The Food Workers Convention

The biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Food Workers of America, held during the two-week ends of December 14 and 16, marked a very significant stage in the development of our activities among the food workers. In the December 1 issue of Revolutionary Age, B. Kalfkin discussed the general situation of the food industry, the question of the organization of the workers in this industry and the line of the party and UTL in the AFW. The Convention had shown that the main line of this article was absolutely correct.

The Convention was attended by about 15 delegates representing the three big Bakers Locals in New York (1, 1, 164), the Bakers Locals of Astoria and Hoboken, the mixed local of Philadelphia, the Grocery Clerks Local, the Paterson butchers and the Hotel, Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers Local of New York. This in itself is very very narrow to the present base of the AFW and how necessary it is for the left wing to make all efforts to broaden this base and to build up a real industrial union of the food workers.

The lines of division among the delegates became clear on the resolution to affiliate to the Trade Union Unity League. Prior to the Convention there had been no campaign on the part of the Party fraction or the left wing to popularize the TUUL and its Program among the organized food workers, especially the bakers. Instead the “fight” was conducted by means of empty phrases and abuse. Moreover, the Party wrecking line in the mass organizations (seeds trade, textile, etc.) in recent months has greatly discredited Communist leadership and Communist prestige among the sympathetic workers. As a result the question on affiliation was carried by a vote of 18 to 14, with a solid line-up against the left wing.

The original Party policy was to split the AFW if the affiliation resolution was defeated, that is, to split off a communist Cafeteria workers and some others from the great mass of the members of the AFW. But under the pressure of our criticism as embodied in Comrade Kalfkin’s article in Revolutionary Age, the Party policy was changed at the last minute and changed for the better. Instead of splitting, the left-wing demand that the affiliation proposal be put up for referendum, which was carried by the vote of 15 to 1. This change of Party policy is certain to be welcomed and we can only hope that it will be followed consistently in the future. But this last minute change did not in the least mean an abandonment of the sectarian line of the Party. It simply became clear on the question of affiliation to the Workers International Relief (WIR). The affiliation to the ILD and the anti-imperialist resolution passed without serious opposition but the WIR resolution met with a different fate. This resolution contained a condemnation of Lore, Mute, etc. The AFW was immediately raised that the WIR was supposed to be a “non-partisan, non-sectarian” organization. One of the delegates sarcastically asked the “loyalists” why they didn’t include Love- stone and Gitlow in the condemnation. The proposal was made to endorse the WIR but to exclude the Lore-Mute section. On the ground that there were many delegations who were going to endorse the WIR without voting on Lore and Mute. But the “loyalists” refused and as a result the proposal to affiliate to the WIR was defeated. The CIS is sectarian self-destruction with a vengeance.

Another important question that arose at the Convention was the organizational question. For some unknown reason the left-wing strategy expected to have a majority of the Convention in some kind of a victory on the left (we were illusively led by the clever Burkhard). They therefore made proposals that would concentrate power and influence in the hands of the General Executive Board. But things turned out otherwise and the left wing sound

What They Say and What They Mean

There is no more fratricide of the runny “new counsel” than the massacre of the best forces of our Party than Israel Amter, the New District Organizer of the New York District. Let any comrade express a doubt or a question and—out he goes! Yet it was this Amter who, a few days after the Address, arrived in this country and the opposition of Comrades Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe, etc., to become known, wrote the following in a letter: “Lovestone is getting to appeal to the X Pleuma! But what can we accomplish in this way? Who will be at the X Pleuma? The representatives of Partite have been mangled and killed!” This letter was written to Comrade, Carl Hacker, the District Organizer of the Boston District, who quite approved of this letter and its line.

And now this “leader” who spoke of the “Parties of the Comintern being ‘mangled’” expelled comrades who have the courage to express their opinions and has their hands broken by his hooligans! Such is the spread of ideological corruption and rotten political hypocrisy in our Party!

In itself, a great confusion, compelled to vote against its own proposals. The final result was that Burkhart’s control was slightly strengthened. It was already decided to merge the three Bakers Locals of New York City, Local 3 (Brooklyn) which has relatively better conditions since in Brooklyn the concentration of the baking industry has not gone as far as elsewhere and there are a considerable number of small bakers controlled by the local—opposed this move and will probably fight against it. The bakers of Local 3 must realize that core struggle to win will come not only from the AFW but from the AFW and its Local will also decide to issue exempt stamps for the unemployed—a progressive move. This is how the AFW now offers great opportunities for the Party forces if they do not regress into sectarianism as before. The campaign to carry the referendum must be started and carried through vigorously. The TUUL and its Program must be popularized, especially among the bakers. The AFW can and must be made the rallying point for the building up of a strong industrial union of the food workers. But the condition for this is: a correct Leninist policy for the mobilization of the working class, not only of every stage of all-left sectarianism.

The Exceptionalist

Lenin fought very energetically and with any attempt to force a mechanistic uniformity upon a world in which there is a bewildering variety of stages of development, “backward and advanced countries, industrial lands and agrarian, big states and small states, developing and declining ones, imperialist powers and colonies and semi-colonies. With his insistence upon the “specific peculiarities” political and economic structure, culture and traditions, with his scorn for dogma, learning by trial and error, his mechanical repetition of ready-made formulas, with his tireless demands to “investigate, study, ascertain, grasp the notionally peculiar, the nationally specific features in the concrete attempts of every country to solve the aspects of a particular international problem”—Lenin was, in the terms of the hero of new course, the arch “exceptionalist.” It was in his classical pamphlet on Leftism that Lenin said:

“One must clearly realize that such a leading center (as the Communist International) can and must be build after a single model, by a mechanical uniformity and equalization of the tactical ways of struggle. So long as national and state differences in the peoples and their consciousness (and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the realization of the proletarian dictatorship on a world scale) the international character of the Communist labor movement everywhere demands the inclusion of the very national differences (this is the present moment is a foolish dream) but such an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) which would permit the proper modification of these principles in par-

In the Next Issue: The United Front By Ben Gitlow

::
Unite the Party on the Line of Leninism!  
An Appeal to the Party Membership

The Social-democrats have always contended that the Communist Party was organized like a church, that everybody had to take on faith, that there was no possibility of discussion, that there could be no open conflict or struggle within, and that those who would abandon the backward workers, upon phrasing-mongers, upon all those who might want their own desires for reality, upon all those who put forward their own "independence" as a theoretical argument. To the Comintern represents a vanguard stimulating every tendency which could be brought to lead them forward—but never to remain a little sectarian group running so far ahead of the masses as to lose touch with them.

"The whole communist problem," Lenin pointed out, "is to be able to convince the backward, to work in their midst and not to set up a barrier between us and them, a barrier of artificial childish 'left' slogans."

One of the most dangerous characteristics of the present line of the Comintern and of our Party is its supreme contempt for the masses and for every form of mass work. According to the new line all organizations with reactionary leadership must be abandoned. The new leadership is too "pure" to work among the backward workers and to fight for the leadership of these workers. All workers in the A.F. of L and other unions under right wing control are lumped together under the simple term "social-fascists"—thus meaning work among them unnecessary. The faithful are comforted with the explanation that there is such a radical division of the working-class that a "seething with revolt," are running ahead of the Party... The united front—which Lenin was the foremost champion—the great opportunity for new running and politically educating the masses, for breaking them away from reactionary leadership, has been abandoned as optional in the face of leadership methods today that is he an opportunist and a counter-revolutionist.

Nothing can be further from the methods of Lenin than this wholesale splitting of every form of reformist, opportunistic, petty-bourgeois liberal, social-democrat, capitalist and capitalist politician with the single label of "social-fascist." The ordinary processes of capitalist government, such as the conviction of workers by capitalist courts, suddenly become "fascism" as if capitalist democracy had nothing to do with it. The workers are to be forced by force of law and troops against pickets, as if capitalist democracy did not represent a brutal force in direct opposition to the developing forces of big business never existed before. All of Lenin's, all of Marx's teachings on the nature of capitalist democracy count for naught.

The Party Builder

Lenin's teachings on the nature of Party life, on discipline, on Party democracy, on the role of the Party have been forgotten. In a world with continually developing theoretical life, we find a most desperate effort to suppress all discussion. Workers are not permitted to say anything, not encouraged to make "statements," and are then told what the statements must be. Expulsion is "militant" in the purest sense of the word. The pro-

If Lenin were alive, some comrades say, "then we would never have had the present crisis." But it is idle to speculate. Lenin had no longer contribute to the solution of our problems, but Leninism can. The thing for every Communist to do by way of concrete work is to study the course of events and apply his teachings and fight for Communist unity and the reestablishment of a Leninist line in our Party and in the Comintern.

B. W. 

Three paragraphs are from the Appeal issued by the C.P.-Majority Group to the recent New York Membership meeting.

In the midst of a "membership drive," the official leadership is working overtime not to win new members, but to destroy and alienate the Party. The Party has been able to develop. Utterly imperialism and the task of the whole Party, which degrade the very name of communism (the heat-spotting brigades, the blacklisting of international socialists, the jokes in the eyes of the even most sympathetic masses, and wiped almost out of the life of the Party in the United States), has grown to be a more than a decade to build. A most tragic phase of the change and development of the Party a role which some have tried to make look as a model in the Leninist course of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. That is why our Party is being isolated, paral-

There is an increasing danger that everything our Party has been building up—its anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and itsbtnazut in the labor movement—the Social-

The Party membership is in danger of being misled and disillusioned. The Party leadership is reducing those organizations to empty shells—undervesting their mass basis, turning them into mere "instruments of a particular faction in the Party," the policy of indecision and confusion in connection with the fake "strike" of the U.S.W.W. has gravely hurt the campaign of orga-

In Lenin's case, everything is new and unknown. There are no experiences of methods today that is he an opportunist and a counter-revolutionist.

A similar suicidal opportunist policy of splits coupled with the result of the leadership of the Comintern's Third Plenum, sectarians, excluding yellow dog pledgers and waviers has dealt a mortal blow to all the work that has been done during the last years of struggle against the reactionary Forward going in the Workers' Circle.

The socialist opportunist policy of splitting and isolating groups has brought about a condition in which we are able to mobilize only a small group against the main communist mass movement in this war. The passive campaign which involved a struggle of far less import-

The workers are to be forced by force of law and troops against pickets, as if capitalist democracy did not represent a brutal force in direct opposition to the developing forces of big business the累了 before. At the same time the party machinery and all the organizations within the past few years have been destroyed. The party has been crushed, the Workers' Circle has been disbanding "opportunist," destroyed and all remaining forces of the World Congress to the Party.

"Precisely in the period following the completion of 1927 the situation has been taking place on the American continent. The social-democratic and reformist leaders have started a new phase of its influence among the workers."

The Workers (Communist) Party has for the first time ap-

The question of an immediate and unswerving defense of the workers against the economic struggle of the proletariat with its slogan of a "united front" is presented. The Comintern before the Eighth Plenum denounced, reprimanded, and left the Comintern. The line of our Party is to insure expulsion nowadays. All remnants of Party leadership are a dead letter. A state of fraudulent law, military siege in the Party.

The sphere of political leadership is seen as far as to say that the line of the Party for years prior to the Address was wrong and that the Comintern is right. The whole policy of the Party is the defense of the Party. In their speeches and their writing in their line of nonsensical talk with the decision of the Sixth World Congress and even the Open Letter to the last Convention where they said that...

"Precisely in the period following the completion of 1927 the situation has been taking place on the American continent. The social-democratic and reformist leaders have started a new phase of its influence among the workers."

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Comrades, it is just those comrades who have been mainly into the division of the Party. With the above characterization of the Party was made by the Comintern which has been based on the Party. By the Socialist Party—"the Third Party of American imperialism—stands vulture-like ready to capitalize on the government's actions. The government is sharpening its attacks against our ranks everywhere. The reaction at fact the result of that our Party has veered away from its course of progress and now...

We must answer with closed communist ranks—with a united Communist Party again having a Leninist line.
LENIN TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS

"The American Workers Will Stand With Us Against the Bourgeoisie!"

Moscow, Aug. 29th, 1918.

COMRADES: A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the revolution of 1905 and for many years afterward lived in your country. I have the letter to you. I have grasped this opportunity joyfully, for the revolutionary proletariat of America—in so far as it is the enemy of American imperialism and for that reason it is the vanguard of the world imperialism. But this imperialism is the world bourgeoisie, the world capitalist, the world reactionarybourgeoisie, even so lamented and slandered by German imperialists, for having raised the banner of peace, the banner of Socialism over the world. What wonder that we are hated by the capitalist class the world over! But this hatred of imperialism and the sympathy of the class-conscious workers of all countries give us assurance of the righteousness of our cause... The great Russian revolutionist, Chernyshevsky, once said: "Political activity is not as smooth as the pavement of the Nezvick Prospect. They are mere imitators of the bourgeoisie, these gentlemen who delight in holding up to us the "chace" of the revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the food. Can there be anything more hypocritical than such acclamations from people who gloated and supported the imperialist war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war?... The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression of their full revolutionary program—are the leaders of the revolutionary traditions in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English of the American Revolution, in the nineteenth century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American who is not today fighting for the American revolution, for the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American civil war of 1860-1865? The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of civil war, the destruction of the South, and the colossal cost that was its accomplishment. But those same gentlemen and the reform socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the present-day bourgeois pressure and have been led into the thought of "peaceful" struggle, cannot, nay, will not see the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia, it is facing a far greater task, the work of ending the wage-slavery and, overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie. The American working class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives us this confidence, this assurance. We are sealed of having brought devastation upon Russia. It is that which makes these acclamations? The train bearers of the bourgeoisie; that same bourgeoisie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destitution to the world. Oh, how human, how just is this bourgeoisie! Its servants charge us with the use of terrorist methods... Have the English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1789?

ERROR was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workers and poverty stricken masses have to resort to it. Error was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in the place of another. But terror becomes horrid and criminal when it is used to put the cause of the actual majority, in the cause of the class-conscious proletariat, of the working class and the poor peasantry.

For every hundred of our mistakes that are heralded into the world by the bourgeoisie and its sympathisers, there are thousand great deeds of heroism greater and more heroic because they take place in the every-day life of the factory districts or in isolated villages, because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

Our revolution is unexaminable; every blow coming from the powers of madly raging imperialism, every new attack by the international bourgeoisie will bring new, and hitherto unaffected strata of workers and peasants into the fight, will educate them hard as steel, awaking a new heroism in the masses.

We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American workers, for the development of the revolution in the different countries presents clear conditions, with varying rapidity (how should it be otherwise?)

We are counting on the inevitability of the international character of the revolution, in which the first wave is already coming at some definite, nearly date. We have experienced two great revolutions in our own country, that of 1860 and that of 1917 and we know that revolutions always move at a rate of command nor according to pre-arranged plans. We know that circumstances alone, but they are broken. We stand against Russia, forward, that we have reached this new stage in the social life of the world not because of our superiority but because of the peculiar reactionary character of Russia. But until the outburst of the international revolution, revolutions in individual countries may still meet with a number of serious setbacks and overrevolutions.

And yet we are certain that we are invincible, for humanity will not emerge from this imperialistic massacre broken in pieces, it will triumph. Ours was the first country to break the chains of imperialistic slavery. We broke them with the greatest sacrifices, but they are broken. We stand against the imperialistic duties and Considerations, we have raised the banner of the fight for the complete overthrow of imperialism for the world.

We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international social revolution comes to our assistance with its current power. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours, they grow, they thrive, they become more invincible the longer they live. But its international community, its international revolution, is world wide are breaking with their betrayers, with their Germanizers and their Scheidemanns. Inertly labor is approaching Communism. Our strategy is to defeat the imperialistic revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction. We are invincible! The prolata
tion fight is invincible!

—N. LENIN

—N. LENIN
The Conference of the New York T. U. U. L.
by Ben Lifshitz

The New York Trade Union Unity League Conference held December 21 and 22 was a preparatory conference for the International Conference of Trade Unions which opened in January. The purpose of this Conference was to prepare for the driving out of all elements who oppose the “new line” policies in the unions.

The outstanding feature of the Conference was the size and character of the delegation. In contrast to the almost 400 delegates to the New York T.U.U.L. there were only about 70 to 80 delegates present at this Conference and only a handful were not Party members. The discussion centered around the statement that the representatives of the T.U.U.L. had to wait for quite a time before they could make a definite statement. On the election of a chairman, Weisman, the loyalitee candidate, received 41 votes as against 18 for our Comrade Jonas—this was the official count, it being necessary for Sidkind who did the counting to “overlook” a half dozen votes for Jonas.

The first session was devoted to reports by Sazer, Sidkind and Schams. The reports of Sazer and Sidkind were very superficial and neither of them took up concretely the problems confronting the workers and the left wing in the various industries. The major portion of their reports was taken up with lies and slander and frame-ups against our comrades active in the various unions (Perlov, Razmovitch, etc.).

The main “speech” was made by Schams who laid down the “line” for the Conference. He devoted himself to an offensive against those who resist the wrong line in the mass organizations. The only way, he declared, to assure that workers have a possibility for struggle was to expel all of those elements from the T.U.U.L.

It was most important to note that neither Comrade Schams nor any of the other reporters found it necessary to spend one minute of their time—found it necessary to mention—the question of the left wing in the unions and other reactionary unions. That the Hoover-Green pact and the shameful betrayal of the A.F. of L. leadership could be utilized as a point of mobilization of the masses in the A.F. of L. was not even referred to. All of the reports showed a sharp orientation away from the A.F. of L., an orientation to have nothing to do with the masses left in the A.F. of L. This orientation was clearly connected with the line for the formation—or rather talking about the formation—all sorts of paper “industrial unions” without any consideration as to objective conditions or prospects of development.

The Party leaders were worried—the opposition registered a full third of the delegates! This was too much for the Party representatives who had already announced in the official press that the “Leninist” candidates would be rejected. And so they called a special Committee of the calling a “clever” report, as “clever,” some of the Party delegation remained, as was to be expected, at the International Fore Workers Conventions under Kaufman. Thus a tricky arrangement of “principles” the maximum number of delegates from the opposition were excluded, the opposition delegation being reduced to thirteen!

Very characteristic was the speech of Amter in the name of the District Committee of the Communist Party. Amter—who is notorious thurst the Party for his gross opportunism and crass radicalism—had the audacity to state his case against Party wrecking—and branded the comrades who are fighting for Leninism as “enemies of the working class” and demand that “we be called out” from the labor movement in order to enable the workers to make progress in their struggle against capitalism.

Comrade Green pointed out that the only speaker who called the attention of the conference to the fact that only two Negro delegates were present at this conference, that while “we are talking so much about carrying Negro workers, very little was being done to draw the Negro workers into the Union,” pointing out that in the same situation the field was being left to the white Union which only recently held a meeting in Harlem with about 200 Negro workers present.

At the evening session, even the large number of opposition delegates were barred, there were still some representatives of the C.P.-Majority Group left. Comrades Jonas, Halpern, Newman and Green spoke. Comrade Rose Prentpin introduced a resolution pointing out the great possibilities for work, the present wrong line of the T.U.U.L., and the concrete proposals to build the T.U.U.L. Comrade Jonas analyzed the situation in the shoe industry and pointed out the wrong line of the T.U.U.L. in Biedenkapp and others. Comrade Gross pointed out that the conference had failed to achieve its purpose; to mobilize the masses for struggle—and that the attacks upon the opposition were not only the result but the cause of the weakening of the trade union. Comrade Jonas declared that none of the reports had led in the direction of concrete struggle. He pointed out that the policy of “driving out the opposition” from the T.U.U.L. was really meant driving out workers from the new unions since these unions were affiliated with the T.U.U.L.

The effect of the speeches of Gross and Jonas and of our resolution was so impressive that it was necessary for all the members of our Conference to come out with a new offensive. Biedenkapp and Wortlie were the two outstanding opportunists in the shoe and needle trade unions—had the audacity to call our committee a “Leninist” one. Comrade Jonas declared.

For the official representatives of the T.U.U.L. Conference there was only one slogan: “Drive out the ‘Leninists’ from the T.U.U.L., and all the problems will be solved.”

The problem of organizing the unorganized into real mass-organizations of class-struggle, the problem of providing the trade unions with the organizations of the Needle Trades Industrial Union to help organize the unorganized workers in the dress industry, the mobilization of the left wing in support of the A.F. of L., and all the problems will be solved.

The problem of organizing the militant workers in the A.F. of L. and other reactionary unions to fight the Hoover-Green pact and the Green plan of re-establishing all contact with the capitalist class. The struggle of the workers in their struggle against the injunction and the present loot of the “injunction” were so arranged as to exclude our comrades.

At no discussion whatsoever was allowed on the report. By Gegen den Strom, Schams had won over the chair, and tried to start his speech. However, all motions to be made and voted upon would not even allow opposition to be elected from the chair. Finally, as a result of unrepresented report it was compelled to give Comrade Jonas the floor for a few minutes.

The weakness of the VI Congress that it allowed surface unison to hide deep dissensions, that it did not uncover, expose and condemn those sections of the Party that they are the result of the violation of its series on The Crisis in the Comintern). After some very acute and generally true remarks on the question of centralization in the Comintern and the present situation, Comrade Jonas presented the essential political content of the article—a critique of the VI World Congress. This question is a very important one and is not only of central importance, but is also of the most fundamental importance. We proceed to examine Comrade Roy’s argument in essential points his critique of the VI World Congress deals with the estimation of the Congress of the present stage and of the course of the world revolution. Around this question everything else centers. About this Comrade Roy has the following to say:

“The failure to see that in this period of its general decline capitalism cannot stabilize itself but even prosper in particular countries led the VI World Congress to set up the theory of offensive all along the line.”

If this charge against the VI Congress were true it would be a serious one indeed. But is it? The thesis of the International Situation of the VI Congress speaks of the “slow rate of development in the crisis of capitalism, in the course of which some of the principal parts of the capitalist system are on the upgrade while others are undergoing a process of relatively slow decline.”

In speaking of the process of radicalization the thesis points out that “the resistance of the working class . . . is growing and assuming extremely diverse forms.”

This is the essence of the critique of the VI World Congress. Does this look as if the VI Congress denied that capitalism can “even prosper in some countries”! Does this look as if the VI Congress launched “the theory of offensive all along the line”?

The fact of the matter is that it is not the VI Congress and its main line that the sharp critique of Comrade Roy strikes; on the contrary it strikes very aptly the course of reaction away from the line of the VI Congress now carried thru by the Ecvi. Comrade Roy’s arguments hit not only the official World Congress but the unofficial factional "corridor congress”, that was organized behind the scenes of the World Congress by Stalin and all the reactions (Fromm, G. Nahir, Bobrov, Adenauer, etc.)

That carried on a demoralizing propaganda against the work of the Congress. It is the line of the “corridor congress” that is the real mass organizations and all the problems will be solved.”

The section of the Comintern and proclaimed officially by the X Plenum—that Comrade Roy strikes at was. It was the weakness of the VI Congress that it allowed surface unison to hide deep dissensions, that it did not uncover, expose and condemn those sections of the Party that they are the result of the violation of its series on The Crisis in the Comintern). After some very acute and generally true remarks on the question of centralization in the Comintern and the present situation, Comrade Jonas presented the essential political content of the article—a critique of the VI World Congress. This question is a very important one and is not only of central importance, but is also of the most fundamental importance. We proceed to examine Comrade Roy’s argument in essential points his critique of the VI World Congress deals with the estimation of the Congress of the present stage and of the course of the world revolution. Around this question everything else centers. About this Comrade Roy has the following to say:

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Plowing the Sands of Capitalist “Peace”

About the London Five Power Conference

By Jay Lovestone

The road to imperialist wars is strewn with the wreckage of the great “peace conferences” of capitalist peace movements. Hague, Locarno, Paris, Washington, Geneva and now—the Five Power Naval Limitation Conference in London. This conference clearly portrays the countless hopeless antagonsisms among the imperialist powers and the unsolvable contradictions faced by them to the bitter end. The United States, Britain, France and Italy, under the leadership of British Halifax has well characterized the London Conference as “the greatest game played for the greatest stakes that the world has seen in liquidation of the fact that chief imperialist competitors today are the still-ascenting American capitalism and the already declining British capitalism.”

The New World Situation.

The London Conference is a landmark in world history. Eleven years have passed since the close of the World War. It was almost exactly eleven years ago today that Woodrow Wilson set sail for Europe to serve as the spearhead of American capitalism in its struggle for world domination. Today, American imperialism is again going to Europe, in the persons of each forcible spokesman of Wall Street as Stimson and Morrow. But today U.S. imperialism goes not to win but to ensure its already won world hegemony. Eleven years ago U.S. imperialism, through the gibber phrases of Wilson, was able to fool millions of European toiling masses with its fraudulent peace talk. Today, U.S. imperialism stands exposed in its infamous war preparations; it has already won and is winning overwhelming hatred of the toiling masses the world over.

Eleven years ago America’s isolationist reaction in European affairs signified the beginning of the stabilization of the badly-shaken, decrepit European capitalism largely thru Wall Street credits. Today, American imperialism’s increasing interference in Europe means a sharpening of the antagonisms among the capitalist powers and an intensification, a deepening of the contradictions among the capitalist parties of Europe. But all contradictions among the capitalist powers are already sharply sharpened by the very stabilization itself. Eleven years ago Wilson set sail for Paris at a time when Soviet Russia was still very weak and it was hard to tell its capitalism tomorrow. Stimson goes to London, when the Soviet Union has grown stronger, more rapidly organizing socialism than ever before. Nobody can understand the London Conference unless he views it in the light of the fundamental changes in the world situation.

The basic issue which reflects the unbridgeable antagonisms among the leading imperialist powers eleven years ago has now become a key issue of world capitalism. But all contradictions among the leading capitalist powers have even multiplied and have become acutely aggravated. It is this which makes it impossible for any honest, pacifist, fanfare of war peace, makes the London Conference another talk-fest superficially and formally, but bitterly conscious of the irreconcilable interests among the capitalist powers.

Plowing the Sands of Capitalist “Peace”

About the London Five Power Conference

By Jay Lovestone

...
The Facts Speak for Themselves

THE Party press is full of the most shameful and standarde attacks upon Comrade Lovestone for some allaged actions in the trial of Comrade Winstik in 1929. We will not answer much less expose all these lying malicious attacks. We will only point to two items:

(1) the decision of the International Control Commission in 1925, and (2) the letter sent by Comrade Ruttenberg in 1934, to which we shall now turn.

In connection with this it should be remembered that Comrade Lovestone—against whom the Bowers and the Fosters now make such baseless and silly charges—was then one of the highest positions by our Party but was frequently placed in positions of great responsibility and trust by the Comintern (e.g., Commissar of Moscow, Commissar in the Caucasus region, etc.). In the 1926 Congress he was elected a delegate to the Comintern. In the 1928 Congress he was elected Commissar of Moscow. In the 1934 Congress he was elected Commissar of the People’s Commissariat of Education. In all these roles he was not only at the highest positions in the Party but also employed in positions of trust. At no time was he ever placed in a position of responsibility outside the Party in the U.S.S.R.

In the current debate on the resolution of the International Control Commission, it is quite clear that Comrade Lovestone has not been given a fair and impartial hearing.

DECEASE OF THE I.C.C. CONCERNING THE AFFAIR OF COMRADE LOVESTONE, APRIL 8, 1925.

After careful examination of the entire material relating to the conduct of Comrade Lovestone at the trial of Comrade Winstik, the International Control Commission (I.C.C.), on April 8, 1925, and after hearing Comrades Foster, Clarkson and Larkin on the one hand, and Comrades Ruttenberg and Lovestone on the other, the I.C.C. established the fact that Comrade Lovestone made some statements at this trial which did not entirely correspond with the facts.

The International Control Commission, therefore, requests Comrade Lovestone to submit a written statement, in which he will not only explain why his conduct was not entirely based on the truth, but will also show the evidence of his guilt. This statement will be read to the Party and the International Control Commission. The Commission will then consider the written statement and make a decision on the case.

International Control Commission.

LETTER OF COMRADE RUTTENBERG TO COMRADE LOVESTONE, 354 Hunter St., N.Y. March 14, 1922.

Dear Comrade Lovestone:

I have received your letter of March 1, 1922, in which you state that you are suspended from the Party and that you are now working in the textile industry.

I am glad to hear that you are working in the textile industry. This is a very good position for you, and I am sure that you will do a good job.

In conclusion, I wish you all the best of luck in your new job.

Sincerely yours,

International Control Commission.

1. It is interesting to note that the second textile convention from which Comrade Lovestone was expelled, the textile convention from the United Textile Workers in 1932, was attended by the same delegates who had attended the textile convention of 1930, and that the same resolutions were adopted.

2. It is also interesting to note that at that time there were given the floor for four hours to defend ourselves.

We Must Build Our Press!

ONE of the blackest spots in history of the American Communist Party is the trial of Comrade Winstik, which the Party leadership is forcing upon the Party press. We will not answer malicious attacks on Comrade Lovestone, in which we are not interested, but we will expose these baseless and malicious attacks.

On a level with these methods can be placed the extensive use of the capitalist press by the leadership of our Party and the C.I. against us. Since the beginning of the depression, we have been hearing and reading about the alleged sins of our Party and the C.I., which are stated in the capitalist press, as if they were facts.

These capitalist papers in the United States and other countries, the bourgeoisie press has been devouring every bit of scandal spread by the Party leadership and the C.I. against us. The Party leadership and the C.I. are using the American capitalist press to murder us and to smother us.

In the struggle for the right to live, we must use the press of the Party and the C.I. against the Party and the C.I.

In the struggle for the right to live, we must use the press of the Party and the C.I. against the Party and the C.I.
The Workers Speak

By MARION GRAY

IN August 1914, when the German Reichstag voted the war credit, at least one German social democrat, Karl Liebknecht, opposed it as an act of war. Mr. Liebknecht, it was said, a socialist, wanted war. One of his colleagues, of like mind, a member of the Social Democrats, stated that Liebknecht, in opposition to the war credits, stood for the destruction of the state.

As a socialist, Liebknecht stated that he was opposed to war, that war was an act of destruction. As a man of the people, Liebknecht was against war, that war was an act of destruction. As a man of the people, Liebknecht was against war, that war was an act of destruction. As a man of the people, Liebknecht was against war, that war was an act of destruction. As a man of the people, Liebknecht was against war, that war was an act of destruction.
To Whose Advantage?
The Suspicion of Comrade Weisbord

The Daily Worker recently announced the suspension of Comrade Weisbord from the Party. This followed shortly after his removal from his post as Secretary of the National Textile Workers Union.

Frustrated by what he saw as the betrayal of the Party, Weisbord has been investigating the actions of the leadership behind the expulsion of Weisbord. It is well known that Comrade Weisbord was one of the first to welcome the Address of the Exchange. No one has hinted about his loyalty to the new line or his bitter opposition to "Lennonism."

But even Comrade Weisbord, apparently, could not swallow the abrupt and seemingly capricious leadership that the Address represented.

Weisbord will continue to investigate the events of his expulsion.

Just Out!
The Crisis in the Communist Party of U.S.A.

Read: The Crisis in the Communist Party of U.S.A.

(Statement of principles of the C.P.-Majority Group)

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Chap. II—"Exceptionalism"—Questions of Imperialism.

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WHAT IS "EXCEPTIONALISM"?
WHAT IS REVISING LENINISM?
WHAT IS THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.?
HOW CAN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT BE UNIFIED?
WHAT MUST THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY DO TO BECOME A MASS PARTY?

The Daily Worker—November 25, 1948

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27 E. 28 St.
New York, N. Y.
That "Mexican Money"

A LETTER FROM COMRADE WOLFE

The letter below was sent by Comrade Bertram D. Wolfe to the Daily Worker but, of course, was never published. In spite of the information contained here, the Daily Worker continues to publish slanderous articles by Browder and others.

Editor, The Daily Worker

Dear Comrade:

I have just finished reading an article by Earl Browder in which he explains to the readers of the Osaka that the Mexican Government is supporting the C.P.-Majority Group of the U. B. A. According to him the $100 received from Mexican comrades

Reports from Europe, Life and Times, observed that, "From the treasury of the Mexican government, which in turn received $20,000 from Ambassador Browder, Washington and Wall Street."

Fried Browder is wasting his time. He should write drowned novels or detective stories. 

To set the matter straight—Alas I have little hope of your printing this to get the truth to our membership after seeing how you treated Lifshitz's confiscation of the Baltimore Line and our correction of a glaring frame-up story during the time of the raids on your office by the Dept. of Justice—here are the facts:

1. Diego Rivera has no connection with us. He is in my opinion a Communist. I was in Mexico, I told him so, and persuaded him to leave the party and regard himself as a sympathiser, not a member. Why he was readmitted, I don't know. His expulsion now was correct. He is a great painter—but he is not and never was a Communist.

2. Browder has no connection with Diego Rivera and no connections with us. He is a Trotskyite and an employee of the Government of Vargas, Brazil. He may have connections with Com- ran. His expulsion was correct.

3. Frieda Kahlov was expelled from Mexico by the W.L.R. In Moscow in the Executive of the Comintern, I was the principal critic of Bach's opportunism and subsequent split. I hoped to get Kahlov out of the Mexican situation. But my proposals were defeated by Willi Muenzenberg, and his proposal adopted was the one of Kahlov's expulsion. The expulsions were not supported by the Government of Mexico or by the Comintern, but Frieda his hold upon his petty-bourgeois clique was broken, and he left Mexico.

4. Luis Marquez, has no connection with us. He is an ignorant man, who once was a revolutionary and who wanted a job from the Government as "labor" ambassador to Russia. The Party properly forbade his taking it, and properly expelled him because his action helps the Government to fool the masses as to its true nature.

5. The money sent us from Mexico collected from Party members and sympathizers was not contributed. The Mexican Party leadership has not degenerated into a petty-bourgeois element. The leadership of the Congress as far as I can judge from its publications and actions (in so far as I can judge from the new line) and has not expelled any member for supporting the line of the Congress. Frieda's anti-communism and for a Zinoviet line. Maybe Browder can go down and "annex" them for his line. Yours for Comrade Wolfe

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

Furniture Workers Strike

In the Furniture Frames Factory, 242-4 Newport Ave, Brooklyn, New York, a parlor frame shop, over a hundred men are on strike. The strike was declared against the demand of the bosses that we be held in a nightly meeting, because Comrade M. Perloe—who Same and the Party-loyalties boys an "agent of the bosses"—is a worker in the shop and secretary of the Strike Committee. The strike has been in good condition and the leadership of the workers is excellent. The executors of the same have come up in sympathy strike.

The Weekly Is Coming

The Daily Worker continues to discover new "united fronts" daily. The late "proof" that we are in a "united front" with Trotskyists is that the REVOLUTIONARY AGE is sold by the same stores as the MILITANT. The Daily Worker forgets only one little thing—that these same stores also sell the Daily Worker. But the COMMITTEES would like to set this right. This shows not the importance of united front, as the growing demand among Party members and revolutionary workers for REVOLUTIONARY AGE, which stands only and sells stores and stands to order it. This also indicates the growing need for a WEEKLY REVOLUTIONARY AGE.

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE can become a WEEKLY on 1st of every new and sympathizer does his share to make it a weekly. A contribution of ONE DOLLAR from every reader NOW will enable us to convert the REVOLUTIONARY AGE into a WEEKLY in a short time. It IS NOW UP TO THE READERS. Your dollars can convert the semi-monthly into a weekly. Are you for it?

WHERE TO BUY REVOLUTIONARY AGE

New York City—All News Stands.

Newark, N. J.—All News Stands.

Jersey City, N. J.—All News Stands.

Boston, Mass.—Andelman's Book Store, Tremont St.—Shar- pire's Book Store, 7 Beach St.—Goldberg's Stewart St. op- posite Warren St. (same store as the MILITANT)

Philadelphia, Pa.—M. Ross, 1525 Fifth Ave.—H. Hirsch, 1625 Center Ave.—F. A. & M. News, Co., 2629 North St., S. N.

Washington, D. C.—Gale Book Shop, 805th Tenth St., N. W.

Cincinnati, Ohio—Barkers Book Shop, 261 East 26th St.


Chicago, Ill.—Cheninik's Book Store, 2720 W. Division—Bryant's Candy Store, 1411 N. Kinzie Ave.—Bromberg's Book Store.

St. Louis, Mo.— Foster Book Co., 415 Washington Ave.

Kansas City, Mo.—Buehler's Book Store, 220 W. 12th St.

Oklahoma, Neb.—Aar Sar Benn News Stand, Cor. Halsey Drug Co. 14th St. & Howard.

Butte, Mont.—International News Depot, 121 S. Arizona St.

Tucson, Wash.—Rayner's Book Store, 1317 Pacific St.

Seattle, Wash.—Rayner's Book Store, 905—3rd Ave

Los Angeles, Cal.—Western News Stand, 694 Arcade Station.

San Francisco, Cal.—H. Koblick, 1010 Fillmore St.—J. A. McDonald, 60—6 St.

Montreal, Canada—Shulman News Stand, 62 Rachel E.