

Revolutionary Age

An Organ of Marxism-Leninism in the United States

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

VOLUME I.
NUMBER 4.

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

DEC. 15, 1929
10c A COPY

Defeat the Hoover Program!

PRESIDENT HOOVER, chairman of the executive committee of the American capitalist class, has spoken. And the Stock Exchange has thrilled to his words!

Hoover's message is the program of Wall Street. It is the program of capitalist rationalization; it is the program of imperialist war!

The keynote of all of Hoover's pronouncements—the message to Congress, the message on the budget, the report to the four hundred captains of industry and finance gathered in Washington—is one: *profits, more profits—dividends, more dividends; expenditures for war preparations—more expenditures!*

The tone of Hoover's Message is the tone of the hard-boiled business director—of the strikebreaker-general. Its contents reveal the fact of the complete fusion of the government machinery with big business. The chief executive of the country steps forward openly and proudly as the director-general of American capitalist finance and industry.

It is a long time since a Presidential Message was so openly a message of and for Wall Street—so openly a message against the workers. The capitalists are handed gift after gift and the workers blow after blow.

First of all, the Message pledges the Federal Government to make up for the overlords of banking and manufacture whatever they may have lost in the recent Stock Exchange crash. The President proposes openly to shift to the backs of the workers as much as possible of the thirty-two billion dollars wiped out in the Wall Street panic, a sum far bigger than the entire cost of America's participation in the World War.

The biggest and middle-sized capitalists are handed—on a silver platter—an immediate tax reduction of \$160,000,000. Big manufacturing interests are offered a bonus in Hoover's plea for the raising of certain tariff rates. Huge tracts of public lands are to be handed over to the States to be passed on to the railroad and power interests. A vast program of state-capitalist enterprises is being launched.

These are not undertakings for the welfare of the working masses; they are determined efforts to "promote business." Millions are to be spent to supply the capitalists with the necessary information to insure an unbroken flow of dividends. Millions of dollars are to be given as subsidies to the American shipping magnates. "Commercial" aviation is to be "developed." A gigantic "public works" program which will net the construction magnates hundreds of millions in profits is the first order of the day.

Hand in hand with the trustification of finance, industry and transportation proceeds the merger of the machinery of big business with the machinery of government. The director-general of American business guarantees that the Federal Government will immediately take the necessary measures to promote the consolidation of the railways, the concentration of banking capital, and the extension of foreign trade especially in Latin America. The State Department is to be overhauled so that it will be able to serve more effectively as the advance agent and counsel of American big business abroad.

A tremendous increase in the executive power is demanded in the Message. Altho the President of the United States already wields more power than any crowned or uncrowned head of any other capitalist state, yet the Message proposes to strip Congress of still more power. It is proposed to continue the President's power to fix and regulate tariff rates, to establish new bureaus, to deprive the House of Representatives of certain functions, to consolidate and concentrate government departments and to further strengthen the "law-enforcing" arm of the government.

The Message declares that Wall Street's total military expenditures are "in excess of the most highly militarized nations of the world." The expenses for America's imperialist wars of yesterday, today and tomorrow are towering ever higher. At least 80% of the Federal budget is consumed in direct war expenses. These huge sums are to

Forward to the Weekly!

NO sooner had we announced that the campaign was under way for the establishment of REVOLUTIONARY AGE as a weekly than we received an immediate and welcome response to this proposal. Comrades thruout the country are enthusiastic over the prospects of converting REVOLUTIONARY AGE into a weekly fighting organ to carry on the struggle to save the Party and to lead the workers in the fight against capitalism. The need of the hour is to convert this enthusiasm into money and subscriptions—the real basis for the weekly REVOLUTIONARY AGE. We are confident that this will be forthcoming if the comrades thruout the country do their utmost in this respect.

The great value of REVOLUTIONARY AGE, not only in the United States, but also in other countries where the "new line" is being put into effect is shown by the receipt of a donation of \$100.00 from our comrades in Mexico and a pledge for further support.

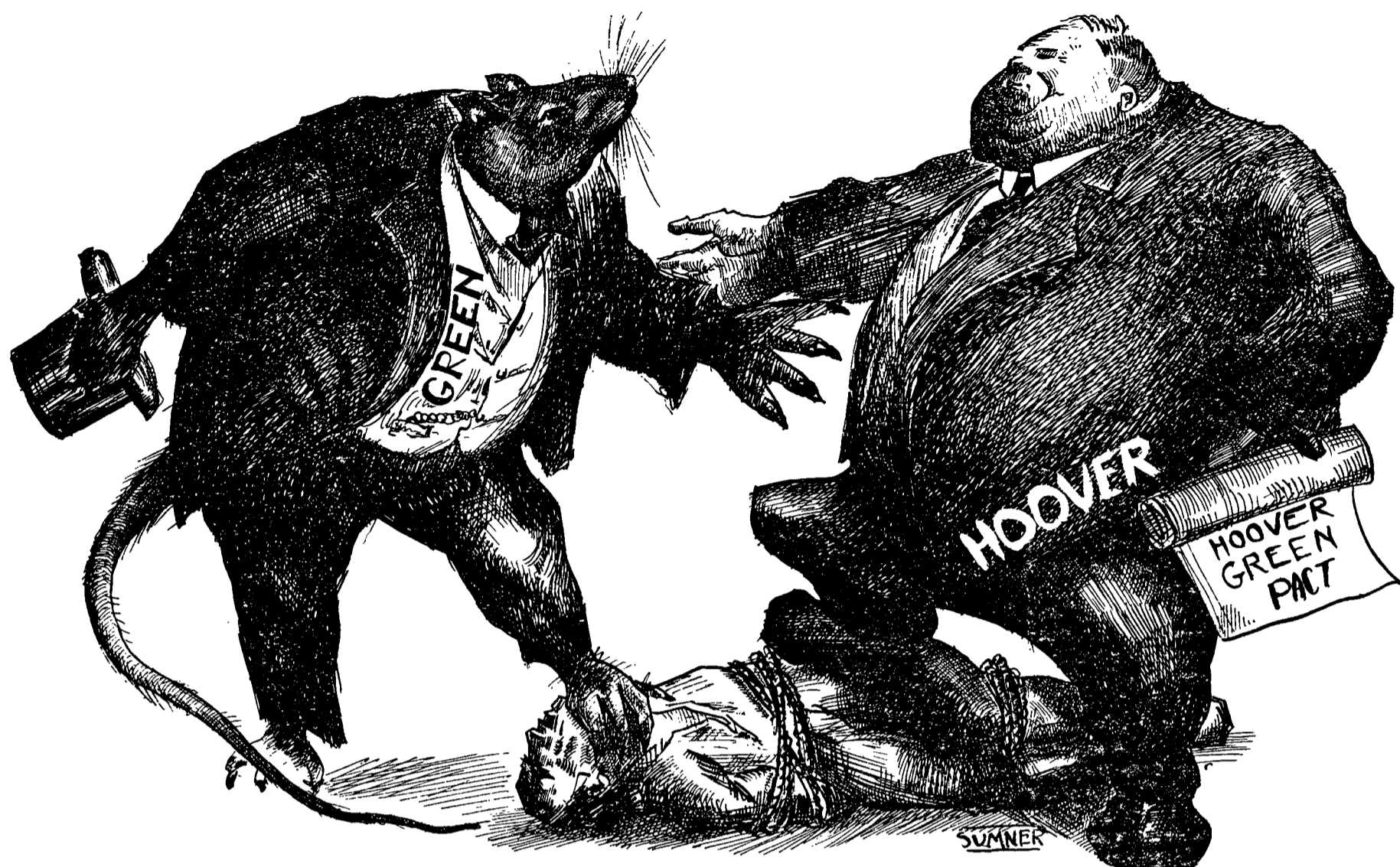
We appeal especially to the individual readers of this paper, to revolutionary workers generally to send in their donations and subs. As the situation in the United States sharpens REVOLUTIONARY AGE will more and more become the guide for the workers in their struggles. It must be built now so that it will be able to serve the purpose.

Support REVOLUTIONARY AGE!

EVERY READER A SUBSCRIBER! EVERY SUPPORTER A BUILDER!

FOR A WEEKLY REVOLUTIONARY AGE FIGHTING FOR THE LINE OF LENINISM!

SMASH THE HOOVER-GREEN PACT!



be met by increased profits squeezed out of the workers, by the increased exploitation of the masses.

Every worker must realize that Hoover's Message symbolizes and brings into bold relief the unity and identity of the Stock Exchange and the White House. Hoover carefully explains that the measures proposed in the Message are "not dictation or interference by the government with business." They are measures of direction and coordination of business by government. More than ever before is Marx's dictum proved true that the state is the executive committee of the capitalist class!

Hoover's Message is not a program of words; it is a program of deeds. Scarcely was the ink dry on the Message than U. S. Marines proclaim martial law in Haiti in order to break strikes. Hardly had the echo of the Message died down when Secretary of State Stimson made a desperate effort to mobilize and unite the imperialists of the world in an offensive against the Soviet Union, under the smoke-screen of the Kellogg Pact.

And for the workers? Vicious blows, increased pressure and exploitation thru clouds of glittering assertions! Hoover tries to give the workers the impression that the economic hardships under which they suffer are merely questions of outlook and feeling. The Message declares that "the country has enjoyed a large degree of prosperity . . . and consequent advancement in standards of living." But when Hoover speaks of the "country" he refers to the capitalists, to the exploiters.

For the workers as a whole, as a class, there was never any real prosperity and Presidential messages piled acre high, cannot make real the illusion. In spite of all the phrases about "high wages" and "maintaining a high level of consumption" Hoover openly promises the bosses that the government will not allow any wage increases for some time to come. Hoover has exacted a pledge from the reactionary trade union officialdom that they will help the government to suppress any moves for wage increases on the part of the working masses in the coming months of depression.

For the American workers the Hoover Message promises more work, harder work, speed-up—so that industry can produce more "efficiently." Additional hundreds of thousands of workers will be disemployed and thrown out of their jobs as "unnecessary" in the name of "sound management and production." Hoover's Message points the way to wage cuts, speed-up, worsened working conditions and ever increasing burdens.

Hoover engages in considerable talk about setting up "a balance wheel of stability" in capitalism thru a huge construction program and thru an aggressive program of foreign trade expansion.

But for the working masses the whole scheme is a bare-faced fraud. The fact of the matter is that the very mass production, the speed-up and efficiency schemes, upon which capitalist "prosperity" is based, themselves bring on increasing unemployment. *Mass production under capitalism brings mass unemployment and mass misery for the workers.*

The Hoover program means a further strengthening of the governmental machinery—the machinery of strike-breaking and suppression. The Hoover program aims to give the government even greater control over the lives of additional millions of people. At a time of increasing unemployment and advancing depression, Hoover plans to concentrate job control in the hands of a government bureaucracy in charge of a big "public works" program. It is as clear as daylight that the Hoover plan aims to beat down still more the ranks of the organized and unorganized workers and to further reduce the living standards of the whole working class.

While the Hoover enslavement plan is being boosted far and wide by the capitalist press, the army of unemployed is rapidly rising. Steel mills are reducing their operations. In the Youngstown district steel ingot operation is as low as 50%. In Chicago, at least 40% of even the organized building trades

(Continued on Page 20)

On the Capitulation of Comrade Bukharin

Statement of the National Council C. P. - Majority Group

THE press of November 26 (including the *Daily Worker*) carries information to the effect that Comrade Bukharin (along with Comrades Rykoff and Tomsky) has issued a declaration in which he states:

"For nearly two years we opposed the Central Committee in a series of political tactical problems. We consider it our duty to declare that in this dispute the Communist Party and its Central Committee proved to be right and we were wrong.

"Admitting our mistakes, we promise together with the Communist Party to fight decisively against deviations from the Party general line, particularly against right wingers, in order to overcome all difficulties and assure full victory for socialist construction."

The ever-sharpening crisis in the Communist International—which manifests itself politically in a revision of some of the most important principles of Leninism—finds its objective source in the gap that has developed between the victorious proletarian revolution and the steady construction of Socialism in the USSR on the one hand and the "slow development of the proletarian revolution in West Europe" (Lenin) and in the USA on the other.

This objective source has given rise to a false general line on the part of the present leadership of the Comintern, crystallized in the failure to draw the direct conclusions from the law of the uneven development of capitalism and to lay down in the various countries a line of struggle based upon a realistic Leninist estimate of the objective situation. This false line has led to and has been aggravated by the thinning out of the leadership which the CPSU gives to the CI, the distortion of the role of leadership of the CPSU in the CI, and the narrowing of the international basis of the leadership of the Comintern. In the concrete application to the policy of the various Parties this has given rise to the worst forms of ultra-leftism, to sectarianism and isolation.

The enforcement of this non-Leninist line upon the various Parties was accomplished thru a most destructive inner Party course: the installation of politically discredited and incompetent leaderships, the abrogation of every sign of Party democracy and the rights of membership, and a campaign of mass expulsions and ruthless Party wrecking that has already spread far beyond the limits of the Party and has deeply penetrated the mass organizations around the Party. The crisis in the Comintern has hit the American Party hard, for in the American Party all of the features of the international crisis are particularly accentuated.

The Party's line has plunged the left-wing mass organizations into profound crisis. Communist work in reactionary trade unions has been practically abandoned. In the Workmen's Circle and in a number of trade unions the new sectarian line is splitting away the small groups of Communists not only from the masses of the workers but even from the left-wing forces. In the Gastonia case the Party leadership abandoned the historic struggle against the frame-up and, under cover of pseudo-"revolutionary" phrases, has substituted a line of legalistic defense on the basis of bourgeois "liberties." The "new leadership" has completely forgotten the united front as a communist tactic and is energetically destroying every united front we have been able to build up in the course of past struggles. The new "theory" abandons the realistic analysis of American imperialism and capitalist "democracy" and has officially adopted the discredited Bittelman "apex theory."

The international struggle for the restoration of the Leninist line of the Comintern is the positive factor arising directly out of this crisis and is itself the indication that the crisis will be successfully overcome and the Comintern will return to the line of Leninism. Our struggle has never been nor can it be an appendix to any individual or group in the CPSU, victorious or defeated. While we have always condemned the anti-bolshevik methods used by the Stalin leadership in the struggle against Comrade Bukharin on the Russian questions, yet our struggle has never been based upon or associated with the line of Comrade Bukharin on these questions. Indeed, the Russian questions never became issues in our struggle. Never

at any time was any attempt made to provide trustworthy official information on the Russian questions nor were the Parties ever requested to take a stand on these questions on the basis of any actual information. Our struggle is based exclusively upon the task of overcoming the present crisis in the Comintern and of restoring it and our Party to the Leninist line.

The "recantation" of Comrade Bukharin—the consequence of easily understood circumstances in the CPSU—in no way affects the basic questions before the Comintern today. It does not remove any of the causes of the crisis—the false line of the present leadership of the ECCI—and therefore does not remove the crisis itself. The crisis in the Comintern does not arise out of the beliefs or actions of any individual no matter who he may be, and therefore nothing that one individual does can seriously affect it.

Nor does the "admission of errors" by Comrade Bukharin on Russian questions do away with the crisis in the CPSU. This crisis cannot be eliminated—it can only be aggravated—by the dangerous methods in Party life employed by the Stalin leadership. The difficulties encountered in the building of Socialism require a serious and non-factional examination of the actual situation and the collective efforts of the best forces of the CPSU. The questions at issue in the CPSU are questions that concern the whole Comintern but a fruitful consideration of them depends upon the elimination of all the factional camouflage behind which the real issues have been hidden and an objective examination of these issues on the basis of the actual facts and material—which unfortunately, have hitherto not been forthcoming.

The "recantation" of Comrade Bukharin if it should extend to international questions would, of course, deprive us of a prominent figure in the international struggle for the Leninist line of the Comintern. For, altho Comrade Bukharin never passed beyond the stage of passive resistance to the line of revision, yet he has always maintained such opinions as he expressed in a clear and staunch manner. But the struggle to save our Party and the Comintern does not depend upon one man, however prominent he may be. Arising out of the very crisis in the Comintern itself it will end only when the crisis is overcome and the line of Leninism and bolshevik Party democracy is restored.

In the face of the "capitulation" of Comrade Bukharin and the others and of the new attacks against the defenders of the line of Leninism, it is necessary to place more sharply than ever the real nature of the crisis in the Communist International, the real issues involved, and the international aspects and perspectives of our struggle. It is necessary to intensify our efforts to make clear to all Party members and to all revolutionary workers the disastrous consequences of the false line of the ECCI in America. It is necessary to carry on intensified activity among the working masses, rallying them to the banner of Leninism which the Party has dropped.

It is necessary to carry on the most determined struggle for the unity of all communist forces on the basis of the line of Leninism. It is necessary to do away with the regime of terror in the Party and to restore Party democracy, firm discipline on the basis of communist conviction and correct policy, and genuine communist discussion in the rank of the Party. We must fight to make our Party a Leninist Party which knows how to analyze correctly the objective conditions, estimate the situation confronting it, and base its policies upon them. Every Communist must devote his best energies to the struggle to defeat the Party wreckers and put a stop to the sectarian course which is isolating and destroying our Party. These are the tasks which the CP-Majority Group is trying to carry out in its struggle to save the Party from destruction, to restore its Leninist line and its influence among the masses and these are the tasks on the basis of which the CP-Majority Group is gaining fresh support in the ranks of the Party and workingclass from day to day.

The struggle in the Comintern today is a struggle above all groups and individuals. It is a struggle of principle. It is a struggle for the Leninist line of the Comintern, for the Bolshevik unity of the world communist movement!

Revolutionary Age

Organ of the National Council of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (Majority Group)
JAY LOVESTONE, Chairman
BEN GITLOW, Editor B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor
EDITORIAL BOARD:
J. O. Bentall, C. W. Bixby, Ellen Dawson, Ben Gitlow, Will Herberg,
Jay Lovestone, Bert Miller, Wm. Miller, R. Pires, Jack Rubinstein,
Frank Vrataric, Ed Welsh, W. J. White, B. D. Wolfe, Herbert Zam,
Ch. S. Zimmerman.

Published twice monthly by the Revolutionary Age Association,
37 East 28 St., Room 807, New York City. Phone: Caledonia 2957
Subscription rates: Foreign: \$3.00 a year—\$1.50 six mos.; Domestic:
\$2.00 a year; \$1.00 six mos.; 10 cents a copy.
Application for second class entry pending.

Editorials

THE SOVIET VICTORY IN THE FAR EAST

WITH the signing of the agreement between the Soviet Union and the Manchurian government in which all the conditions of the Soviet Government are accepted, the initial efforts of the imperialists for a concerted attack on the Soviet Union have been thwarted. The imperialist powers will now endeavor to regroup and reorganize their forces for another attack in the near future. It is therefore necessary to be constantly on guard against a repetition of the events of last July.

The success of the Soviet Union in beating back the imperialist attack was due to the firm position adopted by the Soviet Government and to the solid support it received for its policies from millions of workers throughout the world. It was helped by the differences existing among the imperialist powers and by the continuous struggles in China arising from the contradictions of the feudal-bourgeois order and the intense suppression of the working class and peasantry.

In the defeat of world imperialism, American imperialism also shared but within the limits of the defeat, American imperialism has scored certain victories.

It was the endeavor of American imperialism to establish a united anti-Soviet front in China under its own hegemony. In this, it has been defeated. At the same time, however, American imperialism did succeed in bringing British imperialism to terms on the basis of America's conditions. Thus American imperialism succeeded in wresting the leading role and the initiative from England which had held it up to and after the Manchurian events. However, this united front, an anti-Soviet united front, hides the most profound differences between these two imperialist powers, which are bound to break out in the near future. Japan continues to play an independent role for the present, demanding for itself exclusive hegemony in Manchuria, and offering in exchange non-interference in the rest of China. Japan's seeming neutrality in the Manchurian situation is an endeavor to prevent the increase of British influence in Manchuria and to use the Manchurian situation in its own interests. Japan's position, however, has also been weakened thru the further penetration of American imperialism in Manchuria. The immediate prospect is for a further sharpening of the antagonisms among imperialist powers, perhaps leading to open clashes.

The revolutionary tide in China is also rising. While the present "revolts" do not represent the struggles of the workers and peasants against the foreign imperialists and their lackeys, they certainly indicate the enormous amount of existing discontent. The unstable situation and continual conflicts among the reactionary forces will help to create a situation where the question of the struggle for power will become the immediate one for the workers and peasants in China.

It is questionable whether the present Nanking government will remain as at present constituted. This government, which in the period just preceding the railway seizure leaned more

and more to British imperialism, has evoked the displeasure of Wall Street, a displeasure expressing itself in a friendly attitude to the "rebels," Feng Yu Hsiang, Yen Hsi Shan and Chang Fak Wei. The aim of American imperialism is to set up a "coalition" government in China, "representative" of the various "interests," and under its own hegemony. This would at the same time constitute the instrument for the completion of the anti-Soviet united front. But both these aims will be shattered by the power of the Soviet workers and peasants and by the rising tide of the workers and peasants revolution in China.

THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE Socialist Party is facing an internal crisis. For the first time since the Left wing split in 1919 when the main bulk of the proletarian elements split away, the Socialist Party has received a significant increase in vote in the municipal elections throughout the country and especially in New York City. This new situation and the important questions of perspectives and future activity have precipitated this crisis.

This internal crisis in spite of appearances, is a crisis of political decay. It marks the completion of the transformation of the Socialist Party into an anti-proletarian organization. It exposes completely the real class basis of the Socialist Party and the relation of class forces within it.

The struggle within the Socialist Party reflects a deep struggle between two different social strata. Norman Thomas, basing himself upon the petty bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, wants to liquidate the Socialist Party in the old form. He wants to do away with the name "Socialist" because it is still objectionable to the petty bourgeois reformers, even though it was long ago emptied of its revolutionary content. He wants to change the membership form of the organization in favor of greater "flexibility". He wants less "discipline" and "dogmatism". He wants greater freedom of collaboration with all sorts of "outside" petty bourgeois organizations and individuals.

Morris Hillquit bases himself upon certain elements of the labor bureaucracy and certain sections of the Jewish labor aristocracy. He speaks the traditional language of Social-democracy and insists upon the "Socialist labor" face of the Party. For Hillquit the salvation of the SP lies not in moving towards the petty bourgeoisie with such eager steps but in a rapprochement with the "American labor movement", that is, with the labor bureaucracy. Therefore, while Thomas wants to launch the "Labor Party" immediately as the medium in which the SP is to liquidate itself, Hillquit insists upon building the Socialist Party, arguing that the "labor movement" (i. e., the labor bureaucrats) are "not yet ready for a Labor Party." Thomas, transposing the "liberal" ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, demands the "liberalization" of the SP in organization and tactics (greater democracy in Party, more "tolerance" in the unions, etc.). But it should not therefore be assumed—as do our new Party "theoreticians"—that Thomas represents a "Left wing" in the SP. On the contrary, from a class viewpoint, Thomas stands to the right even of Hillquit. All signs indicate, moreover, that in an effort to defeat Thomas at his own game, Hillquit will now make a play for the "lefts", for greater democracy, etc. Hillquit is taking many pages from the book of Austrian Social-democracy.

The struggle within the SP should serve to expose the real class base of the Party: the petty bourgeoisie, sections of the labor aristocracy and elements of the labor bureaucracy. It should serve to expose the bourgeois character of the so-called "Socialist" Party. Both tendencies within the SP are alien to the proletariat and its interests. Both express the viewpoint of the enemy. That many honest workers are still misled by it shows the need for a more intense and effective struggle against the Socialist Party and all other forms of social-reformism.

THE A. F. OF L. AND THE SOUTH

THE month of December marks the beginning of the much-heralded and loudly advertised drive of the A. F. of L. to "organize" the South. Already the record of the trade union bureaucracy in the South constitutes one of the blackest pages in the history of the American labor movement. It is certain that the further activities of the A. F. of L. will be accompanied by a series of even blacker betrayals and treacheries, for when the bureaucrats speak of organizing the South they mean the establishment of class collaboration for more intense exploitation of the workers.

But this does not exhaust the whole question. The reactionary labor bureaucrats are compelled to engage in a lot of talk about "organizing" the workers because of the increasing pressure from below. The heroic resistance shown in recent months by sections of the Southern workers have certainly had a powerful effect in awakening the class consciousness and feelings of solidarity on the part of large sections of the American working class.

Moreover the forms of development and the potentialities of class organization are not bound by the aims of the reactionaries. Once awakened to the first elements of class action thru organization into trade unions, even if these trade unions are controlled by the reactionaries, the intensely exploited workers in the Southern mills and factories—among whom the aristocracy of labor is relatively low—will inevitably break the bounds of class collaboration which the bureaucrats strive to impose upon them and will rapidly develop to militant class struggle. Elizabethton and Marion and other towns tell this story. For this reason the Southern bourgeoisie, especially the rapacious new industrial capitalists, are determined that not even the class-collaboration campaign of the A. F. of L. should result in the establishment of unions. Of course they would rather have the reactionary United Textile Workers than the militant National Textile Workers Union; but they would most rather have no union at all. This explains the bloody events in Marion, the conviction of the labor bureaucrat Hoffman and others to the chain gang, and a number of other measures taken by the Southern bourgeoisie against the moves of the A. F. of L. in the South. No amount of absurd shouting of "social-fascism" can do away with facts.

But for the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to take the initiative constitutes a grave danger to the revolutionary movement for it means a prodigious strengthening of social reformism and all its illusions; it means a deflection—even though temporary—of the elemental class energy of the Southern proletariat in the direction of class collaboration and reformism. This must be avoided at all costs. It is only the militant and class conscious workers who can and must lead in the organization of the Southern workers in the class struggle. This great role falls upon the National Textile Workers Union and the Trade Union Unity League. The entire American working class must give these militant organizations every ounce of aid and support in the accomplishment of the great tasks that face them!

THE CAMPAIGN OF RUMORS FALL FLAT!

On Saturday, November 30, there took place in New York City a general meeting of our comrades which was attended by over 275 leading functionaries. At this meeting Comrade Gitlow reported on *The Crisis in the Mass Organizations*. He prefaced his remarks with a short explanation of our position on the capitulation of Comrade Bukharin.

The enthusiasm with which his report was greeted and the vigorous discussion that followed upon it showed the great political firmness and unanimity that exists in our group. This meeting as well as the unanimous declaration of the National Council on the Bukharin capitulation and the reports coming from our organizations from all over the country give the most emphatic lie to the ridiculous propaganda of "splits" and "differences" now being spread by the agents of the Party wreckers as an act of political desperation.



Lenin Said:

ON REACTIONARY LEADERS AND THE MASSES

IN countries more advanced than Russia a certain reactionary spirit has been revealed and was unquestionably bound to reveal itself in the trade unions much more strangely than in our country . . . In the West . . . there is a much wider stratum of labor aristocracy . . . imperialistically inclined and bribed and corrupted by imperialism. There is no need of proof. . . The struggle (against them) must be mercilessly conducted until, as was done in our case, all the incorrigible leaders of opportunism and social-chauvinism have been completely exposed and thrown out of the unions . . . To forget this most elementary and self-evident truth would be stupid. But the "Left" Communists commit just this stupidity when, because of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary heads of the trade unions, they jump by some inexplicable mental process, to the conclusion that it is necessary to abandon these organizations altogether . . . This is an unpardonable error and one by which the Communists render the greatest service to the bourgeoisie.

—The Infantile Sickness of "Leftism."

* * *

ON THE STRUGGLE FOR A BOLSHEVIK LINE

YOU must and you certainly will understand that once a member of the Party is convinced of the absolute incorrectness and harm of a certain doctrine he is duty bound to take a stand against it . . . at all costs.

—Letters to Gor'ki.

* * *

"OUR THEORY IS NO DOGMA!"

MARXISM requires the most accurate and objectively confirmed analysis of the mutual relations of classes and of the concrete peculiarities of every historical moment. We Bolsheviks have always been eager to fulfill this requirement that is absolutely essential for any scientific foundation of politics.

"Our theory is no dogma but a manual of action"—Marx and Engels often repeated this idea. With full justice did they ridicule those who learn by heart and repeat formulas which in the best of cases are appropriate to the general tasks but which are necessarily modified thru the concrete economic and political situation in any particular phase of the historic process.

—Letters on Tactics

* * *

ON REVOLUTION

THE transference of state power from the hands of one class into the hands of another class is the first, most important and basic characteristic of revolution, both in the strict scientific sense of the term and in the practical-political sense.

—Letters on Tactics

* * *

ON LIES AND SLANDERS

THERE is one method of a corrupt press that has always and everywhere proved itself useful and "infallible" above all others: lies, shouts, slanders, repetitions of lies. . . "something will stick!" . . . The heroes who use such methods are already thru.

—The League of Liars.

* * *

ON CAPITALIST FACTS

I am not in a position at present to change the entire text of this book, and I consider that to do this would even be purposeless, as the main object of this book was and is to show, on the basis of figures and indisputable bourgeois statistics and the results of the investigations carried out by bourgeois scientists of all countries, the results of bourgeois world economics as they appeared in their mutual international relations at the beginning of the twentieth century, on the eve of the first imperialist world war.

—Imperialism.

“Exceptionalism” and Leninist Strategy

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

THE Address of the Ecce traces the alleged “opportunist” line of the former leadership of our Party to the so-called “theory of exceptionalism”. It declares:

“The ideological lever of the right errors in the American Communist Party was the so-called theory of ‘exceptionalism’, which found its clearest exponents in the persons of Comrades Pepper and Lovestone whose conception was as follows: a crisis of capitalism, but not of American capitalism; a swing of the masses to the left, but not in America; the necessity of accentuating the struggle against reformism, but not in America; a necessity of struggling against the right danger but not in the American Communist Party.”

Of course all this is mere imputation without any basis, charges consciously drawn out of the thin air. In our section devoted to the analysis of American imperialism we will show that American capitalism is not “excepted” from the general laws of capitalist development as laid down by Marx and Lenin, and that American imperialism is an organic part of the world system of imperialism and is subject to all of its laws, complications, contradictions and antagonisms. No one—certainly not we—have ever maintained anything to the contrary. In fact we have always emphasized that nowhere in the world are the fundamental laws of capitalism as expounded by Marx and Lenin so clearly visible in their operation as in the United States. But in its “refutation” of its own straw-man “theory of exceptionalism” the “new leadership” of the Ecce and of our Party constructs a doctrine of the development of imperialism and the application of the general line of the Communist International that constitutes a complete rejection of every idea of Leninism and a positive relapse into the Trotskyist conception of “permanent revolution.”

In its reply to the Appeal of the Convention Delegation the Polcom of our Party declared:

“Lovestone attempts to justify his exceptionalism with Lenin’s theory of the uneven development of capitalism. To make this Leninist theory serve his purpose, he distorts it by implying that it proves that capitalism can very well be fundamentally healthy in one part of the world and be fundamentally unhealthy in another.”

It is immediately clear that this statement (which characterizes the whole line of the “new leadership”) directly contradicts the Leninist theory of the uneven development of capitalism. If by “fundamentally healthy” the theoreticians of the Polburo mean “free from inherent contradictions”, then capitalism has certainly never been “healthy”—it was born “unhealthy”. But if by “healthy” is meant “still on the up grade” and by “unhealthy,” “on the decline,” then not only is it possible but it is an obvious fact that at any particular period some national sectors of world capitalism may be on the upgrade while others may be on the decline, while the rate of development of each may be different and continually changing. For instance, in the Soviet Union capitalism has received its death blow; in Great Britain it is in steady decline; while in the U. S. A. it is still on the upgrade. That is what Lenin meant by the “uneven development of capitalism”:

“Irregularity in economic and political development is an invariable law of capitalism. This unevenness is still more pronounced in the epoch of imperialism. Hence it follows

that the proletarian revolution cannot be conceived as a single event occurring simultaneously all over the world.”

The contrast between the line of Leninism and the new revisionist line of our Party and of the Ecce can not be brought out more forcefully than by quoting side by side the following two formulations:

“The character of the crisis (of world capitalism) is not modified for any section of world capitalism.” (Answer of the Polburo to the Appeal of the Convention Delegation).

“The development of the revolution in different countries proceeds along varying paths with varying rapidities”— (Lenin: Letter to the American Working Class).

If, as the Polburo maintains, “the character of the crisis (of world capitalism) is not modified for any section of world capitalism”, then it is clear that when a revolutionary situation develops in one country, it must be simultaneously accompanied by an equal (“unmodified”) development of the revolutionary situation in all other countries; in other words, the revolution takes place “as a single event occurring simultaneously all over the world.” This is the anti-Leninist theory of “permanent revolution” in full flower.

The whole anti-Leninist conception is naturally carried over to the question of the application of the line of the Comintern in the various countries. Here it takes the form of the dangerous theory of “mechanical uniformity”. If, as the Ecce and the Polcom maintain, “the character of the crisis is not modified for any section of world capitalism” then it is absolutely unnecessary, and in fact wrong, to attempt to apply the general line of the Comintern to the concrete situation in any particular country. To attempt to do so is—“exceptionism”! Thus, the following, almost self-evident statement from an article by Comrade Wolfe has been repeatedly and officially branded as the very essence of “exceptionalism” and “opportunism”:

“The policies of the Comintern at every stage are based upon an analysis of the world situation (which tends to give a certain correspondence in the tactics of each Party) and upon the analysis of the concrete conditions of each country (which tends to give concrete differences in the tactics of each Party)”.

If this is “exceptionalism” and “opportunism” then certainly Lenin was an “exceptionalist” of the first water.

In his epoch-making political pamphlet, *The Infantile Sickness of “Leftism” in Communism*, Lenin takes up precisely this problem and answers it in an unmistakable form:

“But while it (the working class) everywhere goes thru substantially the same training school for victory over the bourgeoisie, the labor movement of each country affects this development after its own manner . . .

“The main thing now is that Communists of each country should in full consciousness, study both the fundamental problems of the struggle with opportunism and ‘left’ doctrinarism, and the specific peculiarities which this struggle inevitably assumes in each separate country according to the peculiarities of its politics, economics, culture, national composition, its colonies, religious divisions, etc . . . One must clearly realize that such a leading center (the Communist International) can under no circumstances be built after a single model, by a mechanical adjustment and equalization of the tactical rules of the struggle. The national and state differences now existing between peoples and countries will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the realization of the proletarian dictatorship on a world scale. Unity of international tactics

What About the Anthracite?

By Frank Vrataric

(Member of Polburo of the CC of the CPUSA, member of the National Board of the National Miners Union)

THE anthracite is one of the most important battlefields for the Party and for the National Miners Union. In the anthracite our Party has a real chance to establish itself as the leader of the workers. In the anthracite the situation demands the full unity of our movement and the mobilization of the full fighting strength of the workers against the operators and the whole capitalist class.

Our Party has repeatedly laid emphasis upon the work in the anthracite; this is a fact. But did our Party actually adapt itself accordingly? It must be said: No! Even in the past our Party did not pay enough attention to the anthracite. Before the last Party Convention, altho we had Party organizers, the mining organizers kept coming and going. Sometimes they would be recalled, and sometimes they would leave by themselves. Take the case of Minerich: He came here as mining organizer but refused to do anything saying: “I didn’t come here to buil the Lovestone group!” He refused to build the miners movement because it would be a credit to the then Party leadership!

After the last Party Convention, the elections in District 1, UMWA, came up. But just at this time, we were left without any organizers at all and our Party Committee had real difficulties in this campaign. However, we did succeed in developing a good campaign and we were able to put up a real NMU

in the Communist labor movement everywhere demands, not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of the national peculiarities (this at the present moment is a foolish dream), but such an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet power and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat) as will admit of the correct modification of these principles in their adaptation and application to national and national-state differences. The main problem of the historical moment in which all advanced (and not only the advanced) countries now find themselves lies here: the specific national features must be studied, ascertained and grasped before concrete attempts are made in any country to solve the aspects of the single international problem, to overcome opportunism and ‘Left’ doctrinarism within the working class movement, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to institute a Soviet Republic and the proletarian dictatorship. . .

The contrast between the fundamentally wrong theory of “mechanical uniformity” advanced by the Ecce and the new Party “leadership” on the one hand, and the cardinal principle of Marxism-Leninism, the flexible and concrete application of general principles to the objective conditions on the other hand could not be clearer. The revisionist anti-Leninist theory of the present leadership of the Comintern which replaces a Marxist analysis and critical application by mere empty “translation of the latest resolutions” can lead only to political sterility—as, indeed, it already has in every part of the world. We take our stand today—as we have always done—upon the tested Leninist line of the theory of the irregularity in the development of capitalism and the necessity for a concrete application and adaptation on the general line of the Comintern to the “irregular”, concrete conditions in each country.

(1.) For such shameful conduct Minerich has been rewarded by being made the representative of the American Young Communist League to the Young Communist International.

slate. Our program of demands was read at more than half of the 130 locals of the UMWA. Our candidates spoke at about 40 of these locals and were able to expose the fake McGarry-Harris movement and force into the open their alliance with Cappellini. It is true in this campaign we did not get the necessary organizational results but we certainly did the best we could under the circumstances.

For the Trade Union Unity League Convention in June (the originally scheduled date) we were able to stir up great sentiment among the workers. We were able to stimulate the movement for building locals of the NMU and for the sending of delegates to the TUUL Convention. In the first part of this campaign a number of new locals were organized and the work was going well forward.

But then came the postponement of the Convention, the Address of the Comintern, the “new Party line”, and the “new leaders” (the Party organizer, Gorman, and the mining organizer, Minerich). The Communist miners of the anthracite came out overwhelmingly against the Address and the “new course”, politically and organizationally. As a result of the vicious drive against us on the part of Gorman and of the absolute incompetence of this “leader” the work in the anthracite became demoralized immediately. The District Committee was liquidated in practice and the small “Secretariat” became all-powerful because there Gorman had a majority. Eleven units out of 14 were abandoned by the “new leaders”. Locals of the NMU were absolutely neglected by the official apparatus. Of the delegates that went to the Cleveland Conference the only ones who really represented the miners were the “renegades,” the supporters of the CP-Majority Group. The new Party organizer, Frankfeld, speaking to units and to supporters of the Party urged them not to join the National Miners Union or to work with the “Lovestoneites” in the leadership. This is a deliberate crime against the working class. Yet Pat Devine has the face to say in the *Daily Worker* that Vrataric is doing his best to “wreck the miners movement” and “is sabotaging its organization.” The fact of the matter is that the fearful conditions in the anthracite can only be overcome, the NMU locals be put on their feet again, and the Party win its position as leader of the fighting miners thru overcoming the sabotage and wrecking activities of the Party bureaucrats and thru rallying miners for united struggle. This is the task for us, the CP-Majority Group which has won the support of the best Communist elements in the anthracite!

With the expiration of the present agreement a big struggle will face the National Miners Union and of the Communists. This I will deal with in a coming issue of REVOLUTIONARY AGE.

(2.) When this matter was brought up at the last meeting of the National Board of the NMU and a repudiation demanded Foster could not defend such charges against Vrataric which everybody knows are just the opposite of the truth. All he could say was that the *Daily Worker* was a “political paper” and “the question doesn’t belong here”!

Support “Revolutionary Age”

THE NEEDLE TRADES AND THE LEFT WING

By Aaron Gross

(Vice President, Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union)

THE dress industry in New York is to a large extent an unorganized industry. Employing over 45,000 workers the industry is controlled by jobbers and operated by contractors, production is comparatively decentralized but control on the contrary is highly centralized. About 25% of the industry is organized, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union embracing about 8,000 members and controlling nearly 300 shops.

In the early part of this year the Industrial Union carried on a general strike in the dress trade thru which we succeeded in considerably improving the conditions of the workers and in establishing a base for our Union. It is true that the accomplishments in this strike were far from satisfactory but at least the Union succeeded in making itself felt as a real militant organization. The right wing I.L.G.W.U., on the other hand, could get no hold in the trade except thru manipulations and combinations with manufacturers and the State and City government.

After the cloak strike (July 1929) the right wing bureaucrats set out to accomplish in the dress trade what they had done in the cloak trade, that is, to form close connections with the employers associations and thru these connections do "organization work." In this direction Schlesinger (the president of the I.L.G.W.U.) announced plans for a "general strike" in the dress trade to "organize the industry." What is the real meaning of this move?

The conditions in the unorganized shops in the dress trade (that is, conditions affecting about 3/4 of the workers) are very bad and the workers certainly want organization. The objective conditions for an organization drive are certainly favorable. On the other hand, the right wing I.L.G.W.U. has no prestige or moral influence among the workers at all; its reputation—based upon its black record—is in fact very bad. The plan of the Schlesingers and Hochmans is well known. These reactionary bureaucrats have made and are making open efforts to mobilize the bosses associations as a basis for their "drive." On the one hand, the bureaucrats will "settle" with no boss who does not adhere to the associations; on the other the bosses will not employ workers unless they are "registered" with the I.L.G.W.U. A real "mutual aid" proposition!

The *New York Times* of December 6 declared editorially:

"... it should be recalled that in the garment industry a strike nowadays is fast ceasing to be an unfriendly act. . . . The forthcoming strike has the support of the most responsible employers in the dress industry."

This passes far beyond even the limits of class collaboration; it is in effect a special brand of company unionism. It is clear that under such circumstances the so-called "general strike" of the right wing bureaucrats will in effect be approached thru a series of lock-outs on the part of the bosses; the objective of the strike will be the organization for class collaboration and for the company unionization of the industry. This is the central fact that must determine our outlook upon the situation.

The policy of our Union, which has been approved by all bodies and enthusiastically greeted by the membership, is based on the fundamental fact that in this situation the Industrial Union must act as the union in the dress trade, as the independent rallying force for the mobilization and organization of the workers. With the beginning of the season (December) our Union is launching an intensive organization campaign to unionize the open shops in the dress trade and to

enforce union conditions in these shops where the bosses violate them. The workers in the signed-up shops where union conditions are maintained are to be mobilized to aid in the shop strikes and in the other activities of the organization campaign. On the basis of such a policy we will be able not only to defeat the treacherous moves of the I.L.G.W.U. bureaucrats but also to broaden the basis of our union in the needle trades and organize the workers for effective struggle.

Such a policy requires in the first place complete clarity, then a broad policy for the mobilization of the masses of the workers, and finally firm unity and consolidation of the Party fraction and of the leading left-wing forces. All of these requirements have been seriously undermined by the "new course" of the Party. In the first place, instead of clarity of policy, we have the unfortunate exhibition of the most unbelievable confusion in the official statements in the *Freiheit* and *Daily Worker*, in which a new version of "policy" was presented every day and in which the policy, repeatedly endorsed by a bodies of the Union, was openly repudiated only to be reasserted in a confused form the next day. Secondly, so far from creating a broad basis for struggle, the new sectarian line of the Party tends to narrow everything down to the Party members and sympathizers. A virtue is made of parading everywhere the stifling mechanical hold of the Party upon the machinery of the new unions. The tendency is becoming stronger to shift the basis of struggle from the burning economic issues to vague and meaningless "revolutionary"-sounding phrases. Finally instead of unifying the best forces the new Party "leaders" have brought the wrecking campaign into the Union. The best and most experienced and most influential leaders have been expelled from the Party and denounced in the press as "renegades" and "agents of the bosses." They are being threatened with removal from leadership in the Union and even with expulsion from the Union (Philadelphia). The "new course" represents a great danger to the coming struggle of the needle trades workers.

Before the Party member and the militant workers in the needle trades in the great task of mobilizing and consolidating all forces for the great struggle ahead of us. The outcome of the next period of struggle will be of great significance for the whole left wing movement. Against dissension in our union! For the unity of all workers in the struggle against the bosses!

ATTENTION!

Owing to lack of space we were compelled to omit some important material from this issue of REVOLUTIONARY AGE, particularly, the article by H. Zukowsky on *The Chicago Milliners Lock-out and the Left Wing*. This article will appear in the next issue of our paper.

ATTENTION! BOSTON WORKERS!

.....R-E-D B-A-N-Q-U-E-T.....

for the benefit of

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 20, 1929.

The Lima Labor Party

by SCOTT WILKINS

TO understand the Lima, Ohio, Labor Party we must examine its relations to our Party, since it was organized under the initiative of our Party and carried on its development under its direction. It was in May 1925 that Comrade Ruthenberg directed instructions to the Party organization in Lima to proceed with the work for a Labor Party. Our comrades immediately responded and by June of the same year we had already succeeded in getting the Central Labor Union to appoint a committee for independent participation in the municipal elections. This, as Comrade Ruthenberg then pointed out in a letter, "paved the way for the organization of a permanent organization in the form of a Labor Party." Soon the Labor Party was actually formed with the provision in its constitution that:

"The Lima Labor Party is a delegated body consisting of delegates from the Central Labor Union, trade unions and all other working class organizations."

In its first municipal campaign (1925) the Labor Party proved its real mass influence by electing one of its two candidates for the City Commission (the Commission consists of five). The Labor Party conducted a real militant campaign on working class issues and also against the so-called "non-partisan plan"—which immediately resulted in bitter attacks upon it by the bosses.

In the period that followed there was continuous organizational and ideological improvement in the Lima Labor Party so that by next election in 1927 it succeeded in electing another member of the Commission.

In the recent elections the struggle was very bitter. The capitalist forces formed a Democrat-Republican coalition and concentrated its entire struggle against the Labor Party. The Coalition Campaign Committee issued its most important literature to "expose" the Communist connections of the Labor party. The ability of the Lima Labor Party to resist these attacks was weakened by the fact that among its candidates there were those who were not real labor elements but rather "third party" elements. But the support of the Lima Labor Party in this election was certainly proletarian and trade unionist and the drive behind the Labor Party was unmistakably a class drive. In the 1929 election the Labor Party showed large increases in votes and carried four wards out of six, yet because of the Republican-Democratic Coalition and because of the method of electing candidates "at large" its candidates were defeated by a few votes.

The capitalist paper was jubilant and congratulated the voters on having defeated by a very narrow margin the "socialistic" and "communistic" Labor Party. At this very time the *Daily Worker*, the central organ of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., came out with an absurd article under the head "*Lima Workers Vote For Labor Party Even Tho It Is a Fake*." In accordance with its present semi-syndicalist line which leads to the rejection of the whole Labor Party campaign, the present Party leadership can find nothing better to do than to slander and discredit the real efforts of the Lima workers to achieve some genuine independent working class political action, particularly as these efforts were initiated and stimulated in the past by the Communist Party itself.

The Labor Party movement remains a promising field of mass work in America and the Communist Party must turn its attention to this question. Communist leaders who fail to recognize this fact should keep in mind that the words Frederick Engels applied to the SLP in 1887 will apply to them: "*They deserve to perish because they do not understand their own principles.*"

Sectarianism and Opportunist Capitulation

ULTRA-LEFT adventurism is but inverted social-reformism—this lesson the course of the revolutionary movement has taught us again and again. But nowhere is this lesson brought out so clearly as in connection with the present Party policy in the Jewish fraternal organizations.

In the November 15 issue of REVOLUTIONARY AGE we pointed out the wild adventurist policy of the Party "leadership" in the Workmen's Circle which is leading straight to the dissipation and impotence of the once-powerful left-wing in the Workmen's Circle and the Independent Workmen's Circle. Now the sectarian split policy has advanced to a new stage and has become transformed into open and shameless capitulation before the right-wing bureaucrats in the IWC and therefore also before the right-wingers in the WC, before the Sigmans and Schlesingers, before the *Forward*, etc. The *Freiheit* of December 5, 1929, reports on the "agreement" reached between the right and the left wings in the IWC. The "agreement" provides that the split-off groups from the WC shall be taken into the Independent on the following conditions:

"The new members and the new branches will, however, not have the right to participate in the Emergency Convention which is called for January 12. Nor will they be allowed to vote in the special referendum on the Convention."

"The Emergency Convention is being called to take up merely (our emphasis—Ed.) a proposed resolution according to which no convention of the Independent Workmen's Circle will be able to endorse a political party or a labor union or an official organ and if this resolution is approved by the Convention and the referendum these decisions will not be able to be repealed except by a seven-eighths vote of the membership. . . . The second point which the Emergency Convention will be able to take up is the election of a National Executive and a Board of Appeals. . . ."

This speaks for itself! The "agreement" is a complete capitulation to the right-wing. It is nothing short of a betrayal all along the line. The Party "leaders" have bargained away the whole future of the left-wing in the IWC in order to "patch up" the disastrous consequences of their ultra-left adventures.

The slogan of the left-wing must now be: *Smash the infamous Agreement!*

A LETTER FROM A WORKER

A needle trades worker in Baltimore writes the following: "On Sunday we had a meeting of the Cooperative and Hurwitz, the new manager of the *Freiheit*, tried to prove the sins of the Opposition and why Gitlow should not be permitted to speak before the Cooperative Forum in accordance with the decision of the membership.

"We have reached glorious times when Gitlow—one who has been fighting for years for the working class movement—should not be permitted to speak at the Cooperative controlled by the left-wing. Hurwitz calls the Opposition "black fascists" and "bitter enemies of the Soviet Union". Does the Party really believe that we workers, sympathetic to the Party, will believe such stories that overnight those comrades who have been fighting for us can become fascists and agents of imperialism?"

"Of course we are going to hear Gitlow on Sunday. If the Party tries to break up the meeting it will only encourage the right-wing.

"The funniest thing is that Samuelson (the storekeeper), Isaacs (the doctor) and Berger (the tailor with two stores employing workers) are the three 'proletarians' who are supposed to be defending the working class. . . .!"

This letter shows the sentiment of the sympathetic workers. It is only necessary to add that the Gitlow meeting was held and a large number of Party members and sympathizers were present.

The Young Plan and German Fascism.

By Spectator

IN spite of certain secondary concessions it is clear that the real advantages of the Young Plan fall in the first place to American imperialism and then to the chief World War victors (England and France)—in both cases at the expense of Germany. From the international political aspect the Young Plan signifies the integration of the new German imperialism into the fighting front of world imperialism against the USSR. Unquestionably the German bourgeoisie expects to derive such material advantages from its entry into the anti-Soviet bloc as will at least partly offset the tributes exacted from it by the beneficiaries of the Young Plan. The growing hostility in the bourgeois and Social-democratic press towards the USSR and the reinforcement of the "Western orientation" are signs of this. Nevertheless, the great fact that the Young Plan and the reparations payments can only be achieved at a heavy cost to German economy (the class significance of this we shall examine below) remains clear.

The Stresemann Policy

For the German big bourgeoisie as a whole the attitude towards the Young Plan was determined by the "realistic" policy of Stresemann, the main point of which was that—"accepting as a fact" the defeat of Germany in the war and the Versailles Treaty—it attempted by means of partial agreements, concessions, manipulations and combinations on questions of the execution of the Versailles Treaty to destroy the alignment of forces of the imperialist powers emerging from the war, to bring about a definite realignment, and thus finally to achieve a revision of the Versailles Treaty in the interests of the new German imperialism. It cannot be denied that, aided greatly by the new developments of international relations (Anglo-American rivalry, Anglo-French conflict, the offensive against the USSR) which he utilized with consummate skill, Stresemann was able to point to some very great successes reaped as a result of his policies.

The German Social-democracy fell in completely with the main line of Stresemann and of the German trust-bourgeoisie. Its special task consisted in reinforcing the "pacifist" appearance of the policy of Stresemann with "socialist" phrases and in attempting to pass off the imperialist revision of the Versailles Treaty desired by the German bourgeoisie as "German emancipation", the "self-determination of nations", etc. Such has been the external-political character of the coalition policy of which Stresemann was an ardent champion.

Concentration Towards the Right

With the growing development and internal strengthening of the new German imperialism a growing impatience with the policy of Stresemann has arisen. A definite regrouping of forces within the German bourgeoisie to the Right has become visible in the formidable growth of fascism—in political influence, in the extension of its class basis, in the increasingly daring character of its manifestations, and in its growing inner consolidation.

This "concentration towards the Right" showed itself in the reaction to the Young Plan. On the basis of fighting for a referendum to "openly reject" the Versailles Treaty, the Young Plan, etc. it proved possible for the main organizations of German fascism to overcome their differences to a sufficient degree to enable them to engage in united action. In the committee for the "peoples initiative" are represented the German

1. According to the new German constitution a bill may be put to referendum of the voters by a petition ("peoples initiative")—Volksbegehren) signed by at least 10% of the qualified voters. If such a petition is forthcoming the bill is put to a vote in the Reichstag and if there defeated goes to a referendum.

National Peoples Party (Hugenberg-trust capital), the National-Socialist Labor Party (Hitler—petty bourgeois, anti-parliamentarian, supported by big industrialists but including many workers), the Stahlhelmbund (Steel Helmet League, military-terrorist fascist organization with considerable proletarian support), the Wehrwolf, the Bund Oberland, and the Christian-National Farmers League (organizations of Junkers and rich peasants). Of course this "concentration towards the Right" caused considerable disturbance in each of these organizations, above all in Hugenberg's Party, where a definite section of the industrialists proved unwilling to desert the "conservative" policy of Stresemann. But that it was accomplished at all is the outstanding fact for the political development of Germany in the immediate future.

The "Peoples Initiative"

The political offensive of the joint fascist forces took the form of a drive for a referendum to reject the Young Plan and the Versailles Treaty. The weak parliamentary forces of the fascists were combined in an effective manner with their activity among the broad masses of the people on such "radical" slogans as: "Down with the international Jewish bankers!", "Fight against the exploitation of foreign capital!"

The results of the "peoples initiative" was an unquestionable success for the fascist offensive. It is true that the signatures were only a trifle in excess of the required 10% (4,102,000) of the total electorate but it must be remembered that the Communist "peoples initiative" on the cruiser question only achieved less than 3% (1,200,000). Secondly, side by side with the great proportion of signatures coming from the agrarian sections, a definite gain of fascist support is to be noted in the big industrial districts, particularly in regions where great misery is found (textile industry, home industry, etc.). Finally, in spite of the complaints and occasional "rebellions" of the big agrarian and old feudal-bureaucratic wing of the reaction, the influence of the "militant" pseudo-radical National Socialists (Hitler) within the fascist bloc has been steadily growing, for it was the Hitlerites who were the main drive behind the Anti-Young Plan offensive. The strengthening of the forces of fascism is certain to show itself in the coming referendum.

The Offensive of Capital

In the open "offensive" against the Young Plan—which after all has the character of "merely" a demonstration, since the actual victory of the referendum is not expected—it has proved impossible for the fascist bloc to carry along the decisive sections of the German big bourgeoisie. But in the questions of how to deal with the burdens of the reparations settlements place upon Germany economy there is a striking unanimity of opinion all the way from Hitler to the "liberals": the burdens of the Young Plan must be transferred to the shoulders of the toiling masses. The very "concentration towards the Right" that takes place on the basis of a "struggle"

2. In spite of the fact that Alfred Hugenberg easily dominated the recent congress of his Party the bloc with Hitler has caused a distinct rift in the ranks so that when the bill came up in the Reichstag (where it was defeated by an overwhelming vote) a section of the Hugenberg faction deliberately absented themselves from the session or else refused to vote. The bill goes for referendum on December 22.

against the Young Plan is a preparation for the drive to shift its burden upon the workers, peasants and petty bourgeois strata. Rationalization is being intensified, hours lengthened and wages cut. Unemployment is increasing. Social legislation benefits are being cut to the bone. This is the real content of the new offensive of capital in Germany today and this is the way in which it is bound up with the external-political situation of Germany, with its foreign relations, economic and political.

The Social-Democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, having endorsed the Young Plan, naturally have to take responsibility for carrying it out and for forcing its burdens upon the workers. Under phrases about "saying what can be saved" the trade union leaders are even now engaged in negotiations that will inevitably lead to a concerted drive for the reduction of wages, the lengthening of hours, the diminution of the social insurance benefits and the general worsening of conditions. The traitorous role of the Social-democratic leaders is coming out more and more clearly every day.

The Leftward Movement and the C.P.G.

The resistance of the workers to the offensive of capital is rapidly stimulating their leftward movement and were the Communist Party of Germany in a position to take advantage of this leftward movement the great strengthening of the revolutionary movement in Germany would result. But unfortunately the once powerful CPG is developing rapidly towards isolation and is already almost incapable of taking real advantage of the favorable objective situation. Its ultra-left course, supported by the Ecce, has led to the substitution of pseudo-revolutionary phrases such as: "We stand with both feet in the period of revolution!" (Remmele), "The masses are already with us!" (Rote Fahne), etc. for a realistic estimation of the situation and concrete and politically appropriate slogans. Its inner-Party course has led to the expulsions and elimination of the most experienced leaders and of the best revolutionary forces and has given the leadership of the Party to politically discredited, unreliable and incompetent figures. Not until the middle of September did the Party awaken to the fact that a new stage of the reparations question had set in and that something must be done about it! And since then all it has done is to issue empty high-sounding slogans and phrases; it has done nothing actually to mobilize the masses for struggle on the basis of concrete issues. It allowed the fascists to seize the initiative on the referendum. It has openly dropped the tactic of the united front so that even to refer to it became "opportunism". A wall is growing up between the Party and the working masses comparable to that in the Fischer-Maslov regime. Instead of winning the awakened elements of the working masses to the revolutionary struggle the "new course" of the CPG is facilitating their capture by the Social-democracy and even by the fascists who have developed their "radical" demogogy to a high level. The dangerous nonsense of "social fascism" and the false tactic in fighting the fascist contribute greatly in this direction.

The Communist struggle against the Young Plan, the offensive of capital, and the fascist menace has been undertaken by the C.P.G.-Opposition. As far back as February the C.P.G. Opposition took up the struggle. The abolition of the Versailles Treaty and its effects, it declared, can take place only thru the struggle for the realization of the right of self-determination of peoples and thru the annulment of all war debts. This signifies the struggle of the international working class for the overthrow of the rule of capital.

In connection with the offensive of capital the CPG-Opposition has elaborated a definite program of concrete demands around which the masses of workers can be mobilized thru a Leninist utilization of the united front tactic. It is in such fashion that the influence of social-reformism and of fascism over

Fight Against Unemployment

By ALEX BAIL

DESPITE the desperate efforts of the Hoovers and Greens to stave off the effects of the coming depression, all indications point to an increasing tempo of the depression.

The slackening in various industries is being accentuated and tens of thousands of new recruits are being added to those already on part time or totally unemployed. While the beginning of the depression could be discerned only in the auto, steel and radio industries, this has now spread to include textiles, shoe, shipyards and the mining industry.

The period of intense rationalization and wage cuts which preceded and is accompanying this depression cut down considerably on the possibility of accumulating any reserve against unemployment. The thousands of workers who are now on the streets and those still to come will soon find themselves totally destitute. Those remaining employed will face an even greater attack on their living standards. A period of intense suffering and misery is facing the working class.

What must be done to resist the disastrous effects of unemployment? To depend upon the schemes of the capitalist government or upon the reformists—the reactionary labor leaders, the Musteites, and the Socialists—means to invite a program of increased exploitation and misery.

True to its sectarian "new course" the official leadership of the Communist Party does not "recognize" the necessity of mobilizing the masses of the American workers upon issues and under slogans around which they may be rallied. Under phrases of "widespread and deep-going radicalization" it rejects the united front tactic. It has given up entirely the task of penetrating the old unions and winning the organized workers. In its leaflet, *Hoover Declares War on Workers*, the Central Committee limits itself to asking the workers to: "Join the militant trade unions in the TUUL! Support the revolutionary press! Join the Communist Party!" The merely abstract agitation to which all Party work has degenerated will never be able to rally the masses for a struggle against unemployment.

The road for working class struggle against unemployment is correctly laid down in the program-of-action of the CP-Majority Group appearing in the last issue of REVOLUTIONARY AGE. This program—which is a program of action, of organization, of struggle—calls for the establishment of councils of the unemployed on the basis of a broad united front of the organized and unorganized workers. It demands complete equality for all Negro workers, young workers and women workers in these councils and in all forms of unemployment relief. Our program is a program of immediate demands: the struggle against wage cuts; shorter hours; the 40-hour 5-day week; the abolition of speed-up, of overtime, and of child labor; unemployment relief; housing and rent relief for unemployed workers; free feeding and clothing of the children of the unemployed in the schools; social insurance; the recognition of and the establishment of trade relations with the Soviet Union; and the like. Our program is a program of the struggle against unemployment as an inevitable outcome of the capitalist system and is therefore a struggle against capitalism and for a Workers and Farmers Government!

the masses can be destroyed and not thru empty phrases and sectarian self-deception.

The struggle against the Young Plan, the offensive of capital and the menace of fascism is just beginning. The coming developments will be of great significance not only to the German Communist movement but to the whole Communist International.

The Tenth Plenum of the ECCI

By Will Herberg

(Continued from the last issue)

Fascism, "Social-fascism", and Social Reformism

ONE of the most dangerous phases in the revision of the line of the C.I. at the X Plenum was the question of fascism and "social-fascism." The careful analyses of the IV, V, and VI Congresses and of the Program on the question of fascism were entirely forgotten and some of the strangest anti-Marxist theories were put forward. Instead of a phenomenon conditioned by and arising in certain historical conditions, fascism is made into an unrecognizable all-pervading generality. The military dictators of the Latin American Republics become full-blown fascists as do also in America the "armed bands of strike breakers recruited by the Fascists"!

Fascism is made a universal stage of development of the capitalist world thru which every country must pass before the proletarian revolution. Moreover, fascism is declared to be the period just before the proletarian revolution—in other words, the last stage of capitalism:

"The capitalist world is heading for revolution but before succumbing it goes thru the phase of fascism."

These words from Comrade Manuilsky's concluding report are confirmed by an even more positive formulation in which he declares that

"fascism is going to be the last stage of capitalism before the world revolution."

This is quite contrary to the viewpoint of the Comintern Program which sees in fascism a specific historical phenomenon under definite historical conditions.

The false line in regard to fascism showed itself in the most dangerous form on the question of "social-fascism."

Altho at the X Plenum there seemed to have been considerable confusion on this question, yet the general outlines of the new "theory" are clear: *Social-democracy from top to bottom is turning from a reformist into a fascist organization.* This "social-fascism" is supposed to be the specific form of fascism in the more highly developed industrial countries. Comrade Bela Kun, the official theoretician of "social-fascism", declared:

"Social-fascism is the type of fascist development in those countries . . . in which capitalist development is more advanced than in Italy."

The idea of "social-fascism" was elaborated by other speakers. Comrade Semard pointed out that social-democracy "from top to bottom" is being "fascitized", in which he merely echoed the official viewpoint of Manuilsky:

"the fusion of social-democracy with the capitalist state is not merely a fusion at the top. This fusion has taken place from top to bottom, all along the line."

Comrade Bell (England) discovered that "all of the characteristics of social-fascism apply to the English Labor Party" and that "the transformation of the Labor Party into a social-fascist organization is in full swing." Bela Kun insisted that the thugs hired to break strikes in the USA are "social-fascists". There was really no limit to this extravagance and stupidity.

The only serious "proof" offered for these fantastic "theories" was the fact that the *Social-democratic Party has become a tool of the bourgeois state and uses armed force against the workers.* But not every form of violence used against the working class is fascism. The IV, V and VI Congresses pointed this out very clearly. Secondly, there is nothing new in the Social-democratic Party aiding the bourgeoisie in armed attacks upon the workers. This did not begin in May 1929. We need only recall Noske in 1919-1920. Whereas Bela Kun insisted that so-

cial-fascism was a phenomenon of the third period, Manuilsky maintains that already Noske was a "social-fascist." For years Lenin and the Comintern had been living in ignorance of this startling discovery!

The basic error lying at the bottom of the theories of "social-fascism" is the utterly non-Leninist assumption of the homogeneity of the Social-democracy, the absolute failure to differentiate between the leading strata of the Social-democratic movement (SDP and trade union bureaucrats) on the one hand and the broad masses influenced by the Social-democracy (masses in the SD Parties and in the trade unions, etc.) on the other. The X Plenum speaks of the "fascization of the Social-democracy from top to bottom" but the Theses of the VI Congress insisted on

"the duty (of the Communists) of drawing a distinction between the sincere but mistaken Social-democratic workers and the obsequious leaders cringing at the feet of imperialism."

The contrast could not be greater.

The Italian comrades, especially Comrade Garlandi, tried in vain to refute the dangerous fantasies of "social-fascism." Comrade Garlandi very correctly branded Bela Kun's remarks as "pseudo-analytic" and a "repetition of the ultra-left policies supported by Bordiga in his time." Comrade Garlandi also correctly pointed out that while it is true that the Social-democracy is an aid to and clears the way for fascism, while it is true that some sections of the leadership of the Social-democracy tend to approach fascism, yet this very process means profound crisis within social democracy and its disintegration as it exists today. To say that "social democracy from top to bottom" is becoming fascized is to reject the very elementary Leninist ideas.

The relation between fascism and Social-democracy is clearly and correctly given in the Program of the Comintern where it is pointed out that altho both are specific agencies of bourgeois reaction in particular situations, yet they are distinct and separate:

"The bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of Fascism or to the method of coalition with the Social-democracy according to the changes in the political situation."

The idea of "social-fascism" leads to a basic revision of the Leninist idea on the question of reformism and particularly of the Program of the Comintern. The Program declares (I-3, VI-1) that reformism in the ranks of the working class grows out of the very conditions of imperialism itself (super-profits, bribery of sections of the proletariat) and can only be destroyed by the proletarian revolution. But if the social democracy "from top to bottom" is becoming a fascist organization what happens to reformism? Comrade Bela Kun, the theoretician of "social fascism," answers:

"In this stage of development social reformism dies out; it is transformed partly into social-demagogic elements (?) and partly into the element of mass violence of fascism."

In other words social-reformism is liquidated! Could revision go further? And yet it is the Bela Kun and Kuusinen who accuse the so-called right-wingers and conciliators of "underestimating social reformism!" (Continued in the next issue.)

Jewish Monthly Bulletin

5 cents a copy

50 cents a year

The Truth About the "Corridor Congress"

(Concluded from the last issue)

IT was Comrade Lovestone who at the last meeting of the Seniore Konvent ("the committee of elders," made up of the most trusted and responsible comrades) brought up the whole question of the "corridor congress," made a fierce attack upon it and a vigorous defense of the VI Congress. A special meeting of the Seniore Konvent was called. Bukharin was chairman of the session. Stalin reported on behalf of the Russian delegation. In his report he repudiated all rumors regarding and differences in the Russian Polburo. He emphatically denied that there were any right-wingers or right wing views in the Russian Polburo or Central Committee. He introduced a resolution signed by every member of the Russian Polburo. This resolution read in part:

"The undersigned members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declare before the Seniore Konvent of the Congress that they most emphatically protest against the circulation of rumors that there are dissensions among the members of the Polburo of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U."

The declaration went on to condemn speculation on such "differences" and to deny any rumors as to a right-wing in the Russian Polburo.

After this session of the Seniore Konvent Comrade Lovestone reported to the American Delegation on what had happened there. Then Lovestone presented a motion condemning speculation and the rumors about differences, etc., in fact repeating the unanimous declaration of the Russian Polburo almost word for word. This motion was adopted—but Browder, Foster, Bittelman, Cannon, Gomez, Siskind and Johnstone, (the minority of the delegation) voted against it!

The Question of "Amendments"

In his article Comrade Browder, who participated very actively in the "corridor congress" and very inactively in the Congress itself, declares that there were "twenty-two amendments" to the Thesis on the international situation, which are supposed to have changed the line of the thesis. Comrade Browder is wrong on three counts. First of all, there were more than 22 amendments proposed and adopted. Secondly, the alleged "amendments" he cites were never made at all, were in fact parts of the original thesis. Thirdly, he forgets to say that the amendments which he, Cannon, Spector, Neumann, Lominadze and others introduced on behalf of the "corridor congress" were rejected. These are matters of fact and record.

The VI Congress elected a Political Commission to put the thesis on the international situation in its final form. Comrade Lovestone represented the American Party in this commission, no other member of the American Party was there. This Political Commission had several sessions and elected a sub-committee of Bukharin, Molotov, Thalmann, Lozovsky, Semard, Lovestone, Ercoli, Jilek and Schuller. This sub-committee handled over 50 amendments, some of them presented by Bukharin himself. Not a single one of the "amendments" cited by Browder was ever presented—evidently they exist in Comrade Browder's own imagination only. In the sub-committee there were several sharp debates and in the end a number of amendments were adopted which supplemented the thesis and were fully in harmony with its main line. Those that were out of harmony with its main line were rejected. Such are the facts on the question of amendments. The official documents will bear them out.

The American Party at the VI Congress

As is well known the American Party played quite an important role at the VI Congress. The leaders of the American delegation (Lovestone, Wolfe, Weinstein, Pepper) were among the most vigorous defenders of the line of the Congress while the leaders of the minority (Foster, Cannon, Bittelman, Browder, etc.) were among the most active agents of the "corridor congress." This fact has had a profound influence upon the recent development of our Party.

Already at the July 1928 Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. the heralds of the "corridor congress" began their offensive against the American Party. Lominadze declared that the American Party had a right-wing leadership. But the Plenum rejected this viewpoint.

In the Congress the offensive against the American Party continued. In the sub-committee of the Political Commission Lozovsky proposed an amendment attacking the then American

Party leadership. This amendment was decisively defeated and Comrade Lozovsky lost control of himself and left the session.

The whole net of intrigues of the "corridor congress" was well dramatized in the famous Foster-Stalin interview. At a time when the Congress had officially adopted an attitude towards the American Party (endorsement of its leadership and work, rejection of the charge of right-wing line against it, etc.) Comrade Stalin, in a secret interview he had with Comrade Foster, expressed a viewpoint directly opposed to the line of the Congress, promised to reverse the Congress decisions on America and to install Foster in power.

Finally, when the thesis came before the Congress after its consideration by the Political Commission, it proved so unsatisfactory to the Foster minority of the delegation that they made a public statement of their disagreements with it. This public statement—the notorious "Johnstone reservations"—are of great significance. In the first place, they were obviously made with the advice, consent and assistance of the leaders of the "corridor congress" (Stalin) as the expression of some of the most important political views of the "corridor congress." They constituted a half-disguised advance declaration of war. In the second place, the revision of the line of the VI Congress that began immediately after the Congress itself proceeded along the lines laid down in the "reservations"—especially in America. In the third place, the overwhelming fact of the reservations gives the lie to every one of Browder's arguments. If the thesis that Comrade Bukharin presented was in fact rejected by the Congress and was completely modified by "22 amendments" so that in its final form it had the "correct line"—and this is exactly what Comrade Browder maintains—then why did Comrade Browder and his friends have reservations to this "very satisfactory" finally amended form of the thesis? Why have they maintained their reservations until this day? Certainly you don't have reservations to something with which you agree!

The Party membership and the revolutionary workers demand a clear answer to the following questions:

1. Was not the thesis introduced by Comrade Bukharin to the VI Congress—which comrade Browder declares was so wrong and defective that it had to be "amended"—was not this thesis approved by the Russian delegation against the protests of Lominadze, etc.?

2. If Comrade Bukharin represented a right-wing viewpoint at the VI Congress why did the Russian Polburo issue a declaration during the Congress to the effect that there were no differences and that there was no right wing in the Polburo?

3. Why did Comrade Browder and the minority of the American Delegation vote against the motion of Comrade Lovestone to endorse the declaration of the Russian Polburo (and of the Seniore Konvent) about there being no differences and against speculation?

4. Is it not a fact that the amendments proposed by Lozovsky, Foster, Browder, etc. to change the line of the thesis were rejected by the Congress?

5. Why—if the thesis in its final form was satisfactory to them—did Comrade Browder, and with him the whole minority of the delegation (Johnstone, Cannon, Siskind, etc.) bring up their disagreements with it in the form of public reservations?

6. Why—if Comrade Bukharin represented a Right-Wing line at the VI World Congress—did not comrade Stalin come to the Congress to make at least one speech criticizing Bukharin's errors and laying down the "correct" line? Why such eloquent silence on such important questions?

PHILADELPHIA — ATTENTION
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1929, 8 P. M.
916 N. Franklin Street

.....R-E-D B-A-N-Q-U-E-T.....

For a
Weekly "Revolutionary Age"

BEN GITLOW, Main Speaker
Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group)
Philadelphia Committee.

Admission 50 Cents

The Marx-Lenin School

TO meet the critical situation created by the revision and falsification of Leninism by the present leadership of our Party and supply the need for genuine Communist education which cannot be supplied at present by any Party institution dominated by the "new course", the Communist Party (Majority Group) has organized the *Marx-Lenin School* which is opening a series of courses of fundamental importance to the Communist movement and the working class. All these courses are opening in the month of December and registration is going on nightly at the headquarters of the School, 37 East 28 Street, Room 807.

The list of teachers and the directors of the School is made up of names familiar to all comrades as the leaders of the Party's educational work thruout its history. The director, *Bertram D. Wolfe*, the assistant director, *D. Benjamin* and secretary, *S. W. Levitch*, are the same officers who were in charge of the Workers School until the Party wrecking and revision campaign began. The instructors include Comrades *Lovestone*, *Gitlow*, *Zimmerman*, *Wolfe*, *Benjamin*, *Herberg*, *Miller*, *Zam*, *Cork*, *Rock*, *Spear* and *Silvis*, every one of whom was a teacher in the Workers School.

The courses have special bearing upon the great problems affecting the Party's life at the present moment. There are two popular lecture courses—*America Today*, instructor *Jay Lovestone* and *American Thought*, instructor *Bertram D. Wolfe*, which are designed especially to make the necessary analysis of the concrete peculiarities of American political and economic life and thought, which analysis is forbidden by the official line of the Party: such analysis is "exceptionalism."

Two other lecture courses are entitled *Problems of the American Communist Movement* and *Problems of the Communist International*, with *Jay Lovestone*, and *Will Herberg*, respectively as instructors. Of similar character are *Problems of the Revolutionary Youth Movement*, with *Miriam Silvis* and *Zam* as instructors.

Similarly there is a study course in the *Program of the Communist International*, instructor, *H. Zam*, a course in *Imperialism*, made necessary by the revision of Lenin's fundamental theories on that question with the same instructor and a course on *Work in Trade Unions and Mass Organizations*, under the direction of *Gitlow* and *Zimmerman*.

In addition there are the usual courses in *Fundamentals of Communism*, *Marx-Leninism*, *Historical Materialism*, *American History*, *Intermediate English*, *Advanced English* and a Sunday night open forum.

MARX-LENIN SCHOOL SCHEDULE OF COURSES

<i>America Today—Lovestone</i>	Sunday, 1 p. m.
<i>Problems of the American Communist Movement—Lovestone</i>	Tuesday, 8:30 p. m.
<i>Problems of the Communist International—Herberg</i>	Wednesday, 7 p. m.
<i>Program of the Communist International—Zam</i>	Monday, 7 p. m.
<i>Fundamentals of Communism—Benjamin</i>	Monday, 7 p. m.
<i>Marxism-Leninism I—Miller</i>	Wednesday, 7 p. m.
<i>Marxism-Leninism II—Wolfe</i>	Tuesday, 7 p. m.
<i>Historical Materialism—Herberg</i>	Wednesday, 8:30 p. m.
<i>Imperialism—Zam</i>	Monday, 8:30 p. m.
<i>American Thought—Wolfe</i>	Tuesday, 8:30 p. m.
<i>American History—Cork</i>	Thursday, 7 p. m.
<i>Trade Unionism—Gitlow-Zimmerman</i>	Tuesday, 8:30 p. m.
<i>Intermediate English—Rock</i>	Monday & Wed., 8:30 p. m.
<i>Advanced English—Spéer</i>	Tues. & Thurs., 7 p. m.
<i>Revolutionary Youth Movement I—Silvis</i>	Tuesday, 8:30 p. m.
<i>Revolutionary Youth Movement II—Zam</i>	Tuesday, 8:30 p. m.

REGISTER NOW!

What Happened in Baltimore

IN reply to the shameless and outrageous lies contained in the so-called "reports" in the *Daily Worker* and *Freiheit* on the attempt of the "loyalists" to break up our Baltimore meeting, Comrade Lifshitz wrote an open letter to the Party press from which the following paragraphs are taken.

To the Editor of the *Daily Worker*:

In the November 25 issue of the *Daily Worker* a story was carried from Baltimore under the heading "Police Unite with Lovestone Gang and Arrest Seven Workers".

The facts are the following: In line with the general policy of the official party leadership, an insidious campaign has been carried on in the last few weeks by Flaiani, secretary of the City Committee of Baltimore, and Horowitz, *Freiheit* manager to drive out the so-called Lovestonites, Comrade Liebowitz, Schatzky, Sokoloff, and others from the mass organizations of Baltimore. In order to counteract this destructive propaganda carried by Comrade Flaiani and Horowitz, our comrades arranged a luncheon in a private restaurant where they had invited the left wing progressive workers who are active in the Cooperatives, Workmen's Circle and other organizations. The meeting was a success. There were about 60 present. While Comrade Liebowitz chairman of the meeting, was making his introductory remarks a group of about nine headed by Comrades Flaiani and Murdock and Levinson broke into the meeting and carried on a disturbance with the purpose of driving out all those present. Realizing the seriousness of the situation I took over the chair and suggested to those who broke in that they should take seats, that we were willing to give them the floor provided they would maintain order. This of course was of no avail. They continued this uproar until the restaurant keeper against our instructions sent for the police. When the police arrived I stated that there were no outsiders present that all those in the room had a perfect right to remain and that we did not need any outside interference. Thereupon the police withdrew from the hall. Instead of having a quieting effect on those who broke in they made such a big disturbance that it bordered on hooliganism. The non-Party workers present were so enraged that they wanted to beat Flaiani up but we did not allow physical force to be used by anyone of our people present. The uproar, which was continued for over 15 minutes, attracted the police into the hall.

We of course could not prevent the police from taking out those that carried on the disturbance. After these disrupters were out, the meeting continued in the most orderly way, with myself speaking for one hour and a half and then having questions and discussion. During my speech Comrade Horowitz, *Freiheit* manager, came in and he too heckled and interjected with the purpose of breaking this meeting. We allowed Horowitz to heckle and interject. All we wanted from him was that he do it in an orderly way. I can prove with everyone present in the hall that no one ever made the statement attributed to us "to go to their 'nigger' friends". None of the speakers or those present at this meeting made such a statement, and we brand this as the most insidious, outright, provocative lie.

We also brand as a most insidious lie the statement that "Liebowitz insisted that the police arrest Flaiani"—the reverse is the truth. We told the police that we did not want any arrests here. We also brand as a most shameful lie the statement that the comrades had the restaurant keeper press charges against the arrested comrades. The reverse is the truth. We argued with the restaurant keeper for over an hour asking him to withdraw all charges. We also sent up a committee consisting of Comrades Liebowitz, Schatzky, and one of the representatives of the Bakers Union to go to the police station and tell the Captain that we had preferred no charges and that there wasn't anything we had against the comrades arrested. These are the facts.

— B. LIFSHITZ.

**THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE U. S. A.
25c a copy
REVOLUTIONARY AGE
37 East 28th St. :-: Room 807 :-: New York
Special rates on bundle orders**

Capitalist Monopoly and Organization

By *Herbert Zam*

(Continued from the last issue)

WE have said previously that competition does not go out of existence entirely, and Lenin never maintained that it does. Neumann attempts to put this fact in opposition to Lenin's emphasis of monopoly as the dominant form of capitalism. In doing so, he in fact denies the existence of monopoly, gives the impression that Lenin was involved in a series of banal contradictions and actually makes Lenin say the exact opposite of what he always maintained. Thus Lenin pointed out: that "monopoly, which has sprung from free competition, does not drive the latter out of existence, but co-exists over it and with it thus giving rise to a number of very acute and very great contradictions, antagonisms and conflicts."

The Program of the Comintern (written by Bucharin) declares on the same question that altho

"capitalist-monopolist organizations grow out of free competition, they do not eliminate competition, but exist side by side and hover over it, and thus give rise to a series of exceptionally great and acute contradictions, frictions and conflicts."

In his article, Comrade Bucharin emphasizes the "co-existence of monopoly and competition" which Neumann attempts to gloss over and forget for the sake of his polemic. This "co-existence" of competition with monopoly, may seem contradictory in view of what Lenin emphasized about the transformation of "free competition" into monopoly. It is indeed contradictory to Neumann (and to the Ecce), who therefore proceed to eliminate the prevalence of monopoly and leave only competition. A dialectic analysis, however, will show that there is no contradiction at all, but that on the contrary the "elimination" of this "contradiction" in order to make everything smooth leads straight to social-reformism.

What is the explanation of this? We have already seen what Lenin said about "free competition" being the "fundamental quality of capitalism and of commodity production generally." Therefore, monopoly, springing up in such a system, can never eliminate the very basis of the system without destroying capitalism entirely. This contradiction created in the system of capitalism by the growth and domination of monopoly is one of the most important factors speeding up the development of the proletarian revolution, instead of the opposite, as the social-reformists directly and the Neumanns (by implication) maintain. The very quotation which Neumann uses against this idea really turns back on himself.

"Production becomes socialized, but appropriation remains private. The socialized means of production remain the private property of a small number of persons. The general structure of the formally recognized free competition remains, while the oppression of the population by a few monopolists becomes much harder, painful and unbearable."

Using this quotation, which makes it quite clear that competition is only the formal shell within which monopoly dominates, eliminating "free competition" Neumann endeavors to prove the primacy of competition over monopoly. The contradiction between the shell (competition) and its contents (monopoly) is a driving force for the destruction of the entire structure (the capitalist system). It is this which the social reformists deny by their insistence that monopoly eliminates contradictions, and which Neumann (and the Ecce) deny by their insistence that the domination of competition is a prerequisite

1. *Lenin: Imperialism, Chap. VII.*
2. *Program of the Comintern.*
3. *Lenin: Imperialism, Chap. VII.*

to the sharpening of contradictions. In essence these are two aspects of the same idea—ideological capitulation to imperialism.

The "coexistence" of competition with monopoly does not eliminate the domination of monopoly. The domination of monopoly within the general competitive shell of capitalism and the world struggle between enormous monopolies is the surest sign of the growing decay of the entire system and of the inevitability of its overthrow.

Both the social-reformists and the new theoreticians a la Neumann deny this. The social-reformists declare that the growth and domination of monopoly leads to *ultra-imperialism*. According to Neumann the recognition of the tendency and of the actual phenomenon leads to the same thing. You must close your eyes to the facts. But of course this is not Leninism. According to Lenin the tendency toward monopoly exists. The domination by monopoly is a fact. And it is these very phenomena which engender such tremendous contradictions within the capitalist system that lead to its overthrow.

"The entire scope and truly world-wide scale of the contradictions of capitalism become most glaringly revealed in the epoch of imperialism. . . . The development reproduces the fundamental contradictions of capitalism on an increasingly magnified scale. Competition among small capitalists ceases, only to make way for competition among big capitalists; where competition among big capitalists subsides, it flares up between gigantic combinations of capitalist magnates and their governments; local and national crises become transformed into crises affecting a number of countries and subsequently into world crises; local wars give way to wars between coalitions of states and to world wars; the class struggle changes from isolated actions of single groups of workers into nation-wide conflicts and subsequently into an international struggle of the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie."

This is the idea which Lenin expressed when he declared that the historical importance of imperialism lay in its transformation of all "the contradictions of the national economy into the contradictions of the world economy." Neumann talks about the growth of the internal contradictions and of competition, pointing in evidence to such phenomena as struggles "within the trusts themselves", "the struggle between the German Chemicals Trust against the Coal Syndicate for the control of the Ruhr mines", "the fight waged by the American luxury and consumption industries for the custom of the consumers", etc., but forgets entirely that these struggles are but child's play compared to the struggles between "gigantic combinations of capitalist magnates and their governments". It is precisely the latter form of struggle which today is the dominant form and which determines the relations in the capitalist world. What, for instance is the struggle of the German coal and chemical industries for control of the Ruhr compared with the struggle between German and French imperialism for this control? What is the struggle of the American luxury industries for the consumers compared with the world-shaking struggle between American and British imperialism for world hegemony? How can one place the "struggle inside the trusts" above the struggle of the gigantic international trusts for the redivision of the world? The failure of Neumann even to mention these struggles is but an expression of the entire revision of the Leninist conception of imperialism as the final stage of capitalism.

(Concluded in the next issue.)

In the Communist International

THE "NEW COURSE" LEADS TO SYNDICALISM

The logical and inevitable end to which the "new course" (especially as regards trade union work) leads is: *Anarcho-syndicalism!* This is indicated not only by the practical fruits of the "new line" but by the declarations of the syndicalists themselves. The old German syndicalist, *Lintner*, who certainly speaks with authority for the syndicalist viewpoint, recently announced publicly:

"The Communist Party has taken over the best from syndicalism. I have absolutely no objections of any sort against the decisions of the Party which correspond to our conceptions."

The syndicalist line which is bringing the German Party to the brink of ruin emanates directly from the present leadership of the Eccl and is now being enforced with the same disastrous consequences upon every Party in the Comintern. The new trade union line of our Party is sufficient evidence of this for America. The struggle of the Communist Oppositions in the various Parties is in the first place a struggle for the restoration of the Leninist line in mass work.

* * *

ULTRA-LEFT ADVENTURISM DESTROYS THE AUSTRIAN PARTY

No Party in the world has probably suffered so much in recent months from the revisionist ultra-left line of the Eccl as the *Communist Party of Austria*. The Austrian Social-democracy is notorious thruout the world for the cleverness of its methods and the effectiveness of its demagogy. It has the support of the largest sections of the Austrian proletariat. In the last period of time, moreover, the Fascist danger (the *Heimwehr*) has grown to mighty proportions. In the face of these two enemies the very small and weak C.P.A. certainly requires the greatest Leninist clarity, firmness and flexibility—above all, a sense of political reality. The line that the Eccl has forced upon the C.P.A. is precisely the opposite. No account whatever is taken of the actual situation in Austria, of the relation of forces, and of the stage of development of the revolutionary movement. The extravagance of the ultra-left adventurism of the official line is hardly believable. In the last year or so the slogan of a general strike has been issued nine times, never with any results. The slogan of Soviets has been issued four times! The fantastic vagaries of "social fascism" have naturally hit the Austrian Party harder than any other, since there the Fascist danger is very immediate. But apparently there is no limit to ultra-left phrase-mongering. At a time when the C.P.A. numbers—officially—only 2500, when it was able to receive no more than 7,500 votes in the elections, when at the recent factory council delegates conference there was not a single Communist spokesman, when the Party is completely isolated from every mass organization and mass movement, the Party, "in full agreement with the Communist International," has issued the following slogans:

"The organization of Workers Soviets! The formation of a Red Guard! The organization of the armed insurrection!"

Lenin once said (*Letters from afar*):

"We must not play with insurrection . . . At the decisive moment and the decisive place we must concentrate a preponderance of our forces . . . since otherwise the enemy, possessing a better equipment and a better organization, will destroy the insurrectionists . . . (We must have a) concentration of a gigantic preponderance of force as against the 15,000 to 20,000 (perhaps even more) of the 'bourgeois guard'."

Lenin also said that

"for the revolution the proletarian Party must have the support of the majority of the decisive sections of the proletariat."

The line of the official leadership of the C.P.A. and of the Eccl is a criminal adventure for which the Austrian Communist movement and the working class will have to pay dearly. The *Communist Party of Austria (Opposition)* altho still young, has taken up the struggle for the Leninist line in Austria; the future of the Austrian Communist movement is bound up with the success of this struggle.

AGAIN A NEW LINE FOR THE GERMAN PARTY

The Plenum of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany, held October 24 and 25, was of great importance. The report on the general political situation, in spite of the usual ultra-left phrases, contained a number of very dangerous opportunist errors, which are especially dangerous in view of the strong Fascist offensive. For example, the talk about the "alienation" of German capital, the repeated reference to the Young Plan as a blow against the German bourgeoisie, the declaration that the Social-democracy is betraying the "whole people," and other such ideas are sure to prove very useful to the Fascist demagogues. Otherwise the report and resolution were mere repetitions of the officially approved formulas.

Thalmann—whom a new turn in the clique struggle has again thrown to the top—declared, in his report—on general activity," that

"We must make a sharp turn in our mass work."

The same is repeated in the theses. This is the one-hundred-and-fiftieth "new line" in the German Party in the last year. But every "new turn" is a further turn on the road to ruin.

This newest "new turn" expressed itself in a decision to carry thru a split in the German mass trade union movement along the whole front. In the words of *Thalmann*:

"We hold fast to the words of Comrade Stalin that in Germany also we are approaching the formation of new trade unions."

Complaint was made at the Plenum that the Party ranks were not being "cleansed of right wingers and conciliators" at a sufficiently rapid rate! With the "new turn" will begin a new wave of expulsions and a new campaign of Party wrecking.

Meanwhile the *C.P.G.-Opposition* is striding forward uniting within itself the very best elements in the German revolutionary movement, and gaining increasing influence among the Party membership and revolutionary workers. During the latter part of November the *C.P.G.-Opposition* is to issue its first daily *Arbeiterpolitik*, which along with eight weeklies and one weekly central organ, constitutes its press.

* * *

THE SPLIT COURSE DESTROYS THE WORK OF YEARS IN ITALY

To a Party working under such extremely difficult conditions of terror and illegality as does the *Communist Party of Italy* the new sectarian course of the leadership of the Comintern has brought the most serious consequences. After many years of hard work the Party succeeded in building up an illegal trade union federation to replace the General Federation of Labor that was dissolved in 1926 by its own pro-fascist bureaucrats. The new militant anti-fascist trade union movement, led by the Communists, but embracing large numbers of non-Communist workers, held a national convention, naturally in the greatest secrecy, some time in 1927. This movement showed every sign of rapid growth and became quite a menace to fascism. Then came the "new course." Instructions were received from *Lozovsky* that the new federation must be affiliated at all costs to the R.I.L.U. After protracted resistance the C.C. of the Italian Party gave in and the "campaign" was initiated. A bitter struggle broke out in the federation which approached the stage of a split. But the "new course" was saved!

* * *

SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE OF THE ALSATIAN OPPOSITION

On Sunday, October 27, 1929 took place in the Volkshaus of Strassburg the first regional conference of the *Alsatian District of the Communist Party of France (Opposition)*. The *Alsatian Opposition*, which has the support of the overwhelming majority of the membership, has been developing quite successfully in the last few months and has been able to convert its weekly organ, *Neue Welt*, into a daily paper.

The report on the general French situation was given by Comrade *Fournier* from Paris who discussed the general development of the French Party and its group formations up to the present day. The report on the situation and tasks of the *G.P. of Alsace* was given by Comrade *Mourer*. The leading

committee proposed to the conference a declaration of principles and program-of-action which were accepted unanimously. These documents express the fundamental Leninist line for Alsace and for France which the official Party bureaucracy is fast forsaking. Comrade *Thalheimer* (Berlin), upon special invitation, reported on the crisis in the *Communist International*. The last report on the immediate organizational tasks was given by Comrade *Hueber* the Communist mayor of the city of Strassburg.

The conference was opened with a public meeting of over 2500 workers in spite of the desperate efforts of the "loyalists" against it. The Opposition has the full confidence of the advanced Alsatian workers and its continuous forward development is assured.

* * *

SHAMELESS LIES

In its article on the results of the Czechoslovakian elections in which it attempts to "explain away" the defeat of the CPCz. and the victory of the Social-democrats without "admitting" the crisis in the Communist movement, the *Pravda* declares:

"In the election campaign these renegades (that is, the Czech Opposition, Ed.) openly called upon the workers to vote for the Social-democrats. . ."

It so happens that a few weeks before the Czechoslovakian elections the National Council of the CPCz.-Opposition issued an Appeal:

"We call upon the toiling masses in town and country to vote against the bourgeoisie, agrarians, clericals and reformists. . . We appeal to all our supporters to vote in accordance with their class consciousness, that is: to vote COMMUNIST!"

The statement of the *Pravda* is therefore a deliberate and shameless lie! It is an extremely regrettable situation that a paper of the splendid revolutionary traditions of the *Pravda*, the *Pravda* of Lenin, should stoop to such open and shameless lying. It is indeed a sign of the crisis in the Communist movement.

* * *

THE FRENCH PARTY IS IN CRISIS

The "new course" in the French Communist Party has broken down the powers of resistance of the Party against the bitter government attacks which are intensifying every day. Particularly at this moment when Bolshevik unity and a Leninist line are prime necessities, is the Party torn apart by the splitting course of the leadership, is being deprived of its best revolutionary elements, and is losing position after position in the mass organizations as a result of its sectarian line.

In the Paris municipal council, where the CPF had nine representatives there remains not a single one! Eight have been expelled from the Party and one is in prison.

The abstract ultra-left line of the Party is well shown in its manifesto on the occasion of the recent government crisis. Among a number of general slogans there was the remarkable demand: "The right to life of all workers!" Apparently the French Party leadership would like to have a law enacted: "Every worker has the right to live."

At the same time the manifesto of the Party contains not a single slogan on any concrete question: the Young Plan, the coming naval conference, the war preparation of French imperialism, the taxation or tariff questions, social insurance, etc. And yet it talks of "winning the majority of the working class!"

* * *

UNPRINCIPLED CLIQUE LEADERSHIP BREEDS CORRUPTION

The notorious *Wittdorf-Thalmann* corruption case of last year showed clearly enough how the system of unprincipled clique leadership now dominating the Communist Party of Germany (and the other Parties as well) leads straight to the worst forms of corruption. This important lesson has now been brought out again in the recent *Leow scandal*.

Willi Leow has hitherto been one of the most reliable supporters of the *Thalmann* machine. He is a member of the *Reichstag* and leader of the *Red Front Fighters* in which organization he was instrumental in expelling some of the best and most active comrades (*Werner Jurr*, etc.) In spite of his extreme incompetence and otherwise questionable conduct he has always been protected by the *Thalman-Neumann* C.C.

Now it has been proven beyond any shadow of doubt that *this Leow* has stolen thousands of marks from the treasury of the *Red Front Fighters*. The proof was so clear that *Leow* had to be removed but the comrades who brought the charges against *this worthy* have been slandered and expelled.

So This Is "Radicalization"!

THE *Daily Worker* of December 5, 1929 contains a resolution of the Polburo of our Party on the results of the New York elections. This resolution is extremely characteristic of false anti-Leninist line of the present leadership and we shall return to a more detailed analysis in the next issue of *Revolutionary Age*. Here we want to call attention a certain phase of the question which makes us wonder if after all the ten years of the propaganda of Leninism has had any effect upon our new "theoreticians."

The Resolution reads:

"It is the most dangerous illusion, however, to think that the votes for Thomas themselves represent a movement of the voters to the left. . . The workers who voted for Thomas did not move to the left; on the contrary by their votes they showed that in the elections their influence had been turned towards the right. . ."

The Theses of the VI Congress (section 17) declare:

"The general process of the working class swing to the left in European countries continues further: the influence of the purely bourgeois parties upon the workers wanes, a section of the workers abandon these to join the Social-democrats while another section joins the Communist Parties. There is a quickening of the process of more militant elements of the working class abandoning the Social-democrats and coming over to the Communist camp."

Do the new "theoreticians" of our Party—who only yesterday hailed the large Smith vote as a sign of "radicalization"—today maintain that the workers who for the first time in their lives broke away from Tammany and voted for a Socialist were moving to the right. Do they therefore maintain that the Social democracy is the right wing of the bourgeois? It is to such consummate absurdities that the fantasies of "social-fascism" lead!

Have You Been Getting

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

on the Newsstands?

Have You Been Getting It from a Friend?

The only way in which you can be sure of getting the REVOLUTIONARY AGE regularly is to

Subscribe Now!

Revolutionary Age,
37 East 28th Street, Room 807,
New York City.

I am enclosing \$2.00 (\$1.00) for a year's (6-mos.)
subscription to the *Revolutionary Age*.

Name

Address

City..... State.....

With the Communist Youth

“Vanguardism” in the Y. C. I.

by EDDIE MARSHALL

“We look upon political activity, struggle for the general tasks of the Party as our foremost task.”

These words of Comrade Chitaroff, the general secretary of the Young Communist International, at the recent full session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, express sharply and concisely the crisis into which the YCI has been thrown by the sectarian line of the leadership of the YCI. No longer are the Young Communist Leagues to function as revolutionary youth organizations fighting for the interests of the working youth. No longer do the Leagues have as their main task the winning over of the working youth for the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. Now the Leagues are entrusted with the official duty of guarding and guiding the Party line along the “correct” path. Now the Leagues have become little super-parties on the watch for “deviations”.

This is the old theory of “vanguardism” against which Lenin fought and which was rejected by the II Congress of the YCI (1921). But this theory—the theory that the League is the leader of the Party and of the whole working class—is now the official line of the YCI. It is clearly brought out in its instruction to all Leagues to “become the best interpreters of the CI line.” Such a line results inevitably in a dissolution of the Leagues as revolutionary working class youth organizations and in a rejection of the role of the Communist Parties as the vanguard of the proletariat.

Such sectarian theories divert the energies of the League inward—away from the problems of the young workers, toward the internal affairs and issues of the Party. Isolation of the Leagues from the masses of young workers, their decline into impotent sects is the inevitable consequence of the present line if it is permitted to continue. These symptoms are already made clear by the decline in numbers of every important League in the YCI, by the pronounced lack of activity among the young workers on the most important youth issues, and by the complete inability of any League (except the League in the Soviet Union) to mobilize a mass youth movement against the increasingly acute war danger.

“Political activity and struggle for the general tasks of the Party” is a vital necessity for every League, but the basis of existence of every League is the struggle of the young workers. To tackle the problems of the young workers in a Communist manner, to lead the working class youth in the struggle against capitalism remains the foremost task of every Young Communist League. Any other viewpoint leads to sectarianism and isolation. It is against such an orientation that we of the YCL-Majority Group must fight whether it expresses itself internationally or in the United States.

OUT IN DECEMBER!

Revolutionary Youth

Organ of Young Communist League
(Majority Group)

5cents a copy

50 cents a year

“The New Line” Hits Passaic

THE “new line” has reached the Passaic League. Expulsions have begun and the League is being smashed.

In spite of the pessimism that reigned in the Passaic Party and League organizations, a few of the comrades who are now being expelled were able to push along the work so that the League made some showing among the young workers of Passaic and vicinity. Industrial work was undertaken on a far larger scale than ever before and the League was coming closer to taking an active part in the struggles of the Passaic workers. With the revival of work in the League, the Party was forced into some activity and it was hoped that the Party and League would once again come to the forefront in the struggle.

But now a move has been initiated in Passaic on the part of the “new leaders” to condemn, remove and expel the leading comrades, the best experienced and tried comrades. Because the comrades are putting up a resistance against the false policies of the League “leadership” they are being replaced by those who have a record for passivity and sabotage, by those who “borrowed” money from the League treasury without bothering to account for it, by those who have been repeatedly been censured for inactivity and stagnation. Already the organizer of the Passaic League, Bessie Bogorad, has been “expelled” in spite of the vote of the membership against it. More than half of the rank and file members of the Party and League are opposed to the terrorism of the “leading” committee but the destructive course and the expulsions from above continues.

A bad blow has been struck at the Passaic League. It is up to the comrades of the YCL-Majority Group to unite all constructive forces in order to save the League which the “new leaders” are destroying.

“ENLIGHTENMENT”!

A NEW method of “enlightenment” has been discovered in Passaic—“reduction in the ranks”. In Passaic, when the question of the expulsion of the leading comrades came up because they are “Lovestonites”, among those who voted against the wrecking of the League were two comrades who were graduated from the Pioneers over a half a year ago and have since been active in the League. Now for their “crime” in resisting the destruction of the Passaic League they have been “taken out of the League” and again “demoted” to the rank of Pioneers! A truly novel punishment! We recommend this new method to the Central Control Commission.

“PROGRESS”—BACKWARDS!

THE great headway the “new course” is making in the Young Communist League is reflected by remarkable “progress” that has been made in the Pioneer movement since the last Convention. In May 1929 the New York League was able to record that, as a result of years of hard work, the Young Pioneers in the New York District could count 1,000 members. Now, in December of the same year, the official membership figure reported by the District Committee is 467! There is considerable “progress” but seems to be in the wrong direction.

Subscribe to

Revolutionary Age

PARTY LIFE

HOOLOGANISM AS A METHOD OF “PERSUASION”

In desperation at our growing strength among the Party membership and the left-wing workers and in a frantic attempt to cover up the disastrous effects of the “new course” in the Party and in the mass organizations, the Party wreckers have advanced to a new stage in the “enlightenment campaign”: they have resorted to the hooligan and gangster methods well known to the trade union bureaucrats and sharply condemned by all honest workers.

In Section 2, New York City, a meeting of the CP-Majority Group was attacked by a group of “loyalists” organized by Litwin and Milton Weich. Armed with clubs, blackjacks and knives they succeeded in inflicting serious injuries upon D. Benjamin (formerly: Assistant Director of the Workers School and member of the Secretariat of the New York District Committee) and upon B. Ralph (formerly: member of the Jewish Bureau). These comrades had to receive immediate hospital treatment. S. Levich was stabbed in the arm.

In Baltimore, Md., a small group of “loyalists” under the leadership of Flaiani broke into a splendid banquet arranged by our comrades at which the leading forces of the Party and the left-wing organizations were present. The obvious purpose of this little group—to attack the workers and break up the meeting—was only defeated by the fact that they were badly outnumbered by our supporters (see letter by Comrade Lifshitz in another part of this issue).

In Hartford, Conn., a group mobilized by Chaunt from all over the State broke into a private house and attacked a meeting of over 20 comrades, most of them non-Party workers, to which Comrade J. O. Bental had just finished reporting on the crisis in the mass organizations.

These methods are acts of desperation. They cannot stop our struggle. On the contrary, they help to convince Party comrades and non-Party workers that the Party “leadership” is absolutely unable to answer any of our political contentions and therefore attempts to find refuge in the worst methods borrowed from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. But such methods have the dangerous effect of discrediting the name of Communism among the masses of the workers and of permanently damaging the cause of the proletarian revolution. For this the present leadership will have to face the responsibility.

WE RALLY THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS!

In the last few weeks we have been making splendid headway in rallying new sections of the Party members and revolutionary workers and in gaining influence in the mass organizations. The few examples that follow point this out very clearly.

In the Anthracite we are making rapid progress politically and organizationally. On Thanksgiving the comrades arranged a banquet-meeting for Comrade Lovestone at Wilkes-Barre. Over 125 workers were present, predominantly non-Party miners—this was one of the biggest affairs the Party has ever been able to arrange in the anthracite. The spirit of the meeting was excellent and great enthusiasm was produced by the demonstrations of the Pioneers. The advanced anthracite workers are rallying around our comrades who are recognized leaders of the Communist movement in the anthracite.

In Baltimore, Md., our comrades arranged a banquet for the benefit of REVOLUTIONARY AGE at which the Party comrades and the leading representatives of the left-wing organizations could get together to discuss the crisis in the revolutionary movement. Nearly 60 comrades were present at this banquet—a splendid meeting for Baltimore. The attempt of Flaiani to disrupt the meeting failed miserably. Comrade B. Lifshitz, the main speaker, was met with the greatest enthusiasm. A considerable sum was obtained for the WEEKLY REVOLUTIONARY AGE DRIVE and plans laid for the development of our struggle to save the Party and the left-wing movement.

In Philadelphia, Pa., our comrades are most active in the left-wing movement. Our Comrade Wakshull is the secretary of the City Committee of the split-off left-wing branches of the Workmen's Circle. For some time past the loyalists have been trying to get Comrade Wakshull removed from this position but the City Committee, composed entirely of non-Party workers

(with the exception of Wakshull) has always defeated these manoeuvres. Finally, thru some manipulations the loyalists succeeded in calling a special Conference of the left-wing branches with the obvious purpose of changing the City Committee and removing Comrade Wakshull. Upon a motion to that effect made by a loyalist a long discussion took place in which the real purpose of the loyalists became clear. Finally, the motion was carried unanimously, all the loyalists abstaining, to recognize the City Committee and its secretary as the leading functioning bodies. At the City Committee meeting this body went on record protesting against the fact that the National Left-Wing Committee, with Salzman at the head, worked over the head of the Philadelphia City Committee and its secretary; it demanded that the Philadelphia Committee be recognized as the head of the Philadelphia branches.

In the shop fraction of the Cooperative Restaurant of New York (under control of Party) the loyalists received a good demonstration of the support our comrades have been winning among the food workers. On the question of shop chairman, former shop chairman, the loyalist Litwin, who led the group against our comrades in Section 2, managed to get the reelection by only one vote, running against one of our comrades. Then a motion was introduced by the loyalists against “fraternization” with our Comrade Zimmerman. This motion was defeated by an avalanche vote, only four voting for it. Such a thing taking place in the Party fraction of the Party-controlled Cooperative Restaurant is a sure sign of the attitude of the workers towards our comrades in spite of the vicious campaign of lying and slander.

HOW THE PARTY IS BEING “BOLSHEVISED”

The progress of the “consolidation” of the forces of the Party on the basis of the “new course” is well illustrated in the following letter sent out by Section 2, Philadelphia, as a contribution to the current “membership drive.”

To all members of Unit 2-B:

Dec. 1, 1929.

Dear Comrades:

The last few weeks since the reorganization of our section, Unit 2-B has been functioning very badly. The members failed to show up to three meetings and the unit did not meet for six weeks. All campaigns of the Party were non-existent as far as the members of our unit were concerned. The executive committee of our unit did not meet either, because of the failure of the members of the executive to show up.

We cannot let such a situation go on, especially now when the Party is entering upon a membership drive. The first prerequisite for the success of this campaign is the well-functioning of our units. Therefore, in order to revive the activity of our unit we will have a meeting which will take place Tuesday, December 3, 8 P. M. at 1331 Franklin St.

ALL COMRADES FAILING TO ATTEND THIS MEETING AND REGISTER WILL BE DROPPED OFF THE LIST OF THE PARTY.

AT THIS MEETING WE WILL ALSO HAVE A DISCUSSION ON THE PARTY PLENUM.

Ovrutsky, Section Org.

J. Drill, Sec'y

It is only necessary to add that at the meeting of this unit there were present 12 out of the 40 members of the unit. These comrades decided to do their bit towards “building the Party” by again “condemning the renegades, Lovestone, Gitlow, etc. and the splitters in the needle trades, Clara Yampolsky, etc.” Two comrades of the 12 declared themselves against this resolution and they were “referred for questioning.” And now the Party is “safe” again for several months until the next meeting of the unit!

THE “RATIONALIZATION” OF EXPULSIONS

The Party-wrecking campaign has assumed such dimensions that some of the more enterprising spirits of the “new leadership” are elaborating methods for rationalizing and “simplifying” it. The recent District Bulletin of the Party in New York contains detailed instructions on how charges are to be written, what information is to be given, etc., etc. “If this is not done,” the Bulletin announces, “great delay occurs . . .” and delay in wrecking the Party cannot be tolerated!

Defeat the Hoover Program

(Continued from Page 2)

workers are now jobless. In the shoe, leather, furniture, textile, iron, and automobile industries the conditions are very bad. In some of the largest mills in New Bedford, machinery is being stopped as soon as warps are completed. In the Southern textile areas mill are also slashing production.

Hoover says not a word of all these things. He simply engages in talk about "prosperity" returning now that capital will leave the stock market and go "back to industry." But up until the crash on the Stock Exchange we were told that we were having "prosperity" during the time that the market was booming and capital was flowing in great quantities from the industries. And now they tell us just the reverse! The entire fraud of capitalist "prosperity" stands exposed!

It is not a decline in production, it is not a shortage in goods that is responsible for the deprivation of the workers of the very necessities of life. It is the very "overdevelopment" of industry, operating on a capitalist basis, that leads to terrible mass under-consumption, to poverty and misery. Of the 45,000,000 people employed in the U.S.A., only one in 10% makes as much as \$2,000 a year. At least 60% of the workers receive less than \$30 a week. Over 16,000,000 workers receive less than \$25 a week. Over 60% of the workers grind away more than 48 hours a week for their bosses. Nearly 90% of the workers cannot afford any education beyond the grades of elementary school. Every year capitalist industry kills at least 35,000 workers and wounds at least 3,000,000 more. And this entire system of capitalist exploitation and misery is only maintained and buttressed by federal, state, and municipal government.

The Hoover program is a direct challenge to the growing class consciousness of the American workers, to their growing spirit of resistance and struggle. The workers must answer the Hoover challenge! They must defeat the Hoover program!

It is now time to unite the forces of the working class for struggle against the bosses and against their labor lieutenants, the reactionary labor bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party. Let the Hoover Message sound the alarm!

In utter defiance of the Hoover-Green Pact the workers must resist wage cuts and fight for wage increases and shorter hours and for better living conditions. The struggle against unemployment, against speed-up and against child labor must be taken up. More necessary than ever before is a struggle for a complete system of social insurance to be raised at the expense of owners of industry but to be administered by the workers themselves.

The struggle against the bosses can be carried on only thru the organization of the workers. The left wing in the old unions must be strengthened and the struggle against the bureaucrats sharpened until their influence is destroyed. The new unions must be built into powerful mass organizations and the Trade Union Unity League must be developed into a really broad powerful mass movement uniting the militant minorities in the reactionary unions on the one hand, and the new fighting unions on the other.

In the struggle for these immediate demands the workers will learn to fight politically. They will learn to recognize the character of American "democracy" as really capitalist dictatorship. They will learn that only the overthrow of the capitalist government and the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government—along the lines of what the heroic Soviet workers have accomplished—will emancipate the masses from the misery and poverty that is their lot under capitalism.

Only a Communist Party based upon the line of Leninism can develop such a movement and lead it to victory!

Ruthenberg on Foster

(From: *The Communist*, vol. 1, no. 1, September 27, 1919)

THE A. F. of L. has for some months been in the steel mills. Its organizers have been actively organizing the workers and have had a difficult task. The steel barons have used the law and the courts, police and gangsters, against these organizers, nine of whom have been killed. But the workers responded, and a strike is scheduled for September 22.

This movement among the steel workers has all the characteristics of the old unionism. Parleys are held concerning the strike, the employers are implored to meet with the union officials for "negotiations". Instead of action, they are talking, giving the steel barons ample opportunity to prepare for a strike.

The unionism of the A. F. of L. is a shackle upon the militant movement of the workers. Its form of organization splits the workers into fragments and, moreover, A. F. of L. unionism assures control of the union by the clique of bureaucrats. The most vital fact in the labor movement at this moment is the tendency of the organized workers to break the domination of the officials, to develop a unionism that will respond to the mass impulse of the workers. The old unionism is in decay, has proven itself utterly incompetent on the problems of the proletariat. But here, in the steel industry, the A. F. of L. is imposing this reactionary system upon the workers—assisted by the syndicalist W. Z. Foster!

Unions are not necessarily simple job-trusts. They are not necessarily simply organs of the struggle to increase the price of the commodity labor-power. They are not simply means of resistance against capitalism. The unions may become organs of militant action, of the aggressive proletarian struggle against capitalism. Industrial unionism is this sort of unionism, breaking with the methods and policy of the old craft unionism; and, if inspired with the revolutionary purpose, becomes a vital factor in the proletarian revolution.

FOSTER ON HIMSELF

(From: *New York Times*, October 13, 1919)

WM. Z. FOSTER, secretary of the Steel Strike Committee . . . based much of his hope of victory on the outcome of the Industrial Conference at Washington, stating that all of the labor group, all of the public group, and some members of the employers group wanted arbitration and that the offer of Samuel Gompers to arbitrate must be accepted or the conference would be a complete failure.

"Foster declared that the defeat of the A. F. of L. would mean that in a few years a new organization, the I. W. W. or something else, would renew the fight, while peace now and for the future might be possible by the recognition of the right of collective bargaining and by the arbitration of all other disputes."

IN THE COMING ISSUES

FOR PROLETARIAN UNITY IN MASS ORGANIZATIONS!

THE PROBLEM OF REGIME IN THE COMINTERN, by M. N. ROY

THE VI CONGRESS AND THE WORLD SITUATION

ON DISCIPLINE

THE FIVE-POWER CONFERENCE

THE HOUSING SITUATION IN NEW YORK AND THE RENT LAWS

THE UNITED FRONT AND LENINIST STRATEGY

Special articles on the situation in the textile and metal trades industries.