Fight Against Unemployment!

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

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

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

It is unquestionable that there is being ushered in a period of serious depression, the effects of which will be felt most by the workers. There is already visible a definite slackening in certain basic industries. This slackening will unquestionable be aggravated by the speculative crash on the Stock Exchange. Unemployment on a large scale is sure to follow and the large army of unemployed will be swelled. Automobile factories have already laid off tens of thousands of workers. The Ford factory alone has discharged 30,000. The radio factories are practically at a standstill. The big drop in car lendings has affected the railroad industry. The continued slack in the steel industry is becoming more noticeable. In spite of these developments big business is trying to psychologize the people of this country that industry is "sound at heart" and that the so-called "prosperity" is permanent. All of the capitalist agencies of public opinion are being utilized in this direction.

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

The speed with which the government and President Hoover in particular rushed to the assistance of Wall Street shows how completely the government is geared to big business. With whom did President Hoover first seek counsel on the economic situation? With Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of General Electric Co., Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Co., Julius Barnes, chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He conferred with the directorate of his own insurance company, the real rulers of the U.S. A.

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

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

These paragraphs are taken from the pamphlet THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A. that will be off the press later today. The pamphlet is an attempt to avoid to whitewash the situation in which the Party stands and to tell it as it is.

It is clear that against the widespread and deep-going revision of the line of Leninism which has thrown the whole Communist movement into confusion and contributed to the triumph of every true revolutionist, of every Communist to fight. But the problem is not exhausted with the formulation of the fundamental principles of our movement. If we want to fight, what shall be our perspectives in the fight are questions of primary importance which must be answered in clear and unambiguous terms.

Our struggle is not for the foundation of a "new" Party. There can be neither two Communist Parties in any one country. This was and is the view of the Comintern. Neither our Party nor any other can be faced with the task of organizing a "new" Communist Party when the hitherto existing Communist Party, for any reason or other, disappears as a Communist Party. When, in essence and in fact, it ceases to exist.

This, today, is not the case either in this country or in the Communist movement as a whole. The Communist International and the various Parties—in spite of the disastrous consequences of the crisis—are still Communist organizations, in the sense that they still stand upon the rock foundations of Communism (the Leninist theory of the State, the armed uprising, the proletariat dictatorship, the Soviet Power, etc.) On these questions we actually have no differences. Our differences are almost entirely concentrated on questions of the estimation of the present situation and of the fundamental principles of Leninist strategy and tactics. It is on these points that the dangerous deviations from Leninism on the part of the present PCF have taken place. Of course, there are differences of opinion as regards matters of policy, etc. But the fundamental principles of movement and the eventual loss of the Communist character of our Parties. But we are not in such a situation today and we should base neither our line of struggle nor our perspectives upon this contingency.

Base ourselves upon the actual situation in the Comintern and in our Party and upon a realistic analysis of the forces at work, we must declare that we reject the perspective of a "new" Party anywhere in that direction. Now as always our objectives remain: the winning and the saecig of the Party and the Comintern, the restoration of their Leninist line! What does the winning of the Party mean? Does winning our Party and converting the "new" leadership winning over the individuals who now compose the first and second layers of the Party apparatus, after the best functionaries in the Party have been expelled? Nonsense! Altho we do not by any means despise the possibility—and even the necessity—of winning over certain elements of the present leadership, we do not base ourselves upon such expectations. We do not build a new Party. We understand very well that the winning of the Party can only be accomplished thru the elimination from leadership of the bulk of those who today use their leading positions to destroy the Party. They have so completely isolated themselves by their unprincipledness in the eyes of the Party membership and of the revolutionary workers that a fundamental change in the line of the Party can only be accomplished thru the elimination of these elements. The winning of the Party means: the mobilization of the Party membership and the revolutionary workers for the overthrow of the "new leadership" and its destructive political and inner-Party course. This is our objective and our perspective. It remains unchanged—indeed it is strengthened by the event—by the unshakable appeal of the Party, by the mass expulsion of our own forces, by the whole campaign of terror and wrecking in the Party.
Revolutionary Age

Organ of the National Council of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A. (Majority Group)

BEN GITLOW, Editor
B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor


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EDITORIALS

THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

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

The past activities and policies of this "leadership" make it a foregone conclusion that the workers will not respond to this call. In what way has the "new leadership" demonstrated that it can really lead the masses of workers in the struggle for a new world? And, is not the revision of some of the basic principles of Leninism? Is it the opportunism sectarianism that characterizes its general policy? How many of the leaders in the recent campaigns? Is it in the tremendous "successes" in the recent campaigns of the Party? And the sequel of the expulsion of the Party of its historically-developed leadership and the best revolutionary fighters like Gittlow, Lovestone, Wolfe, Brentall, Dawson and others? It is also a fact that the propaganda and labor organization which the Party does not mechanically control. The Party is isolated from the masses. The workers today have no confidence in the Party leadership, no faith in its policies. The Party leadership knows this very well. It does not contemplate recruiting new members into the Party. A broad proletarian base for the Party would constitute a serious hindrance to the clique maneuverers which are essential to the Party as an instrument of the imperialist state to maintain its present leadership in control. It does not wish to have in the Party active revolutionists who cannot be terrorized to abandon views which they believe are correct. The no-frills policy of an influx of large numbers of proletarian revolutionists into the Party would compel it to begin all over again the campaign of expulsions which it has been carrying on against revolutionists in the Party since the arrival of the revisionist Address. Therefore the announcement of a membership drive by the Party leadership is nothing but another attempt to expel the most dynamic and destructive, and to "convince" the C.I. that there is "activ-

The C.P.-Majority group, as well as the bulk of the Party membership, would welcome the influx into the Party of new proletarian elements because that would at once add to the forces fighting for the line of Leninism. The influx of new members into the Party would strengthen the fighting power of the Party, it would give more self-confidence and courage to every worker and within classes. The battle in the Senate over the enactment of new law dominates the situation to the point. Senator Moses of New Hampshire, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee, has followed up the attack of Gran-

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LENIN: On the Basis of Facts

When a large establishment becomes a gigantic one, and, on the basis of accurately computed data, systematically establishes the supply of basic material to the extent of two-thirds to three-quarters of the total amount of this raw material which is indispensable to millions of people, when it systematically organizes the transportation of this raw material to the most convenient producers' centers, when one center directs all the successive processes of manufacture of this raw material up to the point when many manifold finished products, when the distribution of these products is being carried on, as a result of which the price of this product is raised in many millions of consumers (the distribution of oil in America and Germany by the big oil combines has shown), it is that we have to do with the socialization of production.

STALIN VERSUS STALIN

"Emerging from the fact of partial stabilization of capitalist conditions in the world there is an increasing wave of criticism of the Communist Party is to lay down a road to the masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses, to explore the mass organizations of the proletariat and to prepare the broad masses of the workers for the forthcoming revolutionary battles. "In the no faith in the internal forces of our revolution and soared at the partial stabilization of capitalism as a fact which may seal the doom of our revolution, they (the Trotsky Opposition) consider it possible to deny the fact of the partial stabilization of capitalism, consider the Brest settling as a symptom of the end of stabilization of capitalism. When, after all, it turns out that stabilization is a fact, they assert that it is possible to leap over these facts and by clamorous slogans demonstrate the revision of the tactics of the united front, the disruption of the trade union movement in the West, etc. But what does it mean to ignore facts, to ignore the objective progress of events? It means to abandon science and act on the basis of a priori hypothesis. This gives rise to adventurism in their policy."

These were the eloquent words of Comrade Stalin at the VII Plenum of the Ecci (December 7, 1926). The changes that have taken place in the political line and the leadership of the Communist International since then is most strikingly brought out by the fact that today this characteristic of the Trotskyites applies to the last position of Comrade Stalin in the line and policy of the Ecci under the leadership of Comrade Stalin himself.
The Results of the New York Elections

The results of the recent election campaign in New York present an alarming proof of the rapid loss in influence of our Party as a consequence of the operation of the false revolutionary opportunist-militant line forced upon it by the present leadership of the Communist International. A radical consequence of the Revolutionary Age has already dealt with the character of the campaign itself; it was not difficult to foretell the consequence, but no one could foretell the speed with which the cataclysm would come. The Party is driven into a corner and its strength is becoming ever more evident. Of course election returns are from being the only test of the success of a Communist campaign; but we must remember that such figures have always been regarded as barometers worthy of study. The New York figures are especially significant.

The first question we must raise is: Was there an objective basis for an increased Communist vote in the 1929 campaign on New York? Undoubtedly, yes! The following objective conditions were favorable to an increase in the Communist vote:

1. New York has recently been the arena of a series of bitter strikes in which the brutal strike-breaking role of the police and the courts was especially clear; 2. the offensive of the U.S. Department of Labor in attempting to register and penalize the foreign born workers in the Independent Blue Workers Union and to destroy the Union; 3. the campaign for and the establishment of the T.U.C.L.; 4. the campaign around the Gaston issues; 5. the rising sympathy for the U.S.R.S.F., especially crystallized in connection with arrival of the Soviet Film Delegation to the New York social center of the C.I., and more and more to the petty bourgeoisie and its development into the small and middle classes of the bosses; 6. the Stock Exchange crash and the general shadowing of confidence in the permanence and stability of American capitalism; 7. the war danger and the increasing pressure of rationalization upon the workers in New York City and the growing dissatisfaction resulting therefrom. These issues and campaigns were not utilized by the Party in such a way as to gain the maximum results in the campaign.

In view of these favorable conditions—which made themselves vividly felt in the campaign—the question arises: Were the results? The following table gives the vote of 1925, 1926, 1928 and 1929 for Greater New York including all counties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>C.P.</th>
<th>S.P.</th>
<th>S.R.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1,564</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>2,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1,963</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>2,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>2,524</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>3,051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>2,782</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>3,314</td>
</tr>
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How can this severe defeat of our Party and the complete reversal of relations between the C.P., S.P., and S.R.P. be explained? The gain in the S.P. vote is unquestionably to be traced to its programs of peace, to the fact that its labor relations with the two old parties, were swung into support of the Socialist candidate. Important contributing factors are the rapid transition of the S.R.P. into a party of small business men and professionals which drew to it thousands of petty bourgeois vote away from the Democratic and Republican parties (especially in view of the Stock Exchange crash and the growing discontent of the middle class elements), the publicity maneuvers of leading capitalist press organs against La Guardia, and the increasing strength of the right wing unions and of the right wing in the mass organizations. But the Socialist Party as a whole, and its missile election campaign our Party found itself absolutely incapable of winning over any of the thousands of workers who in 1928 for the first time in New York deserted the Socialist Party for the New York city elections. It could not even maintain its own vote. It is not unlikely that even the general vote in favor of S.R.P. is due to the fact that many workers who have in the past and would ordinarily vote Communist turned away from the Party in the direction of this S.R.P.

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

1. 1925 was a by-election year in which our Party had no city-wide candidates.
2. This vote was for comptroller because Comrade Gillow, ex-officio state comptroller, was not a candidate for the post of the ballot because of his record as a class war prison officer.
The Decay of Trotskyism

By Will Herberg

TIR Trotskyism movement all over the world is in a state of crisis. It is not only a political movement everywhere and organizational disintegration is already in an advanced stage. This crisis reflects the growing crisis in the Comintern; it is in fact the other side of the same medal. The forces of disintegration of the official Trotskyist movement come from two directions. In the first place, Trotskyism is rapidly being deprived of its political platform. The revision which the principles of Leninism and the line of the Comintern are now undergoing can only be continued on a political basis for the whole crisis in the Comintern—is taking place in the direction of some special ideas of the Trotskyists. No one accepts this outstanding fact better than Trotsky himself. In his Open Letter of August 25 Trotsky writes:

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

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

"Due to its revisionist and sectarian policies the Party lost considerable influence in the mass organizations and unions (Workers' Clubs, Iron Workers, Bakers, Window Cleaners, Tenants Leagues, U.C.W.W., etc., etc.). The Party failed to utilize the various local and national issues and campaigns for our election campaign in the Bolshevik manner. The nomination of Weinsteine, who has neither the confidence of the Party nor any roots in the masses certainly did not help the campaign. Finally the organizational parallelities which the Party has shown itself to be the failure of the Party apparatus and machinery in the campaign and air meetings, Daily Worker, shop bulletins, factory gate meetings, etc.).

"Under such circumstances is it any wonder that the Party proved absolutely unable to take advantage of the good objective conditions and favorable objective situation?"

"The Daily Worker is experiencing a crisis of growth... that is the way in which a Bolshevist Party grows:

"Success in the struggle for a Bolshevist Communist Party (as opposed to the daily newspaper) is certain."

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

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

The Situation in the Shoe Workers Union

By Sidney Jonas

Our Union is today facing a battle against the triple alliance of the bosses, the government and the reactionary A.F. of L. A large part of our membership is now locked out and the, effective against us is becoming more and more vicious. The situation demands an immediate and vigorous action. The Conferences of Labor (Congress of Labor, Labor and the Workingmen's Congress) was held in August, the National Conference of Labor and this Conference has not had one meeting. As a result of this inactivity many of the national organizations represented at that Conference have since been disbanded.

These narrow sectarian policies found the Union absolutely incapable of operating. The goyevskin-lah—Bee and Shoe (A. F. of L.) all effective. Even today, months after the creation of the new letter, our leadership has no policy for resisting this attack.

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

1. that we call a mass meeting of shop workers in order to expose the registration and the letter of the Department of Labor.
2. that we call special shop meetings for workers of the shop.
3. that we issue a leaflet on this attack.
4. that our workers render Biedenkamp's return from his vacation and ever carried out.

Under the guidance and inspiration of the present leadership of the Party they show energy and resourcefulness to defy the registration of all of those who dare to disagree with these policies. All available forces in our organization shall be mobilized to effectively resist this attack upon us. Our great fight now confronting us demands the following policies:

1. that our Union be democratically controlled not only in theory but in practice.

2. that the Shop Delegates Conference shall be no longer be a paper form but shall become a real fighting organ of our organization.

3. that the Executive Committee shall be composed mainly of active fighters from the shops.

4. that members of the Joint Council representing open shops shall really be those who work in open shops and who are fighting to organize these shops. We must adopt a Constitution that includes all of the above.

5. that the strike we have on hand be mass strikes, and the entire membership shall be called to participate actively.

6. that a membership meeting shall be called at once and firmly distributed among all shop workers.

7. that general mass meetings be called for organization purposes.

8. that organization committees should be established in the open shops to work in the bosses that they cannot smash our union.

Support "Revolutionary Age"
THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By Jay Lovestone

O NLY the wilfully blind can today deny that there is a crisis in the Communist International. Only the ignorant or politically illiterate can mistake its full extent and gravity.

The crisis is worldwide. It is being reviewed on a world scale. The leadership of our Communist World Party has never been so unified and unappeasable as it is today. Deprived of the base of the leadership of the C.P.R.U., its influence has been so narrowed.

The Old Guard, consisting of the closest Bolshevik associates of Lenin, has been defeated politically and ideologically. The revolution of the international revolutionary movement and the author of the Program of the Communist International, being the last renegade member of the old Bolshevik generation, the flower of the revolutionary proletariat, the associates of Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Mehring, and Zetkin, almost the entire Spartakusbund have already been expelled or expelled, though the party has not yet acted in this way, about both in membership and in mass influence. In France, some of the best militants (Vaulioud-Coutiour, etc.) have been removed and removed, and the entire leadership of the C.G.T.U., the Red Trade Federation, is in danger of disintegration.

The membership and influence of the Party are falling fast. In Czecho-Slovakia we see a picture of real disaster. The revolutionary core of the C.P.S.U. has lost more than 18 months. The Red Trade Federation and all mass organizations have split. The best Party leaders, Ljubl, Mitka, etc., the traditional "lefts," have been expelled with tens of thousands of others under the guise of "flying the right-wingers" and the Party given over to the most reactionary, right-wing influence (Krivolik, Smidoviz, Zapolski) in alliance with new incompetent elements. In England, despite the most favorable objective conditions, the Party has lost membership so far in the last nine months that a diminution of the Party of more than 25% the disastrous results of the last general elections and the impotence of the Party in the trade unions are further evidence of the situation. In the U.S., the situation is worse. The crisis that has already shown itself in the expulsion by the C.P.S.U. of precisely that leadership (Kilsham, Samuels, Fyling), that was able to defeat Hoglund, increase tremendously the membership and prestige of the Party, and win support of the overwhelming majority of the members.

In Norway, the Party has steadfastly maintained its ranks and a state of growing paralysis in the Party as a whole. A majority of the Party leadership and a majority of the Party leadership in all Party organs and Party organs and are disappearing as factors in the labor movement. In Italy the joining of a new form of the Bordiga line upon the Party has lead to the expulsion of the majority of the Party leadership (Lando, Marini) to a state of growing paralysis in the Party as a whole. In Austria, the Party is no more than a few leaders, some of whom have been expelled and others officially liquidated. Thwart the whole Communist conditions are the same.

The disastrous consequences of the "new course" in our Party—opportunist sectarianism and isolation on the one hand, and Party wrecking on the other—are too well known to need emphasis. To "fight the right crisis" is to fight at a time when the revolutionary situation, after a long period of stagnation, has developed, and to a state of growing paralysis in the Party as a whole. In Austria, the C.P. is no more than a few leaders, some of whom have been expelled and others officially liquidated. Thwart the whole Communist conditions are the same.

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The Truth About the “Corridor Congress”

WHAT really happened at the VI Congress? What is the truth about the “corridor congress”? Up to now this question has been talked about and written about at length but it has not been subjected to close and careful study. This is because it is an extremely complicated question and because till now it has been necessary to take account of the immediate political situation in the Comintern. The question must now be studied in its true aspects.

The VI World Congress

This was still the situation at the VI World Congress (July 1928). Comrade Bukharin was the reporter on both the international situation and the question of the “corridor congress.” He first time any leader of the CI made two major reports at a World Congress or an Eci Congress, he was asked to report on questions of such importance that were to arise at the Congress naturally came up in the Russian delegation. The discussion of the international situation centered around the questions of the third period. The viewpoint proposed by the third period was not that of the Comintern but of the K. The Stalin was vigorously attacked by Leonidov who put forward the viewpoint of the CI in opposition to that of the K. After a very stormy session the Russian delegation endorsed Bukharin’s viewpoint at the beginning of the K. Stalin was not yet ready to come into the open and so Leonidov’s viewpoint was adopted—of course with some modifications. Here the position of comrade Bukharin agitator and critical of the K. He was supported by Bukharin and was therefore endorsed by the CI after the CI delegation has been elected and had the Comintern viewpoint adopted. In the German delegation there was a sharp debate on the question of the third period. The leaders of the majority of the German delegation (Thalhammer, Neumann, etc.)—the loyal supporters of the revisionist Stalin line—came out openly against the conception of the third period and officially officially rejected it. It was only after pressure was applied by Stalin—those close to him who judged this action to be a purely theoretical order the CI was far from united and that there was some sort of under-cover connection between him and the Lominitsch-Schacht group.

At the IX Plenum of the Eci (February 1928) the same situation was repeated. The same tendency to revisionism was more marked, not only among some of the CI leaders (Thalhammer, Neumann). Stalin’s position was even more ambivalent than before.

At the July 1928 Plenum of the CI (just before the VI World Congress) the situation was far more developed. Lominitsch continued his attack on Bukharin’s report (which was the line of the CI and the CI) and extended his polemics to a general international scale. For instance, he denounced the then American party leadership (the present C.P.-Majority group) as a “false” and no longer Bolshevik. A Russian-Filipov, repudiated Lominitsch’s attack upon the American party and Lominitsch’s viewpoint rejected as “false.” This view characterized the previous party leadership as the “most left” viewpoint of the CI. Comrade Bukharin (who represented the line of the CI and the CI) and the CI’s attitude toward the “corridorial congress” was in existence as the expression of this opposition was already evident in the CI. Bukharin argued that one could only be saved from the struggle in the CI-P.S.U. and the CI’s line on the “corridor congress” was that there was no need for a struggle because it was not necessary for the workers to draw the line that we can and that to destroy the entire line of the CI and the CI was all.

(Concluded in the next issue.)

SOON OFF THE PRESS

The first pamphlet dealing with the nature and roots of the present crisis in the Communist International.

The crisis in the Communist Party of the U.S. A.

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The Program of the T.U.U.

By Ben Gitlow

Program of the Trade Union Unity League should be a program of struggle against the working class organized, for militant struggle against their employers. It should provide for a program for immediate struggle against the bosses and their agents in the labor movements. It should tie up the immediate demands of the workers with the revolutionary demands of the proletariat.

This is not done by the Program of the T.U.U. It falls completely in its approach to the American workers. Those who work for us should be called upon to overthrow the capitalist system of the world. The program is a guide (not a correct one) to Comunists, the most conscious workers in the United States. It is not the program of the working class and not for the workers that must be won for the T.U.U.

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

The Mechanic Appeal to the Program

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

This mechanical approach to the T.U.U. Program is best illustrated by the part dealing with Mondain. Mondain is the admission to the American working class to the “corridorial congress” whose main task was to carry on a vicious underground agitation against the main line of the Congress and against its chief defendants (Bukharin, etc.,) and to prepare organizationally and politically for the time when the struggle would come out into the open. The “corridorial congress” absolutely poisoned the atmosphere of the Russian revolutionary movement and took a large step toward the establishment of a false position. The “corridorial congress” would have been a definite blow to the break between the CI and the CI, the Soviet trade union, and would have blocked the road to the workers for the CI. This can be no more clearly demonstrated than in the following quotation from the report and adopting the thesis of Comrade Bukharin, the “corridorial congress” was the line that we can and that to destroy the entire line of the CI and the CI was all.

The Abstractness of the Program—De Leonism

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

De Leonism, the essence of American opportunist necrocratsm, never worried about a living world union congress. Its program of “revolutionary industrial unionism” was blue print to serve under all conditions and for all times. This program is still held by the T.U.U. to be the program that serves no vital living mass movement. After all, it is not blue prints we are after but living, fighting movements.

False Estimation of American Imperialism

The Program of the T.U.U. is full of errors in its estimation of American imperialism. For example it states: "Child labor is still rampant in a country producing such valuable commodities that it cannot find markets to consume them.

In the first place this is absurd because child labor makes it possible for the American working class to produce. In the second place it holds that the contradiction of the domestic market is the reason for imperial war—a theory rejected by Lenin and fought by the Comintern. The facts as I have already stated disprove this. United States imperialism is driving its policy towards war on account of its very strength; on account of its ability to expand its markets for manufactured goods and finance capitalism is sharpening the antagonisms between it and its imperial rival.

False Theory of Rationalization

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

"As a result of the war and ore in urgent need of commodities of all kinds, the capitalist system can give them no work because it cannot find markets for the commodities they produce over what they receive in wages."

Precisely the opposite is the case of unemployment due to rationalization. The facts are the exact opposite. Germany and ore in urgent need of commodities of all kinds, the capitalist system can give them no work because it cannot find markets for the commodities they produce. The facts do not bear this out. The speed-up and mass production have created a large permanently unemployed army of workers precisely at a time when the home market expanded and rationalization is the result of increasing unemployment big unemployment during periods of the greatest production of commodities. The real capitalist plan to expand and rationalize is to increase unemployment by rationalizing the double attack of the workers.

The Imperialist Offensive Against the USSR.

Another gem is the following in the program:

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

Nothing could be more misleading and confusing. World capitalism is hostile to the Soviet Union, just as it is hostile to any imperialist attack upon the First Workers Republic in the world. It is not a question of notice or foreign capitalist countries or not it is a question of the native Soviet capitalists and the foreign capitalists outside. It is rather the international solidarity of the workers the world over on behalf of the Soviet Union, the center of proletarian revolution and working class
power against world imperialism against the attacks of the imperialist powers. We, as proletarian revolutionaries, must see to turn such attacks not into opportunities for the imperialist powers to international proletarian solidarity, into a civil war against the bourgeoisie into a world revolution for the complete overthrow of capitalism.

Rationalization and War Preparations.

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

Imperialism and the Labor Aristocracy.

The analysis of the trend of development of the various sections of the working class stands in direct antithesis to the Leninist theory of the lower stratum of the working class being the proletariat. Lenin wrote in his book on Imperialism as follows:

The "drawing of monopsonistically high profits by capitalists of one of the many branches of industry, or of one of the many nations, enables them economically to bribe separate strata of workers, and temporarily even a considerable minority of them, thereby drawing them into supporting the bourgeoisie of a given branch of industry or a given nation against the broad masses of the bourgeoisie as a whole. The increased antipathy between the imperialist nations over the division of the world strengthens this tendency. But the T.U.U.L. program becomes "excessive" as far as this Leninist theory holding good for the United States. It states the following:

"The A.F. of L. Program of basing the labor movement upon the skilled workers, a policy that was always wrong, is now abandoned; the unions are to recruit, not by the wholesale elimination of skill in the industries through standardization, specialization, mechanization and a thousand other devices, but by filling the vacancies left by the diminishing labor aristocracy; the new unions base upon the expanding masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who are the overwhelming majority of the labor force." All the program can see going on within the American working class is to be considered as lumping or lumpish, in other words, the disappearing labor aristocracy.

But United States imperialism is the richest, most powerful in the world today. Yet, according to the T.U.U.L. Program, it seems unable to bribe a minority of the workers to make them supporters of American imperialism against the attacks of world imperialism to home and against other imperialist nations. This is not Leninism. This position of the T.U.U.L. is opportunist and sectarian. America today, because United States imperialism enjoys the position of leadership and power, thrice its fabulous superior profits, and currently the most dangerous instrument of social-reformism. This objective fact, fully in line with correct Leninist theory, the T.U.U.L. Program fails to see.

The Struggle in the A. F. of L.

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

"The day of craft unionism has gone forever in American industry; the day of militant industrial unionism is here." The day of craft unionism is gone forever! What intellectual rationalization is that? It is a false conception in the program. It is therefore gone forever. How simple! How unique! Then why worry about the A.F. of L? Why such tirades about something that is gone forever? The sad truth is that the T.U.U.L. has not achieved even a temporary influence upon the workers. It remains a powerful agency of U. S. imperialism. The craft unions that compose it continue to serve the same purposes of betrayal of the workers interests and suberviency to capitalism.

But the T.U.U.L. leaders from W. Z. Foster days do not suffer. The fight against world imperialism is not put into the ranks of the workers. Foster did not fight them in the last imperialist war against Germany, the capitalist imperialist, and became part and parcel of Commer's imperialist creed. So now, run away from the reactionary unions! Don't continue to struggle inside of them! This is rank opportunism and sectarianism. "Craft unionism is gone," says the Program. In the language of the street: "Not so that you can notice it!"

False Estimate of Radiocontrol

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

The Masses Group

As far as the estimate of the Masses group, the Program fails to see the two-fold character of this movement. The Masses are a wing of the Socialist Party and of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. It seeks to keep the workers away from militant action and revolutionary unionism by misleading them into "radicalism," which is the same as opportunism. It seeks to keep them in the ranks of the A. F. of L. under the influence of the reactionary bureaucracy. In this respect it is a reactionary movement against the workers, and must be opposed. But we must recognize that its birth is due to the growing discontent and obstinacy of the working and semi-working class workers in certain industries. Our task, the task of the T.U.U.L., is to develop united fronts from below on concrete issues and to organize for the struggle of the workers for the unions and industrial trade unionism and to form a mass movement of the labor which will help and file up to win these masses for the T.U.U.L. This kind of concretization is missing entirely in the T.U.U.L. program.

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

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

There is a superficial approach to the Negro problem.

The developing political class consciousness of the working class is neglected. Not one word is contained in the whole Program on the need for the organization of a Labor Party.

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

The demand that the United States government recognize the Soviet Union is omitted. The fight against injunctions is not to be found any place in the Program.

The Program of the T.U.U.L. must be radically revised away from anarcho-syndicalism, away from DeLeonism, away from opportunism, and from the rejection of the living vital revolutionary center of the organized and unorganized masses in the United States.

The Tenth Plenum of the ECCI

By Will Herberg

(Continued from the last issue.)

The Tenth Plenum of the ECCI

The VI Congress in its Thesis declared: "There is not the slightest doubt that considerable progress has been made in the last few years by the working class of capitalist countries. In some countries (United States, Germany) it has assumed the character of a technical revolution."

The report of Comrade Bukharin in behalf of the delegation of the C.P.S.U. developed this point to great length. This was quite correct and true.

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

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

"It would be erroneous to think that this tendency towards stagnation precludes the rapid growth of capitalism, for it is not the case. . . . In general capitalism develops with incomparably greater rapidity than before, but this development becomes generally more ineradicable . . . ." It is precisely like that of the ultra-lefts at the III Congress who opposed the very idea of recognizing a temporary rise of capitalist economy because imperialism exists. Lenin says, the period of "declining" capitalism! At the III Congress Lenin publicly declared that "if such a period of argument, red flag in hand all the Comintern and it would be a disaster for the whole revolutionary movement!" This is especially true today.

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

Comrade KusniZen defines rationalization:

"Capitalist rationalization in the true sense means enforcement of maximum intensification of labor for the individual worker through the reorganization of the process of labor according to certain "rational" (I.Q.) system or according to similar system of automatic speeding up and control of labor inflexibly." The conclusion—which makes rationalization simply a matter of the intensification of labor and omits entirely the factor of the heightened productivity of labor due to technical advance—is, as a matter of fact, the opposite of the expression of views of the Comintern. But for the sake of another "argument" against the VI Congress the X Plenum was ready to confuse and falsify every principle ever held by the Comintern and very important question of rationalization. It should be remembered that this gross misconception of the nature of rationalization leads to very serious errors in the tactics for the practical everyday struggle of the Comintern against capitalist rationalization.

Rationalization and the "New Revolutionary Wave." On the other hand, the dogmatism of the Comintern makes the X Plenum completely rejected the objective, Leninist estimation of the VI Congress in favor of superficial impressionism plus psychological observation and often contradictory.

The Thesis of the VI Congress characterized the left-wing movement of the proletariat as following: "The resistance of the working class . . . is growing and assuming extremely diverse forms. The development of the combinations of capitalist stabilization, reaction, . . . inevitably intensify the class struggle and broaden its basis. The general process of the 'proletarian swing' to the left continues further. . . ."

Further on, the same thesis speaks in the following terms of the development of the revolution: "The slow rate of development of the crisis of capitalism in the course of which some of the principal parts comprising the capitalist system on the whole will be undergoing a process of relative slow decline."

In contradiction to this balanced and realistic picture we have at the X Plenum such ideas as that of Comrade Molotov who maintains that "there can be no fourth period since the third period ended in revolution." Some comrades spoke of the "winters" of the new revolutionary wave, others maintained that we were already "in this new wave of revolution," while others sat still further. In his official report on the trade union congress Comrade Lenrowsky declared in so many words: "The characteristic sign of the present . . . is the heightened political sensibility of the broad masses. . . . This is a characteristic sign of the era of a revolution . . . ." But surely the height of "ultra-left" self-deception was reached when most of Comrade Molotov, member of the presidium of the Eori, who asserted with the approval of the X Plenum. "We unquestionably stand today in a whole series of countries before extraordinarily significant revolutionary events. It is my opinion from the May events as well as from the recent Polish events that there were a series of elements in them that recall our July days. The fact alone that the Communist Parties had to restrain the most advanced sections of the working class in their surge forward, speaks for a rapidly approaching revolutionary situation."

When we recall that the July (1917) days in Russia were the days in which, after the first revolution, the proletariat was preparing for the struggle to seize power (which actually took place three months later), the full significance of the above remarks may be appreciated. The substitution of impressionism plus objective analysis, the construction of theory and incorrect conceptions of the classes is bound to lead the Comintern to disaster or success.

(Continued in the next issue.)

OUT SOON! WATCH FOR IT!

Jewish Monthly Bulletin of the C.P.-Majority Group

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50 cents a year.
In the Communist Opposition

The Conference of the German Communist Opposition

By M. N. ROY (Berlin)

The crisis in the Communist International has become so severe that it naturally reflects the counter-revolutionary nature of the existing world economic and political situation. The split in the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) is of great historical significance.

Next to the Russian the German Party is the most important factor in the world Communist movement, and the best products of the revolutionary proletarian movement in a high degree reflect the historical stage of development and disintegration and of isolation from the masses. Taking place in this situation, the split in the Party is a retreat towards the organic part—the most advanced part—of the class they can be reduced to. This is the line the Opposition made clear.

The problem that attracted the keenest attention of the entire Opposition was the question of the relationship. The question was naturally approached from the point of view of the German situation, and it is a question of international significance. For Opposition has developed in practically all countries; the problems of one are the problems of all. To the disappointment of the official party bureaucracy on the one hand and of the Social-democrats on the other, the Conference emphatically rejected even the slightest tendency in the direction of the organization of a new party based on the principle of international unity. The proposed split in the Party on the left wing of Social-democracy and Communist opposition there is no halfway house in.

The Conference decided that the object of the Opposition must be to save the Party and the International from the danger of a split. This is a direct challenge to the C.P.I.O. Opposition.

The definition of the object, however, was not enough. What is still more important is to recognize the whole which can be seen by the parties that will be formed. Here the question is not one of principle or tactics. It is whether the struggle or should it develop the activities of the Opposition. Once it is agreed that it is axiomatic for the question of the relation and the proportion between the two. The development of the mass organizations, with the major effort and the efforts of winning over greater numbers of Party members to the point of view of the Opposition and to make the struggle insurmountable for the Opposition effective. It is not enough to criticize the mistakes of the present government. It is not in a situation to judge the correct line. The Opposition is obliged to appear before the masses and to show them the real situation. It is a question of recognition by the Opposition.

There can be no Communist in any one country if the struggle itself is outside the trade union movement. This is a very important fact. It is a fact that the struggle is not only a question of the opposition, but it is a question of the abandoned territory. It is a question that the Oppositions' activities is not even recognize the existence of the mass organizations. It is a question of a conscious full of activity of the whole of the masses. It is a question that the recognition by the masses and the masses of their recognition by the opposition.

The Conference presented a picture that has long disap-
How to Build a Mass League

The complete perversion of the Young Communist League by the Y.C.L.-Majority Group has already begun in New York and is to be expected in the Pacific Coast and all other parts of the country. The League now is not a mass league, but rather a paid-up mass of workers. The managers of the League have made a complete and utter failure of the movement.

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The Present Crisis in the Party Demands:

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

FOR THIS PURPOSE
WE HAVE MADE AVAILABLE THE FOLLOWING:

Imperialism—Lenin 35
Socialism and Revolution—Lenin 35
Proletarian Revolution—Lenin 35
Leftism—Lenin 25
The Mass Strike—Rosa Luxemburg 25
Proletarian Dictatorship and
Terrorism—Karl Radek 15
Dictatorship of the Proletariat—Kamenev 15
Pages from Party History—Lozovoy 10
The 1928 Elections—Lozovoy 10
Labor Lieutenants of American Imperialism—Lozovoy 10
The Crisis in the C.P.U.S.A. 35
The "New Course"—An Old Curse—(An analysis of
the Last C.C. Plenum Thesis) 10

REVOLUTIONARY AGE—Room 807—27 E. 28th St.
New York, N.Y.

else except the Communists and their closest sympathizers.
I am almost sure that the bakers will not be convinced at
the A.F.W. Convention to affiliate with the T.U.U.L. And
then if the Party decides to make this a splitting issue (as
the National Committee of the T.U.U.L. has already done) the
T.U.U.L will not get a single baker. Only the cafeteria work-
ers and some hotel workers will then be split off and all the
rest will be left in the A.F.W. A new three-cornered
fight will then begin in New York between the A.P. of L.,
A.F.W. and the "new union." Such a split would have the
most disastrous consequences for the organization of the un-
organized and for the work of the left-wing in their straight
straight towards such a split that the present Party policy leads.
The "new course" of the Party in the trade union field is a
policy of splits, demoralization, disintegration and isolation.
Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the food workers
situation.

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

IN THE COMING ISSUES

THE SITUATION IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.
THE YOUNG PLAN AND EUROPEAN POLITICS.
"EXCEPTIONALISM" AND LENINIST STRATEGY.
THE VI CONGRESS AND THE WORLD SITUATION.
WHAT ABOUT THE ANTHRACITE?
THE NEEDLE TRADES AND THE LEFT WING.
THE HOUSING SITUATION IN NEW YORK AND THE RENT LAWS.