ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY (Majority Group)

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PRICE 5 CENTS

WORKERS OF ALL

COUNTRIES

UNITE

IN ANTHRACITE

Licata Killed by Company Thugs; Police Refuse To Do Anything

PITTSTON, Pa.—At 12:40 on the morning of March 2, 1931, Samuel Licata, well-known militant miner, was murdered in the shadow of his own home here. Licata was a leader of the progressive miners movement in the Anthracite for over a decade and has been identified with a number

of opposition movements against the Lewis burocracy.

There is good evidence that Licata was murdered as a result of information he had about the murder of-Campbell ond Reilly, progressive miners, three years ago. He is sup-posed to have had information incrim-inating "Little Jimmy" Deminiani who was brought back to Pittston recently from Lousiana in connection with the Campbell-Reilly murder. There is also information that a city policeman was standing not fifty yards from where the murder took place. The excuse is now being given that a deep shadow enveloped the spot of the murder at the time it took that the thin it took that the time it took that the large property of the spot of the murder at the time it took that the large property of the spot of the murder at the time it took that the large property of the spot of the place but there is no basis for this allegation. When Alex Campbell and Peter Reilly were murdered by coal company gunmen two motorcycles came to the scene of the crime and stood at the place for about twenty minutes, thus giving the murderors a chance to escape.

(Continued on page 2)

A NEW ATTACK ON OUR PAPER

P. O. Again Refuses Second Class Mailing Rights To the "Age"

The attack of the Post Office on the Revolutionary Age still contin-ues. On March 2, 1931 the Postmaster of New York, John J. Kiely, informed the business office of the Revolution-ary Age that the Third Assistant Postmaster General has again refused to grant second-class mailing rights

to our paper on the grounds that:

"The publishers, altho given ample opportunity, have failed to establish that the publication meets the requirements of the law..."

This means: in spite of "ample opportunity", the Revolutionary Age the "guarantees" it wants.

From every corner of Wall Street,

the anti-Soviet forces are pulling out

for a bitter drive against the U.S.S.R.

The newest phase of the offensive has

drawn in the Canadian government.

The American Coalition of Patri-

otic Societies" has just been organized

as a united front of 52 reactionary

bodies to fight for breaking all trade

relations with the Soviet Union and

for waging a merciles war against

the foreign-born workers in this coun-

That this movement for a full trade;

embargo against Soviet products has

the full backing of many important

sections in Wall Street is evident from

the leading article in the latest issue

of the Forbes Magazine. Under the

spokesman of big business, Mr. B. C.

other non-Soviet country. . . . "Should such enemies of our in-

Forbes, says in part:

52 BODIES UNITE FOR ATTACK ON

SOVIET UNION; DEMAND EMBARGO

Forbes Calls For Complete Embargo

caption "Stop Nourishing Soviet," the a blast. The latest issue of its mouth-

editor and owner of this influential piece in New York, America, de-

trialists, American corporations, of the European war mentality."

American bankers, for the sake of

TOM MOONEY'S LETTER TO AMERICAN LABOR San Quentin Prison, January 15, 1931.
DEAR FRIENDS AND FELLOW UNIONISTS
HISTORY IS DEED IN ALL DESCRIPTION OF THE PRISON OF THE

San Quentin Prison, January 15, 1931.

DEAR FRIENDS AND FELLOW UNIONISTS

JUSTICE IS DEAD IN CALIFORNIA. Plutoceacy has won, and the people have been told to go to hell. Ignoring positive proofs of a "frameup," approving the fake "study of the evidence," the bogus reviews by the Courts, the double crossing by Governor Young, the malice of the frameup crew and the whitewashing of the perjured testimony given by the most sordid underworld characters, the Judges of the California Supreme Court have remained true to but one ideal—tyranny; and loyal to but one group—plutocracy.

What does the Supreme Crurt care how the people feel or what they think? The members of that Court know who rules this State and Nation. They know that the Almighty Dollar rules California as it does America, that already a dictatorship of the plutocracy has fastened its tenacles upon our State and National life, and that unless their judgments accord with the interests of that dictator ship, their tenure in office will quickly end.

The Supreme Court decision is a challenge to every liberal and labor man and woman in the land. Unquestionably it was so intended by the Court. Feeling themselves securely intrenched and confident of their power, the corporations have dared to direct their judicial lackeys to hurl the challenge of this decision into the teeth of all the militant workers in this country. What will your answer be?

Public protest meetings and mass demonstrations should be held

THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

testh of all the militant workers in this country. What will your answer be?

Public protest meetings and mass demonstrations should be held in every city and town in the world by the working class organizations. My death sentence was commuted to "life" because of the mass pressure of the workers of Russia and the world in 1917. That pressure did not go far enough. An aroused working class and all real friends of labor can bring a gigantic pressure to bear open the California authorities, and force them to unconditionally pardon more effective the protest, the scener will I be pardoned.

If you are a member of a labor, political, liberal, radical or other working class organization, urge them to make a donation—urge them to buy a copy of this pamphlet for each of their members. After reading the booklet pass it to a friend or neighbor. Keep it in circulation. Give a copy to the editors of the pape in your city and ask them to help with editorials and news stories. After you have read this appeal, please don't throw it away, or lay it down and forget what I have endured these past fifteen years.

Use your imagination. Can you picture what fifteen years of prison life means to an innocent man? Fifteen years—that means 790 weeks, more than 5600 days. And to a man in prison every day seems like a month, every week like a year. Melp me as you would like others to help you. Do it right now. My sincere and sarnest hope is that you, unlike the labor leaders, will not forsake or betray me. I plead with you, I urge you, I implore you not to forget me after reading this most urgent appeal. My 29 years of continuous active, good standing membership in the International Molders Union entitles me to a hearing and a defense. Will you help me? Will your action spell death in prison, or hope of life through an unconditional pardon? I aeeit your verdict Fraternally and sincerely,

om mooney

All Funds Are To Be Sent to: Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, I. San Francisco, Cal.

GANDHI SELLS OUT INDIA'S FREEDOM IN "PEACE PACT

Signs Agreement With Viceroy Surrendering All Nationalist Demands, Even Full Amnesty of Prisoners; Protest Grows Among Masses

NEW DELHI .- The long-expected of the Lahore Congress. The "clauses" capitulation of Gandhi has finally oc- of the Irwin-Gandhi "agreement" so admit this "charge"! We will continue to "fail" to give the Post Office and Mahatma Gandhi, for the All- goods, the participation of the Continue to "fail" to give the Post Office India National Congress, were made gress leaders in a now round-table We appeal to the workers, whose interests the Age has been defending, of complete surrender of the struggle to manufacture their own sait." Poto come to the support of our paper for Indian independence initiated over litical prisoners convicted for offenses in its fight against the government! | a year ago as a result of the decisions |

ecutives are trafficking with Ty-rant Stalin demand the punish-

ment of such executives by ignom-

inous dismissal? Should not work-

ers from end to end of this land

rise up in protest against the

strengthening of Soviet Russia's

ability to swamp America with the

products of Russian slave labor

"The time to stop this hellish

conduct of highly-placed indus-

trialists and financiers is now.

Continued indifference and inaction

by government and people may cost |

At the same time the Catholic

Church has joined the campaign with

efforts for neace. Soviet war obses-

living in starvation and misery?

conference to come, the "Indians livnot involving violence are to be freed. (This would leave about half of the 30,000 political prisoners still in jail.) remission of uncollected fines and confiscations. In the official declaration issued by the Governor-General and published on March 5 it is made was prohibition. Mr. Rascob, chairclear that the round-table conference to which Gandhi has pledged the Congress leaders will have as its 'essential part, . . . Indian responsiexternal affairs, the position of minwrities, the financial credit of India, and the discharge of obligations,"

Upon the publication of the agreecall off any anti-British activities on the part of the Congress.

olutions for complete independence.

The surrender of Gandhi is the logical outcome of the policy that was nounces the Soviet Union as "one of openly carried on within the last Group) are responding well with a "Day's the greatest obstacles to these genuine period of time by the Congress lead-"Should loyal American indus-sion is a cause, not an effect of much dian bourgeoisic. The essential nature of their course, which was also been very poor. American bankers, for the sake of money, play into the hands of Tyrant Stalin in building up Soviet Russia, confessedly the enemy of an embargo on practically all Soviet dian hourgeoisie, to effect a "compro- Computer, the proposals of the Post Offic Department, which is cast us very post.

Our readers know that it casts us very post.

Our readers know that it casts us very post.

Our readers know that it casts us very post.

Our readers know that it casts us very post.

Our readers know that it casts us very post.

Our readers know that it casts us very post.

Our readers know that it casts us very post.

In line with the proposals of the Fish comprosed in the paper to them, and rush again—full speed—to the limit much more to send the paper to them.

The proposals of the Fish comprosed in the paper to them, and rush again—full speed—to the limit much more to send the paper to them.

The proposals of the Fish comprosed in the paper to them, and rush again—full speed—to the limit much more to send the paper to them.

The proposals of the Fish comprosed in the paper to them are paper to them, and rush again—full speed—to the limit more help, more help, more help, and still more help.

Where there is a revolutionary will there Under open pressure of the Hoover the essence of the policy of the Brit-Russia, confessedly the enemy of an embargo on practically all Soviet dian hourgeoisie, to effect a "compro-the United States and of every products. The Montreal Star even mise" (along the lines of "home-rule goes so far as to ask openly: "Is it within the Empire") which would stitutions not be so branded by our to be peace or war with the Soviet?" surrender the aim of Indian indepen-The Canadian government's move dence and, would demoralize the lib-

Stalhelm Wins Initiative Move; Referendum To Come On Diet

ment accepted on March 5 a petition sent in last month by 42,000 members of the Fascist military organization Stalhelm calling for a popular initia-tive on the dissolution of the Prussian

The lists will be opened on April 8 for two weeks and 20% of the voters, or about 5,000,000 must sign the initiative if it is to be successful and the question placed for popular refer-endum vote in which a majority vote is required.

A Socialist-Centrist coalition now cantrols of the government of Prussia. It is to maintain the support of the Centrists in Prussia that the Socialists have given their support to the Bruening hunger regime in the Reich. Lately, with the growth of reaction, there was launched a vigorous Fascist attack on the Prussian government. The initiative campaign is one of the phases of this drive.

WAGE-CUT FOR RR MEN IN BRITAIN

"Labor" Gov't Rejects A Minimum Wage Demand Forces Wage Slash

LONDON.—Cuts in all railway men's wages were decreed by the National Wages Board on March 5. After taking evidence for several weeks the board directed a 2½% reduction in all earnings with a further reduction of 2½% on earnings in excess of \$8 weekly.

Clerical grades are subject to the same cut with an additional reduction of 21/2 % on all earnings exceeding \$500 a year.

The Board rejected the railmen's demand for minimum wage of \$15 a

government defends the interests of labor,

This is how the MacDonald "labor"

DEM. NAT'L COMMITTEE MEETS IN CAPITAL

WASHINGTON .- The Democratic National Committee, consisting of 110 representatives of the various State cies and finances and to discuss issue in the campaign. As far as actual decisions are concerned, the only re Isult was a plan for raising money to

The main issue at the conference man of the Democratic National Committee, proposed a plan for state opcision on this question.

SEEK NEW VOTE NEW ATTACKS ON FOREIGN-BORN; RAIDS AND DEPORTATIONS SWEEP U.S.A.

BERLIN.—The Prussian govern- Lawrence Strike Leaders Threatened with Deportation; Raids on Militant Workers in San Antonio; New York Communist to Be Deported to Death

The drive against the foreign-horn workers, as the first stage of a planned offensive of the bosses against the whole labor movement of this country, is now well under way. Hardly a day passes without reports of the

CAPITALIST "JUSTICE" AND TOM MOONEY



opportunity", the Revolutionary Age captulation of Gandin has finally ochas "failed to establish" that in the future it will cease fighting for the interests of the workers! Well, we admit this "charge"! We will consider the results of many weeks of conferdadd in the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the results of many weeks of conferdadd in the Liberator of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity, the Revolutionary Age captulation of Gandin has finally ochastic and Prohibition; The famous Boardman Robinson cartoon published in the Liberator of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunity of the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress, the cessation of the opportunities declared the civil disobedience campaign by the Congress of the civil disobedience campaign by the civil disobedience campaign by the civil disobedience campaign by t

CALL PARLEY FOR "PROGRESSIVES" TO DISCUSS PROGRAM

Arrangements are also made for the carry on the committee's activities "No New Party", Call Declares But Step Shows Break In Two-Party System Coming

WASHINGTON. — Five Senate tion by State Legislatures". "Progressives", including three Re-The Southern representatives publicans and two Democrats, have bitterly attacked this plan from the called a conference of "Progressive" Patriotic Societies Organize a New Anti-Soviet Bloc; bilities, and reservations or safe-fended Mr. Rascob. The committee to meet here on March 11-12 "to Wheeler of Montana and Senators such matters, as for instance, defense, adjourned without making any de- formulate a program for considera-Ition in the next Congress and for ac-

ators Norris of Nebraska, Cutting of New Mexico and La Follette of Wiselect Costigan of Colorado, Demo-crats, states specifically that "the conference is not intended to form a new political party."

The purpose, the call states, is "to build a liberal program relating to unemployment and industrial stabilization, public utilities, agriculture, the part of the Congress.

Well, last week things went better, that's just why we are putting our case. The next full session of the AllIndia National Congress will take place at Karachi on March 26. Great storm. A worker in Fort Wayne, Indiana, short. The life of your paper is at stake.

Well, last week things went better, that's just why we are putting our case the tariff and a return to represent tative government." Twenty members attempt of the government to carry of the House as well as Senators and Governors were invited. Governors were invited.

> Altho the call gives the assurance to form the basis for a new party", of the citizenship of naturalized citiof both of the big political parties; of this country to adopt a program must realize that the attack on the which may (and certainly will) be in foreign-horn is not something aimed open contradiction to the programs of at the foreign-horn alone. It is aimed either of the parties on many import- at the entire working class. Its purant points, is a clear sign of the pose it to terrorize the workers, to Communist Party U. S. A. (Majority friend, and shopmate. No exemptions or forces of disintegration within the two-party system in this country and is an objective step in the direction expression of unrest and protest on

> > The workers and farmers of the comes the deportation of the foreign-U. S. A. ought to learn a lesson from born workers-then will come the this step of the "Progressives". Just withdrawal of citizenship from work-as these "Progressives" are ready to ers who have been naturalized for break old party lines to work out a many years—then repressive action program to suit the interests of coragainst the native born. tain sections of the capitalist class, so ought the workers and farmers On line, full force, full speed ahead throw off the yoke of the two-party

Hoover has even offered to "extend assistance" to the immigration authorities if their forces are inadequate to cope with the job of terrorizing and victimizing the foreign-born workers.

LAWRENCE, Mass.—Threats of deportation are made against Pat Devine, William Murdock, and Edith Berkman, imprisoned leaders of the recent textile workers strike here. Devine and Murdock would be deported to England while Edith Berkman would be sent to Poland.

NEW YORK CITY.—August Jok-inen, the janitor of the Finnish Workmen, the jantor of the runnish work-ers Club in this city, who recently figured as the accused in the "white chauvinism trial" held by the Com-munist Party here, was arrested last week by immigration inspectors to face deportation on the "charges of belonging to the Communist Party." Jokinen would be deported to Finland where the Fascist reaction would make short work of him as a radical

The sudden arrest of Jokinen with the threat of deportation to certain death is not unconnected with the fact that a few days before, at the "white chauvinism" trial, Jokinen denounced the whole system of racial discrimina-tion and jim-crowism against the Negroes of this country and particularly condemned his own lapses in that direction.

The International Labor Defense has taken up Jokinen's defense.

SAN ANTONIO, Texas.—On February 25, during the course of the unemployment demonstration in front of the City Hall here, Antonio Merino, well-known and active militant Latin-American worker was arrested by two Federal officers and a plain clothes man. The police also raided the place where Merino works and which he is a citizen.

The struggle for the defense of Merino has been taken up by the local organization of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and by the Civil Liberties Union. The move to deport Merino is very obviously an attempt to suppress the rising artivities of the Latin-American workers in San An-

The arrest of Merino was followed by a declaration on the part of the immigration officials in San Antonio that the "deportation of a large number of San Antenio Communists is being considered." "These Communists are now under close observation, continues the statement.

The Communists against whom this is aimed are the comrades of the San Antonio organization of the Communist Party (Majority Group) who have been very active among the Mexican workers of the region.

The increased anti-foreign born activities of the immigration officials are very obviously a part of a systematic thru the main proposals in the recent report of the Pish Committee, even before this report receives the "sanction of law". It will be recalled that both the deportation of militant foreign-born workers and the withdrawal

The workers of the United States make impossible any sign of revolt, any outbreak of strike action, any the part of the working class, First

The fight of the foreign-born is the fight of the entire working class. government! Should they not be held up to scorn by every patritic American? Should not stockthe moves made in the United States

The Canadian government's move for the workers—no matter what their is very significant and is timed with eration struggle of the masses. The workers—no matter what the for the REVOLUTIONARY AGE. Help is very significant and is timed with eration struggle of the masses. The workers—no matter what their is very significant and is timed with eration struggle of the masses. The workers—no matter what their is very significant and is timed with eration struggle of the masses. The workers—no matter what their is very significant and is timed with eration struggle of the masses. The unexpected proportions of the United States, the structure of the workers—no matter what their is very significant and is timed with eration struggle of the masses. The unexpected proportions of the United States, the helped!

Continued on Page 2)

Upon the publication of the agreement, Gandhi took immediate steps to Not too Late-But Soon...

and pro-government circles as to the to collect \$20 in answer to our S.O.S. make the immediate sacrifices. This is attitude of the great mass of Con- call of a week ago. One coal digger from very plain talk. We cannot put it any 1928; and Labore, 1929) adopted res- AGE." All in all, despite terrible unem- worker. ployment, the Anthracite comrades and workers have rushed over sixty dollars nanswer to our appeal.

In New York the members of the

us. Our latest appeal for second class until it hurts. mailing rights has been turned down. The

concern is expressed in pro-Gandhi by almost super-human efforts, managed If you want it, then you have got to gress followers and of the Karachi the Anthracite writes us: "I had a wind- plainer. Let no worker wait for the death that "this conference is not called session towards Gandhi's surrender fall of 'prosperity'. In the last two weeks of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE to con- to form the basis for a new party", since three successive sessions of the Congress (Madras, 1927; Calcutta, dollars to my paper, REVOLUTIONARY the working class, for the class-conscious convening of a conference of members imittee.

Do give and give now. And give as much as you possibly can if possible more than ever before. Remember, that this means YOU as well as your comrade exceptions are possible here. It simply wage for the REVOLUTIONARY AGE," as "Our Answer to Hoover." "See otherwise now. With your paper it's either do or die What will you do?" it's either do or die. What will you do? of a new party. Outside of New York this response has been very poor.

Outside of New York this response has been very poor.

Outside of New York this response has been very poor.

Outside of New York this response has been very poor.

Outside of New York this response has been very poor.

Outside of New York this response has been very poor. Committee, the Post Offic Department is always a working class way. Your class has followed up with a new blow against calls! Awake! Do your bit and give—

5 PLOTTERS

14 Anti-Soviet Schemers Admit Guilt; Involve

bers of the Menshevist (Social-demo-crat) party being tried for counterrevolutionary activity and for participation in interventionist plans to overthrow the Workers and Farmers Government of the U. S. S. R. This plea was made by N. B. Krylenko, the prosecutor, in a six-hour speech before the court on March 6. For the others, involved by respected training of the starting process of bread, a few ounces of meat, a few cubes of sugar. The capitalist eventure which exists to see the starting of others involved he requested terms of imprisonment.

The five men for whom death sentences are demanded are Vladimir Grohman, economist; Abraham Ginsburg, a former member of the Su-preme Council of National Economy; Nicholas Sukhanov; Michael Yakubovitch, former assistant chief of supplies section of the Trade Commissariat, and Vasily Sher, former manger of the State Bank.

The fourteen men on trial, all Mensheviks who had been given positions of importance and trusts by the Soviet government, were proved by their own confessions and by plenty of supple-

Leeches And Mass Misery

Prices Fall 6.2%—Wages 14%—Unemployment Grows | Big

they were called—these vultures who flourished on the misery of the masses; who wrung the last centime, a reduction in the cost of living of toilers, and in return doled out a few slices of bread, a few ounces of meat, a few cubes of sugar. The capitalist system, which exists to serve and promote the ventures of these and promote the ventures of these social vampires, presents wonderful opportunities for them to vend their of the pre-war level, He receives almost of an extensive anti-American independence of the position of an extensive anti-American independence of the position of the meeting to inform the members. The members of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities ship that they cannot get aboard members of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities mittee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee covered their week's activities of the Port Organizing Committee over the Port Organiz opportunities for them to vend their omic crisis, a flood—at the slightest excuse, they begin their work.

"Prices were never so low!" howl the bourgeois newspapers and the salesmentary evidence to have been in close men. But they forget to say that the contact with the German Social-demo- cost of living was never so high. In crats from whom they received huge the face of tremendous reductions in sums of money to finance sabotage wages, the fall in retail prices has and interventionist conspiracies in the USSR. wages, the fall in retail prices has been hardly appreciable. While the cost of living fell 6.2% in 32 cities,

of the Comintern?). Negotiations were

begun with the Finnish and Ukrainian

organizations, series of unprincipled deals put thru, and now, with the ground cleared, the expulsion cam-

paign could be resumed. Therefore the

Plenum of the CC-which had been

postponed twice—was allowed to con-

Communist International."

The expulsion of the three out-

U.S. POST OFFICE BARS

ANARCHIST PAPER

'Cultura Proletaria" Hit By The

Government; Workers Must

Unite Against Attack

postal authorities as unmailable on

the ground that they contain seditious matter. The dates of the three issues

are January 31, February 14 and February 21. The weekly is published

by the Federation of Spanish lan-

guage Anarchist Groups in the United

The attack of the Post Office au-

thorities on the labor press is gaining

momentum. The workers-no matter

what their political views may be-

tion referred to!

vene-and the result is the Resolu-

EXPULSIONS RENEWED IN CANADIAN PARTY; 3 C.C. MEMBERS OUT

About the Recent Plenum of the C.P. of Canada

The Canadian Worker of February expelled were ordered reinstated on 14, 1931 publishes a Resolution of Plenum on Expulsion of MacDonald, M. Buhay and Margolese. This resolution marks the conclusion of the protracted first stage of the developing retariat" expelled almost half of the crisis within the Communist Party of C.C.—with the enthusiastic approval

The Canadian situation has been discussed in many previous issues of the Revolutionary Age. It will be recalled that the forcing of the ultraleft course of the Comintern on the C.P. of Canada met with passive re-sistance on the part of a large section of the former leadership of the Party (MacDonald group). The cager Party immediately began a campaign of expulsion in the course of which they managed to alienate from the Party the Ukrainian and Finnish organizations without which the Party Ganizations without which the Party of the present (third post-war) period in Canada is a mere nothing. Such of the present (third post-war) period in a time of revolutionary erisis.

The Resolution is tan of the present the new line! It exposed the new line! It expells the three members of the Central low wages. The government and tration commission.

Whatever the upholstery weavers they depresent the big trusts aim to utilize the crisis mot only to further carich themselves, but to permanently reduce the standard of living of the working class. The government and tration commission.

Whatever the upholstery weavers they depresent the upholstery weavers that Committee (MacDonald, M. Butter the upholstery weavers they derive the upholstery weavers that to permanently reduce the standard of living of the working class. The government and tration commission.

Whatever the upholstery weavers they upholstery weavers they derive the upholstery weavers they are they derive the upholstery weavers they derive the upholstery petty burocrats at the head of the ECCI which, moreover, was then ready to execute a "new turn". The

IN "PEACE PACT" for having expelled the three comrades "too soon"—and then proceeds to "rectify" this error by expelling

(Continued from Page One) character of the independence movement-which showed definite signs of going far beyond the very "moderate" the C.C. and one (MacDonald) former aims and "non-violent" methods of the secretary of the Party-brings the Gandhi-ites-scriously disturbed the native bourgeoisic and stimulated helps to create the conditions under their eagerness for a surrender in the which the progress of the Communist Opposition in Canada is made possiarms of British imperialism.

The published agreement does not announce the economic concessions to the native bourgeoisie that were most surely made in some form or other. It is clear that the mere published terms are of no real significance at all and only serve to hide the substantial terms which will make themselves felt in the course of future de-

Gandhi's surrender has aroused much resentment among the rank and file of the Congress followers, especially among the workers and the radical petty bourgeoisie. It is pointed out that, altho he has received not one concession of any value to the masses (except the release of some of the political prisoners and even here the thousands of heroic fighters who are charged with "violence" are betrayed!), Gandhi has already pledged the Congress party to participate in a new round-table con-ference which will expressly take British control of the armed forces, of Indian finances and revenue, for granted and not subject to discussion, The mere repetition by Gandhi that must take a united stand against the "complete independence is the goal government attacks on the labor press. of India", at a time when the struggle for inedpendence is shamelessly betrayed, is without serious effect on the Congress masses.

The reaction of the local Congress committees makes it pretty obvious that Gandhi's surrender will not meet with approval of the masses of the Congress followers. Whether, however, this resentment will manifest itsef in a vigorous movement for the continuation of the liberation struggle or whether it will lead to a per-iod of deep depression induced by dis-illusionment, disgust and exhaus-tion after months of struggle and scarifices, depends largely upon the influence that the advanced revolutionaries in the nationalist movement especially the Communists will be able to exercise.

> READ! Revolutionary Age

MOSCOW.—Death sentences were asked for five of the fourteen members of the Manshaviet (Seciel 1) produced, thrived and spread its ous number of workers who are to-stench far and wide. "War profiteers" tally unemployed, we see that the in-

> but they have managed to squeeze which they were not getting before. A significant feature of the report of the number of the nu that their profit on a 7-cent loaf is ant revolutionary movement thrusus two cents? Let some statistician estimate the enormous rate of profit of independence from the United this brings in to the baking trust States rule every year, considering the frequent turn-over. The same holds true with meat. "A leading pucker here says that retailers . . . have not yet given consumers the benefit of the low prices of beef, mutton and pork. Were they to reduce their prices to the level of the cost of the live products . . ." says a dispatch from Chicago to the New York Times. The Department of Agriculture reports that: "A wider spread exists between the prices charged consumers of mill in cities and the prices paid to farmers than at any time in the past nine years", and while a Senate Committee "investigates" this phenomenon, share and announces that a new high record for profits was established in 1930!

We can go down the line and take up commodity after commodity with the same result. This "crisis-profithe same result. This "crisis-profiteering" is not only not fought by the government in its neural above the same of the strike by Monday and return government in its neural above. government in its usual sham manner. but is actualy being encouraged by the Hoover administration, which is the present (third post-war) parted the workers can compare this only thru unity, organization and militant struggles." They are expelled for "opposition to open mass struggle,

GANDH SELLS OUT opposition to building new revolution ary unions, with Lovestone in opposition to the line of the Comintern and of the Party." Of course, the Plenum "admits" the "error" of the Polburo admits" the "error" of the Polburo and ITALIAN INA ITALIAN LOAN

to "rectify" this error by expelling them now "under the guidance of the PARIS.--With steady progress being made in the negotiations of two of the three impending 1,000,000,000francs (\$40,000,000) loans to Rustanding comrades-all members of mania, Poland and Yugoslavia, French financial quarters began on March 2 preliminary period to a close and discussing the probability of a large loan to Italy.

> No amount has been mentioned, but t is presumed that the loan would be witnesses" and "escaped prisoners." a fairly long-term operation and for a sum considerably over \$100,000,000. gested operation.

The plans for the extension of a huge loan to Italy mark a further advance in France's drive for hegemony on the continent. Already today Three issues of Cultura Proteturia France has practically outstripped an anarchist weekly published in New Great Britain and achieved the place York City, have been barred by the of domination in continental European

The Economic Life of Soviet Russia

by CALVIN B. HOOVER
Duke University PRICE \$3.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY 60 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. Order thru the Revolutionary Age, 63 Madison Ave., New York

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DANCING AND RECEPTION SOUVENIR PROGRAM

PHILIPPINES

Movement Against U. S. Rule; Labor Takes Part

hecome menacing to American mili-tary stationed here, was admitted by severely criticized by the members. The approximate the meeting to inform the member-pleyment conducted as a symposium the pre-war level. He receives almost of an extensive anti-American indesame products one year ago. But does trated most parts of the islands. In the worker benefit in any way by this the province of Pangasinan, the Filitrade—a war, an earthquake, an econ- 40 % less than he received for the pendence movement that had pene-The present crisis has produced its record low price of farm commodities? pino constabulary has announced, full crop of these worthies. Large Not at all! The cost of food is today there exists a strong secret antisections of the capitalist class are to- 45% above the pre-war level. So that American society of a pronounced day drawing larger dividends than in as a result of the crisis, not only have prosperity" years—"crisis-profiteering" on the unemployed masses, and ous profits they were getting normal-armed uprising at a proportious mo-

OUT STRIKE

MacMahon Orders Phila. Local To Give Up Wage-Cut Fight

PHILADELPHIA. — About 2,000 upholstery, weavers, who have been on strike at twenty-eight Philadelphia mills since Feb. 2, have been informed by Thomas F. McMahon of New York, international president of the United to work or lose their charter.

Thus the president of the United Textile Workers is openly at work breaking a strike of a unit of his own bostponed twice—was allowed to condense—and the result is the Resolution referred to!

The Resolution is full of the tritest

The Resolution is full of the tritest is and to establish a monopoly protext that the strike was called in the protext is the full in the ful organization! And he does this on the of Parliamentary elections in case of

ASKS DEATH FOR "Crisis Profiteering" - Rich WIDE UNREST IN N. Y. Marine Workers Hit DISCUSS NEGRO & M. T. W. I. U. Burocracy

A Letter from a New York Marine Worker

Industrial Union on March 4, opened meeting the day before in the Nation-up with 27 members present. Secre- al Office and decided to cut down the MANILA.—The existence of wide-spread unrest in the Philippine Islands and the development of a revolutionary movement that has already become menacing to American mili-

BASIC LAW

WARSAW.—After a lapse of nearly five years a project for constitu-tional changes was presented to the Seim on March 2. The present Constitution, while formally in force, acually was destroyed in 1926 in the successful Fascist putsch of Pilsudski. The changes in the new Constitution concern almost entirely the su-preme power of the State.

The President of the Republic would become the highest representative of hila. the power of the Polish State and would be elected for seven years. The people would choose one of two candidates submitted, one named by the vote of the combined Houses of Parliament, the Seim and the Senate, and the other appointed by the retiring President of the republic.

Under the new Constitution the President would receive great power. He would receive the right to open and dissolve Parliament, appoint Ministers and judges, sign and ratify treaties without the approval of Parliament, besides the right to veto bills passed by Parliament and to issue decrees between sessions and during any election period. He would also have the final decision on the validity

The proposed constitution will prob-

Under the Red Flag

About the Life of the Toilers in the Soviet Union

LUMBER CAMPS IN THE U.S.S.R.

(From: The Daily Worker, London, England).

The facts about the conditions of the Soviet timber industry are already available, and have been circulated by the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee, but the capitalist press continues to rehash the stories of its anonymous "eye

These plleged "refugees" declare that 6\$,000 are employed on "forced labor" The successful conclusion of the in the Soviet timber camps. There is not Franco-Italian naval agreement has the slighest reason to believe anything of course cleared the way for the sug- they say, but supposing it were true, what does it mean?

> If Statements Were True The Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee points out that the total number of workers employed in the timber industry (collection and floating) in February, 1929, was 1,110,000, and in 1930 the number so employed was over 2, 000,000. So that even if the statement of the "refugees" were true at most some three percent, of the workers engaged in the export timber trade could be described as "forced" labor.

The timber trade is, of course, mainly a seasonal trade, and the vast majority of the workers employed in the industry are peasants, who also work their own farms. Thus in 1927, 90.9 per cent, were directs ly connected with other agricultural pursuits in addition to their work in the timber industry. In 1929, 92.8 per cent, were so con-

nected, and this proportion has not altered appreciably in 1930. These peasants work seven to eight months on their own farms and three to four months in the timber industry.

Over 80 per cent, of the peasants who are connected with other forms of agriculture have working animals of their own and use their own horses (for which they are, of course, paid extra) in their work in the timber industry. The average daily wage of the workers

engaged in timber collection work during the season in February to March, 1929, over the whole of U.S.S.R., was between 1.75 roubles and 2.59 roubles (87¢ to \$1.30); in the Northern region (i. e., Archangel, etc.) it was 2.20 roubles to 2.32 roubles (\$1.10. to \$1.15).

The Wages

The wages of the workers engaged at the docks, as supplied in a statement by Danishevsky, Chairman of the Board of Directors of "Exportles" (the Soviet Time ber Exporting Trust), in July, 1930, were ber instead of the agreed 10,000 and to bermen worked voluntarity despite the

Loading workers: 3 to 6 roubles (\$1.50 elub. to \$3,00) per day. Stevedores: 4.5 to 8 roubles (\$2.25 to

\$4.00) per day. Carters: 3.50 to 5 roubles (\$1.75 to \$2.00) per day. Sawyers: 65 to 70 roubles (\$32.50 to

Since then there has centainly been an ter the Spartacus Club Hall. increase rather than a decrease in the wages in the timber industry.

\$35.00) monthly.

In addition to paying this direct cash wage, the timber trusts are compelled by law, as in the case of all other trades in the U.S.S.R., to pay into the social insurance funds, for the benefit of the workers, 22 per cent, of the actual sum paid out in wages by the trust. The workers do not, of course, contribute

anything towards their social insurance.

These are bald, unadorned facts. The capitalist press reiterates its fantastic lies New York, addressed, on Sunday, about scores of thousands of slaves perish. March 1 a highly enthusiastic meeting of cold and starvation, because its ing commemorating the fourth anniobject is not truth but the stirring up of versary of the death of Comrade

fend the Soviet Union.

MOSCOW-"Pravda" publishes a telegrant from its own corespondent in Archangel in which the timber workers of that region give an emphatic answer to the capitalists' campaign against Soviet 28th, Comrado Bentall addressed a suc-timber exports, alleged to be produced cessful banquet for the Revolutionary by compulsory labor.

declare in general that the stories circus Office Department, lated in the British press are inventions from beginning to end, and are deliberately calculated to undermine Soviet time Lumbermen working at Plesetz, and

coming from the districts of Briansk and Cherepovetz, declare: "Who could compel us to travel over 900 miles to fell trees? The high pay is the attraction for

Members of shock-brigades are deducting one per cent, of their earnings for the Aircraft Construction Fund. One of Day to the Desense Fund, started at the the aeroplanes built out of this Fund is time of the trial of the Industrial Party to be named "The Lumbermen's Blow in Moscow. Against the Dichard Conservatives."

work until the end of the Five-Year Plan. old traditions of Christmas.

The meeting of the Marine Workers | the floor and stated that they had a

of order. He stated that there was a financial report in the minutes of speech but it was entirely A. F. of L. and went as far as quoting the constitution to that effect. There's nothing said in the constitution about the National Office auditing the books. That's a fine man to have as National Officer who doesn't know his own

constitution. The motion was carried. saw his clique in danger and makes a motion for adjournment in the middle of the meeting. This is not the first time this has happened. The National Chairman, Mink, pulled the National Chairman, Mink, pulled the National Chairman, Mink, pulled the National Chairman, Mink pulled the National Chairman and National Chai same boner once before when he was but the white workers for jobs, since bosing out but the membership is not the Negro workers are "first to be the Negro workers are "first to be as sleeply now as they were then. No motion for adjournment will be hereafter taken by the membership of the Marine Workers Industrial Union until all business is completed. -A Marine Worker

BARRED FROM CLUB AS "LOVESTONEITE"

Costas, Food Worker, Expelled from Greek Spartacus Club

ing of the Party members was held employed, etc. Lovestone also issued and it was decided to keep Constas a slogan that the unemployed should

Constas came on the agenda a slanderous tirade began against him as a "renegade", etc. Comrade Constas took the floor and said that he thought that the Spartacus club was a workers club and that according to its constitution, all workers irrespective "jim-crow unionism". After denounce of their political wienes were alicible into typeline. Lovestone concluded by of their political views were eligible ing lynching, Lovestone concluded by that only "loyal" Party members and followers were allowed in the "holy of holies". He pointed out that the complete overthrow of the present Spartacus Club, which had started with about 350 members, was now almost extinct—a result of the secturian policies of the Party and the

After a two hour discussion a vote was taken and Contrade Constas was excluded from the club.

A motion was made at the meeting to put up a sign in the hall stating that all "unloyal" Communists and "deviators" were not allowed to en-

A Greek Worker

RUTHENBERG MEET **ANTHRACITE**

LUZERNE, Pa.-J. O. Bentall, of hatred against the workers' republic. Ruthenburg, founder of the Commun-Its "forced labor" campaign is a part ist Party of the United States. About of the general drive of the capitalist 50 workers were present and respondpowers, by propaganda and the increase ed splendidly to Comrade Bentall's of armaments, to war on the Soviet masterly analysis of the role of Com-Union. The workers' reply is to build rade Ruthenburg in the building of up the international united front to de the American Communist movement and the subsequent dropping of his Leninist line by the present leader ship of the Party after his death. Over thirteen dollars were collected for the Revolutionary Age.

On Saturday evening, February Age. Over fifty dollars were raised Many letters and resolutions are quoted for the Revolutionary Age now under by this correspondent. The resolutions a new attack by the Federal Post

> The Yenitsa lumbermen declare: "We are masters in our own country. We fell trees voluntarily, and will fulfil the Five-Year Plan in three and half years."

> The Pskov workers have pledged them selves to cut -10 cubic metres of timber every day, and to stay in the north until the end of the Five-Year Plan. These workers gave their earnings on Christmas

There are many examples of shock-Lumbermen at Savinsk have promised brigade activity on Christmas Day in aid to provide 11,000 cubic metres of time of the Defense Fund. Many of the lum-

UNEMPLOYMENT

Randolph, Allen, Lovestone, In Symposium; Lovestone Gives Communist View

More than 300 people, a real A motion was put on the floor to report to be presented at the followreorganize the Port Organizing Coming membership meeting. This was ority Group). The chairman of the

> Mr. Randolph made a very eloquent the National Committee. It was the in character. Mr. Randolph did not

Mr. Allen gave a very clear description of the actual misery and Immediately he jumps up when he privation which the masses of Negro

In closing the symposum, Comrade Lovestone refuted the so-called proposals of Mr. Allen, showing the absolutely visionary impracticability of establishing a "Negro industry" to absorb the Negro unemployed, also pointing out how lack of labor solidarity between the white and the Negro gro workers is always to the interest of the bosses. He analyzed some of the causes of unemployment and stressed that no remedy exists for unemployment under the present system. He called attention to certain imme-About two weeks ago Comrade 20.
Constas, a food worker was called by the sceretary of the Spartacus Club (A Party controlled Greek workers club) to come to the inceting and be instituted as a member.

About two weeks ago Comrade 20.

In the constant of the incention of the unemployed, free meals and clothing for the children of the unemployed, government insurance and relief to be paid by the bosses, armories and the appening of churches, armories and the appening of churches, armories and the appening of churches, armories and the appening of churches armore armor Soon as Constas appeared in the the opening of churches, armories and hall a special hurried fraction meet-public buildings to the homeless un-"buy now" and "pay later"!

for membership but now he found out declaring that the only remedy for system of exploitation and the estabblishment of a workers government as it exists today in the Soviet Union, where, of all countries in the world, the unemployment problem no longer

A very lively discussion followed

MINER MURDERED IN ANTHRACITE REGION

tions as to domestic difficulties, etc.

(Continued from page 1) The press and police are now tryng to hide the real motive for the murder of Licata by making insinua-

About three hundred workers participated in the last honors paid to Samuel Licata in the funeral rites that took place in Pittston on Wednesday, March 4. William J. White, represented the National Council of the Communist Party (Majority Group), and delivered a vigorous speech attacking the Pittston Coal Company and the city authorities as responsible for the murder of Licata. John Fornier, militant miner, spoke in Italian.

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LABOR AGE

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> American Radical Labor Struggle

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The Crisis and Revolution

by Will Herberg

implications of the economic crisis is probably the most fundamental question in the world Communist movement today. It is the basic strategical question facing the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. A false ap proach to this problem and an equal-ly false solution is certainly the source of the false tactical line of the Communist International to-day that has spread such havoc and ruin in all sections of the C.I. The sharpening of the world economic crisis in recent months was sure to bring this question to the fore and a lively discussion, even the inadequate and confused, is now in progress thruout the International; in a distorted and burgeratic form this discussion is mirrored in a series of recent articles in the Communist International, the central organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. But the results of this discussion are surely unsatisfactory, for the whole discussion is being conducted within the strict bounds of the sacred ultra-left prejudices and any challenge to these prejudices is altogether out of the question. A general consideration of the problems involved, even the in a merely tentative manner, would certainly be in place.

The Real Question

The real question, it appears to me, is this: Under what conditions does an economic crisis turn into a political crisis? And then: What is the relation of the political crisis to the development of a revolutionary situa-

Lenin clearly defined an all-national (general) political crisis by the following two main characteristics: "(1) It is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their power unchanged nificance, and leads to specific social-(the 'governing classes' cannot govern as of old); there is a crisis 'higher' up' taking one form after another; there is a crisis in the policy of the ruling class. . ." (2) "The masses do not want the old regime"

For this all-national crisis to turn into a revolutionary situation (i.e., a situation in which a revolution is objectively possible), a third condition is necessary: "(3) There is considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who in 'peace' times allow themselves to be robbed without protest, but in stormy times are drawn, both (by the circumstances of the crisis and also by the 'higher-ups' themselves, into independent historic action." Finally, for a revolution to emerge out of a revolutionary situa-tion the decisive factor is: "(4) The ability of the revolutionary class tion strong enough to overthrow (or undermine) the old government . . ."
Nothing more could be desired from

the point of view of clarity.

The View of the Comintern But the real problem is: Under what circumstances do the conditions making for the transformation of one of the phases into another and higher stage develop? How startlingly simple was the answer of the Communication the heyday of its ultra-leftism? An economic crisis just "naturally." (automatically) turns into an allnational crisis, which in turn passes over into a revolutionary situation, and then—the revolution! We can still recall the phantasies of the "oncoming revolutionary wave" of the Tenth Plenum era, of the "proletarian

revolution standing as the immediate

prospect in a whole series of coun-Such a viewpoint is a travesty on the principles of Leninism! Already Engels pointed out, in his famous introduction to Marx's Class Struggles in France, that there is no inevitable and necessary connection between an economic crisis (however deep!) and a maturing revolutionary situation. The relation is far more involved, much more many-sided. In his vigorous polemic against the ultra-left at the Third Congress of the Communist International (1921) the main reporter for the E.C.C.I. made it abundantly clear that a period of economic crisis may be accompanied by a depression in the labor move-

by a rise of the revolutionary wave. There does not exist any such general automatic connection between the revolutionary movement of the working class and the crisis. There is no automatic connection there is a dialectic interaction.

"Let us examine the conditions in Russia. . . . In the fall of the year 1907 there was a tremendous world crisis. . . In the years 1907, 1908, 1909 the most frightful crisis dominated Russia. But the movement in Russia was completely paralyzed thru the crisis . . . In the years 1910, 1911, 1912 there was an improvement in the economic situation and then prosperity ... And the workers went over

Varga and Martynoff Chime In Such barren "simplicity" as marks the present CI viewpoint is the essence of sectarianism; it particular ly charactized the ultra-left spree of 1929-1930. Then came the morning-after of the "new turn". We began to hear talk of "heterogeneity", of "uneven maturing of the crisis", of "varying lines of development"—but

all as secondary deviations from the

The problem of the revolutionary approach the big question of the laws, with the specific position of each molications of the economic crisis is of revolutionary development in their country in the structure of world articles in the Communist Interna- economy. For this reason the transformation of the economic crisis in-

Varga's article (C.I. Vol. viii, to an all-national political crisis has No. 1) presents some very interest-ing economic material and is well others no signs of any such beginning worth studying. The fundamental trouble with Varga's argument, however, is his obstinate insistence upon forcing his facts into a theoretical scheme which allows only one direction and only one form of development in a situation that bristles with diversity and demands the greatest flexibility of analysis. Thus Varga finds that in Germany, for example, the growing inability of the bourgeoisic to rule "as usual" is marked by quisite for the development of the the "decomposition, splitting and new formation of political parties"; there-fore in the United States this must tremendous increase in the political parties. also be the case and the proof is: "In America we see the election victory to appear. In India, all three condiof the Democrats, crisis in the Re-

publican Party, etc." 1 ! ! !

Martynoff's article (C.I., Vol. viii,
Nos. 3-4) shows exactly the same
erucial deficiency, altho Martynoff does make some pretense at a specific analysis of various groups of countries but-the conclusion, after all, is that they are all developing along crisis and certainly no evidence what-the same road, in the same direction, ever of the maturing of a revolutionthe same road, in the same direction, thru the same phases, etc. The specific analysis thereupon becomes merely a gesture, an empty compliment paid to the Leninist method. The old ultraleft premises and the old ultra-left conclusions remains untouched in

The Actual Situation Today What is actually the situation today? The whole capitalist world is in the throcs of a deep economic crisis,

which, however, manifests itself in a

specific form, assumes a specific sig-

lutely necessary condition for the outbreak of proletarian revolution is

begun in some countries while in

are now visible-and in those coun-

takes various forms. In "democratic"

Germany, for example, as well as in Fascist Poland, there can be no ques-

tion that the two conditions for the

rapidly appearing: "The masses do

not want the old regime and the rul-

all-national political crisis into a rev-

tremendous increase in the political

activity of the masses is beginning

tions have existed for some time and

probably still exist, altho a certain de-

today, under very special conditions,

the three conditions are making a

very clear appearance. But in other

countries there are not even signs of

the development of a general political

ary situation. In neither the United

first conditions for all-national poli

tical crisis); in England some signs

are visible perhaps but only in the very first stages. To speak of a rev-

plutionary situation in any of these

But even in those countries where

to be maturing (Germany), the abso-

pression has recently set in. In Spain

tries where the process has begun it

(Continued on Page 4)

countries is absurd.

Problems of the Indian Revolution

A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY FOR INDIA

M. N. Roy to the "Swatantra Bharat Sabha"

Dear Comrades,

Let me congratulate you for having indicated the right way to the numerous rank and file Congressmen (adherents of the All-India National Congress-Editor) eager for an effective struggle for freedom. The prompt suppression of your new-born organto carry out revolutionary mass ac- ization (the Swatantra Bharat Sahha) is the proof that you are on the recruited from the working classes. The journey on the road you have for the overthrow of the present capselected will not to an easy one. It requires courage of conviction, revolutionary determination and above all of the pioneers of the party, as many collective effort.

> tion as an organized group inside the Congress with the purpose of having the latter eventually adopt a revolutionary program. The move was tactically correct at the moment it was made. The situation has changed since then. Now to be an integral part of the Congres organization does not provide the revolutionary elements with field for legal activity. The Congress itself has been declared an illegal body. Besides, you could never have the illusion that the Congress as a whole organization would ever endorse a revolutionary program as advocated by you. Your purpose evidently is to remain in close contact with the Congress rank and file with a view to win these over to your position. This is a very correct attitude. Having a very distinct program, your group, nevertheless, from the very beginning represented the tendency towards an independent political party, objective conditions for the rise of which are mature, and upon the rise of which further development of the national revolutionary struggle depends. An independent party with its own program can still support and cooperate with all other organizations actually conducting a struggle against

ment while, on the other hand, a period of "prosperity" may be marked imperialism. The program of your group is not only the program of national revolu-tion. It also indicates the way to the struggle for a greater social revolution. This being the case, historically, your group provides the platform for all the revolutionary elements to be welded eventually into a powerful party of the working class, Rapid evelopment of the situation and future perspectives demand that the latent tendency of your group should he given a clear form. Your group should without delay take up the very urgent task of a mass party of the Indian workers and peasants.

Forces objectively making for and even consciously advocating Socialist reconstruction of the Indian society, to economic and political offensive have been steadily growing in the country of late. But very few of them have as yet been organized in party without which no struggle for political power and social reconstruction is ever pissible. A revolutionary party of the working class is a historic as rell as immediate necessity. Given correct program, and with methods of organization suitable to the conditions of the country, it is hound to grow rapidly

nto a powerful political factor. Comrades: It is hardly necessary fundamental ultra-left premises which for me to tell you that the program remained and still remain intact. It is in the spirit of this "new turn" you advocate is a program of social that Comrades Varga and Martynoff revolution. National freedom will be

only a stage in that revolution. The ing themselv with the proletariat.

There can be no party of the working class earnestly striving for a social revolution in the interests of the producing masses except with the revolutionary determination that grows out of firm conviction. There is no use having a noble ideal unless one is determined to reach it at all cost. A great idea is of little practical value. unless one struggles for triumph. In a certain period of history a particular social class assumes revolutionary character being antagonistic to the dying old and therefore the harbinger of the rising new. But the entire class cannot possibly take active part in the actual struggle. Only the mosadvanced of it, together with those who desert the doomed old to fight for the nascent new, do the actual revolutionary fighting. Therefore, the advance-guard, organized in the revolutionary party, becomes the organ thru which the energy of the entire class is brought to bear upon the situation. That means, every single moment in the life of a member of the revolutionary party must be deoted to the cause of the revolution. Every other form of activity should be secondary. The paramount obligation is to the party. The party must have the first claim upon the very being of its members. These should work for the party, live for the party, die for the party. Only such a party can make a revolution, and we need

such a party in India. Comrades: As a loosely formed group you can make no more progcess. Pioneers of a revolutionary class, striving for a great social revolution, must organize themselves inhardly to be expected that a revolu- Berlin, Nov. 20, 1980. to a powerful political party. It is

social revolution will overthrow the parasitic exploiting class from power and make the producing masses collective owners of everything produced by their collective labor. Consequently, the army fighting the numerous battles of this revolution must be, in the first place, italist society is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. Some of ourselves, may not be actually born The Swatantra Bharat Sabha did not propose to act as an independent political party. It wanted to function as an organized group inside the classes and identifying themselves

tionary working class party can legal

With fraternal greetings,

Some Examples of Shamelessness

In the magazine, Communist International, Vol. viii, Nos. 3-4, there is a leading editorial, A Political Sumbmary of 1930. The whole editorial should be read; we merely call attention to two gems!

On page 82:

"As a matter of fact, is it now possible to speak of a political crisis in the USA where, regardless of 10,000,000 unemployed, the bourgeoisie have still at their disposal tremendous reserves. . . . "

Was it not for referring to the "reserves of American capitalism"that Lovestone was branded as an "agent of American imperialism", as the "advertiser of Wall Street?" Did not Molotov himself, at the XVI Congress maturing of an all-national crisis are of the CPSU, level this "charge" against Lovestone branding it as the neight of "opportunism"? And nowers are unable to govern them as of the "tremendous reserves" of Americal . . ." In Germany even the prerecan imperialism!

On page 79:

"Now the Messis. Brandlers carry out their service to Social-Fascism with their peculiar defeatist slogan, their 'super-radical declaration to the effect that a revolutionary situation is already present in a number of great capitalist countries and there is, therefore, no need to carry on economic struggles since at the given moment, only revolutionary struggles are on the order of the day."

So-it was the Communist Opposi tion that was raving about "the oncoming revolutionary wave" all along? States nor France is it possible to speak seriously of "the inability of that deprecated "economic struggles" the hourgeoisic to rule as usual" (the all along? Well, well, well. . . .

OF THE NEW COURSE

1. On March 5, 1931 the Daily Worker carried a front page appeal a revolutionary situation may be said that it "faces suspension to-morrow" 2. On March 5, 1931 the Freiheit carried a half-page scare appeal declaring that it was in immediate danger of suspension and that some "workers in the Freiheit had to go on the breadline for a meal. . ." (!)

3. On February 12, 1931 the na-tional office of the L.L.D. issued a letter declaring that; "Our whole Inernational Labor Defense organization is faced with the question SHALL WE SUSPEND THE ABOR DEFENDER?

4. A scheme is under way for the "consolidation" of the various Finnish Communist papers. The scheme means the liquidation of all Finnish papers but one and the publication of a "bulletin" in New York (instead of the mass paper, Etcenpain)



Manabendra Nath Roy

ly function in India, under present conditions. Confining its activities to legal limits, it is bound to deviate from the road of relentless revolutionary struggle. All avenues of legal activities must be explored; but the party organization must be built up under-ground. This disadvantageous position requires the party to penetrate all the existing legal mass organizations, and to create new ones as fields of its activities. Not only the workers and peasants, but al other oppressed and exploited classes must be organized for conducting the struggle for the freedom of their immediate grievances. By assuming a leading part in this struggle the rev olutionary party will be firmly rooted in the large masses of the population. But the first step should be the creation of a leading cadre, firm in conviction, clear of vision, compact in organization, united in action and unshaken in determination. Let your group become this cadre. That should be your logical line of advance, if you adopted the revolutionary program with full knowledge of its revolutionary significance.

Sixty Years After the Paris Commune

Commune and International

by N. Lenin

On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the Paris Commune, we publish, for the first time in English, the most important paragraphs of an article by N. Lenin entitled: The Paris Commune and the Tasks of the. Democratic Dictatorship. In spite of he fact that—or perhaps precisely because—this article was written in the course of the historical polemic with the Mensheviks as to the question of the participation of the Soc ial-democrats in a revolutionary provisional government, the article has great permanent value as an estimation of the Commune and of the relations between the Commune and the First International.

-THE EDITOR.

Engels' introduction to the third edition of Marx's Civil War in France ends with the following words:

"The German philistine has late ly been thrown once again into wholesome paroxysms by the ex-pression 'dictatorship of the pro-letariat'. Well, gentle sirs, would you like to know how this dictatorship looks? Then look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictator-ship of the proletariat."

But was it a pure proletarian diclatorship in its purely Social-democratic composition and in the character of its practical tasks? Not a all! The class-conscious proletaria (or rather: more or less class-conscious), i.e., the members of the Inter-FRUITS OF ONE YEAR national, were in the minority. The majority of the government consisted of representatives of the petty bourgeois democracy. The New-York Arbeiterzeitung, the organ of the International, declares in an article of

"The Commune was not the work of the International. The two were not at all identical. The members of the International adopted the

program of the Commune, but at the same time they pushed it far beyond its original bounds. They were its most conscientious and devoted defenders because they realized its significance for the working class.

The General Council of the International, under the leadership of Marx, approved these tactics of the Paris Federation of the International. In its manifesto it declared: "No matter where and under what form a class struggle takes place, the members of our Association must be in its front ranks." Only, our precursors, the members of the International, had no intention of fusing with the Com-mune. They never for a moment ceased defending their own, purely proletarian, class organization. The historian Eck writes: "The general Council of the International immediately took steps to assure the influence of its plenipotentiatries in the revolutionary government." As decisive eyidence the separate existence of the proletarian organization at the time of the participation of its representatives in the Commune, the following notice may serve:

"The coming Saturday, May 20, there will take place a special session of the Federal Council of the International Workers Association. The members of the Commune, belonging to the International, are invited to attend. They will make a report on the position they have taken in the Commune and what are the causes and foundation of

special session.

"The International Workers As-

The Left Wing In The Workmen's Circle

OUR TASKS ON THE W.C. TODAY

by Ben Lifshitz

wing at the present time is there- parison between the building of Socfore most imperative, requiring the ialism in the Soviet Union, the grad-maximum energy to turn the dissat-ual improvement of the standard of sfaction of the membership into the masses and the latest proposal channels along the lines of the class of Snowden ("Socialist" minister!) struggle issues in the American labor to cut the wages of the English workiovement.

A Program of Struggle

At the National Nominating Conforence the left wing presented in the very brief time allowed for discussion a clear-cut program based upon issues which are of paramount mportance to the membership of the Vorkmen's Circle.

1. All tendencies in the W.C., irrespective of the political views, shall This demand gives us at the present time the possibility of mobilizing large sections of the membership because at no time in the history of the Workmen's Circle was the leadership so much dominated by the most reactionary wing of the Jewish and American abor movement as it is today.

2. We must initiate and develop movement in the W. C. branches and in the organization as a whole to. adopt resolutions for unemployment nsurance and relief, pointing out that since the question of unemployment nsurance affects the whole working lass it is necessary that the W. C inite with all other workers organizations fighting for unemployment insurance and relief.

3. The great issue of the protec-tion of the foreign-born must be raised. We must connect this issue with the recent report of the Fish Committee. We can point out very clearly that the Fish Committee report really aims not only at the Communists but at the entire labor movement, and that the foreign-born are he first to be hit.

Recognition and Defense of the Soviet Union

4. We must initiate immediately a movement for the recognition and de-fense of the Soviet Union. The Socialist Verband-Forward clique is doing everything possible to mobilize the C. branches for the anti-Soviet movement. In connection with this issue we should sharply criticize the point of view of some of the progressives that are asking for "tolerance" to the Soviet Union while they are carrying thru the "experiment". We must point out, as was done at the National Nomination Conference by the left wing delegates, that in the

(Concluded from last issue) | Soviet Union Socialism is being The revival of the militant left built. We must bring in here the coming class and to worsen the conditions generally in order to maintain capitalism. We must also point out the way the Soviet state is solving the prob lem of the former oppressed nationalities including the Jews and compare it with the conditions of these nationalities in the capitalist countries. Support the Left Wing in the Unions

5. We must continue the struggle that the left wing always carried on be represented on all legislative and executive committees of the W. C. to support the militant progressive groups in the labor unions that are fighting for transforming the unions into weapons of class struggle At no time in the history of the action, partly as a result of its own labor movement did the trade union mistakes and of its exaggerated magburocracy so openly betray the in- nanimity. The Commune fell. . . . the terests of the working class as they Communards were destroyed, butchdo today. And yet the leadership of ered. the W. C. supports and actually places the entire organization at the disposal of the most reactionary officialdom in the trade unions.

Fraternal Societies and Unions

fused to split away from the mass the borrowing of the phrase International Workers Order to re- of the proletariat and peasantry. main at work in the shops of the I.L. Proletaryi, No. 8 G.WU., and even in open shops, July 4, 1905. how can they now continue the impossible line of separating the activities in the fraternal organizations

Party and the left wing from the izing the left wing forces in the W.C., masses is being continued. The split it is necessary for the left wing at in the Jewish fraternal organizations; the present moment to repel any atis only to be used as a base for fur-tempt at new splits in the workers ther carefully prepared splits in organizations. The National Executive Hungarian, Lithuanian Czecho-tive Committee of the International slovak, Russian and Croatian fratern- Workers Order is doing everything al organizations for the purpose of possible at the present time to draw 'unifying" the split-offs with the In- out of the Workmen's Circle what

ternational Workers Order. ations, will be most disastrous for policy. In a number of left wing the Communist movement, These tens the mercies of the reformists, priests the Soviet Union.

sociation adopted at its special session of May 20, the following decision: Having heard the report of its members who are also members of the Commune, the meeting declares their conduct as fully loyal and decides to request them to con-tinue to defend with all means in their possession the interests of the working class and also to strive to maintain the unity of the Commune for the sake of a strengthened struggle against the Versall-lese. The meeting also recommend-ed the acquisition of full publicity for the sessions of the Commune and the repeal of paragraph 3 of the manifesto which is not compatible with the right of the people to control the activities of its executive power-in the given case, the Committee of Public Welfare." At this meeting there were six nembers of the Commune-the absence of three others was excused.

This is not the place to tell the story of the Commune or the role of the members of the International in it. It is only necessary to say that in the Executive Committee there was one. Internationalist, in the Finance Commission, three; in the Military Com-mission, two; in the Commission of Public Safety, two; in the Labor Com-mission, five. In the elections of April 16 a few more members of the International were elected into the Commune but in the Commune there were also many outspoken enemies of the International.

It is quite clear that when Engels the differences in the Commune, called the Commune the dictatorship Admission to the session will be by of the proletariat, he had in mind the membership card." participation, and the ideologically An equally interesting document is leading participation, of the repre-the decision of the above-mentioned sentatives of the proletariat in the revolutionary government of Paris.

> Was the aim of the Commune a emplete Socialist transformation? In the famous manifesto of the General Council, unquestionably written by Marx, it is said: "The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economic foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule." And then it adds:

"The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They had no ready-made utopias to introduce by decree. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation and, along with it, that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending. . . . they will have to pass thru long struggles, thru a series of historical processes transforming cir-cumstances and men. The Com-mune did not strive after the realization of ideals: it aimed to set free the elements of the new so ciety with which the old collapsing bourgeois society itself is preg-

All the measures taken by the Comnune, all its social legislation, assumed a practical and not a utopian character. The Commune actually realized what we today call the "minimumrogram of Socialism."

It is well known that the Commune did not succeed in overcoming the re-

It appears to us that these few historical facts teach us something. They teach us in the first place that the participation of the representatives of the Socialist proletariat along with the petty bourgeoisie in a revolution-It was always the unanimous opin- ary government is quite permissible ion of the entire C.P. leadership that from the point of view of principle, the struggle in the workers fraternal and in certain conditions absolutely organizations is closely bound up with obligatory. These facts show us that the development of the revolutionary the real tasks that the Commune was forces in the reformist unions and able to accomplish were in the beginwith the growth of the existing "left ning primarily the realization of the democratic and not the Socialist dicwing" unions.

The present leadership, which has tatorship—the carrying thru of our narrowed the "revolutionary unions" "minimum-program." Finally these to small sects and actually wiped out facts remind us that to learn from the left wing in the reformist unions, the Paris Commune does not mean has dubbed all workers who are to be imitating its errors but rather folfound in the reformist unions as "sec- lowing the lines of its practical steps al-fascists" and the workers who re- which pointed out the right road. Not workers fraternal organizations as mune" nor the blind repetition of its 'scabs". With the present "new turn" every slogan is our task-but the apof the Party leadership on the ques- propriation of such programmatic and tion of "continuing" the work in the practical slogans which correspond to reactionary unions, with their policy the situation in Russia today and in the present dressmakers strike of which are formulated in the phrase: allowing hundreds of members of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship

from the line in the trade unions? In order to carry on successfully The "new line" of isolating the the work of crystallizing and mobile they term the "second line trenches", The policy of drawing out the left that is, those left wing workers who ving from these fraternal organiz-did not follow the sectarian splitting he Communist movement, These tens branches they are now trying to thousands of workers whom the effect further splits. We must see to left wing thus deserts will be left to it that not one member leaves the W.C. With redoubled efforts must we and other reactionaries, who will util- strengthen and build the left wing ize these organizations unhampered in the reformist workers fraternal against the workers here and against organizations in order to mobilize the membership for the revolutionary class struggle.

The Economic Week

Most economists are now agreed that the recent talk of revival is unfounded and that tangible evidence of expanding activities is not generally visible. The loudest optimists are now shifting their revival prophecies to the Spring. Some look to next winter. The A. F. of L. survey admits that "unemployment will last on at nearly its present level for several months and will be a serious problem for the rest of the year." The farmer's income

has already fallen by over 20%. The downward price trend contin-

ues. The stock market is at best irregular-going from brisk rise to sharp breaks. January exports fell heavily, especially to Europe, the best market. Electric power production dropped badly last week to a new low level-5.6% in a week. In the first two months building construction in Manhattan fell 14%. Steel production continued its slow seasonal increase to 59.9% in comparsion with 57.8% a week ago but as against 93.1% the corresponding week of last year. The average daily pig iron output for Feb-

ruary showed slightly more than the usual seasonal gain, but it was 40% below the 1930 level and the poorest February in nine years, International finance capital remains disturbed over the great volume of gold held by the Blink of France-\$2,180,000,000 as against the \$3,094,000,000 of the U.S. Federal Reserve System. French capital is making big loans to its foreign satellites to counteract a credit crisis occasioned by the gain of over a half billion dollars gold in one year.

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"NUMBER 31921"

THE working class in the United States is living under the pale of one of the worst crimes committed against any labor movement in the world. The fifteen years of Mooney's imprisonment in the San Quentin dungeon are fifteen years of shame and degradation for every member of the working class who has a corpuscle of red blood in him. The outrageous frame-up against Mooney never was and is not today a crime against Mooney as an individual, as a person, but against Brother Mooney as a valiant fighter for the working class. And at this time, while the imperialist war preparations are white-hot, it is especially important to recall that Mooney was first sent to his living death because of his militant opposition to the last imperialist war.

Brother Mooney is paying with his blood, with his life, because the protner mooney is paying with his blood, with his life, because the of the C. I. These theses are in op-capitalist class sees in him a symbol of that fighting class-consciousness, position to the current slogan of the of that militancy, which, if logically developed, can lead only to the overthrow of the capitalist system. Brother Mooney is today behind the contrary, these theses and the prebars because the American working class has been misled, betrayed, and paralyzed by the most corrupt labor officialdom in the history of the world.

The history of the Mooney case is the history of the American labor movement in all its weakness, its moments of inspiring militancy, its traitorous leadership, its divided ranks, its lack of revolutionary traditions, policies and guidance. Every working man and working woman who has the slightest self-respect should welcome the splendid blow again struck by Brother Mooney for his class in his brilliant pamphlet "Labor Leaders" Betray Mooney", This burning exposure of the role played by the Greens, the Wolls, the Scharrenbergs, and the entire American labor officialdom, as the decisive force in keeping Mooney and Billings in jail, marks a big forward step not only for the victims of California employing class but for the entire working class.

Mooney could not have said more instructive and truthful words than: "Our struggle for freedom is inextricably bound up with the whole question of the future of the American workers . . . Out of the present leadership, which is thoroly corrupted, no fundamental progress can be expected. That must proceed from the rank and file of the labor movement. . . . These lieutenants of Capital masquerading as labor leaders should be exposed; they are the worst enemies of a real organized lowing countries are represented by labor movement. It is our duty to help expose culpability. They are our worst foes. They are the foes of all militant workers.'

This is a clarion call to the entire working class. We are glad to see that Brother Mooney understands the treacherous role of the A. F. of L. burocrats. Every class-conscious worker will likewise greet the recognition by Mooney that mass meetings and mass demonstrations of the workers are the most effective means for forcing the strikebreaking government to release him and Billings. It is particularly inspiring to note the realization of Mooney that so far the most telling blow for his freedom has been landed by the revolutionary workers of Russia when they demonstrated before the American embassy as a citadel of reaction, as the symbol of a fraudulent "democracy" whose fruits are the jailing of Mooney, the imprisonment of the Centralia workers, the clubbing and starving of the unemployed and the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

No worker can or should be at ease until Mooney and Billings are freed. Keeping Mooney and Billings in jail, the capitalist class and its lieutenants in the labor movement are heaping insult upon injury upon the whole working class. The honor of the working class as a class and its most fundamental interests are at stake here. To smash the prison gates barring Mooney from our fighting ranks against the bosses will be a big step towards breaking the chains of the Wall Street exploiters.

"Number 31921" is an historical symbol for the American working class -of the weakness and failures of yesterday and today and its potential dynamic power which alone will bring its victory tomorrow. Every worker must answer the great cail of Mooney. The shame and crime forced chief paper, Folkets Dagblab. But upon our Brother Mooney, upon our whole class, must be wiped out. It we were too pessimistic. We actually should have been done long ago. It is not too late,

nould have been done long ago. It is not too late.

"Number 31921" is a challenge and a warning. We must heed this ple ("loyalites") have on their own warning. We must meet this challenge. On to the job—a militant fight admission no more than between 3for the freedom of Mooney and Billings, for the freedom of all class war prisoners! On with this fight which is part and parcel of our fight for the most vital interests of our class!

"THERE IS NO TYPHUS IN RUSSIA"

IN his dispatch of March 6, 1931 Walter Duranty, the New York Times correspondent, discusses the health of the Russian masses. And summing up he says the following: "There is now no typhus in Russia,"

These words indicate the profundity of the revolution that has taken place in Russia. No more typhus in Russia! To any one acquainted with the social history of Russia before the revolution this will sound almost unbelievable. Typhus was always the "black plague" of the Russian people, the dread scourge that destroyed tens of millions. Doctors and "social have some influence their organizaworkers" stood baffled before it because they dared not call into question tion has been rapidly declining while idly losing its vital contacts with the the fundamental social conditions that exposed the people to the ravages of ours is growing. one international medical and hygienic congress, the "problem of typhus in a national conference for the unem out which its leading role is merely typhus and made any effective defense against it impossible. At more than Russia" was declared to be "insoluble"!

Then came the revolution—and years of civil war and famine, years of trade union movement. Together blockade and intervention—years of suffering and misery. It is now less with these people we formed a central than ten years that the Russian masses have had the opportunity to cagage in peaceful social construction on a new basis. And in this brief period the Soviet power has accomplished what the "omnipotent autocracy" could not (and would not) accomplish in decades!

This is a "miracle" indeed. But it is a miracle that is taking place every day in the Soviet Union. It is a miracle accomplished by the inexhaustide power of the Soviet workers and farmers engaged in building a world

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THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Materials and Documents from the International Conference of the Communist Opposition, Held in Berlin, Dec. 16-18, 1930

Communist Opposition. The Confer-ence issued the following main docu-ment: An Appeal to the Communists for publication; the third is published

of the International Conference of the munist Opposition, and a Resolution maries of the reports and discussion

With this issue we begin the publi- and the workers of the world, a draft below. At the same time we are also eation of the material and documents of a Platform for International Compublishing copious extracts and sumat the Conference.

THE EDITOR

The Resolution on the Alsatian Question

The Alsatian Committee, set up by the Conference and consisting of Comrades Lovestone (America), Flyg (Sweden), Mandel (Switzerland), Schreckler (Alsace), Brandler and Frank (Germany) proposes the following the Conference of Soviet Supported if they pledge themselves to a minimum program of daily demands of a social character corresponding to the concrete situation. In lowing directives for the working out imperialism is illusory. of a program of action of the Communist Party of Alsace (Opposition): 1. Attitude to the National Question.

a) In the national question the CPA (O) stands for the standpoint of the theses of the Second Congress official Party: Soviet Alsace. On the vailing political situation necessitate the slogan of the full right of selfdetermination, including the right of

The slogan of "Soviet Alsace" neans that the decision of the national character of the Soviet republic is dready determined. According to the Opposition always appears with its clerical legislation" in Alsace but the situation in which the revolutionary own ticket. In the preferential ballot demand is: separation of church and decision will be made, the Commun- or in the second elections and in the state and separation of church and ists will be for the integration of Al- communal elections we propose the school.

(b) The Official Party today rejects

the support of national partial demands. The Communist Opposition on the contrary supports them, thus agreeing with the former tactics of the Communist International. It supports them even when it does not raise them itself, as for example, cultural and administrative autonomy. The Communist Opposition calls for the striking out of all expenditures for French militarism; it calls for the struggle against border fortification; separation from France, tied up with it supports all attempts directed the propaganda of the Soviet dicta- against French militarism (the class enemy at home).

2. Election Tactics.

the first vote in municipal elections the Opposition also appears with inthe Opposition also appears with in their words of appreciative praise, breadlines, dependent lists; in the second voting they pale into insignificance when The "Gay it may appear with a joint list for a program of daily demands. The Communist Party (Opposition) must place before itself the task of winning by means of concrete daily demands on the national question in its program the national question in its program early critical essays, since Lenin's the lights go out, in the cold gray and especially in its election program, famous articles on Tolstoi, since Plek- light of the early morning, a cheap, the leadership of the nationalist opposition. Such demands are not only the struggle for the full right of selfdetermination but also demands which mobilize concretely the non-proletarian toiling strata against big capitalist exploitation.

3. Church and State. The aim of the Communist Opposi-In the first ballot the Communist tion is not the introduction of "non-

The Opening of the Conference

(Germany) who declared:

"Comrades! I hereby declare the International Conference of the Communist Opposition open and greet the delegates who are here. The foldelegates: Sweden, America, Switzerland, Czecho-slovakia, Norway, Germany, Alsace-Lorraine (France). . The Austrian and Italian Opposinor could the Finnish comrades, for legal and financial reasons . . .

"The International Conference was made necessary thru the growing consolidation of the various Oppositions crisis in the Communist International . . . It was above all our American

umber 16 by Comrade H. Brandler an international scale. We do not place before ourselves the aim of founding a new International; on the contrary, our object is to restore to health the Communist movement and the Comintern and to discuss ways and means of doing so.

"We propose the following order of business as already submitted to the various groups: (1) Reports from the tion comrades could not send delegates various countries. It is most essential that on the basis of these reports we discuss and evaluate our experiences very carefully. (2) The draft of the International Platform. (3) International organization and inthat have arisen as a result of the formation questions. (4) The German

The Conference was opened on Dec. | sible cooperation and coordination on | Conference another day. "I propose that we now elect a presidium for the Conference". TITTEL (Germany): "I propose

the following presidium. Flyg (Sweden), Levestone (America), Brandler (Germany)." This was agreed upon. It was decided to determine on the third day whether the Russian ques-tion would be taken up. It was also

decided that Lovestone should prepare the report on the Russian ques-The order of the reports was determined as follows: Sweden, Finland, America, Switzerland, Italy, Alsace, Czecho-slovakia, Norway, Ger-

comrades who urged the convening of the Russian question should be tak- that discussion should take place this Conference in order to make pos- en up provided we can extend the jointly on all reports.

From the Reports and Speeches of the Delegates

intern-people would probably take with them half of the Party; we believed also that they would take with them half of the circulation of our 4,000 members in their party. They have established a paper of their own which has a circulation of about 4,000 copies. Our paper has a circulation of 20,000 copies on the average, with 26,000 on Saturdays. Our most recent and most difficult test was the elections in October 1930. In these elec-tions we participated in more districts thain formerly and registered a big

"The Comintern-people are strong only in Norbotten, where they have taken over the district organization.

together with the syndicalists and the committee for the unemployed. The entire Social-democratic press agitated against this conference and urged the trade unions to refuse to send delegates. In spite of this there were over 175 trade unions were represent-

THE WORKERS FOR STRUG-GLE AGAINST AMERICAN CAPITALISM?

11 o'clock morning

McKINLEY SQUARE GARDEN 1260 Boston Road—Bronx SPEAKERS:

BEN GITLOW in English BEN LIFSCHITZ in Jewish

Admission Free

FLYG (Sweden) reports:

"We have already submitted a writ
"We have already submitted a writ
"The full word was the smear to the sillen-people isolated themselves even more than before. They attempt-

we nave already submitted a written report to which I now refer. For over a year now, since November 1929; we have been working as an independent party. When the split took place, we believed that the Comitten and trade union with the syndicalists and trade union with the syndical s

(Continued in the next issue)

Problems of the Crisis

THE CRISIS AND REVOLUTION

by Will Herberg

(Continued from Page 3) official labor leaders or by the self-unfortunately missing: "the ability of annihilation of Communist influence the revolutionary class to carry out among the masses; a deeper and more revolutionary mass action strong objective reasons seems to be required. enough to overthrow the old govern- In his autobiography Trotsky ventures ment. . ." This "subjective" factor is an explanation which deserves serious to a large extent dependent upon how consideration. He says: successfully the political party of the proletariat fulfills its role as revolutionary vanguard. Under the inspir-But it is interesting to see that in this ation of the present un-Leninist district and in another in which they course of the Comintern, however, the Communist Party of Germany is raporganizations of the masses and its "Last Saturday and Sunday we had fighting leadership over them withployed. We organized this conference a phrase. To a great extent for this reason the tremendous increase in the political activity of the masses is manifested in a sensational swing to Fascism, to the extreme right. Disillusioned with "things as they are" (typified by the "moderate" bourgeois parties and Social-democracy) the masses go not to Communism but to the hopelessness and despair of ed at the conference, most of them Fascism. Such is the living realitybeing reformist unions. Among the quite different from the verbal concoctions of Varga or Martynoff.

And In the United States

In some countries (the United States, for example) it is impossible dered very greatly the inevitable proto speak of a tremendous increase (or any real increase at all!) of the class action of the masses; the basis for a radical development however, for a general leftward movement, exists and sporadic manifestations appear from time to time. And yet, by and large, the severe economic crisis here pussivity of the masses and an ab-sence of any rise in the labor movemovement in the face of the most

"After a period of big battles and defeats, a crisis has the effect of depressing rather than arousing the workers confidence in their power and demoralizes them politan industrial revival can close the ranks of the proletariat, pour fresh tion, blood into its veins, restore its confidence in itself and make it capable of further struggle." Whatever may be the objective fac-

tors at work, however, it is clear that the new tactics and methods of the capitalists and the completely procapitalist policy of the A. F. of L. of protest and unrest in the unions even before it manifestes itself, have been very important secondary factors in preventing the potentialities from becoming realities. At the same time, the policy of self-isolation and self-discrediting of the Communist Party of the United States under its; cess of the breaking away of important strata of workers from the influence of the reactionary labor officialdom. All of these factors are thoroly interwined.

It has not been my purpose to pre-sent any definitive theory as to the is accompanied by an unexampled relations between economic crisis, general political crisis and revolutionary situation. All I have attempment or any sharp swing to the left ted to do is to show the shallowness (unexampled when compared with the of the "simple" ultra-left schemes so activity of labor in previous crises popular in the Comintern today and periods). The inactivity of the labor to call attention to the real complexity of the real problems facing us. acute unemployment yet seen is some- A discussion of these questions in the thing every Communist should ponder ranks of the Communist Opposition What is the reason for the general (the only place a real discussion can passivity of labor in the United take place today!) would certainly States in this period of economic be very useful from the viewpoint of crisis? It cannot merely be explained the ideological maturing of the world by the monumental treachery of the Communist movement.



ZUR LITERATURGESCHICHTE (On Literary History), by Franz Mehring. Two volumes: vol. 1, from Calderon to Heine; vol. 2, from Hebbel to Gorki. With an introduction by August Thalheimer. Soziologische Verlagsanstalt, Berlin. 1930.

It would be futile to attempt to depict the impression this work makes upon one who has hitherto known Mehring primarily at second hand or thru his more familiar books (Karl musical comedies, "fast" night clubs Marx, History of German Social-de- whose reputation for speed is based moracy). Mehring has certainly not on the rapidity with which they bust lacked enthusiastic admirers from the thru a bank roll, trashy Hollywood early days when Engels wrote so romances, "joy" that can be bought glowingly about his Lessing-Legende and sold and is utterly joyless, ugly down to the introductions of Fuchs top hats and flashy ermine wraps, and Thalheimer to the present work, pimps and panhandlers, jobless ac-But however fervid may have been tors and musicians, apple-vendors and compared with the immediate effect gay about it? The shabby, second of Mehring's "merely journalistic" hand buildings that will be torn down essays of literary criticism collected day after tomorrow? The flashing in the two volumes before us. Noth-lights lying about tooth paste and ing like it has been seen since Marx's tobacco and chewing gum? And when hanoff's brilliant exposition of the haggard, dreary, shabby, second-hand method of Marxism in the spheres of street—a wrinkled old hag, with the art and culture.

contributions to the Neue Zeit, cover- hope, and humanity, and love, for-ing a period of many years, touching ward-looking, and real gayety. upon the main literary currents in Germany from the eighteenth century to the twentieth, with an occasional notice of some foreign literary figures such as Calderon, Voltaire, Dickens, Ibsen, Gorki. But it would be absurd to conceive these articles, even the briefest, as merely biographical! or even biographical-critical ventures; each one is a living example of the dialectical materialism in the analysis finale—the crash dialectical materialism in the analysis finale—the crash of problems of art and literature. In this sense the significance of these articles extends far beyond the intrinsic significance of the subject matter itself: they become the vehicle of the living spirit of Marxism.

Mehring wielded the weapon of dimaterialism with unsuralectical passed brilliance. As with Marx and Engels themselves—Thalheimer notes line. in his introduction—the most instructive in Mehring is not primarily his direct remarks on the Marxist method but rather the admirable spectacle initiative group preparing the Conference was also of the opinion that shoud be asked after every report but ring is discussing the Shakespearecult in Germany, whether he is po-lemizing against the esthetic doctrin-airism that replaces social-historical categories by "purely esthetic" con-ceptions, whether he is describing the powerful effect of the 1848 revolution upon the subsequent development of German literature, whether he is analyzing the relation between the artistic creator and society, whether he is uncovering the petty bourgeois roots of the Scandinavian drama. whether he is illuminating the genesis and course of naturalism-we are profoundly conscious of the power of the weapon when wielded by a master worthy of it.

> the problems of historical-materialist est, most moral city in the world." esthetics (the nature of art, the relation of art to nature, the relation of city of vice and corruption, Jimmy form and contact, the relation of art Walker is leaving town on a month's to history and society), the problems vacation. Now if he'd add the police of the proletariat and art (art and force ,the judges and the Tammany the class struggle, the perspectives politicians. . . of "proletarian literature" before the revolution, the future of art and culture under Socialism), and finally the historical problems arising out of the attempts to give a materialist-dialectical analysis of the nature of artistic genius and the development of the artist in society. And the fact that the working class. It undermines these problems are not dealt with sothese problems are not dealt with so-to-speak directly (i.e., more or less banked \$500,000 in five years, Amerabstractly) but rather thru illustraically. Under such conditions only tion in life and history, only lends charm and conviction to the exposi-

Mehring's critical works are unknown in English. And yet it seems to me that a Marxist school of literary criticism can hardly arise and develop, not to speak of reaching matur ity, without a thore acquaintance with | Mehring's work, It seems to me also officialdom, which stifles every move that magazines like the New Masses and the Modern Quarterly could well afford to replace just a little of the and gangsters. dilletante trash and "proletarian" pretense that clutter up their pages by some modest translations of Meh ring's essays, especially the group collected under the head Esthetic Ex- his theory of stopping war by filling cursions. Even from old Mehring the jails with draft resisters. To Einsomething may be learned!

> How can we take leave of Mehring better than by repeating the glowing words addressed to him on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (February 27, 1916) by Rosa Luxemburg, his close friend:

"Now when the intellectuals of "Now when the intellectuals of bourgeois origin betray and desert not mine to give up," he explained. us to return to the fleshpots of "It belongs to my family. It's mine us to return to the fleshpots of the rulers, we look back at them only temporarily."

"Temporarily", is right! with a scornful smile: Go ahead! We have torn from the German bourgeoisie its last and best treas sure; we have deprived it of everything it had in spirit, talent and John D: character; we have Franz Meh- for the best."

XYZ



The Lights of Broadway

(Answer to a Fellow-Colyumist) "There's a broken heart for every light on Broadway." Such is the sentimental slush with which capitalism. surrounds its main stem, its showman's street—the great White Way. "Broadway is the heart of the world." What a heart! And how heartless! A street of shabby,tawdry

The "Gay White Way!" And what's paint and powder off. The fabled thousand and one nights on "Bagdad on the Hudson" are as a grain of The first two volumes in what will dust to a mountain compared with the ultimately be Mehring's collected gavety of a single evening stroll of works deal with literary history. They consist of over fifty articles, mostly mer boulevard of Moscow. There is

1932 Overnue

"Guns Sound Prelude For Chicago Primary"—headline in New York. Times. With such a prelude the "Chicago Symphony" should make the Napoleonic "1812 Overture" of Tchaikovsky sound like a Sunday School hymn. Such preludes suggest a motif unbounded fertility of the method of which can only be matched by a grand dialectical materialism in the analysis finale—the crash of American capi-

> Al Compone in the News After reading the fuss in the papers about Southern potlikker we can't get straight whether Capone is to be dunked in potlikker, crumbled in champagne, serve six months in Florida for contempt of court or be elected Mayor of Chicago for running a bread

"Happy Days Are Here Again" "Diamond Cutting Pick Up, Viewed" s Sign of Good Times"— Newspaper headline.

Whoopee! The unemployed are beginning to buy diamonds again.

Salt of the Sea Why Gandhi insisted on his one concession" in his betrayal of the truggle of the Indian masses is hard o understand, unless it was to rubsalt in their wounds. By his action, salt has been changed from a symbol of struggle to a symbol of betrayal.

But the mass struggle will sweep

beyond Gandhi and his salt fields till

sweeps the British rulers into the

Most Moral City in the World two volumes are innumerable yet they may all be grouped under relatively few heads, chief among which are determined," says be "in the heads, chief among which are determined, "in the heads, chief among which are determined," says be "in the heads, chief among which are determined, "in the heads, chief among which are determined," says be "in the heads, chief among which are determined, "in the heads, chief among which are determined," says be "in the heads, chief among which are determined, "in the heads, chief among which are determined," says be "in the heads, chief among which are determined, "in the heads, chie Our wisecracking Mayor thinks. As a first step in cleaning up the

The Modern Trend

Police now own their own speakeasies-what is known in economics as a vertical combination.

The Patrolman's Reward The police graft inquiry reveals ica is still the land of opportunity.

From Flat-Feet to High Finance

The next Horatio Alger novel will tell of the poor boy who became a cop and copped everything 🚾 sight. But when he had become wealthy and saved the mortgage on his poor old mother's blind pig and married the wise-cracking, spat wearing Mayor's daughter, he did not forget his humble origin and continued to wear plain-clothes and associate with bums

Einstein Develops New Field Theory .It's a damn sight easier to accept Einstein's theory of relativity than

stein the "social scientist", the best we can say is: "Cobbler, stick to your fourth dimension." Now it's up to the Duily Worker to discover that Einstein is a "social

Royal Alibi

Poor Alfonso says he'd like to ab-

Hope for the Jobless
A comforting thought on depression from that venerable skinflint,

"We can only be hopeful and hope Try that on your butcher.

--B.D.₩.