minimize the struggle of the workers against fascism. When the Communists are mentioned, it is done in a slurring manner with insinuations that most of them have gone over to Mussolini. The author happens to know one Communist who, he claims, became a fascist and he attempts from this to build up a case against all the Communists, stating that those who did not go over to Mussolini at least tolerate the bloody fascist regime. No mention is made of the thousands of workers and Communists who have died in the struggle against fascism. No mention is made of the thousands of workers and Communists who are still rotting in jail,—but then this is the historical role of the liberals, and they live up to their reputation in this book.

H. M. W.

★ HAIL MAY DAY! INTERNATIONAL LABOR HOLIDAY ★

May Day is American!

There can be no beginning of understanding of the significance of May Day to the present day working class until we understand the tremendous part that the eight-hour movement has played in the development of the labor movement.

At the annual convention in 1885 of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (the organization which evolved into the A. F. of L.), the Furniture Workers Union proposed a motion that American Labor should undertake to put into effect the eight-hour day on the first of May, 1886. Under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor, the ancient day of rebellion, which even Rome and Carthage had known in their own historical form, became indelibly fixed as the greatest of all the days to be celebrated by modern trade unions.

It was the first of May, 1886, which became the biggest turning point up to that time in American labor history. The attempt to carry out the plan of establishing the eight-hour day in the McCormick Harvester works at Chicago brought about the strike which was led by that group of intrepid men who will be forever remembered as the Chicago Martyrs. Within three days blood was flowing on the streets of Chicago. . . . There followed such an exhibition of terror as had never been known in America.

At that time the German immigrants were the "damn foreigners" who did the heavy labor of the factories and furnished the butt of all the anger and hatred that the American bourgeoisie must always pour out upon the most suppressed stratum of the working class which creates its wealth. Throughout all of the cities of the northern states raged the police terror against the "Germans"—the hated "low" foreigners who were subverting American institutions by importing such damnable European ideas as the shorter work day and the organization of trade unions. Especially in Chicago the terror raged. The bourgeoisie which, in 1871 had blamed the Chicago fire upon the First International of Karl Marx instead of the cow of Mrs. O'Leary, found in the harvester strike and the subsequent bloodshed on Haymarket Square an entirely foreign enemy.

But curiously enough, we find at every step that the institution of the modern revolutionary Labor Day has its roots in American soil.

What is May Day - -

The following lines are from a May Day article by Rosa Luxemburg written on April 30, 1913.

When May Day demonstrations were held for the first time, the vanguard of the International, the German working class, was just at the point of breaking the chains of a disgraceful Exception Law and of entering upon the path of a free, legal development. . . . Crises, wars, and revolutions were considered outworn theories, mere swaddling clothes of modern society; parliamentarism and trade unionism, democracy in the State and democracy in the industry, were to open the gates to a new and better order.

The actual course of events played frightful havoc with all these illusions. In place of the promised mild social-reformist development of culture there has set in since the end of the nineties a period of the most violent, extreme sharpening of capitalist conflicts, a sharpening of storm and stress, of crashes and turmoil, of tottering and trembling in the very foundations of society. . . . Everywhere the revolutionary working class today sees itself alone confronted by the com-

In the United States, altho the Chicago affair of 1886 had frightened away the leaders of the Knights of Labor from any friendliness to May Day, the American Federation of Labor stepped forward to preserve the tradition of the international Labor Day. The 1886 convention of the A. F. of L. fixed upon May Day of 1890 as the day upon which to enforce the demand for the eight-hour day.

It was undoubtedly the dramatic setting supplied by the martyrdom of the Chicago strike leaders which made unchangeable the identity of May Day as the International Day of the working class. In 1889 when the Second International was founded, its first international congress declared May Day, 1890, to be the time for demonstrations of the working class in all countries for the eight-hour day.

—From: *The Fighting May Day* by Robert Minor, *Workers Monthly*, May 1926.



LENIN ON MAY DAY

The following paragraphs are from a May Day leaflet written by V. I. Lenin in 1896 for the League for the Emancipation of the Working Class. This leaflet

Comrades! Let us consider our position very carefully—let us examine the conditions in which we spend our lives. What do we see? We work long and hard, producing endless wealth, gold and apparel, satins and silks. From the depths of the earth we extract iron and coal. We build machines, we outfit ships, we construct railroads. All wealth is the product of our hands, of our sweat and blood. And what kind of wages do we get for this forced labor? If things were as they should be, we would be living in fine houses, we would wear good clothes, and would never have to suffer any need. But we know well enough that our wages never suffice for our living. Our bosses push down wage force us to work overtime, place unjust fines upon us—in a word oppress us in every way. . . . And when we give voice to our dissatisfaction, we are thrown into prison without further ado. . . .

How can we then improve our conditions, raise our wages, shorten the working day, protect ourselves from insults, win for ourselves the opportunity of reading good books? We can rely only upon ourselves. . . . Our strength lies in unity, our method is the united stubborn resistance against the bosses. . . .

It's a long road that has no turning—and even the best of patience comes to an end. In the past few years the Russian workers have shown their masters that the cowardice of slaves has changed into courageous sturdiness of men, who refuse to submit to the greed of the capitalists!

As is well known the workers of many shops and factories have organized the League for the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Workingclass with the aim of exposing and removing all abuses,

May Day in the Soviet Land!

By A RUSSIAN TEXTILE WORKER.

When you workers of other countries celebrate May Day you celebrate it as a day of struggle. When we workers of the Soviet land celebrate it, we celebrate it as a day of triumph!

I still remember the May Days we used to celebrate in the dark days of the Czar. I remember the leaflets we used to get out in our secret presses and distribute with the greatest care among the workers in the factories, for if we got caught it meant prison or exile sometimes even torture and death. We used to say in those days: *The day of the Russian workers will also dawn!* Well, our day has dawned!

In England and France and Germany and America, in all capitalist countries, the workers demonstrate against capitalism; we have already gotten rid of exploitation and oppression. In China and India, in Asia and Africa, the masses are

fighting to throw off the imperialists from off their backs. We have beaten the imperialists when they tried to overthrow our revolution. We have beaten the English and American and French imperialists and their bandit agents, the Kolchaks, the Denikins, the Wrangels. We are really our own rulers today because we really have our own government, a government of the workers and the peasants.

Yes, we celebrate May Day as a day of triumph. All over the Soviet Land there are parades of our heroic Red Army and of the workers in masses. All over the Soviet Union the buildings and the factories are covered with banners and flags calling us to our international holiday! But our struggle is not over. That is why we also celebrate May Day as a day of further struggle. We have before us the great task of helping the working class and the toilers of the world to overthrow their oppressors and to establish a World Union of Soviet Republics. We have before us the great task of building Socialism. We have already taken giant strides in this direction but we have still a great way to go. Great difficulties beset our way. We need the help of the workers of all countries. The imperialists are continually plotting war against us. We do not want war. We want peace in order to be able to continue to build up our country for the masses. We appeal to the workers and farmers of all countries to fight against the imperialist preparations of a war against us, to help us defend ourselves against our common enemy. This is our appeal to you on May Day, the day of international solidarity!

On May Day, the Soviet toilers call out to their brothers of other lands: Revolutionary greetings on May Day! Hail the May Day of the World Union of Soviet Republics!

MAY DAY IN MOSCOW

A rift of wings and clouds around each sentried steeple,
Red flags licking like flames the fold of the great dome,
Silence and sunlight and the bared heads of the people . . .

The Red Army is coming home!

—Arturo Giovannitti.

- - - By Rosa Luxemburg

fact, hostile reaction of the ruling classes and by their energetic attacks which are aimed at them alone. . . .

These are the "signs" under which labor's world holiday will soon celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence. And each of these "signs" is a flaming testimonial to the living truth and power of the ideas of the May Day celebration.

The brilliant main idea of the May Day celebration is the independent action of the proletarian masses, is the political mass action of the millions of workers, who otherwise can give expression to their own will only thru petty parliamentary action, separated by State boundaries and consisting for the most part only in voting for representatives. The excellent proposal of the Frenchman Lavigne at the international congress in Paris combined this indirect parliamentary manifestation of the will of the proletariat with a direct international mass manifestation, the laying down of tools as a demonstration and fighting tactic for the eight-hour day, world peace, and Socialism.

Whither Trotskyism?

By Will Herberg

As a political tendency in the Communist movement, Trotskyism is today facing a period of great and decisive change, a period of organizational regrouping and ideological reorientation. For the international opposition move-

ment—which is today the bearer of the struggle for the future of the Comintern—these recent developments are of considerable importance and must receive our careful consideration and objective evaluation.

1. The Sectarian Character of Trotskyism

The entire political development of Trotskyism is conditioned by its essentially sectarian nature as an international fraction. Its profound sectarianism forms the method of operations of Trotskyism as a world movement and therefore determines the forms of its development.

Eager sectarianism is the very essence of Trotskyism. Sectarianism is not a matter of numbers; it is a question of political relation and attitude to the masses. An international tendency in Communism that makes its basis of concentration not the general living issues of the international (and national) class struggle but issues—many of them out-lived—of differences in the Soviet Party is condemned to ultimate sectarianism. This is just what Trotskyism does. The concentration of Trotskyist forces on a world scale takes place primarily on the issues of Soviet policy in which Trotsky differed sharply with the leadership of the CPSU or else on those broader international questions on which also Trotsky clashed with the Soviet Party leadership. These questions form a closed system of dogma without any regard to their actuality or to their present relation to the vital questions of the revolutionary movement. In international questions—and especially in questions of the class struggle in individual countries—Trotskyism has always had only the vaguest general outlook, a sort of ghostly emanation of its central articles-of-faith. This general orientation—in essentials—consistently ultra-left—has always been extremely unstable and subject to rapid decomposition—which is already setting in!

2. The Political Development of Trotskyism

As Trotsky himself very correctly declares, the central point of his political system is the estimation of the class character of the Soviet Power. And it is not unindicative of the sectarian barrenness of Trotskyism that today—thirteen years after the October Revolution—the confusion on this basic question grows greater with every "crisis," with every "discussion"!

From almost the very beginning Trotskyism took as its point of departure some form or variety of the theory of Thermidor. Towards the middle of 1928 Trotsky himself formulated his views in precise and classical form when he characterized the present period of the Russian revolution as an "inverted Kerensky period," as the "Kerensky film run backward." Trotsky said:

"The function of the historic Kerensky period consisted in this: that on its back the power of the bourgeoisie passed over to the proletariat. The historic role of the Stalin period consists in this: that upon its back the power is sliding over from the proletariat to the bourgeoisie."

In other words the USSR is approaching Thermidor, the last stage of the revolution, the first stage of the victorious counter-revolution. And since the Kerensky period was, as Lenin pointed out, the period of dual power, the "intertwining of two class dictatorships" (Lenin), it follows, according to Trotsky, that in the "inverted Kerensky period" there exists and is maturing within the Soviet Union the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie side by side with the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Such conceptions have their own inner logic and their own laws of motion: Exactly what they led to became sensationally clear in the Soviet-Chinese crisis towards the middle of 1929. In reaction to these events the German *Leninbund* supported more or less by Trotskyist groups in other countries, adopted an attitude which declared:

1) "In Russia we have no proletarian dictatorship . . . In Russia the state power is no longer in the hands of the

proletariat but in the hands of the bureaucratic apparatus . . . standing apparently above classes but actually representing the interests of the economically stronger class, . . . the capitalists . . .

2) The defense of the USSR cannot therefore be unconditional—at most it can be only a very conditional defense.

This viewpoint Trotsky categorically rejected; along with the Russian Opposition and some other groups he called for the unconditional support and defense of the USSR! It is clear that this stand of Trotsky represents a definite political retreat on his part. But it must also be recognized that, however justified Trotsky's polemic against Urbahns may be on this question; Trotsky is himself politically and historically responsible for the theories of Thermidor in every form. Moreover, in spite of his retreat, Trotsky's own position has become no clearer. Apparently Trotsky now believes that while the Soviet Power is still a proletarian dictatorship, it is being led by Thermidorian elements, i.e., by those who pave the way for the counter-revolution and express its interests. In essence this is no more correct and even more self-contradictory than the "consistent Thermidor" of Urbahns. Urbahns has only developed in a logical and thoroughgoing manner what he has been taught by Trotsky!

Closely connected with this is the question of "socialism in one country." By the Trotskyites this question has been elevated into an untouchable dogma while the official polemic of the Comintern on the question has unquestionably been conducted in an extremely abstract and academic manner, thru the mere piling of one Lenin quotation upon another. Yet this is a very real question and objective examination will show, we believe, that the Trotskyist conception is essentially wrong and based upon a false estimation of the economic and social forces making for the building of Socialism in the USSR. But even more wrong is the current Trotskyist exaltation of the question.

On the questions of Socialist construction in the USSR Trotsky and his Russian group have always consistently represented a position of "super-industrialization" and of "super-collectivization" and have always stood for a "hard" political and economic line among the peasantry. Trotsky's criticism of the official Party line in these respects was always from the left and constituted, in fact, an ultra-left tendency. When, towards the middle of 1928, the policy of the leadership of the CPSU changed (the Stalin-Bukharin bloc broke) and turned to the "left," Trotsky was the first to recognize this fact, declaring that Stalin was "borrowing from the platform of the opposition" and that he was making this "left curve" under the "lash of the opposition." But this traditional left viewpoint is undergoing rapid change. In a very interesting recent article on Soviet economy, Trotsky undertakes a new critique of the Stalinist line even before the recent "new turn"—from the "right"! He characterized Stalin's line as "ultra-left!" Even the *Leninbund* discovers that Stalin's line has "ultra-left features!"

The ultimate consequences of this striking reorientation are hard to estimate. But one thing can already be said: Trotsky, like Stalin, maintains his mantle of infallibility. He makes his "new turn" under the camouflage that it is a mere "continuation" of the old; he does not present frankly the reasons for his reorientation nor the actual relations between the old and the new.

Especially since 1925 the general international outlook of Trotskyism has unquestionably marked it as the most consistent and logical representative of ultra-leftism in the Comintern. The characteristically Trotskyist doctrine of "permanent revolution," the Trotskyist attitude on the Chinese revolution as well as the Trotskyist viewpoint on the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee give sufficient evidence in this direction. On these questions, Trotskyism permits no change of landmarks for they are engraved on the "tables of the law." But on a number of questions less directly tied up with the inner dogma of Trotskyism, change is already setting in—and significant change too! Starting out as consistent ultra-leftism Trotskyism is gradually giving way on one point

and another—and is rapidly reaching a position where it criticizes the present line of the Eccei from the "right"! Trotsky himself declares: "Even the right wingers may be correct on many questions!" On the question of stabilization, who does not remember the Zinoviev and Trotskyist prophecies of "collapsing" and "crashing" stabilization? But now Trotsky writes long articles in criticism of the Eccei's "third period" phantasies, rejecting the "radicalization" abstractions and the nonsense of the "imminent collapse" of stabilization. His "borrowings" from the "right wingers" have indeed been heavy! In the tactical line in mass work the Trotskyites started out with a pronounced ultra-left line. Thus, the *Volkswille* (the organ of the *Leninbund*) was able to agree with the German Party leadership on its sectarian splitting trade union line and the American Trotskyites originally shared their program (the document, *The Right Danger in the American Party*) with the ultra-left official Party leadership. But today what changes! Today Trotsky polemics against the doctrine of "social-fascism" and against putschism in Austria. Today the *Leninbund* and the orthodox Trotskyites are borrowing heavily from the "right wingers" in trade union line. Today the *Militant* attacks the Party leadership for its "sectarianism" and the "abandonment of the united front tactics"! Indeed Trotskyism is reorientating itself!

But the sectarian essence of Trotskyism rises dominant! It still clings to the age-old label of "Left Opposition" with a desperation that grows as the pretext for it disappears. The more copiously they borrow from us the more piously do they shout "right wingers," "Social-democrats," "national Socialists," etc.!

The empty repetition of old phrases, the empty clinging to old prejudices is the hall-mark of sectarianism. This the international Trotskyist fraction shows with the greatest clarity. It may change its "practical" conceptions and outlook but it therefore clings, all the more strongly to its threadbare dogmas. It is this sectarian refusal to look facts in the face and to draw the inevitable consequences from these facts that constitutes an almost insurmountable obstacle in the way of a real and thorough reorientation of the Trotskyist political outlook. Yet even within these limits the new-developments within Trotskyism have the greatest significance for us from the viewpoint of general perspective as well as from the viewpoint of immediate tactics.

A Masterpiece of Sectarianism

The "Program of the National Unemployment Conference" published in the *Daily Worker* of April 3, 1930, makes as clear as daylight the utterly ultra-left sectarian and sterile character of the unemployment work and policies of the Party. It shows that the real content of the "new turn" (the mock war against the "ultra-left excesses") is merely a diplomatic cover for a continuation of the ultra-left course.

The Estimation of the Situation

According to the Program, American industries are already "bankrupt"—yet the present crisis is merely a "cyclical" crisis! The bluff policy of the present regime never reached such heights as in this document. Not only did "1,250,000 demonstrate in gigantic meetings and parades" but on March 6, 1930 took place "the greatest mass workers demonstration in the history of America." And then has the theory of "social-fascism" ever reached such heights as in the declaration that: "The A. F. of L. . . has become a fascist organization."

The Political Line of the Program

Of course the political line of the Program completely rejects the idea of attracting and mobilizing great masses of workers on elementary demands against unemployment. Actually the Program requires more than is required of a worker to become a member of the Communist Party! Let us see. The Program includes: 1) the fight against "Lovestoneism"; 2) the support of the Communist electoral candidates; 4) the support of

and another—and is rapidly reaching a position where it criticizes the present line of the Eccei from the "right"! Trotsky himself declares: "Even the right wingers may be correct on many questions!" On the question of stabilization, who does not remember the Zinoviev and Trotskyist prophecies of "collapsing" and "crashing" stabilization? But now Trotsky writes long articles in criticism of the Eccei's "third period" phantasies, rejecting the "radicalization" abstractions and the nonsense of the "imminent collapse" of stabilization. His "borrowings" from the "right wingers" have indeed been heavy! In the tactical line in mass work the Trotskyites started out with a pronounced ultra-left line. Thus, the *Volkswille* (the organ of the *Leninbund*) was able to agree with the German Party leadership on its sectarian splitting trade union line and the American Trotskyites originally shared their program (the document, *The Right Danger in the American Party*) with the ultra-left official Party leadership. But today what changes! Today Trotsky polemics against the doctrine of "social-fascism" and against putschism in Austria. Today the *Leninbund* and the orthodox Trotskyites are borrowing heavily from the "right wingers" in trade union line. Today the *Militant* attacks the Party leadership for its "sectarianism" and the "abandonment of the united front tactics"! Indeed Trotskyism is reorientating itself!

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and affiliation to the RILU; 5) the strengthening of the TUUL; 6) the defense of the Soviet Union and the struggle against world imperialism, and 7) the support of the struggles of the colonial masses! This is a Program designed to rally the masses of the unemployed!

The Program has some immediate demands. Insofar as they are correct, they are taken from our program put forward months ago. The demand on punishing "bad" policemen is certainly opportunist. It is also to be noticed that the recognition of the USSR and the granting of credits, which should be a basic demand in the unemployment situation, is not even mentioned among the demands. As a whole the immediate demands are completely submerged in the ultra-left morass.

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

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What Do We Want?

By August Thalheimer

The Communist Opposition today wants two things. Within the Communist Party it wants to replace the policy of revolutionary phrases by a policy of revolutionary action. It wants to lead the working class to united defence against the offensive of capital. It fights for the reestablishment of the fighting power and the unity of the Communist Party. At the same time it fights to overcome the elements of passivity of the working class which come as a result of the continued treachery of reformism and the inability of the Communist Party to carry thru a revolutionary mass policy.

The Communist Opposition is a part of the Communist Party even though formally it is expelled. For it has no basic principles other than those of Communism. The real Communist character of a movement is determined not by the official seal of the Party but by the content of a policy really representing Communism. Why has the Communist Opposition then gone to the extent of being expelled—why does it mobilize forces outside the Party for Communism? Because it is not a matter of secondary questions but of the life or death of Communism; it is a question of a Communist policy that will be able to lead the masses in revolutionary struggle and thus realize the basic principles of Communism. A Communist Party that does not understand how to lead the masses in its struggle drives itself to destruction, isolates itself from its class, and in fact really gives up Communism.

For Communism is no paper formula for mechanical reproduction; it is not a matter of mere propaganda. It is a manual of revolutionary action. It is a matter of saving the Communist Party as the leader of the working class.

The Communist Opposition wants no third party in between reformism and Communism. For between reformism and Communism there exists only *centrism*—the unity of Socialist phraseology with reformist action. The Communist Opposition fights against centrism as ideologically the most dangerous phase of reformism. Centrism, today embodied in the left wing of Social-democracy, devalues and weakens the working class even more than open reformism.

The Communist Opposition wants no further splitting up of the ranks of the working class. It wants to carry thru in struggle a revolutionary policy which will make possible the mobilization and unity of the working class on the basis

pletely submerged in the ultra-left morass.

The Organizational Line of the Program

Instead of working out a form of organization to rally the unemployed and to unite the forces of the employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, the Program completely rejects the united front. The local unemployment councils are to be narrower even than the TUUL to which they are to be affiliated. All contact with the A. F. of L. unions—"fascist organizations"—is specifically excluded. All contact between the unemployed and the labor organizations (fraternal societies, women's organizations, etc.) is excluded. "The unemployment movement," it is declared, "must be linked up with the revolutionary unions at all points in direct affiliation and thru committees of action, etc." In the present situation this means absolute isolation!

Can a movement be established on such a basis? Can the Communist Party, with such an unbelievably ultra-left policy, win its position of leadership of the working class? The Party membership, the revolutionary workers—must answer!

of Communism. This unification can not take place thru mere propaganda, otherwise it would have been accomplished long ago. It can only come as a result of struggle which unites ever broader sections of the working class in defence of their class interests against capital. Only real struggle can convince the huge masses of the working class of the fact that a lasting improvement of their conditions is impossible under the domination of capital, and that the domination of capital cannot be broken thru the magic spell of the democratic ballot, thru the formal equality between worker and capitalist, an equality that actually represents the most glaring inequality. Only real struggle will convince the toiling masses that the domination of capital can only be overthrown thru the replacement of the class power of the capitalists by the working class in the Soviet state. Only mass experience achieved thru struggle can convince these masses. And only on the basis of this mass conviction can Communism triumph.

It is not sufficient to point out the proletarian revolution as the goal. We must also point out the way and the means thereto. The road to revolution passes thru the defence of the most elemental economic, political and cultural interests of the toiling masses. And the means must be such as to unite and organize the workers against the bourgeoisie and not to divide and to disorganize them.

That is why the Communist Opposition fights against those methods that facilitate the splitting of the trade unions and the draining away of the Communists from them. It is for this reason that the Communist Opposition fights for the transformation of the trade unions into organizations of revolutionary class struggle. It is for this reason that the Communist Opposition is opposed to throwing the Social-democratic worker and the Social-democratic leader into the one heap of "social fascism."

The Communist Opposition stands for the sharpest, most uncompromising struggle against reformism which has betrayed the working class a hundred times, is betraying it and will continue to betray it. The working class will not be able to triumph without having destroyed and annihilated reformism. To defeat reformism, however, means above all to convince the Social-democratic worker of the correctness of the Communist aims and principles and of the Communist road of struggle. Cruel bloody historical experiences not only in Germany but in a number of other countries shows us that the leaders of the Social-democracy do not shrink—when bourgeois domination is threatened—from the most brutal terror against the working class. Force can only be met with force. But not the force of a minority of the working class can triumph—but the force of the majority and then only if it is organized and led in a planful manner. The power that builds up and consolidates the force of the working class is the conviction of the great majority of the working class. This majority cannot be reached except by reaching the workers who today still follow the Social-democracy, who today still has faith in the reformist leaders of the trade unions.

They must be convinced of Communism. And to become convinced of Communism they must be brought into common action side by side with their Communist fellow-workers.

In the beginning was the deed! This applies also here. Revolutionary action as contrasted with revolutionary phrases is the very content of that for which the Communist Opposition fights!

For a Free Party Discussion

The *Daily Workers* announces the beginning of a "Party Discussion" preceding the coming VII Convention of our Party. We know well enough what sort of a "Party discussion" this will be. Any attempt to raise a political question, any serious criticism, any question in fact will be branded as "Lovestoneism" and will be treated accordingly—in the approved "enlightenment method."

Revolutionary Age is going to participate in the Party discussion and to try to turn it into a free discussion. We will make this discussion a part of the discussion preceding our national conference which is to be held on July 4, 5, 6. We are going to set aside a section of our paper for the pre-convention discussion. We invite all comrades—whether adherents of our group or not—to take advantage of our columns for discussion. There will be full freedom of discussion. The only consideration will be space. Proper precautions will be taken to safeguard the contributors from victimization by the Party bureaucrats.

AND THIS IS THE "COOPERATIVE" CAFETERIA!

The incident described in the letter below took place in the so-called "Cooperative Cafeteria" at 26-28 Union Square. "I am a dish-washer in the Cooperative Restaurant, 26-28 Union Square, New York."

On April 2, 1930, at two o'clock in the morning I slipped and fell on a wet floor and hurt my shoulder and head badly. I reported immediately to the night manager (I think his name is Turchin) that I was hurt and could not continue my work. He ordered me to continue working, and when I couldn't, he took off fifty cents from my pay for not finishing my work to three o'clock in the morn-

Police Murder Anti-Fascist

The Italian worker, Carlo Mazzola was killed and another worker, Belluzzi, was seriously wounded at Cooper Union on April 6, 1930, when police officer Thomas A. Lillenthal of the Mercer Street station fired into a crowd of workers in an attempt to capture one of the speakers, Armando Borghi, in order to deport him to Fascist Italy and to certain death.

There were over 1,200 workers present at Cooper Union Auditorium in a debate on: "What will replace fascism in Italy after its overthrow?" On the one side was Vincenzo Vacirca, a former Socialist member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, and on the other Armando Borghi, representing the Anarchist viewpoint. At about five o'clock Federal inspector Piaggia, Lillenthal and a dozen other government officials appeared to arrest Borghi. Borghi, realizing his peril, jumped among the workers and called upon them for protection. The workers rushed forward and thereupon Detective Lillenthal fired murderously into the crowd of workers. A number of other workers were arrested.

I had the doctor come to my house for a whole week and could not move out of my bed. After a week I was able to leave my house, and then told the boss of the restaurant about the accident. I asked him to send me to the Compensation Insurance doctor, he told me to come next morning and then told me he did not have insurance and could not do anything for me.

Since then I have been suffering with headaches, dizziness and pains in my shoulder, and am going to the doctor every day for treatment. I reported this to the Union but they don't seem able to do anything for me except send me to a lawyer."

JOHN SATIR

The Split in the Food Workers

By FOOD WORKER

After it had succeeded in turning the National Miners Union into a "mass organization" of Party members and closest sympathizers, in reducing the Independent Shoe Workers from a membership of 5,000 to a few hundred Party members and sympathizers, in isolating the National Textile Workers Union from the actual struggles of the textile workers, and in wrecking other unions and organizations, the leadership of the TUUL turned its attention to the Amalgamated Food Workers. Thru our resistance and thru articles in *Revolutionary Age* we succeeded in forcing the Party and TUUL leadership to retreat from its policy of split last December. But, as we pointed out then, so long as the Party line did not change generally and fundamentally, the danger of a split in the AFW remained. And today we see that not only has not the danger of a split disappeared but that it has come back in a more violent form.

Nowhere is the bankruptcy of the trade union policy of the Party, the criminal splitting tactics and wild DeLeonism more clear than in the present tactics used in the A. F. W. The situation is as follows: At the convention of the A. F. W. last December it was decided by a vote of 16 to 15 to put the question of the affiliation to the TUUL to referendum vote before the membership. The results of the referendum vote were very favorable for the TUUL. The fact is that the TUUL made a phenomenal showing, carrying at least almost half of the votes for the A. F. W. for affiliation. (The actual vote is disputed by both sides).

Anybody with common sense would think that the TUUL would continue to work within the A. F. W. to win more workers for its program and try to get a big and undisputed majority for the affiliation, thus avoiding a split in ranks to the food workers. But this would mean to work among non-Party workers, among the masses, and if there is anything that the present Party leadership hates most is to work among the masses. The present Party leadership thrives on isolation and splits; they must have a

split; they must build a new "industrial food workers union," to show some kind of activity to the R. I. L. U. The best policy for the TUUL would unquestionably have been to consolidate its forces and be prepared for the election of the general secretary-treasurer of the union which was to take place on April 5, and thus get a firmer grip of the organization. There was a great possibility for success because the present leaders in the A. F. W. are divided among themselves and there are three running for office. This would divide their forces and give a fine chance to the TUUL candidates, if there were any running.

But the TUUL decided that the locals that are in their control should not pay any per capita tax! The TUUL has issued a call for a conference to form a new "Food Workers Industrial Union" to take place sometime next July. The left wing locals are thus excluded from participating in the elections of the Union!

Whether the TUUL wants to admit it or not, the split in the A. F. W. is a clear fact waiting the official sanction of the coming "national food workers conference." The split is here! The criminal action of the TUUL shows that its present leadership runs away from the actual struggle in the trade unions, following the road of least resistance, i.e., road of splits, the road of anarcho-syndicalism, the road of DeLeonism. Many cooks from the Hotel Workers Union got so sick of the mechanical control of the Party in the Union that they went in a body to the IWW and applied for a charter to build a Hotel Workers Branch!

After the new split we will have three industrial food workers unions; *The National Food Workers Industrial Union*; the A. F. W. and the I. W. W. *Hotel Workers Branch*, besides the A. F. of L. locals. Splitting the forces of the working class instead of uniting them!

This is the result of the policies of the present Party leadership in the trade union field.

The Tasks of the Trade Union Unity League

(We reprint below the resolution introduced for the Majority Group at the recent Metropolitan Conference of the Trade Union Unity League. This resolution analyses in a clear manner the situation in the labor movement, the conditions and problems of the left wing and the false line of the TUUL leadership which has had such disastrous results. The resolution—which of course was rejected by the TUUL bureaucrats—lays down a program of struggle along which alone the left wing can be built up and the workers mobilized for struggle.)

The Offensive of Capital

The Metropolitan Area Conference of the Trade Union Unity League held on March 1-2, occurs during a period of severe economic crisis. Unemployment in New York State, even according to the report of the State Labor Commissioner, Frances Perkins, is greater than in any other state of the Union. Unemployment is mounting sharply, especially in the building trades, in the shoe, textile, needle and other industries. Hundreds of thousands of workers have become permanently disemployed due to rationalization and technical development. The employers are utilizing this situation by cutting the wages of these workers who are employed, and speeding them up to unbearable degree. A general offensive is being carried on by the employers against the standards of the workers, with the active support of the entire reactionary, right wing in the trade union movement.

The employers thru their agency the United States Government, have sharpened their attack against the foreign born workers. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has now come out openly endorsing and supporting these registration bills. These bills aim to weaken the power of resistance of the workers generally against the employers' attack, and are especially directed against the most militant section of the working class, the unions of class struggle.

The federal, state and city governments are acting as the most powerful weapon of the employers in this attack upon labor. The Hoover-Green anti-strike pact, the governor's commission in the garment industry, are an integral part of this offensive to tie the hands of labor, to bind it submissively to the wheels of capitalist exploitation.

These attacks against the working class are part of the general offensive of the employing class to meet the sharpened world competition in the mad rush for profits. They are an attempt to solve the contradictions of the present system of exploitation at the expense of the working class. But these efforts are leading headlong toward a new imperialist war and towards a new and more intensified attack upon the Soviet Union. In direct contrast with the United States, the land of much boasted Hoover "prosperity," the land where millions are today walking the streets, without food or shelter, the Soviet Union is making rapid strides in the building up of Socialism, in the establishment of a society in which the worker shall reap the full benefit of his toil, a society in which the exploiting class will be entirely abolished.

It is for this reason that we witness today a renewed attempt on a most extensive and dangerous scale, to incite the workers against the Soviet Union, thru a campaign of slander and lying propaganda regarding "religious persecutions." In this attack upon the Workers' Fatherland, the reactionary right wingers, the Socialist Party, work hand in hand with the other agents of capitalism; the churches, the press, the radio, etc.

The Policies of the TUUL

In the face of the increasing speed-up, wage cuts and government persecutions, unemployment and the growing dangers of war, the workers are more ready than before for militant struggle against their exploiters. This creates

splendid opportunities for the TUUL to give leadership and direction to the unorganized and organized workers in their real, militant trade union center unless it provides that leadership. We must state, however, that in spite of these favorable conditions, those at the head of the TUUL have not followed the correct policies and tactics to meet the present situation, have not given the guidance and direction so badly needed. The attack on the foreign born workers has passed unnoticed as far as the TUUL is concerned. The growing injunction menace has not been made a rallying point for a broad struggle involving the entire labor movement. No real campaign has been organized inside the militant and reactionary unions and among the unorganized workers generally, against the strike-breaking Hoover-Green pact. On the field of organizing the unorganized, the work that was so well begun last year locally as well as nationally, has not been followed up.

The fight to win the workers in the A. F. of L. for militant, class struggle unionism, was entirely abandoned and was replaced by the false formula that the "A.F. of L. is a social-fascist organization from top to bottom." For this reason, united front tactics which must be utilized in order to win the most backward workers for the class struggle on the basis of their pressing, immediate demands has been given up. The TUUL leadership has even gone so far as to refuse help to AFL workers on strike, and to seriously injure their struggle by most vicious, and unwarranted attacks of the militant leadership of the Union, at a time when this leadership was under the sharpest fire of the bosses and the right wing (Furniture Workers Union).

In this period when we are confronted with the most difficult and complicated problems (parallel unions) within the labor movement, the present leadership of the TUUL has only left-sounding phrases and sectarian policies to offer. The TUUL leadership is isolating the left wing from the masses by a sectarian line, which expresses itself in "building" the left wing by mere announcement (Subway Construction, Truckmen), by withdrawing militant workers from existing unions which have a mass basis and leaving masses of workers under the complete hegemony of the reactionary bureaucracy, by mere announcement of general strikes without any preparation, etc.

The present situation demands unity of action of all militant proletarian forces. Instead of this, however, the TUUL leadership is dividing the forces by bringing in inner-party differences and by pursuing a policy of expulsions, eliminations, from the Leagues (Millinery, Metal, Suitcase & Bag), by removals from offices of the new unions, by denying proletarian democracy in the Leagues and new unions. This has resulted in the narrowing down of the base of the organizations and in creating demoralization in the ranks. Proletarian unity is absolutely imperative.

The work among the Negro workers, women workers and the youth has been seriously neglected, in some instances leaving the field almost entirely to the right wing.

The Tasks of the TUUL

As a result of these incorrect policies and tactics, the TUUL and left wing must record a serious loss in membership and prestige among the shoe workers, garment workers, iron workers, and in other important industries. This Metropolitan Conference therefore decides that it is necessary to launch broad united front movements of the workers on such burning issues as unemployment, the attack on the foreign-born, injunctions, attack on the Soviet Union, etc. This conference also decides upon the following program of action for guiding and leading the workers in their struggles in the immediate period.

1. Organization of the unorganized,

in a serious and effective manner, with all the necessary steps for the building of real mass organizations that can effectively fight for the workers.

2. Effective steps to strengthen the existing industrial unions.

3. Intensification of work among the Negro workers, the women workers and the working youth.

4. The building of new industrial unions, on a mass basis, where no other mass unions exist in the field.

5. The organization of the left wing and militant elements in the A. F. of L. and other reactionary unions on the basis of minimum demands of the class struggle.

6. The organization of and participation in broad united front campaigns including all reactionary and reformist organization of the working class (A. F. of L. unions as well) on the following concrete issues confronting the working class today:

- a) For work or relief in full wages for the unemployed!
- b) For the 7-hour 5-day week, especially in view of the unemployment situation!
- c) Against the registration of the foreign born!
- d) Against injunctions in labor disputes!
- e) Against the Hoover-Green anti-strike pact!
- f) For the defense and recognition of the Soviet Union!
- g) For a genuine Labor Party to mobilize the workers for the struggle against the labor-smashing tactics of the federal, state, city government!
- h) Against imperialist war!

Protest Against Appointment of Labor Hating Judge Parker!

The appointment by President Hoover of John J. Parker to the United States Supreme Court met with a sharp protest on the part of the Communist Party (Majority Group) which has issued a public statement on the elevation of this notorious and Negro-baiting judge to the Supreme Court bench.

"In proposing Judge Parker for the Supreme Court," the statement declares, "Pres. Hoover has issued an insulting challenge to the entire American working class. Judge Parker is responsible for the yellow-dog contract decision of the United States District Court against the striking West Virginia miners in 1921. Judge Parker's main qualification for membership in the Supreme Court, in the eyes of President Hoover and the exploiting class whom he represents and serves, is his service to the Red Jacket Coal Company against the West Virginia miners."

The workers have not forgotten that it was Judge Parker who threw the full weight of the United States District Court against the coal diggers who made the heroic march from Mingo to Logan County in spite of the combined forces of the coal operators private gunmen and the strike-breaking militia in government uniform. Parker is a sworn enemy of labor and is an untiring strike-breaker.

It is no accident that the Republican Judge Parker representing the new big business interests of the South has repeatedly declared his bitter hostility to the Negroes and has put himself on record against the right of the Negroes to vote. As a loyal servant of the capitalist class Parker holds that the Negroes are "dangerous people" and should therefore be denied the franchise. That is why Judge Parker supported an amendment to the North Carolina State constitution to disqualify Negroes from voting.

In making this nomination of Judge Parker for the Supreme Court bench Hoover only further exposes the fact that the Republican Party, as well as the

Open Shoppers On Labors Forces

The Southern Manufacturers' Association recently hired Prof. Broadus Mitchell of Johns Hopkins University to make a survey and prepare a report on the question of the unionization of Southern workers.

The most significant conclusions of this report presented to the Southern Manufacturers Association by Prof. Mitchell are:

1. The Southern manufacturers have nothing to fear from the organization campaign of the A. F. of L. leadership. In fact they should welcome such "organization" efforts by the A. F. of L. leadership. These efforts can only help stabilize the industry, steady production and check the development of "dangerous, disruptive forces" which might otherwise occur.

2. The National Textile Workers Union is condemned in this report but is today pronounced as no longer a potent force which the Southern manufacturers have any cause to fear. The reason for this is given by Prof. Mitchell to be the fact that the outstanding, most capable leaders and organizers of the National Textile Workers Union, those having prestige and influence among the textile workers of the country, have been expelled from the union which has been seriously undermined by factional dissensions in the Communist Party of the United States of America. This refers to the expulsion of the founders and builders of the National Textile Workers Union like Comrades Dawson, Keller, Weisbord, Pires, Pelzar, Herman, Bush and Jack Rubenstein.

In the Communist International

An Important International Meeting

The *International Information of the Communist Opposition* reports: From March 17 to March 19 there took place in Berlin—upon the initiative of the Central Committee of the CP of Sweden—a discussion between the delegates of this Party (Samuelson, Kilboom and Spangenberg) and the National Council of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition). In this discussion there took part the former member of the ECCI, M. N. Roy, and A. Neurath of the Communist Opposition in Czechoslovakia.

The discussion included the questions of the international situation of the Communist Opposition. There were detailed reports on the condition of the individual opposition groups in the sections of the Comintern, to the Comintern, to the Social-democracy and to the various groupings in a number of countries was considered.

In the discussion there reigned complete unanimity on the necessity of the

international consolidation of all those Communist opposition groups which—standing on the fundamentals of the Communist International—are fighting against the ultra-left course of the present Comintern leadership and are striving to restore the Comintern to health and growth.

It was decided to transmit to the leaderships of the various opposition groups the Address of the CPG-Opposition to the Executive and members of the Comintern with the objective of achieving a common declaration.

For the purpose of developing the necessary organizational connections of the international opposition there was established an *information center* of the opposition in Berlin. It was decided that the *International Information of the Communist Opposition*, hitherto issued by the CPG-Opposition, should in the future appear regularly monthly under the joint responsibility of the various groups.

In Canada

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, which was supposed to have taken place some weeks ago, has been postponed indefinitely in order to give the Party leadership the opportunity of getting rid of (by suspensions and expulsions) of all members of the Central Committee who are suspected of having differences of opinion. As we indicated some time ago a number of suspensions and expulsions have already taken place, including the suspension of Jack Macdonald former secretary of the Party and member of the Pulboro. Now a step further has been taken. Jack Margolies, member of the CC, well known in the Toronto labor movement, has been suspended and recommended for expulsion. The crisis is sharpening in Canada and the development of an opposition movement is taking place.

"New Methods"

Nothing indicates the bankruptcy of the official Party line so much as their complete refusal to discuss the issues and their resort to hooligan methods and physical attacks on meetings and individuals as a method of "conviction." This is already well known in the United States, where the Party bureaucracy went to the extent of breaking up a Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting at the very same moment that the police were breaking up Party and unemployment meetings.

The United States is not the only country where the bankruptcy of the official line leads them to these methods. This is an international occurrence, indicating a policy emanating directly from the leaders of the Communist International. In Germany, where the rebellion of the Party membership against the ultra-left line of the leadership of the Party and the C.I. has created consternation in their ranks, the Party leadership has responded with a new campaign of personal violence against comrades of the Opposition, attempts to break up meetings and to prevent the Party membership from discussing and thinking.

In Hamburg, Berlin, Chemnitz, Leipzig and other cities, attempts were made to break up meetings of the Opposition and also of non-Party organizations where Opposition comrades were speaking. In Berlin, a group of youth comrades on their way to a train for an excursion, at midnight, were attacked by an organized group of loyalites with knives, blackjacks and brass knuckles. Nine comrades were wounded by knife thrusts and had to receive medical attention. In Chemnitz, Comrade Wetterman, 50-year old Communist, a revolutionist for thirty years, was attacked by eight loyalites while on his way home from a meeting. He was beaten to the ground and trampled and kicked brutal-

Leninbund Splits in Germany

For the last several months a bitter factional struggle has been raging in the *Leninbund*, the German Trotskyist organization. From a political viewpoint the struggle broke out in connection with the Soviet-Chinese crisis. As we already reported in a past issue of *Revolutionary Age*, Trotsky and the Russian (Trotskyist) Opposition came out for unconditional defence of the USSR while the majority of the *Leninbund* took a position of qualified support, if support at all. From this the controversy developed very far and took in the whole character of the Soviet state and the perspectives of the Russian revolution. The majority of the *Leninbund* (Urbahns) took a position that amounted to declaring that the Soviet state was already no longer really a class state of the proletariat but was beginning to be dominated by class enemy elements (a consistent Thermidorian position). Trotsky, the Russian Opposition, and the minority of the *Leninbund* (Gry-

Krupskaya with Opposition?

Repeated reports from various sources seem to indicate that Nadezhda Krupskaya, the widow of Lenin, has changed her formerly conciliatory position into open support of the so-called "right" opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! It is declared that at the recent conference of the Moscow Party organization she appeared as leader of the "right" opposition against the line of the Central Committee.

Big Victory for Czech Opposition

According to an *Inprecor* report, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Opposition) has managed to capture the world-famous daily paper, the *Reichenberger Vorwaerts*. This paper, published in German, is one of the oldest revolutionary proletarian papers in Europe and was one of the very few Social-democratic papers to fight the imperialist war. The passing over of this paper to the Communist Opposition marks a great achievement in the international opposition struggle.

Opposition in Lithuania

First reports indicate that the recent sharp discussions on tactical questions in the *Communist Party of Lithuania* have led to a split. The opposition charges that the ECCI and the Central Committee of the CP of Lithuania refuse to consider the special conditions and class relations in Lithuania in laying down a line of policy. It charges that the CC organizes actions which, under present conditions, can only lead to purposeless waste of forces and needless sacrifices. The opposition has already started organizational work (organized groups, etc.) and is beginning to work out a program. Further information will be available in a short time.

Elections in France

The *Humanite* (official organ of the Communist Party of France) reports that in the elections in St. Denis (a suburb of Paris) the Communist Party ticket (with Doriot at the head) beat the reactionary ticket (with Barthelemy at the head) by a vote of 7,800 to 7,200. It further goes on to say that this victory was achieved "in spite of the desperate efforts of the reactionaries who were supported by the Social-democrats and by the opportunist renegades!" Similar reports have found their way into the German *Rote Fahne* and in the American official Communist press.

The figures given by *Humanite* are correct. It simply omits the following two significant facts: 1) that the CP ticket emerged victorious only because the "opportunist renegades," who had received 1,640 votes on their list (the "Workers and Peasants Party" list) in the first vote, withdrew in the second voting and endorsed the CP ticket in order to prevent the victory of the reactionary ticket; and 2) that in spite of this—and in spite also of the final endorsement of even the Social-democrats who also withdrew their list—the CP ticket lost exactly 1,000 votes as compared with May 1929!

Neither does the official Party press point out in the recent elections in *Bergerac* the CP vote decreased from 4,207 to 1,691 while the Social-democratic vote rose from 4,700 to 6,300. Similarly in the Department *Eure et Loire* the Communist vote fell from 827 to 232. The same tendency—rapid isolation—is visible in all recent elections.

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In the American Communist Movement

March 6 in Detroit

by WILLIAM MILLER

The first lesson of Leninism is that under all circumstances there must be made an estimation of conditions and events as they are. Bluff and exaggeration lead to demoralization and defeat of the working class movement. The unemployment demonstration held on March 6 in Detroit is an example in point.

First as to some technical questions. The demonstration was called on one of the smallest squares in the heart of the downtown district. A thousand workers fill the square. The very location of this small square, as every worker could see, put everything in favor of the police and made it difficult to carry out any objective. The capitalist papers saw this and commented upon it. From every viewpoint the choice of a place for the demonstration was very bad especially as much better places (Grand Circus Park, Madison Square and Second Boulevard Park) were available!

Now as to the demonstration itself. It was very poorly organized. It was leaderless and no real effort was made to speak to the workers. Among those few who did dare to do something and were arrested, the leaders were conspicuously absent, especially the "revolutionary" gold brick salesman, Jack Stachel who, by the way, went into hiding two days before March 6 upon the rumor that the city detectives were looking for him. Somehow this future "Lenin of America" "convinced" the membership that they could not afford to take a chance of his being arrested!

After it was all over and finding it was safe to come out of his hiding hole, the coward and faker, Jack Stachel who hastily gathered what information he could from his reporters, and the afternoon press, sent that same afternoon to the *Daily Worker* a telegram full of exaggerations, bluff and bombast about the demonstration. He neither saw nor took part in the demonstration at all!

Following is the wire sent to the *Daily Worker*: "Over 100,000 workers, including thousands from the automobile factories and other shops answered the call of the Communist Party to demonstrate today on World Unemployment Day—the demonstration reached its height at one o'clock, when 25,000 workers succeeded in gathering in Campus Martius. Hundreds of banners were displayed and speakers began to address the workers."

The facts are that about 75,000 were out on the streets, of this number about 30,000 were workers who responded to the call and the other 45,000 were people from the downtown stores and office buildings let out for lunch hour. As to "including thousands" from the automobile factories and other shops, this is the biggest bluff and fake that no one but the super-salesman, Jack Stachel, would try to get away with it, but that is the new line! From the facts that we could gather practically every comrade who had a job was working on that day, in spite of the general strike call. The question was raised later in the Party what to do with those who did not obey the order to quit work on that day. As to thousands of workers quitting their jobs on that date for the purpose of demonstrations, as the report tries to imply, this is a fake dish out for obvious purposes. Workers know that to lay off for such an occasion with mass unemployment and thousands ready to take their jobs would mean getting fired immediately. Most of the factories warned their employees about laying off on March 6 and in some of the places they issued special passes to the workers on that date to be better able to check up on those who dared to lay off.

As to the 25,000 being present in Campus Martius Square, this is just so much tommyrot. At no time during the demonstration was so much as a handful of workers allowed to approach this Square.

There was no such a thing as hundreds of banners displayed. A few placards were displayed for a moment or two, being destroyed by police or hid under their coats again.

How could anyone address the workers? There were no platforms or soap boxes of any kind to be seen. Surely there weren't any on the Campus Martius as no one was allowed to approach it. "There were a number of isolated disturbances as the agitators went toward the park. Several climbed poles and tried to make speeches, others would rush out from the walks and display placards to the occupants of buses. Mounted police invariably succeeded in quieting these outbursts." (Detroit *Free Press* on March 7, 1930.)

As a protest from the unemployed workers, it was splendid. But as an organized demonstration it was a fiasco. There was no leadership given to the whole affair. It was called for in a place which was obvious to anyone that it was impossible to hold a demonstration of any proportion. Not one of the leaders tried to address the workers; while the chief faker, Jack Stachel, went into hiding!

Gitlow Speaks at Self-Educ. Club

To the recent meeting of the Self-Educational Club of Williamsburg on Friday, April 4, called to discuss the question of unemployment, three speakers had been invited: Comrade Benjamin Gitlow, one from the TUUL and one from Brooklyn Unemployment Council. Only Comrade Gitlow found it worth his while to come, although letters (which came back unopened) and a telegram (which was not answered) were sent to the TUUL.

When the meeting opened Mary Duke the chairman, after some preliminary remarks introduced Comrade Gitlow. No sooner was he introduced than up jumped a loyalite yelling: "Gitlow is a traitor and a renegade to the working class because he was expelled from the Communist Party. I call on all workers to walk out in protest."

At this, quite evidently a signal agreed upon in advance, up jumped about 15 loyalites, all of whom did not belong to the club and walked out waving their hands and yelling in an attempt to disrupt and break up the meeting. The non-Party workers were very angry at this action especially since the agreement to have a joint discussion had been made by everybody on the executive board which included Party members. Not a single one walked out with the splitters. After the house was "cleared" the meeting settled down to business. Comrade Gitlow delivering a stirring and instructive talk on the unemployment problem. After questions, discussions and summary, a resolution was introduced which was enthusiastically accepted without a single dissenting voice by the hundred workers present.

CHANGES IN BOSTON

The leadership in the Boston district is changing section organizers like underwear. In the *Chelsea* section Comrade Shore took the place of Grabir, who has been section organizer for years, and now Comrade Clara Halpern has taken Shore's place. In the *Roxbury* section Roisen took the place of Samerib, who has been the organizer for a number of years, but now Joe Resnick has taken Roisen's place. The units do not meet regularly. Attendance is weak. There is no political discussion, only instructions from the top. Comrades do not dare to open their mouths afraid of being branded as "Lovestoneites." That is the present situation in this district.

E. P.

What of the Plenum? Another Wave of Expulsions in the Party

It was once the custom in the the Party, under its former leadership, to make the Party Plenum an inspiration point for the entire activity of the Party during the coming period. Today a Party Plenum assumes the atmosphere of a mysterious seance which the Party leadership, for reasons of its own, keeps hidden from the forbidden view of the Party membership. Why, once these would even be open sessions of CC Plenums where the membership could profit by the discussion of important questions. But that was in the second period, alas!

There is apparently no thesis forthcoming from the secret Plenum (March 29-April 3). All of the decisions were unanimous—the unanimity of the graveyard. The path was cleared for more expulsions in Chicago (Held and Cline) in order to make that city a stronger fortress for Browder, the new leader of the American Party. The idea of opening feeding stations for the unemployed was suddenly denounced as "opportunist." It is very clear that little of a guiding or political character can be expected of this Plenum, which is but another example the low spirit which the Party has reached under its present leadership.

The only thesis the Plenum dared to adopt was one on the *Economic and Political Situation in the South*, which was a weak mixture of opportunism coupled with the usual "left" phrases about the "right of the workers to self-defense," "disarming of fascist bands." A more detailed discussion of this thesis will follow in the next issue.

Another Wave of Expulsions in the Party

Another wave of expulsions has hit the Party. A short time ago Albert Weisbord, first secretary of the National Textile Workers Union and leader of the great Passaic strike, was expelled. First he was suspended from the Party on pure frame-up charges. The real reason, of course, was Weisbord's growing opposition to the dangerous policies of the Party leadership. Comrade Weisbord appealed against his suspension to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The answer of the CI was to expel Weisbord right off. Weisbord was not even notified of his expulsion but first heard of it when his unit excluded him from its meetings.

At the same time Vera Bush, one of the original Gastonia defendants, was also expelled.

Following out the instructions of the CI for "cleansing the Party of all opportunist elements" the Party leadership has expelled Comrade Gitz, Christman and Kustis—for years militant fighters among the food workers and leaders of the splendid struggle of the cafeteria workers last year.

In Chicago an eruption has also taken place. I. Held, member of the Central Control Commission and of the Chicago District Committee, and Paul Cline, member of the Chicago District Committee, have both been warned by the recent Plenum, after having been removed from their positions. In Chicago a number of other suspensions have taken place.

The Crisis in the Finnish Cooperatives

The chain of consumers cooperatives in Northern Michigan, Northern Wisconsin, and Northern Minnesota, which unite about 20,000 Finnish workers and poor farmers, has always been one of the largest mass organizations under the ideological leadership of the Communist Party and has always constituted an important support for the revolutionary struggle in this country. For the last few years these cooperatives have been thriving and their real (not formal) relations with the Communist movement growing closer and closer.

It was of course impossible that the new sectarian course of the Party should pass over this great organization without doing it at least some damage. Just the reverse: for obvious reasons, the Finnish consumers cooperatives became one of the first fields for the wrecking policies of the new leadership.

According to the new ultra-left theories the mass organizations have no right to be non-Party organizations; they must be converted openly and formally into auxiliaries or even departments of the Party. This is what has been done to the International Labor Defence, to the new unions and to other "non-Party" organizations with the result that these organizations are being wrecked. This is what was attempted against the Finnish cooperatives—but fortunately it has failed.

The first manifestation of the new line was apparently "non-political." It was "merely" a "financial" matter: the Party fraction was instructed by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party to have the Cooperative supply the "whatever methods possible!" The attitude of the Party leaders to an organization composed overwhelmingly of non-Party workers is shown in the following extract from the official letter:

"The cooperatives situated in New York have already done their best to support and help the Party. (With what results?! Editor's note: have been saved up to the present moment, because of the distance which separates you from the center; but this distance cannot be a

barrier against the Party's rights to utilize the connection for the best interests of the Party."

Because of the depressed economic situation in the country and for other external reasons, the financial situation in the Central Cooperative Exchange was very difficult and the "orders" of the Secretariat, to which some other "orders" from the Trade Union Unity League had been added, could not be carried thru without disastrous results. In fact the Central Cooperative Exchange (CCE) was actually borrowing money itself. This is what the Secretariat was informed by Comrade George Halonen, the Educational Director of the CCE. But this of course meant nothing to the leadership of the Party which determined to "utilize its rights" regardless of everything.

It did not take long for Comrade Williams, one of the Eccl representatives then in the USA—and the Eccl delegation was of course fully responsible for the wrecking line of the Party—to go to Superior but he refused to see Comrade Halonen or to speak to him on the ground that Comrade Halonen was still a member of the Party, was a "social-fascist." The Party bureaucrats attempted to seize and destroy the *Pyramid Builder* and to accomplish by force what they could not by argument. But in vain! The overwhelming majority of the Party comrades rejected the line of the Party.

The expulsion of George Halonen and of the vast majority of the Party fraction followed immediately. The overwhelming majority of the Party fraction—the backbone of the district—was expelled. The open struggle to disrupt the cooperatives and the Party was begun by the CC.

Immediately a bitter campaign opened up against the expelled comrades. A special editor (Martilla) was appointed on the *Tyomies* to conduct the offensive against the cooperative leaders. Today 17,456 column-inches of space in the *Tyomies* have been given up to this campaign. Karl Reeve issued a "manifesto"

"The Y. C. L. on March 6th"

By JACK RUBENSTEIN

Under this title I. Rijak, the present political leader of the Young Communist League, wrote an article which was published in the March 27 issue of the *Daily Worker*. This article shows in the clearest manner the lack of League leadership of the youth on March 6.

Despite the fact that the Party and League did not make the struggle against unemployment the central issue and overshadowed the appeal to the unemployed with slogans of "General Political Strike," "Down with the Government," "Fight the Police," etc., tens of thousands turned out to the unemployment demonstration thruout the country.

Many came out of real interest to see what the Communists had to offer to relieve unemployment. Unfortunately the Party's methods were such that they gave our class enemy the chance to say that we are not really interested in the unemployed but "are only interested in the revolution" (statement to the press by Amter). In spite of all this, however, the Party was able to make itself heard by a large number of workers. This cannot be said about the League. The League as an organization of the working youth, leading the youth, was totally absent.

The basic reason is the League's lack of youth policy in practice and its sharing of the wrong estimate of the Party regarding the mood of the masses of the young workers.

The claim is made that 200,000 young workers participated in the March 6 demonstrations. This is ridiculous. Also it must be clearly pointed out that whatever young workers did participate did not do so as young workers nor were they mobilized on the basis of any youth demands which the YCL propagated, nor was it in answer to the call of any youth organizations, such as the youth sec-

tions of the trade unions or of the Unemployed Councils, etc.

It is not so long ago that the League announced a "new turn." It was declared that the League would turn "right" "left danger" and would turn its attention to the mass of young workers. Rijak's article shows the real meaning of this "new turn."

He admits that: "The Y. C. L. did not participate as an independent force... The League failed to organize the youth into the unemployed councils... No separate activity of youth... The youth department of the TUUL did very little... Not one youth conference... Very few districts visited workingclass youth organizations... The League almost completely failed to carry propaganda... to the armed forces... Strong underground mood... Failure to even issue special youth leaflets... The directives from the National Committee to the districts and from the districts to the units were not sufficient and concrete enough."

Despite all of these admissions of Rijak, he has the nerve to state in the same article: "In speaking of the role of the Young Communist League played on March 6, we can state that in comparison with other campaigns, the YCL has made the best showing in the preparatory work as well as on March 6."

Self-criticism can be the most valuable education and stimulation for communist work provided we learn from our mistakes and take steps to prevent their recurrence. To point out old mistakes repeatedly without being able to show some improvement as well as the source of the mistakes makes of self criticism an empty gesture breeding more mistakes.

The League comrades must realize that the reason that the League has not been able to take the lead of the unemployed youth grows out of the present leftist sectarian League policy which has isol-

On to the National Conference

The February Plenum of the National Council of the Communist Party (Majority Group) decided to call the *First National Delegate Conference* of the CP-Majority Group for July 4. This conference will mark a big step forward in the struggle for the unification of the Communist forces in the U. S. A. and internationally.

A circular has already been sent out to all organizations of the CP-Majority Group on the technical arrangements for the Conference, number of delegates, etc. The National Conference will be preceded by District Conferences.

Preceding the Conference there will be a period of discussion, which has already opened. The discussion takes place on: 1) the *Draft Thesis* presented to the February Plenum; 2) the resolution on *The Crisis in Communist International and the International Opposition Movement*, and 3) the resolution on *The Situation in the YCL and Our Tasks*. This material has already been sent out to the organizations in manuscript form and will soon appear as a pamphlet. It is suggested that the discussion center around such problems as: the crisis in the Communist International, the Labor Party, new developments in the labor movement, the situation of our group, its shortcomings and tasks, etc. For the discussion *Revolutionary Age* will open a discussion section beginning with the next issue. Comrades are urged to send in their articles which must be limited to 500 words. Forward to the National Conference! Make it a milestone in the development of our movement!

ated the league. March 6 offers much food for thought to the League members and young workers. The political lessons must be drawn and a real change of policy and leadership forced thru.

Comintern (of which the crisis in the cooperatives is only a part) and the struggle for a Leninist line waged by the CP-Majority Group. The greatest error that the Finnish comrades can make—and it must be said that there has been too much of a tendency in this direction—is to fail to see the broad implications of the crisis in their organization, to fail to conduct the struggle on a broad basis in order to overcome the crisis in which our Party as a whole and the Communist International finds itself today.

BORO PARK WORKERS CLUB REORGANIZED

At a meeting of the Boro Park Workers Club, a letter was presented from the District Committee of the Workers Clubs calling for the expulsion of "Lovestoneites" from the organization. Previously the Party leadership had sent in over 30 "new members" within a period of three weeks, in order to swamp the organization as a preparation for instituting their ruinous expulsion policy. When members of the club demanded the right to discuss the proposals, and demanded that those who recently joined the organization should withhold action because of their unfamiliarity with the facts, these requests were refused and the expulsions were railroaded thru. In protest against this high handed procedure, the members of the club, including its leading and most active forces, have reorganized the club with most of its original officers and over thirty members as the Boro Park Youth Club.

BLUFF TACTICS AND THEIR RESULTS

A membership meeting of the New York District arranged for Wednesday, April 9, was without explanation changed into an open public meeting for the defense of the March 6 prisoners. What was the reason for this sudden and mysterious change? It will be remembered that after the last membership meeting in New York, which was invaded by the police, Comrade Amter issued a statement to the press, declaring that if the police ever dared to appear again at a

Watch for the Coming Issues!

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by Jay Lovestone

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Towards a Change of Policy in the Needle Trades

The Crisis in the Communist International and the International Opposition Movements,

Resolution of the February Plenum of the CP-Majority Group.

PRENDERGAST GETS REWARD

Wm. A. Prendergast, formerly chairman of the Public Service Commission, has become a general partner in the banking and brokerage firm of W. C. Langley & Co. The specialty of the firm is marketing public utility shares and financing utility companies. As Mr. Langley declares the choice is "a most happy one" for the public utility interests.

Party membership meeting, they would be firmly ejected from the hall. A very high sounding threat! But on April 9, the bluff had to be made good. Amter did the only thing he could do under the circumstances! He backed down from an impossible position and changed the character of the meeting.

MILLER SPEAKS IN PHILADELPHIA

Three hundred workers crowded the Liberal Forum in Philadelphia to hear and discuss the subject of *The Crisis in the Communist Party of the USA*. The speaker was Bert Miller. After outlining the need of a Communist Party in the United States in this period of economic crisis, mass unemployment, growing reaction and war danger, the speaker traced the cause and the character of the present crisis and the need for the reestablishment of the movement on a unified basis. The audience showed a deep interest in the Communist movement as such. The only antagonistic elements were the Trotskyites, who attacked the speaker along the same lines being followed by the present Party leadership. About a dozen workers participated in the discussion, among them one Negro worker who assured the audience that "Lovestone has the correct line for the American workers."

PLAIN SABOTAGE

Acting under the instructions of the Middle Village Branch of the Independent Workmen Circle, a committee called upon Comrade Salzman for advice regarding the resolution protesting against the persecution of the foreign born which had been introduced by Comrade Zelden, a member of the CP-Majority Group. The advice of Comrade Salzman was that it was not important, that it was "good enough for the *Day* or the *Morning Journal* to handle, but not for a radical organization." As a result the resolution was defeated at the next meeting of the branch and one more protest against this vicious legislation was silenced with the help and direction of the Party leadership.

Forward with the Big Sub Drive!

Are you in the big *Revolutionary Age* Subscription Drive? Are you getting subs from your fellow-workers in the shops, from your fellow-members in your union or workers organization, from your friends, from comrades in the Party?

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What is your record in the Drive? Have you carried out your duties as a reader of *Revolutionary Age*:

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3. Pay for a subscription for some Party member or for some friend or fellow-worker.

Remember the Big Prizes!

To stimulate the campaign and promote competition *Revolutionary Age* has decided to offer the following prizes to the five comrades who obtain the largest number of subs for *Revolutionary Age* in the period of the campaign. A 50c sub counts 1; a \$1.00 sub counts 2; a \$2.00 sub counts 4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THREE WORKERS CHALLENGE THE FREIHEIT

On Thursday, April 4, the *Freiheit* featured on its first page the statement that three "Lovestoneites" had been expelled from the Boro Park Workers Club for "bringing police and detectives to the meeting of the club."

This is of course a shameless lie! The true story of what happened at the Boro Park Workers Club is told elsewhere in this issue (page 11). The three workers

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What About the Membership Drive?

A Letter from a Party Member

Central Executive Committee
Communist Party, USA

Dear Comrades:

For a long time I have been reading the Membership Drive figures with a feeling and I have wanted to ask certain questions about these figures. It is rather difficult during this period to present thru normal Party channels the questions which have arisen in my mind. Since I am sure that similar questions have arisen in the minds of many other Party members, who still dare to think and ask questions, I have decided to send you this letter hoping that the questions I have raised will be fully answered in the *Daily Worker*.

1. How does it happen that while the *Daily Worker* says we took in 1450 new members in the New York District, which means that the total membership of our district should be nearly 5,000, that we had less at our membership meeting than ever before (about 700)? Why is not the increase shown in the unit meetings? I have asked other comrades the same question about their units and have not received a satisfactory reply? What is the experience of other cities in this respect?

2. Do the figures given in the *Daily Worker* represent application cards or accepted members who are now attending unit meetings? Why are the figures published as 1450 for our district in the *Daily Worker*, when Comrade Benjamin publicly admitted that 900 cards are still in the hands of the sections?

3. In an article written by Comrade Darcy, published in the *Daily Worker* of March 1, I noticed the following statement: "Out of the total recruited in the New York district almost half were recruited at demonstrations. Two hundred recruits, mostly those who joined at the demonstrations under the pressure of mass enthusiasm are not reporting for assignments to units." Have these applications been counted in the total published in the *Daily Worker*? How can the Party check up accurately on these members to find out whether they are reliable, how they have behaved in their shops, unions and mass organizations.

4. Under the previous leadership we used to have monthly reports of dues payments in the district, section by section. Why don't we have it today, so that we can see whether the new members are actually functioning and paying dues, etc?

5. How does it happen that our strength is decreasing in the mass organizations, when we are getting so many new members? Are they from the Needle

Trades Industrial Union, the Independent Shoe Workers Union, the Textile Union, the Miners Union? As far as my own experiences is concerned, in my own organization, our forces are much weaker than before. The same thing seems to be true in the fraternal organizations. I should like to know what organizations the new members come from mostly and why don't we get the results of their assistance in the mass organizations? Why don't we have a stronger left wing than before?

6. How does it happen that the forces fighting against the Party seem to get stronger, in spite of the growth of our membership? I refer to the Socialist Party, the support of the right wing in the unions, the IWW, etc.

7. Since the *Daily Worker* reports that we got 167 Negro members into the Party in the drive, how does it happen that we have no strong Negro organization in the District with this group as a nucleus?

8. In my experience in getting new members, I have found the Communist press as the best means of introducing the subject of Party membership. Usually I get a comrade to subscribe to the *Daily Worker* and then draw him into the Party. How does it happen that while the Party claims 6167 new members, it claims only 651 new subscribers to the *Daily Worker*?

9. Formerly we used to receive sample copies of the shop papers, which were being published throughout the country. There used to be a special column called "With the Shop Papers" in the *Daily Worker*. Why has this been discontinued so that we could be inspired by the 48 new shop papers which the Party claims? I have not seen one in long while. I should also like to know in what shops we have established nuclei. This has never been published.

10. How is that with all the new members the Party is not able to organize a broad movement among the unemployed, or a movement in defense of those arrested on March 6, against capitalist reaction or for the defense of the Soviet Union?

11. According to the *Daily Worker*, there are 6167 new members in the Party. Does this mean that we have about 20,000 members in the Party throughout the country?

There are many more questions I would like to ask but I think these are enough.

Fraternally yours,

A MEMBER IN THE NY DISTRICT

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