Revolutionary Age For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

VOLUME I. NUMBER 11.

Communist Party U. S. A. - Majority Group

APRIL 7, 1930. 10c A COPY

In Brief

THERE is a line over the whole capitalist world. It is the breadline. Japan in the Far East and Turkey in the Near East, Germany and England under Social-democratic leadership, the United States under "democratic" and Italy under Fascist rule, are all hard hit. And the more efficient the capitalism, the more huge the army of no occupationthe jobless workers. Dissatisfaction with capitalism, discontent of the toiling masses, hasn't been as widespread the world-over in more than a decade. What we now need most is the conscious, subjective factor, the Communist Parties, operating on a correct, a Leninist line of tactics. This is the only sure road to immediate unemployment relief.

WHILE MacDonald and Morrow are feeding the dying doves of capitalist world peace, the oil giants of American and British imperialism are locking horns and preparing for a showdown on a world scale. The Standard Oil of New York and the Royal Dutch Shell are the chief opponents. Wall Street is the aggressor. For the moment, the heaviest guns are being fired in the East Indies and India where heavy price-cutting is the order of the day. The battle front will soon include the entire Far East where kerosene is used in huge quantities. Thus, are the fires of the coming imperialist war being built. All the "peace talk" and "agreements" and prayers at London cannot obscure the sinister significance of this eversharpening clash. Here Dollar meets Pound and not merely diplomat, diplomat. The serious business of war grows out of just such clashes for markets and not out of empty abstract, pious, "peace" wishes and conferences. Just now much more important developments in Anglo-American imperialist relations are taking place in India than in the London Conference.

TN the best of days, life is difficult for the industrial workers in the United States. A study of the causes of death by occupation, made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., among 3,250,000 policyholders, during 1922-24 brings into bold relief some of the darkest shadows of American prosperity. The stress and strain of prosperity tell heavily on the industrial workers. The latter are exposed to great hazards. The death rates of the industrial workers are found to be higher for all causes. In the case of tuberculosis the death rates among the industrial workers are from 250 to 400% higher than among the professionals, merchants, etc. Pneumonia, accidents, and organic diseases of the heart take two to three times as high a toll among the industrial workers as among the other sections of the population. This is the much-heralded American "economic democracy"!

ARE YOU IN IT?

Revolutionary Age is conducting a big subscription drive thruout the month of April. One thousand new subs by May First!

Splendid prizes! Read all about it on the last page!

Thirty Millions to the Steel Trust Not One Cent for Unemployed!

CP-MAJORITY GROUP FIGHTS UNEMPLOYMENT

POLLOWING the March 6 unemployment demonstration, Police Commissioner Whalen declared no more open air meetings would be permitted for the Communists. The official Party leadership did nothing to challenge this threat, altho the Party had held open air meetings without interference for years. The Communist Party (Majori-(Continued on Page 2)

To a time when over five million workers and their families are suffering from the dreadful wave of unemployment, at a time when the roads are full of men wandering hopelessly from town to town in a desperate effort to get some work, at a time when starvation and misery have hit the working people worse than ever before in recent years, at a time when the government—federal, state, county or municipal—refuses to spend one cent for the relief of the unemployed, the U. S. Treasury Department has announced a refund of 30,000,000

to the United States Steel Corporation on income and profits taxes collected for 1918-1919-1920! According to Representative Garner, Democratic leader of the

House, the Treasury Department is planning to refund nearly \$30,000,000 more to other great corporations!

The generous soul who is giving these millions away to the trusts while the unemployed starve is none other than Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Mellon is himself a multi-millionaire and one of the biggest trust magnates in the country, directly interested in those corporations to whom the big refunds are being made. On the floor of the House attention was called to the fact that "Uncle Andy's beneficence" was "extended primarily to Pennsylvania companies, chiefly those around Philadelphia and Pittsburgh."

For the working people of this country, especially for the unemployed workers, Mr. Mellon's "generosity" should carry an important lesson. The government of this country (and all the government officials) are of, by and for the bosses! Bought and paid for! Everything it does is to enrich and strengthen the big trusts. It will do nothing for the workers except help the bosses ex ploit them more. Whatever the workers can get out of the government they can only get as a result of their organized might. Only by putting up a strong organized fight can the working people win better conditions for themselves from the bosses and the government. For the unemployed workers we must demand immediate relief-and what is more we must organize to fight for itall of us, employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized! A united front of labor to fight against unemployment and for the demands of the unemployed!



Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Greets Revolutionary Age!



I am glad to greet the "Revolutionary Age." I regret that my prolonged ill-health has kept me rather out of touch with recent developments in the movement. But when I read: "The new Revolutionary Age will begin to carry articles that will interest the average worker and in a language that the worker understands," I said to myself: Three cheers for that! I hope you will really keep this good resolution. The growth and sticking powers of the I. W. W. at its best were possible because it sprang from American conditions, dealt with the problems and spoke the language of the American workers.

Write in plain English, American style preferably, and your increased subscription lists will measure your readers' appreciation. It would not be half so hard to interest the workers in the revolutionary movement if we used intelligible language. The fault lies with us.

Let us have the facts and a simple, logical interpretation from the view-point of the class struggle. If Prof. Robert Millikan can write about atoms so a layman can read, if two New York doctors can write a "Who's Who Among the Microbes" as absorbing as any novel, surely we can present the needs of solidarity, organization and emancipation from capitalism, that will inspire to action. If we cannot, we are the failures, not the workers.

Eliminate abuse, vituperation and lengthy dissertations on internal disputes and the paper will be read more eagerly thruout the country. Do not (Continued on Page 2)

be half
be used

The pretext of the reactionaries was Eisman's participation in the March 6 demonstration in New York City.

Eisman had recently returned from the state reformatory where he had served six months for taking part in an anti-Boy Scout demonstration.

The Young Communist League (Man

YOUNG COMMUNIST GETS

The brutal vengeance of the bosses

against all militant young workers is

shown in the sentencing of Harry Eis-

man, member of the Young Communist

League, to five years in the Hawthorn

Reformatory after a sham trial in the

Children's Court before Judge Young.

FIVE YEARS PRISON!

The Young Communist League (Majority Group) has announced its support of the campaign to mobilize the young workers of this city to fight for the immediate and unconditional release of Harry Eisman.

March 6 in Europe

THE full depth of isolation into which the false ultra-left line of the Comintern has plunged the Communist Parties of Europe is shown in the miserable results of the March 6-International Unemployment Day demonstrations in the various countries of Europe.

In Germany where there exists terrific unemployment and where great demonstrations were expected, the results were almost unbelieveably bad. During the day there were hardly any demonstrations at all. After work there took place demonstrations in a number of cities. In Berlin, out of the scores of thousands of unemployed, only a few thousand demonstrated in any form. Not even the Party membership (20,000) turned out to the demonstrations and certainly not the Communist sympathizers (500,000 Communist voters). Thus in the Neukolln demonstrationsa proletarian district with over 3,000 Party members—there were 150 demonstrators! The other demonstrations were of the same order. The police, on the contrary, mobilized in the thousands and their brutality was unlimited. In Dresden, in Hamburg, in Leipzig, in the Ruhr, and in other important regions of Germany the demonstrations were far below those the Communist Party had been accustomed to hold in the previous

In Paris there were no demonstrations during the day and in the evening the total number of demonstrators amounted to less than 5.000. In the other cities of France the figures are even worse.

In Vienna there was a small demonstration and no disturbance by the

In Czechoslovakia there were also no demonstrations during the day. In Prague a small demonstration took place

Full reports are not yet forthcoming from the other parts of the world. But it is quite clear that in spite of the twenty millions of unemployed all over the world, the destructive sectarian tactics of the leadership of the Communist Internation have condemned the Communists to isolation and impotence.

The actual fiasco that March 6 turned out to be stands in the sharpest contrast to the fantastic expectations that the leaders of the Communist International and of the various Parties held out for the "International Fighting Day Against Unemployment." The actual results will help to convince the Communists and workers of the tremendous danger that the ultra-left line holds out for the revolutionary movement.

HOOVER'S "NEW PROSPERITY" THE workers are being frozen out. while Hoover's new "prosperity" plans are scarcely warmed up. One of the trump cards in the Hoover plan is the proposal to increase exports. However, in the last four months exports have steadily declined. Manufactured articles have suffered heavily. But the basic agricultural exports have fared no better—and even worse. American wheat exports for the crop year 1929-30 ed in the unemployment easily reaches have fallen "27% below the average of four million. preceding crop years." Similarly cotton exports have declined 15%. Surely,

Our Unemployment Demands

side by side against unemployment

- 1. Shorter hours—the establishment of a 40-hour, 5-day week.
- 2. Abolition of the speed-up sys-
- 3. Abolition of overtime!
- 4. Abolition of child labor! State maintenance of all children at present employed! Free food and clothing for the workers' children in the schools!
- 5. Unemployment relief from the State amounting to a living
- 6. No evictions of unemployed workers! Unemployed workers to be relieved from the necessity of paying rent! Unpaid rent must not be a charge against the future earnings of the workers!
- 7. Adequate, clean, sanitary housing and food provided free for unemployed workers who have no living quarters!
- Unemployment insurance raised from levies upon the owners of industry! The insurance to be paid is to be equal to union wages paid in the industry and

Workers-employed and unemploy- and for the demands of the unemed, organized and unorganized-fight ployed! A united front of labor

- is to be administered by democratically elected committees of the workers in the industries and the organizations of the unemployed!
- Immediate recognition of the Soviet Union by the U.S. government and the granting of one billion dollars in long term credits for the building up of Soviet industry providing work for those American factories supplying the Soviet Union with machines, tools, materials, etc., thus opening up jobs for thousands of unemployed.
- 10. Full and adequate relief along the same lines for women and young workers on the basis of equal pay for equal work!
- 11. Full and adequate social insurance-accident insuranceold age insurance, etc.!
- 12. Complete equality for all Negro workers in all forms of unemployment relief and unemployment insurance!

20,000,000 Unemployed in World

practically impossible to tell exactly how many unemployed workers there are in the world. Even in those countries where the government gets up statistics about unemployment these statistics are extroadinarily confused and biased and hardly reflect the real conditions of the labor market. But from these statistics and others some idea may be obtained of the extent of world

As far as absolute numbers is concerned, unemployment is highest in the United States. "Officially" it is reported about three million unemployed. But actually the figure is much higher, as even Mr. Green of the AF of L must admit. According to his reports the percentage of unemployed among workers organized in the AF of L reaches 19%. The total number of industrial workers in the USA is about 30,000,000. Let us assume that the percentage of unemployment among these workers is no higher than among the section of the workers in the AF of L. Even then unemployment would reach to about 5,700,000! It can be safely declared that there are at least six million unemployed in the USA.

Germany takes second place. In January the number of unemployed receiving relief in Germany amounted to 2,500,000. To this number must be added 100,000 unemployed who received no relief as well as the huge number of workers who work only a couple of days a week. The total number of German workers involv-

After Germany comes England. The number of officially registered unem-Hoover's "balance-wheel" is lopsided. ployed is 1,500,000 but of course this is

emphasize New York City. It is not the whole United States. Basic industry lies elsewhere. Self-criticism carried to extremes, can become a vulture, as in the fable of Prometheus, clawing at our vitals, destroying as fast as they grow. A constructive program creates enthusiasm.

Look West and South over the North American continent. Lumber, mining, steel, railroads, manufacturing, stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Tasks sufficient to keep everyone busy challenge everywhere. We will do more for the international working class movement by organizing the American workers than by debating what should be done in Europe. It is a mighty task, worthy of our mettle. I hope Revolutionary Age will discuss such vital problems as unemployment, the lack of unionism, militarism, and imperialism, the menace of another war, new developments in industry and the recent big mergers, the use of movies, radios, newspapers, schools and churches to stupefy and bewilder the workers. Voice the needs of labor in relation to these. Contribute to their understanding of their power. Help them to organize intelligently to build a workers' world. Help make our age a REVOLUTIONARY AGE! ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

TWENTY million unemployed! It is far from the actual number of unemployed. In the past few years hundreds of thousands of workers have been stricken off the registry and relief lists because "they did not sincerely look for work." With absolute certainty we can say that the number of unemployed in England eaches two million.

> Passing from these industrial regions to other countries the absolute figures are smaller. But in relation to the proletarian population the proportion of unemployed is even more catastrophic than in the USA. This is especially true of Poland and Austria.

> In Poland there were 240,000 registered unemployed in January and tens of thousands of unregistered unemployed, above all unemployed agricultural laborers. In the regions of national minorities the proportions are even higher than in the Polish regions. The total number of workers hit by unemployment amounts to half a million-one half of the Polish

> In little Austria, with a total population of only 6,500,000 there are officially 360,000 unemployed. The total number of unemployed is easily 400,000-twofifths of the Austrian working class!

Everywhere in Europe-in Italy, in Sweden and Norway, in Rumania and Bulgaria—the number of unemployed grows rapidly. The only exception is France. Because of the favorable economic conditions and the low birth-rate there is practically no unemployment in France. Tens of thousands of foreign change in the economic conditions they will be thrown out of work and many more also-and unemployment will hit France too. This is how things stand in

The other parts of the world have also been hit by the wave of unemployment. Canada alone has 200,000 unemployed and Mexico about 700,000. In Cuba there are 300,000 out of work. In Columbia 150,000 and in Argentina, Chile, Peru and the other countries of Latin America the workers thrown out on the streets can be counted in the tens of thousands. In Japan there are one million jobless while in China, Indonesia, Australia, and South Africa, the crisis has thrown hundreds of thousands on the streets.

Without exaggeration it can be said that the total number of unemployed on a world scale reaches the gigantic figure of twenty million.

Fighting Unemployment

(Continued from Page 1)

ty Group) therefore informed Mr. Whalen on March 12 that a meeting on unemployment was arranged for Thursday, March 13 at Columbus Circle. The police captain, who was informed in the usual manner of the meeting, referred the request to the Commissioner's office. The secretary to the Commissioner stated that the meeting "would complicate matters". Finally Whalen summoned Comrade Miller to his office for a personal investigation. When at last the Commissioner granted the request for the right to hold a meeting, in the face of the notification that the CP Majority Group was going ahead with the meeting, he tried to cover up his retreat by making a slanderous charge that he had received pledges that the meeting would be "peaceful and lawabiding". No such pledge was given.

The meeting opened on Columbus Circle in the face of a formidable array of mounted police and reserves stationed in the nearby buildings in order to overawe and terrorize the workers. Nevertheless a fine meeting was held, estimated by the capitalist press as reaching from 1,000 to 1,500 workers. The speakers were Ben Gitlow, Jay Lovestone, William J. White, Bert Miller, Marion Gray and Chester Bixby, chairman. The meeting denounced the brutality of Commissioner Whalen, demanded the release of those arrested and held without bail last Thursday, and presented also the demands of the CP-Majority Group on unemployment.

Following the Columbus Circle meeting, another open air meeting was held on Monday, March 17, at 10th Street and Second Avenue, at which concrete demands on Mayor Walker were presented and approved by several hundred unem-

On Thursday, March 20 the New York organization of the C.P-Majority Group held an open meeting at New Harlem Casino on the question of unemployment and police brutality. Several hundred workers were present, including many workers who had never been to our meetings previously. Bertram D. Wolfe was chairman and the speakers included J. O. Bentall, Marion Gray and Ben Gitlow. A resolution was unanimously adopted embodying the unemployment demands of the CP-Majority Group and condemning the clubbing, arrest and imprisonment of workers in the March 6 demonstrations, the attitude of the Socialist Party and the right wing trade union burocrats in ignoring the demands of the unemployed and upholding the brutal hand of Whalen. The campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union was also condemned and the audience enthusiastically pledged to defend it against

IN SAN ANTONIO

Our work among the Mexicans is making rapid progress and is outgrowing our resources and finances in spite of workers have come to France in the last the great difficulties we are facing. The few years for work. With the least majority of our Mexican sympathizers are not naturalized and the apprehension is great among them that any one arrested will be deported without a trial. We are situated only 150 miles away from the border and every day sees carloads of deported Mexicans. We are handicapped by the insufficiency of leaders. Most of them are transient. There is also the lack of Spanish literature.

> Nevertheless we are conducting our regular Sunday meetings with an attendance around 500. Last Sunday, we gave a free concert and refreshments for the unemployed. This aroused great sympathy and enthusiasm for our council. Spies and detectives swarmed around the hall.

> In connection with March 6, I was arrested for a number of hours but the chief of police called it a conference. We notified the chief of police that we would hold a parade as soon as we are ready for it. Meanwhile the Party has done absolutely nothing regarding unemployment.

The Unemployment Situation and Communist Policy

The March 6 demonstrations must nei-

ther be underestimated or exaggerated.

bilize for the demonstrations a very

large number of workers. These de-

monstrations gave proof to the fact that

the unemployment situation is very ser-

ious. It forced the consideration of the

unemployment situation by the capitalist

forces. It established the fact that that

the Communists are the outstanding

zation of the workers in the United

States was coupled with the insane char-

acterization that the present world sit-

uation due to the unemployment crisis

is comparable to the crisis of the capi-

talist world in 1914-18 and that the

whole structure of American imperial-

ism is collapsing. This accounts for the

raising of such slogans as: "Down with

the government!" "Fight for the estab-

lishment of a Revolutionary Workers

Government!" etc. The demands of the

unemployed were minimized and rele-

resented in spite of the fact that today

there are over 700,000 members of the

A. F. of L. out of work. The complete

abandonment of the united front and

work in the reactionary trade unions is

Party and the TUUL certainly reaches

its height in the character and arrange-

ments for the National Unemployment

Conference called for March 29 under

the auspices of the TUUL. From the

call published in Labor Unity on March

8 it is very clear that the Party is not

interested in developing a broad united

front movement of the unemployed work-

ers and employed workers around the

question of unemployment. The call

provides that representation shall be

based upon the unemployed councils and

shop committees thru the TUUL

locals, and that the delegates must come

from local unions and shop committees

elected by the local TUUL. Representa-

tion from other organizations is not per-

The sectarianism in the line of the

characteristic of the line of the Partv.

fighters for the unemployed.

THE most important issue before the working class is the issue of unemployment. The Communist Party of On the whole the Party was able to mothe U.S. A. has made its major campaign on this issue. The peak of the Party campaign was reached in the unemployment demonstrations that took place thruout the country on March 6. It is necessary for us to estimate correctly the campaign conducted by the Party as well as the value of the March

False Analysis and Adventurist Sectarian Slogans

This wrong estimation of the radicali-The Party, however, pursued a very narrow sectarian and leftist course in developing its unemployment campaign. Due to this wrong line the Party lost a splendid opportunity of organizing a broad united front movement under its leadership of hundreds of thousands of

What did the Party do? It raised slogans that were absolutely out of place for the present situation. This followed logically from the position taken by the present Party leadership that the workers in the United States are so gated to a secondary position and the radicalized that they are prepared for idea of abstract militant action and the offensive revolutionary action against loud shouting of phrases brought forthe capitalists and their government. ward.

The Abandonment of the Tactics of the United Front

The insistence that the unemployed no attempts were made to get them repcouncils must be organized by and within the T.U.U.L. narrowed these councils down to the already narrow TUUL organization and prevented their organization on a broad mass basis. As a result, the few unemployed councils that were organized were not genuine councils at all. They were confined almost entirely to a few Party members were in fact merely Party committees. In spite of the good opportunities for organization the Party to date has failed to organize an outstanding council of unemployed workers with a large mem-

bership of unemployed workers. The Party in its unemployment campaign abandoned entirely the idea of the united front and work in the mass organizations. No effort was made whatsoever to tie up with the unemployment campaign local unions and workers organizations generally. No attempt whatsoever was made to raise the issues of the unemployed in the local unions of the A. F. of L. and to get them to join mitted. No call to local unions of the in support of those demands. The un- A. F. of L., no call to workers organemployed organized workers who be- izations is made. Just a narrow TUUL longed to the A. F. of L. were ignored conference-which, in other words. by the present Party leadership. No means just a narrow Party conference attempts were made to organize them, on the unemployment question!

The March Sixth Unemployment Demonstrations

The March 6 demonstrations themselves bring out the same lessons. The issuance of the call for a nation-wide general strike of all workers on March 6 their demands. But this did not take ship is playing with slogans. The ob- because the police were prepared to prethe new unions, under the complete heg- committee was chosen to interview the the general strike. In many instances rade the following constituted the comthe order of the Party leadership was mittee: Foster, head of the TUUL; opposed by the leading Party officials Darcy, Agitprop Director of New York;

onstrations took place statements were issued to the effect that the unemployed would march to City Hall and present shows how far the present Party leader- place. There was no parade to City Hall jective situation was not present for a vent it and because also the present general strike, and in addition there were Party leadership gave absolutely no leadabsolutely no preparations, ideological ership. The present Party leadership and organizational, for such a stupend- had a wonderful opportunity in utilizous general strike as was called out by ing this demonstration to present the dethe Party leadership on paper. Even mands of the unemployed. But when a emony of the Party, did not respond to chief of police on the question of a pa-Amter, Organizer of the New York Dis-For some time previously the Party strict; Siskind, head of the New York leadership had issued statement after TUUL. It will be seen that not a single statement of defiance of the capitalist unemployed worker and non-Communist authorities-defiance which could not be was included in the committee! When carried out under any circumstances or the chief of police "offered" to escort a without the most serious consequences committee of the demonstration to City to the movement. But it always turned Hall to interview the Mayor this offer out that these "statements" were empty was refused and the demonstrators were defies, as for example, at the Katovis asked without any leadership to fall in funeral. The same thing happened on line and march to City Hall while the

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ed, and then proceeded to City Hall without the masses to present the demands of the unemployed! It is clear that the offer of the chief of police should have been utilized to organize a very large committee consisting mostly of unemployed workers, which committee should have informed the crowds that it was going to City Hall to present the demands of the unemployed workers to the Mayor and that the workers should go to City Hall to hear what the Mayor had to say to their demands. This was not done. The "committee of the unemployed," made up of Foster, Amter, Minor and two other Party members went down to City Hall-and were ar-

mands of the unemployed were minimized and relegated to the background, so at the March 6 demonstrations and the period subsequent the Party leadership has permitted the whole unemployment campaign to be turned by the reactionary forces into a fight against the "reds," into a fight against Communism. When Foster and Minor appeared before the Board of Estimate as the "representatives of the unemployed" they allowed themselves to be trapped by Walker and McKee into discussing everything but unemployment and the conditions of the unemployed! (Here again-"representatives of the unemployed"-but no unemployed!)

Just as in the entire campaign the de-

The wrong line of the Party leadership has done great damage to the struggle against unemployment. Only by abandoning this false sectarian leftist line and by returning to the Leninist tactic of the united front can the full opportunities for developing a powerful mass movement against unemployment

General Strike In Cuba

TWO hundred thousand Cuban work-I ers went on strike March 20 in protest against the government's outlawing of the Confederation of Labor and against unemployment. The strike in cluded practically the entire industrial population of Cuba. The workers organized huge demonstrations

The Cigar Makers Union was the first to issue the call for a 24-hour general strike. Street car workers and bus drivers left work at 1 o'clock in the morning. Hotel and restaurant workers left work at midnight.

Public utilities were exempted from the strike by the General Strike Committee. This included the power plants, electricity and gas works and water

Only one Spanish language paper appeared. The workers in the other five papers all struck, including the reporters and editorial staff, who are all members of the Typographical Workers Union. The workers on the paper which appeared will be called to account by the union.

In spite of efforts of the police to provoke the workers so as to give the government an excuse for violently suppressing the strike, the workers conducted the strike in an organized and systematic manner and all industry was at a standstill. This strike is indicative of the development of the forces of revolt against the Machado government in Cuba, which is a puppet of American imperialism and which has conducted a reign of terror against workers and the anti-imperialists. The Pan-American Federation of Labor, controlled by the A. F. of L. burocrats, endeavored to sabotage the strike but failed completely. as the workers already know them and did not follow them.

WAGES OF WORKING WOMEN

TOW often we have heard the apos tles of 100% Americanism boast of the 5-and-10 cent stores and the limited price chain department store! Time and again these have been offered to us as proof of the "superiority" of capitalism over communism. Of course, all of these 'prosperity" drummers muffle their drums in regard to the wages received by the working women in these stores. In the nine year peariod 1920-29 according to the U.S. Women's Bureau, weekly wage rates among these workers ranged from \$5 to \$12. The Empire State of New York boasts of an average of less than \$10 a week. That's exactly how capitalist "progress" works. The loftiest towers and mightiest citadells of American capitalism are built and reared on the mass misery of the working class

The Socialist Unemployment Conference

various sympathetic unions and fraternal organizations. The conference managed to draw only the right wing needle trades unions, Socialist Party branches and auxiliary organizations and a small sence of representatives of the unem-

len, but each speaker found time to condemn the Communists, the only force left wing. which has been actually attempting to create a movement utilizing the mass power of the unemployed. The delegates from the CP-Majority Group were excluded. No arrangement was made for any meeting of the unemployed or for any effort to organize the unemployed. In fact Mr. Shiplacoff admitted in his speech, that he did not expect that the conference could do very much. The main reliance seemed to be placed upon March 6 in New York. Before the dem- leaders of the demonstration disappear- the results of interviews with Mayor 5c a Copy — 50 Cents a year.

On Wednesday, March 19 the Socialist Walker. No resolution was adopted for Party called a conference on unemploy- the recognition of the Soviet Union nor ment at Beethoven Hall in the name of for any movement for the shortening of hours, abolition of speed-up, overtime, against evictions, so as to draw the employed workers into a real struggle in the interests of their unemployed brothers. It was a conference chiefly of sprinkling of other organizations. It Socialist burocrats attempting to make was characterized by the complete ab- political capital out of the sufferings of the unemployed thru empty phrases. The Only one Negro delegate was main aim of the conference appeared to present from the Harlem Tenants be to lay the basis for the formation of League. Both the extremely conserva- a "public spirited committee representing tive unions and the left wing were ab- all political parties (meaning capitalist parties, of course) to take up the ques-The conference was treated to a string tion of unemployment." The time is of speeches by Thomas, Beardsley, Pan-ripe now for a real conference including ken, Waldman, Shiplacoff. No discus- all sections of the New York working sion was permitted from the floor. No class, including above all representatives resolution was adopted condemning the of the unemployed, Negro workers, wobrutality of Police Commissioner Wha- men and youth. The main responsibility for carrying out this tack rests upon the

> Read MARCH-APRIL ISSUE OF THE JEWISH MONTHLY BULLETIN

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Editorials

WITH SEVEN LEAGUE BOOTS

PAY by day Big Business in the United States is growing bigger and bigger. The momentary lull in mergers, as a result of the stock market crash, has ended. Again there is a wave of mergers. And this time it is not so much the little fellows who are getting together as the biggest banks and corporations. The mergers of yesterday are becoming the super-mergers of today. The trusts of yesterday have become the super-trusts of today. Some year's ago the government used to castigate the trust movement. Then it began to investigate. Today, the government instigates the merger movement. This only mirrors the changing

Railroad consolidation is setting the pace—under government pressure. The Vacuum Oil has joined the Rockefeller family, as a "legitimate" son of the Standard Oil Co. of New York. Bethlehem Steel is gobbling up the mammoth Youngstown Sheet and Tube. But it is the gigantic bank mergers which have dramatized most effectively the trend towards the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few multi-billionaires, if we may create this term. With the merging of the Chase-Equitable-Interstate banks in New York City, the world has its first three billion dollar bank. The brother in law of John D. Rockefeller, W. W. Aldrich, is to command this financial fortress. In reliable Wall Street circles it is said that the Morgan banks are planning a merger to set up a five billion dollar bank! This will give us another and even bigger Morgan-Rockefeller coalition. The crest of the concentration wave is not yet in sight. The four billion dollar Bell Telephone Co. is already a fact.

Why all these mergers? Mass production demands mass credit. Big business makes big banks. Giant customers need giant banks and vice-versa. The power of finance capital is rising. Already four banks control 80% of all steel production. And three gigantic steel corporations dominate the entire field. It is also symbolic of American financial world supremacy that the first and second of the world's five biggest banks are in New York City. This merging business is a real challenge and serious menace to the workers. It means a more united and powerful capitalist enemy in strikes. It means a stranglehold on the country's resources and the lives of the toiling masses in the factories and on the farms. It means a further fusion of the machinery of government with the machinery of Big Business. It means more ruthless mass strikebreaking by the government along the whole front.

It would be folly to think that all opposition to trustification is forever at an end in the country. Within a few years there will develop a new mighty movement of mass resistance against the tyranny of monopolist, finance capital. The public utility corporations and banks will draw the fiercest fire. A Communist Party basing itself on the actual conditions in the country can under these circumstances reap a bountiful harvest on the road towards its final goal.

For the workers to shut their eyes to the sweeping merger movement would mean suicide. To pit the out-of-date craft union against the modern supertrust is to have an ox-cart race an airplane. We need more urgently than ever the only effective and up-to-date immediate answer to the big "unity" moves of the biggest capitalists. This answer is: The organization of powerful, militant industrial unions, strong shop committees, and the building of a mass fighting Communist Party of the working class to unite our ranks on a national scale.

DISCIPLINE IN INDUSTRY VERSUS DISCIPLINE IN GOVERNMENT TET no one stick to the old prattle that Prohibition is a fake issue and a smoke screen. Prohibition is a vital issue of American politics—class relations in the United States.

Prohibition is now giving the capitalist class a headache. The contradictions of its enforcement are causing serious divisions in the ranks of the employing class. Surely, the Literary Digest, the organs of the wealthiest colleges, like the Yale Daily News, and numerous other such agencies have not been spending vast sums of money on "prohibition polls" for nothing. There are powerful employing class interests behind them. Even the most ardent prohibitionists admit that the result of the Literary Digest pool to date is all wet. Of nearly 300,000 answers, only about 80,000 are for enforcement.

What's all the noise about? Large scale rationalized industry, mass production, the speed-up, demand great discipline and regularity from the workers in industry, in order to get the highest efficiency. Hence, some of the biggest capitalists, like Ford, demand prohibition which helps them to get such discipline. By means of prohibition, the biggest capitalists, thru their government, extend their power over the workers from the factories into the homes and not only during but also after working hours. Besides, the very development of certain industries is fostered by prohibition. It is for these reasons that most of the automobile magnates are for prohibition.

But to enforce prohibition is something else. Despite the setting up of a huge prohibition machine, enforcement has proved a fizzle. The continued incapacity of a government to enforce any one law tends to undermine the respect, faith, and fear of the masses in all law, in the entire system of capitalist law and government. This system of capitalist law represents the concentration of employing class power and rule in present day society. It is therefore a matter of life-and-death interest to the ruling class to preserve the holiness and myth of the invincibility of the legal system as such. Anything which tends to undermine or break down this disciplining power of the capitalist machinery of oppression of the workers-the govern-

ment, the law system-tends to rock the very foundations of the power of the ex-

Because of this, many big capitalists dread the breakdown of discipline in government brought on by the failure of prohibition enforcement. Much as they might otherwise want prohibition for the workers, they are therefore compelled to oppose it. That's why many big capitalists who once spoke of prohibition as "a noble experiment" now say that if the government would attempt real enforcement it "would be swept out of existence at the next election, and if, that were not so, they would have on their hands a civil war . . . Great masses of men, million at a time, will not suffer themselves to be treated as lawbreakers . . .

Capitalism cannot solve this contradiction. Alcoholism is one of the natural, monstrous offsprings of the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. The real and only way out lies in the American workers doing what their Russian brothers did-to kick out capitalism and its profit-hungry ruling class.

THE NEWEST "NEW TURN"

INDER the leadership of the present Executive Committee, the political line of the Comintern is just one "turn" after another, one twist upon another, see-saw after see-saw. One day the "right danger" is the main danger. Scarcely does the sun set and the "left danger" becomes the main "obstacle." The "changes" come with lightning, breakneck speed for the rubber-stamp, puppet leaderships that have been foisted on the various Parties But after all highsounding phrases are brushed aside, one painful fact stands out: The tactical line of the Comintern today is non-Lennist and its "turns" and twists are still largely away from and not towards Leninism. Basically, the line of pure ultraleftist adventurism remains unchanged and "unsullied."

The last full meeting of the Presidium of the Comintern glaringly reveals this sad state of affairs. Its resolution speaks of the slogan of the "general political strike" for such countries as the United States being on the order of the day for action. Even the "overzealous young comrades" who took part in the official American Party leadership in the Comintern would face an impossible task were they to attempt to count the number of workers who took part in the "general strike" of March 6, or who will take part in the "general strike" of May First. There are no such workers to be counted in the United States. Lenin time and again warned against revolutionaries, Communists, playing with such slogans as the slogan of the "general strike."

The elements of economic crisis in world capitalism are growing. The colonial masses are becoming more and more determined in their opposition to the imperialists. The opportunities for the world Communist movement haven't been as favorable in a decade. But so long as our world Party leadership insists on following a line in revision of the basic tactical lessons Lenin taught us, the Communist International can never fully utilize the extremely favorable opportunities at

Let us place some timely questions to prove the correctness of our conclusions Why is it that the Communist Party of Great Britain is rapidly declining despite sharp leftward swing of the masses? How come that the Communist Party of India is practically non-existent when hatred of British imperialism is swiftly mounting? Where is the Communist Party of China today? Why is it that despite the generally magnificent response of the masses in the United States on March 6, the Communist Party of the United States of America has been unable to organize a single, genuine, mass unemployment council in the entire country? Where is the French Communist Party, long known for its splendid anti-militarist work, in the face of the rising tides of militarism in France? Why is the membership of the German Party declining and its hold on the masses becoming slimmer and slimmer despite the severest unemployment crisis in the last seven years?

Name calling, noise, slanders, abuse won't answer our questions and can only hurt the Communist movement still more. We need less "new turns" and less twists. We need less zigzagging. The world Party of Communism must return to the tactical principles and methods of Lenin. This would do a real good turn to the Communist Parties the world-over and would unite their ranks for victory over the exploiting class, in the great fierce battles now developing. And the return to the Leninist line is the best guarantee of safety for the only fatherland of the workers of the world-the Soviet Union, the land of rising Socialism.

Gandhi's "March to the Sea"

NDIA has four of the world's greatest rock salt areas. But it is a crime for an Indian to carry a pail of sea water to his home, according to the "Socialist" MacDonald government. The British imperialists dump 600,000 tons of salt nto the Indian market every year. This serves as ballast for British ships and nets the English imperialists many milions annually. Indians have to pay for this monopolized salt a price affording the British exploiters a profit of about 2000%. Should an Indian farmer take his cow to the seashore and let her lick ing masses by local, native princes, masthe salt deposited there, he is liable to be jailed for violating the law of the Empire. These are the fruits of imperialist "civilization" in the colonies.

will not overthrow British imperialism. cipation.

Only a march to the sea of the kind made by the American General Sherman against the Southern chattel-slave owners will do the trick. What the Indian masses need for their liberation is not a policy of "non-cooperation" and meek bare-foot marchers but a policy of revolutionary struggle for the overthrow and destruction of the British imperialist yoke. At best the policies of the wavering, confused Nationalists can lead only to chaos and to suppression of the toilters, and war lords. That's just what's happened to China after the betraval by Chang-Kai-Shek. Only the constructive program of revolutionary struggle can be the binding unifying force But Ghandi's "march to the sea" making for the victory of Indian eman-

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The Fancy Leather Goods Workers And the Left Wing

By L. D. WARD

book Workers Union during the real militancy could easily have won the last few months have shown the emptiness of the boasting of the Shiplakoff administration that the workers in the union are satisfied with the right-wing

At every meeting of the union, previous to the elections, the administration received defeat after defeat. Superficially, it seemed as if it were a strug- to find an outlet. It had to develop into gle against individuals, especially against the paid officials. But actual facts show that the workers are dissatisfied with the right-wing and its policies. It is our job as the left-wing in the union to develop this dissatisfaction of the workers into a conscious opposition against the right-wing by putting forward positive proposals as to how to remedy this situation, by fighting for the most elementary demands of the workers in each factory and linking these up with general left-wing slogans.

The officials have shown by their deeds that they would rather weaken and smash the union than permit the pocketbook workers to take control of the union in their own hands. The first step that the Shiplakoff administration acopied to weaken the union was to expel the left-wing committees elected by the workers and suspend many of the best union fighters. The next step was to take off the ballot those left-wingers who were not as yet suspended. Those who succeeded in getting their names put on the ballot had their votes stolen.

These things are fully admitted today. The officials raised the workers weekly dues, passed two taxes of \$60 each tax. In that way they collected a few hundred thousand dollars from a membership of some 4,000 workers. At the same time the conditions of the workers in the shops grew worse. The speedup became unbearable. The shop chairmen had to be elected to the bosses' liking. The business agent, as well as the other officials, acted as a better friend to the boss than to the worker. The employment clerk was a real burocrat. abused the workers when he called them into the office, forced them to be submissive and crawl on their bellies if they wanted a "better" job.

Thru the pressure of the masses, the union officials were forced to make at least a gesture of forwarding the leftwing demands to the bosses when the last agreement expired. The manufacturers, on the suggestion of union officials, answered the worker's demands with a lockout. The administration of the union made no resistance to this lockout, altho the left wing correctly demanded that the lockout be turned into a strike.

Finally the administration withdrew all of the workers demands and signed up on the "old conditions." As usual the "old" conditions were not the old conditions but worse conditions.

The TUUL failed to utilize this sitworkers to take over the leadership of from them. the union, the TUUL was satisfied with come into power.

and the second

EVENTS in the International Pocket- larged. The workers saw clearly that 40-hour week and other demands. In short the sell-out by the officials became

clear to the workers. Simultaneously, with the comparatively busy season, the bosses intensified the speed-up. Wages in many instances were forced down. All this brought about a dissatisfaction of a genuine type. This discontent had an organized movement for the control of the union by the workers. As usual such movements of the masses can be led and misled. It all depends on who is at the leadership of this mass movement and what policies are followed. But the Communist Party and the left wing were not able to give leader-

ship to the dissatisfied workers. The main cause for the failure of the left wing to get any real hold on the workers must be traced to the incorrect general policy of the present Party leadership, especially the wrong Party leadthat no struggle of the workers is a real struggle unless Communists are in the immediate leadership of that struggle, and the still worse theory that if the leaders are reformists and Socialists, then all their followers are "social-

When, for the first time in years, the workers turned the union meeting into a battle ground against the administration, the Party minimized this struggle because this opposition to the union burocracy was headed by a group who, covering themselves with fighting phrases, are misleading these workers. When the writer of these lines, who is a supporter of the Communist Party (Majority Group), proposed that we divide this opposition into leaders and masses (the leaders taking advantage of the discontent of these workers), that while the leaders are not sincere, this struggle of the workers is basically healthy, he was condemned and repudiated.

The Party line was to come to the masses and tell them that these leaders of the opposition were always crooks and that therefore they are still crooks. To this the opposition leaders answered that, while it is true that they once were everything that was being said about them, they have now come to realize this fact and are now fighting against the administration for a clean and democratic union. This answer carried weight on these workers. . .

My proposition was that the way to expose and tear down the mask of the leaders of the opposition was to force them to take a stand on concrete issues facing the workers. There were many instances where this could be done. The official Party line could not find and did not win the masses to our side in spite of favorable conditions for the growth of a genuine struggle of the workers to get control of the union under left wing leadership. A line that brands every movement of the workers uation. No attempt was made to mobil- that is not led by the Communist Party ize the workers against the oncoming as a "social-fascist" movement leads to sell-out by Shiplakoff: Instead of organ- an underestimation of these movements, union program which shall include the izing shop committees and calling mass to a lack of confidence in these masses basic demands such as: (1) 40-hour 5meetings and in that way preparing the and therefore to the Party's isolation

Now the opposition has taken over the mere paper slogans about shop commit- leadership of the union. The situation tees, etc. This is true of the whole ex- for the left-wing is still very favorable. ecutive committee of the TUUL includ- As a matter-of-fact, it will be still more ing the writer of these lines. It was on favorable in the near future. Some 500 account of this failure of the TUUL to workers are unemployed. Fifty per cent give definite leadership to the workers of the trade is working part time and that the right-wing opposition had a the tendency is that large numbers of chance to get hold of the leadership of the workers will soon be fully unemthe dissatisfied workers and finally ployed. The bosses are making every attempt to take advantage of the situa- plan for the drawing of the helpers . The following working season was a tion. The conditions of the workers as into the mechanics section; (9) for the busy one. For a few weeks there was well as the union are very much endang- rest of the demands contained in the a shortage of labor; factories were en- ered. Our union will have to take a sharp TUUL program.

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Watch for the Coming Issues!

THE A. F. OF L. BUROCRATS AND THE WAR MACHINE

Startling disclosures of the relations of the A. F. of L. reactionary officialdom to the U.S. Army. Speeches of Matthew Woll and William Green at the Army War College.

THE PROBLEMS OF NEGRO

An illuminating series of articles on the conditions of the Negro people in the United States by writers thoroly acquainted with the question.

THE TASKS OF THE

Workers Union.

TRADE UNION UNITY LEAGUE The resolution introduced for the CP-Majority Group at the recent New York Metropolitan Conference of the TUUL. The speech of Delegate Sidney Jonas, Vice-President of the Independent Shoe

WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION FIGHTING FOR?

A brilliant exposition of the general program of struggle of the international opposition movement by August Thalheimer, one of the outstanding theoreticians in the Communist International.

turn, become a real militant union with a left wing leadership or fall under the heel of the bosses. It is at this time that the left-wing will be tested. We must immediately prepare for a struggle that the rank and file should take over the union. We must point out to the workers that now, before the new administration has a chance to organize itself into a clique holding on to power by force as did the last administration, its wings must be clipped. We must point out to the workers the danger the union finds itself in and the necessity of a militant leadership.

We must demand that the new administration should immediately call a con- ter and cleaner" union. To what heights vention where the collowing concrete steps must be taken:

1. The abolition of the present Joint Council and its replacement by a shop delegates system.

2. The immediate formation of a rank and file organization committee especially to prepare for the coming negotiations with the manufacturers and for the organization of the out-of-town

3. The struggle for an industrial union embracing the Independent Shoe Workers Union, Suit Case and Bag Workers, the International Pocketbook Workers Union, unorganized leather workers, to be represented thru shop

suspended members and the drawing aries and misleaders and become the them into union activity.

5. The adoption of a militant trade day week; (2) 44 weeks guaranteed work during the year. (3) unemployment insurance paid by the bosses and controlled wing. by the workers; (4) week work; (5) one minimum scale for mechanics; (6) one week trial; (7) one minimum scale for packers, examiners and general helpers, which shall enable them to make a decent living; (8) for the abolition of the helpers system so that we shall not have the exploitation of workers by other workers-by working out of a

Senate Passes Mellon-Grundy Tariff

BY a vote of 53-31 the Senate passed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Bill, after more than half a year of the sharpest conflict over tariff schedules since Mc-Kinley's days. The new measure, which levies the highest tariff rates in the history of the country, will add many hundreds of millions of dollars to the cost of living of the masses. Sharp retaliatory measures by other countries are cer-

Originally the bill was proposed as a "farm relief" measure. In its present form it levies 36% average on agricultural products and from 15 to 63% on manufactured commodities. At the beginning there was formed a bloc of Western "insurgents" and Democrats against industrial increases, but when it came to voting, Borah, Brookhart, Frazier, Nye, and other "progressives" lined up with Fess, Bingham, Smoot, Watson and the rest of the standpat reactionary

Grundy, head of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, supported by Mellon, came thru with flying colors in the fight. He worked openly as a lobbyist and turned his Senate office into lobbying headquarters. Grundy did more effective work for the big industrial interests in a few weeks than Smoot and Watson did in months. He organized a group of the lumber, oil, cement and sugar interests, which swaved the field This group was named the "plunder-

The new tariff bill strikes a special blow at the workers thru its provision against the importation of "treasonable" literature. It creates the first open governmental consorship machinery. The government is now "legally" empowered to keep out of the country all writings by Marx, Lenin, and other revolutionary working class writers.

TWO MINERS CONVENTIONS

(Continued from Page 6)

Imagine a left wing organization defending the morals of the coal barons against Lewis. The methods of Lewis were too raw for this marauding, robbing band of exploiters who control the coal industry. It is to laugh to think that they want a little more moral methods used by trade union officials and that is why they are organizing a "betof moral eloquence the present TUUL leaders go in their leftist pronounce-

The failure at Springfield to defeat Fishwick and Farrington was due to the lack of left wing leadership, due to the fact that the "official" Communists have given up work in the existing

The Fishwick-Farrington victory over the rank and file may soon result in the whole dissipation of this rank and file revolt. The election of Howat as president is being used to hide this fact. But such a dissipation will not mean a victory for the left wing, because with proper policies the left wing could have 4. Unconditional reinstatement of the organized this revolt against reactiondominant factor in the coal industry.

The imperative need in the trade union movement is to revive activity on the part of the left wing in the existing unions—in other words to build the left

At a Party arranged by a group of workers of the Boro Park Workers Club it was decided to greet Revolutoinary Age in its struggle for a

united revolutionary labor movement.

Springfield and Indianapolis

conventions of the United Mine Workers of America. One was held in Indianapolis, the other in Springfield, Illinois. The Indianapolis convention was a John L. Lewis convention ruled from beginning to end by President John L. Lewis. The Springfield convention was called to oust Lewis, to adopt a new constitution for the United Mine Workers of America and to declare itself the legitimate United Mine Workers of America. The Springfield convention was dominated by the Fishwick-Farrington machine of the Illinois district, by John H. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor and to a lesser extent by progressives of the type of Hapgood and Brophy. The Socialists present like Adolph Germer and Oscar Ameringer were tied up completely with the Fishwick-Farrington machine.

There were present at Springfield about 450 delegates from the following mining territories: Ohio, Kansas, Kentucky, Arkansas, Indiana, Iowa, Oklahoma, Missouri, Wyoming, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Alabama, Tennessee and Illinois. The Springfield convention, because it included the bulk of the Illinois and Kansas districts, represented the majority of bituminous miners in the United Mine Workers of America. The shortcoming of the Springfield convention, the lack of delegates from the Anthracite coal districts was the strength of the John L. Lewis Indianapolis convention. The collapsing edifice of John L. Lewis was propped up by the anthracite organizations

As a result of these two conventions, held simultaneously, each one claiming to be legal, each one defying the other, there looms up a war in the UMW of A. It will have its reverberations in the A. F. of L. It will cause some reactions in the Socialist Party. It puts to the test the Communists as leaders of the left wing rank and file forces in the existing unions.

At the Springfield convention there was present a considerable rank and file delegation of distinct left wing tendencies. The fight against the seating of Frank Farrington, former president of the Illinois district, a corrupt reactionary official who left the union to go into the employ of the Peabody Coal Company for the "small" pay of \$25,000 a year, utilized by a set of reactionary officials,

N March 10 there took place two brought this out. The vote to seat Far-

The outstanding feature of the Springfield convention was its rank and file character tho the rank and file was decisively defeated by the Fishwick-Farrington-Walker-Socialist Party outfit. The New York Sun in its editorial of March 12, 1930 on the convention notes this fact as follows:

"More significant than any action taken by the insurgents at Springfield was the spirit of resentment and suspicion which animated that assemblage. . . . The delegates seemed so fearful they might be destroying the power of Lewis in order to raise another dictatorship in its stead that they were unwilling to grant any right of appointment to officers of their convention.

... When Harry Fishwick of the Illinois District took it upon himself to call the convention to order there were angry protests from the floor by those who wanted to know what right he had to call anybody to order.

. . . Coming from bituminous coal fields in eleven states the 500 who assembled at Springfield were doggedly determined this should be a rank and file convention." The Springfield convention, while it

followed on the heels of the bitter war between the reactionary Lewis machine and the reactionary Illinois district machine of Farrington-Fishwick, cannot be explained by the simple analysis that it marked a stage in the fight between two corrupt reactionary trade union ma-This cannot explain the rank and file character of the convention and the masses of bituminous miners represented. The Springfield convention indicates a growing discontent in the ranks of the bituminous miners belonging to the UMWA. The basis for this rank and file revolt lies in the intolerable economic conditions that prevail in the industry and in the role of the corrupt reactionary Lewis machine which has repeatedly betrayed the miners and continually serves as a most servile tool of

the coal operators. The Springfield convention marked a leftward development in the UMWA. This-leftward development, this growing

the Fishwicks and Farringtons, for their own purposes. The Hapgoods and the Brophys and the Howats, middle vacillating elements, represent the progressives which today go along with the movement but do not lead it. Such a movement needs the leadership it once had in the Save the Miners Union campaign. Such left wing leadership would consolidate the rank and file and would sweep aside the Fishwicks and Farring-

The Springfield Convention indicates American Federation of Labor as well. The fight in the miners union is bound to be carried into the American Federation of Labor. John H. Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, was elected secretary-treasurer of the new organization. This places the matter squarely before the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

President Green in the initial stages has thrown his lot with the Lewis outfit. He spoke at the Indianapolis convention and turned down the invitation to address the Springfield convention. His speech, however, did not please Lewis who had one of his lieutenants try to force Green commit himself publicly against Walker and in favor of Lewis. In his speech Green uttered not one word of support for the person, John L. Lewis. as such. Lewis is forcing the hand of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. by bringing Walker to trial before his International Executive Board in order to expel him from the union. An exthe Illinois State Federation of Labor. Lewis will demand of the Executive Council that this rule of the A. F. of L.

If the new organization will not be recognized then there is the possibility that it will follow the course that was taken by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. This will make possible the creation of a new trade union center of the miners, railroad brotherhoods and the Amalgamated.

is contemplated. If it materializes it will have far reaching effects in the labor movement. The Socialist Party burocrats are in two camps today. Some revolt of the rank and file is today being are lined up with the progressives, others are lined up with the Fishwick-

Farrington machine, as for example, Adolph Germer who defeated Powers Hapgood for the vice-presidency and Oscar Ameringer, who has always been a faithful servant of Fishwick and Farrington. Others support Matthew Woll. like the Socialist trade union burocrats in the needle trades. In the Amalgamated, Hillman is fighting this wing of the Socialist Party which in that organization is being led by Beckerman. Beckerman hopes to oust Hillman at the next convention of the Amalgamated.

The Hillman officialdom in the Amalga mated is supporting the Springfield organization. The future is therefore full of many important possibilities as a result of the Springfield convention.

But where is the left wing leadership a growing discontent in the ranks of the in this movement? It is lacking. It has missed a wonderful opportunity to smash the reactionary forces and to consolidate the rank and file in a mighty movement. The National Miners Union pursued a sectarian policy which isolated it completely from these discontented and revolting miners. Its policy was to stay away from the convention, to ignore it. No attempt was made to organize a left wing to give it leadership and to take the leadership of the rank and file at Springfield. It followed the policy laid down for it by the National Board of the Trade Union Unity League which expressed itself in a number of declarations as follows (Febuary 22, 1930, in Labor Unity):

"This is the latest scheme of those notorious tools of the coal operators to confuse the miners and to hamner the growth of the National Miners

Springfield could have been used very effectively to lay the basis for the actual building of the National Miners Union, pelled member cannot be President of but to look upon it only as a scheme of the coal operators made this impossible. Then again in the March 8 issue of

> "The main job of the miners is to smash the Fishwick-Farrington convention scheduled for March 10 in Springfield, Illinois.

"This convention is organized by and for the coal operators.

"It is a stool pigeon convention." Imagine winning the rank and file at Springfield with a declaration that they There are evidences that such a move are part of a stool pigeon convention! Then the same declaration goes on

> "The racketeer methods of Lewis were too raw for the coal industrya basic industry of capitalism." (Continued on Page 8)

International Women's Day

By CLARA ZETKIN

CLARA ZETKIN

THE masses of the toiling women or the Soviet Union approach their sisters of the East and of the West, pointing out the way to them and showing them the example. Like their brothers they have been given by the revolution full equality before the law. Now they stand side by side with their brothers in production. The economic system, social arrangements, forms of life, the relations between human beings are so transformed that women and men are assured equal social conditions for devel-

the past year, as in years before. Where before only hundreds, now thousands must raise their voices in challenge. The demands of the hundreds of thousands must become the battle cry of millions.

For in all lands where capitalism as ruler grinds living mankind under its iron heel the needs out of which International Women's Day has been born, have been greater and more bitter. In challenging contrast to the rising flood of misery, legal protection for working women, social legislation for mother and child are continuously diminishing and becoming a hollow phrase. The crushing weight of the cost of living, extortionate rents, taxes grow continuously but the rights of women in the family and in the state are not growing . . .

Louder, more resonant, stormier, more uncompromising than ever must the demands of the toiling women be flung into the teeth of the master class!

By KATE GITLOW

INTERNATIONAL Women's Day is 1 the day of international solidarity of the working women and men the world over. It is the day to let the master class know that the working women are rallying to the fighting front of the proletariat against capitalism.

International Woman's Day, 1930, finds the vanguard of the working class and the whole left wing divided. Unions and other mass organizations of working women and men are split and demoral-On this March 8 the same demands ized. Old tried revolutionist like Clara of the toiling women will resound as in Zetkin and others are being branded as

> In the previous years Clara Zetkin's name was closely connected with the International Woman's Day. She, as a leader and chairman of women's work in the Comintern until 1929, had always signed the manifestos on International Women's Day.

> Clara Zetkin has worked among the working women for decades under the most difficult conditions. When the most advanced workers were prejudiced against this work, she insisted on organizing and educating the working women as workers to participate actively with the workers in all their struggles against the master class.

Lenin endorsed Comrades Zetkin's work when he declared that there can not be a successful workers revolution ces, the left wing, and the working class ment in the United States of America!

cluded the proletarian housewives, when he said there can be in the workers home an enemy to the workers revolution or a

> Work among women has been placed in Communist struggle against capital-

> For decades Clara Zetkin has led the working women in various struggles of the workers. For fifty years Clara Zetkin has been an important factor in the revolutionary labor movement

> Today Comrade Zetkin is no more a member of the Comintern. She is branded as a renegade because she disagrees with the unleninist policies of the leadership of the Comintern.

> She declared, as a Communist: "It is my duty to fight against such unprincipled destructive policies even if I have to fight it alone." She gave an example of how a real Communist acts when the Communist movement is endangered.

> The working women of the U.S. A. welcome Revolutionary Age, which has taken upon itself the task, no matter how difficult it is, of speaking to the working class of the dangers in the splitting policies and phrase-mongering of the present leadership of the Communist Party and the Comintern. Revolutionary Age has sincerely taken

without the working women. He also in- SPLENDID WOMEN'S MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA

THE Women's Council of Philadelphia I held a very successful meeting on Friday, March 21, with Comrade Kate on the program as an important factor Gitlow as the principal speaker. More than one hundred women attended the meeting, mostly non-Party. It was a very enthusiastic meeting. Several joined the Women's Council as a result. A number of Party members came to the meeting and raised questions which aroused considerable discussion. The movement for the organization of working women and working class housewives has been given a real impetus as a result of this successful affair

> to fight capitalism. Only united can the workers fight against their enemy-capi-

Success to the militant fighter of the working class, Revolutionary Age! May International Women's Day, 1931, find a united world Party on a Leninist line! Workers, men and women! Support Revolutionary Age! Help in this great work of uniting the Communist forces, the left wing and the working class for one common struggle in the spirit of Lenin upon itself to unite the Communist for- and Clara Zetkin, for a Soviet Govern-

Party Cleansing or Party Wrecking?

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of Communist International has decided upon another "cleansing" of the Parties. This time it is to be from the bottom up instead of from the top down. Of course, we are assured and even given "proof" that the demand for this new "clansing" comes from the various sections themselves and is not inspired by a desire of "mechanically transferring the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Party cleansings are not only desirable but sometimes become absolutely necessary. And never were they more necessary than they are today. For, in the history of the Communist International, opportunism, incompetency, ultra-leftist adventurism and unprincipledness, have

never before been as rife in the official leaderships as they are today. Likewise, the looseness, irresponsibility, and absence of reliability on the top has brought into the Party ranks-in nearly every section—a flood of dangerous, untrustworthy, non-proletarian forces. But it is not to overcome such shortcomings that the Executive Committee of the Communist International proposes a Party "cleansing" thruout the International On the contrary. From the instructions it is clear that the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) "cleasing" aims to perpetuate rather than eliminate these cancerous growths in our world Party. This can only lead to still further Party-

ties will merely be thrown into "the

ecutive Committee of the Communist In-

ternational and its practice of mechani-

cally transferring everything from the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union

to the other sections of the Communist

International lead is shown by the fol-

lowing situation cited by the ECCI it-

"The leading officials of one ille-

gal Communist Party (reliably re-

ported, the once-powerful Italian Com-

munist Party) went so far as to con-

ceive the idea of disbanding the entire

Party, in order better to clean it, and

then, in recruiting new Party mem-

bers, to take all measures for assur-

ing that opportunists, and hostile ele-

ments in general, did not penetrate

The warning is clear. This is the ru-

inous logic of the new line. Today, under

the present leadership and line Party

"cleansing" means Party-wrecking and

empty, formal, "loyalty and discipline"

have hitherto accepted, endorsed and

knelt before the ultra-leftist catechisms

and ikons are to be thrown out as in-

herent, concealed, disbelievers in the new

faith of adventurism and sectarianism. Many of those who voted for the expul-

sion of the former leadership of our

Party will now be "cross-examined" (ex-

amined on the cross-crucified). And

the Party will be pronounced, "stronger

than ever"-after the dwindling process

is speeded up a bit. Perhaps we will be

treated to another parody on "socialist

competition" among the districts in the

campaign to kick out still more workers

general meetings of the Party or to

meetings of factory nuclei, do not

show the slightest activity . . . that

in some factory nuclei, in all districts,

the attendance at meetings has not

How come? These "culprits" are sup-

posed to be the cream of the Czech

Communist movement left in the Party

after all the "cleasings," "bolsheviza-

in Czechoslovakia which is only at worst

a slightly enlarged picture of the situa-

tion in the best Comintern sections to-

been more than 10%.

To what confusion the line of the Ex-

campaign for cleansing"!

into the Party."

Party liquidation.

Shrouded In the Mist of Diplomacy and Confusion

The entire "cleansing" proposal is shrouded in a mist of diplomacy and confusion. We are told, on the one hand, that: "The Political Secretariat has rejected the general proposal for a cleansing in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries." On the other hand. and in the very next breath, the ECCI

"In the campaign for cleansing the ranks of all opportunist, cowardly, and other undesirable or dangerous elements, the main problem now arising is the following: the Parties must organize a very serious, thoroughly business-like examination, without regard to personalities, as to what extent the new revolutionary line is being carried out in practice The central question is to assure the carrying out of the new line, the line of the Sixth Congress and the Tenth Plenum of the ECCI . . . The chief sphere of the campaign should be the examination of the work of the local (and District) Party Committees to test their ability to work in the factories and develop the fight against Social-Fascism and Fascism."

Still More Power in the Hands of the Burocrats

The proposed "cleansing" aims to place still more power in the hands of the various Party burocracies now posing as "left" leaderships. Says the ECCI:

"The experience of all Communist Parties in capitalist countries shows that it would be altogether wrong to think that right-wingers, who cannot be left within the ranks of the Communist. International, are only to be found amonast the leadershin.

Now that most of the founders and builders of the various Parties have been expelled, the ECCI proposes to take the next step in expelling another layer of their rank and file followers. Now these Party members who, on the basis of an who followed the former majority!

The Czecho-Slovakian Party-A New Line Tragedy

On the basis of the "new line"—the road of ultra-leftist adventurism-the once-powerful Czech Party has been turned into a veritable morgue. The Executive Committee of the Communist International "cleasing" manifesto itself thus characterizes the present condition of the Czech Party-after one year of the new line and the 14 karat Bolshevik leadership of Gottwald-Reimann-Zapotozky: ... Even at Party sessions, which tions" and reorganizations. Why doesn't

had been called to discuss some urgent the ECCI dare to face the facts? Why fighting question, only a small part of doesn't the ECCI at least pretend to try the organization appeared at the meet- to find out the reasons for this debacle ing, that many rank and file organizations of the Party are in general extraordinarly passive, and that those members of the Party who come to

"Out With the Rank and File!" The New Slogan

The "cleansing letter" goes on to say: "It becomes quite plain that in the course of the sharpening of the class struggle, there have been removed (and in the future must be removed) from the communist movement not only a few leaders who have been infected with Social-democratic traditions, together with their immediate assistants from the middle or lower ranks of active members, but a cerwho, while remaining sympathizers of

the Comintern, for some reason or other cannot stand the fiercer class struggle which has commenced . . . In every section of the Comintern it is precisely those leaders and large sections of those masses of the membership which have led and participated in the sharpest and fiercest struggles against the Social-democracy, the reactionary trade union burocracy, and the imperialist ruling class that have been tain part of the rank and file mem- expelled. And in nearly every section bers of the Party, including those of the Comintern it is precisely those who came to Communism after the

fiercest struggles so far that are now doing the expelling. Let's look into some interesting facts. Lozovsky is today an outstanding "bolshevik." Stalin, of couse, on the basis of the new line, is first. For, has not the Daily Worker told us that "Lenin, like Stalin was a revolutionist" and that "Stalin succeeded. where Lenin failed"? Lozovsky is today a most prominent "Party-ci-anser"! This is the same Lozovsky who joined the Party of Lenin only after the Bolshevik Party crushed him and his White Guard forces on the field of military struggle. To make sure that Lozovsky shouldn't be able to sink a poisoned arrow into the Party from behind, Lenin himself made a motion—and it was carried that Lozovsky was not to be on Central Committee of the Party for a minimum of ten years. In Germany, the Remmeles and the Thalmanns, late graduates A fine tragi-comedy is this! The Parof the Independent Social-democracy, ties will not be "cleansed." The Par-

Liebknecht and Luxemberg-and the Dengels (decorated for service as lieutenants in the Prussian army) have been expelling the Spartacans! In the United States, recent members of the Democratic (not Social-democratic) Party and offshoots of the Gompers A. F. of L. burocracy, have been expelling the Gitlows, Winitskys, Whites, Bixbys and other comrades who began to organize and build the American Communist Party when the success of the Bolshevik revolution was not yet assured, when to belong to the Communist Party was considered a crime by the capitalist class and its government. Similar situations prevail in the other sections. Only, now, the rank and file is going to bear the main burden of

THE ECCI Admits Huge Losses to the Parties

cuse for the coming wholesale expulsions, the "cleansing" document develops the fantastic theory that the most revolutionary workers have been staving out of the Communist Parties. This is given as the excuse for such parties as the British and Czech continually losing members. Thus, we are told:

"In place of excluded members and opportunists or of Fascist members there is not an inflow of new revolutionary elements who have already been in the foremost positions of the class struggle."

This is confusion worse confounded. How did so many "Fascist members" ever come into our Parties? What attracted them? Will we now be ordered —on the pain of expulsion—to believe that the Communist Party has become the vanguard of the proletariat only in the third period" and that prior to this the Communist Parties attracted only Fascists and passive workers? What does this mean? Was there a Communist International at all before the crack horseman Molotov "took over" the reins?

The ECCI goes on to admit that "fundamental masses of rank and file mem-

the attack, the main fire of the "cleansing". This simply means spreading the ruin and striking more mortal blows at have expelled the closest associates of the Communist World Party. In order to give a "theoretical" ex- bers are leaving the Party" and that amongst these masses there are "good revolutionary proletarians" who "do not find in it (the Party) a means of giving vent to their revolutionary energy.' Startling confession, indeed! But, why is this so? Here the ECCI again proceeds to lay the basis for wholesale expulsions from the lower ranks of the Party by giving the lame excuse that this exodus takes place "because the lower local organization, of which they are members, works badly." Thus, the ECCI tries to do three things: First, to shift the blame from the shoulders of the top hurocracy-the various puppet "leader-

> functionaries being deficient. Again, we emphasize: why doesn't the ECCI dare even ask-let alone answerthe question: How does it come about that despite the new "revolutionary" line "good revolutionary proletarians" are leaving the Parties, while in the past, with a so-called opportunist line, these "good revolutionary proletarians" were attracted to our Parties?

ships"-to the local functionaries. Sec-

ondly, to extend the expulsion campaign

to the lower, the basic functionaries.

Thirdly, to evade the reason for these

A Hypocritical Mockery is Made of Self-Criticism

The ECCI seeks to cover its new 'cleansing" manouver behind the threadbare phrases of loyalty to "systematic and all-around criticism." Nothing could be more hypocritical. Under the leadership and pressure of the present ECCI there have been artificially set-up "leaderships" which punish by expulsion any member who merely dares ask a question, let alone attempts to criticize. This ceaseless repetition of the words "sys- Parties.

tematic and all-around criticism" will be empty talk so long as it is not also applied to the ECCI itself, to the "loyal leaderships" and even to the Stalin regime in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Today, the cardinal Bolshevik principle of self-criticism has been perverted into a factional weapon with which to hide the wanton wrecking of

The Mass Production of Leaders Overnight

gaps, the gaping holes which its adventu- movement as an essential qualification the ECCI declares:

the Party should be unhesitatingly tionary" tactics? promoted to work in the Party leaderjoin the Party formally, the organs of the revolutionary trade unions, and the union opposition in reformist unions should be strengthened by such elements."

Who are these mysterious "non-Party activists"? Where do they hail from? Where have they been and what have they been doing in all these years of class war that now, even before they have joined our Party, they are to be leadership"? Why throw overboard all gress) has begun.

Communist Unity-The Greatest Need of the Hour

munist unity cannot come too soon. But of ruinous twists and turns.

Finally, in its anxiety to cover up the the rules and regulations worked out by debacle to which its revisionist line has Lenin for the Comintern about length of led the Comintern, in order to screen the service in the proletarian revolutionary rist policies have made in the ranks of for "work in the Party leadership"? And the world party of Lenin on every front, since when do we speak so flippantly about workers taking steps "to join the "Non-Party activists who joined Party formally". Is this also "revolu-

It is clear that the Parties are not to ship. Without waiting for them to be allowed to have the genuine cleansing which they so sorely need todayfrom top to bottom. What the various sections of the Communist International are in for, is only a new wave of "enlightenment," a wiping out of the last remnants of Party democracy, a worsening of the terror regime, an extension of the Party-wrecking course which has been followed internationally within the past year, since active revision of the Leninist tactical principles (as embodied "unhesitatingly promoted to work in the in the main line of the VI world Con-

This is the message of the "new turn." we know that genuine Communist unity This is the meaning of the empty ma- and the development of a victorious nouver "against the ultra-left." Inter- world Communist movement can come national Communist unity is absolutely only thru the adoption of a correct, a necessary. The sharpening class strug- Leninist line—and never thru fraudulent gles demand it. For us, organic Com- factional "cleansing," or a zig-zag line

BUILDING SOCIALISM

in the SOUIET UNION

Defend the Soviet Union!

BETWEEN the Union of Socialist want peace in order to be able to carry Soviet Republics (USSR) and the thru the gigantic plans of Socialist concapitalist world there is a chronic state of hostility. They represent two economic, political and social systems that are directly opposed to each other: one a system of, by and for the workers and poor farmers and the other a system of, by and for the bosses, bankers and landlords. For the capitalist world the mere existence of the USSR is a great danger because it is a living lesson to the workers of how freedom from capitalism can really be won. The millions of oppressed people in the colonies look to the Soviet Union for inspiration in their struggle for liberation from the yoke of imperialism. Moreover, with its great progress of industrialization and agricultural collectivization, the Soviet Union is rapidly becoming a serious rival of the capitalist powers on the world market. For all of these reasons, and for many others, it is as clear as daylight that the one object upon which all of the imperialist powers are agreed no matter how much they differ on everything else is: The Soviet Union must be destroyed!

The chief imperialist powers may differ as to the methods or plans for the attack against the USSR since each desires to carry thru such an attack upon the basis of its own imperialist aims but basically they are as one in their desire to destroy their common enemythe proletarian state. That is why the danger of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union is permanent and chronic. It can only come to an end with the final overthrow of world capitalism itself. The permanent peaceful coexistence of the two antagonistic systems is

But while the danger of an imperialist offensive against the USSR is permanent and chronic, there are times when the special situation makes this danger immediate and acute. We all remember the time of the Arcos raid in 1926. We remember the Soviet-Chinese crisis in connection with the Manchurian railway. And now in the last few weeks a new attack upon the Soviet Union has been in preparation. Every agency of capitalism has been put to work to create the "proper basis" for this attack. The London Conference talks about "consultation in the event of any disturbance likely to threaten the peace." Diplomatic relations are being broken and strained (Mexico. France, England). The Pope and bishops and rabbis have suddenly become the champions of "religious liberty" against the "barbarous Soviets"! In truth a

The danger of an attack upon the such an attack mean to the workers of America? It would mean that the workers and farmers of this country will be drafted and sent out to kill their Russian fellow-workers who are defending their revolution and the benefits this revolution has brought to the Soviet masses. An attack upon the USSR is an attack upon the workers of all countries, the strengthening of reaction, a crushing blow to the labor movement. The workers of all countries must remember implements, etc. remain private propthat the defence of their own interests erty.) as a class means the defence of the Soviet Union against world imperialism! into communes: (a tight form of agricul-

The workers of America must fight against every attempt to drum up a war sentiment against the USSR. The not be pooled by force. Soviet workers do not want war. They 4. The cases of persons deprived of collectives themselves.

On the Situation in the C.P.S.U.

want peace in order to be able to carry struction. The Russian workers and peasants want peace so that they can throw all their energies into the great task of realizing the Five-Year Plan and laying the basis for a rapid march forward to Socialism. We American workers and the workers of the whole world, must close our ranks and stand by the USSR and defend it against the blows of world imperialism!

The United States of America is the only big capitalist country that has not yet recognized the Soviet Union. The reactionary forces are doing their best to hinder even trade relations between the USSR and this country. The American workers must demand the immerecognition of the USSR and granting of long term credits for the building up of Soviet industry. This step will also provide work in those American factories that supply the Soviet Union with machines, tools and materials and will thus open up jobs for thousands of unemployed.

American workers! The Soviet Union is not merely the country of the Russian workers and farmers. It is the country of the workers and farmers, of the toilers the world over! Stand by the Soviet Union! Defend the Soviet Union!

The crisis in the Communist Party

of the Soviet Union has the same ob-

jective source as has the general crisis

in he Comintern—the gap that has de-

veloped between the successful proleta-

rian revolution in the USSR and the re-

tardation of the revolution in the capi-

talist world. But precisely because of

this gap the crisis is not manifested in

the same form in the CPSU as in the

capitalist countries: neither the political

issues nor the fractional groupings are

the same. In no sense is the international

opposition movement based upon the is-

sues or groupings in the CPSU nor does

find its counterpart in any of these

groupings. In fact the attempt at me-

chanical extension of the factional strug-

gles and groupings in the CPSU on an

international scale is one of the mani-

festations of the crisis in the Comintern.

new regulations in the drive to put peas-

ant agriculture on a collective basis

(collectivization). The most important

1. The entry of peasants into the col-

lectives should take place thru persua-

sion and conviction; there should be no

2. The successes already gained

should be consolidated thru stressing

the value of the artel (a loose form of

the agricultural collective in which farm

3. Artels must not be transformed

tural collective in which everything is

collective property) without official ap-

proval; cottages, live stock, etc. must

of these regulations follow:

enforced entry.

New Methods of Collectivization

IN accordance with the line recently land and civil rights must be reviewed;

I laid down by the Central Committee errors in this respect committed against

of the Communist Party of the Soviet middle peasants (poor farmer employing

Union, the Council of Peoples Commis- no labor but owning some stock) and

sars (which corresponds to the cabinet former fighters for the Red cause, teach-

in the Soviet government) has issued ers, Red soldiers and sailors and their

The 5-Year Plan and Collectivization

ing thru of the tremendous transformation of the economy of the Soviet Union. At the same time, it shows what difficulties the Russian working class has to overcome. The first quarter of the new economic year (October to December 1929) shows a lag in important branches of industry as compared to the plans as foreseen. This condition has lasted into

It would be false to draw the conclusion from this lag behind plan that the Five-Year Plan has failed in its execution. The necessity for controlling very carefully the carrying thru of the plan arises largely from the fact that the achievements of industry determine the further progress of collectivization in agriculture. Without iron there can be no tractors or plows, without tractors or plows there can be no further development of collective econ-

The outstanding characteristic of the immediate situation in Russia is the transformation of agriculture, collectivzation. The struggle taking place today upon the land is the second act of the Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union, the penetration of the revolution upon the soil. The Socialist revolution in the

2. For Communists it is self-evident

that the road to Socialism lies thru in-

dustrialization and the collectivization

of agriculture at the maximum rate in-

proper relation to each other. On the

various questions at issue—question of

tempo or methods-we can not, as a

group, express a definitive opinion be-

cause we have not the material upon

which such an opinon can be based. We

are not phrase-mongers nor obedient rub-

ber stamps. We are therefore presenting

in Revolutionary Age whatever material

merits consideration without regard to

viewpoint since we are convinced that

the mobilization of the working class in

support of the Soviet masses in their

great task of building Socialism can only

be achieved on the basis of a clear un-

derstanding of the problems and tasks

5. While firmly maintaining the rule

facing the Soviet Union.

families must be corrected.

guarantee for their families.

markets and bazaars.

ies and the like.

THE current second year of the Five- towns, the socialization of the capitalist Year Plan is decisive for the carry- great industry, was accompanied on the land in the first period of the Russian Revolution by the bourgeois agrarian revolution—the establishment of free,

That in collectivization we deal with

In the regions of the so-called "thoro collectivization" steps are being taken

kulak available for the collectives.

One way would be to absorb the kulaks into the collectives. But it has been proved that this way is impossible since the kulaks once inside the collectives systematically sabotage their development and are only interested in liquidating them as quickly as possible. From this arises the fact that the kulaks in the regions which collectivization takes place agitate that the peasants should, before they join the collectives, turn live and dead stock into money. If the collectives are to fulfill their tasks, it is declared then their equipment must be assured, if not with tractors then at about the exclusion of kulaks and per- least with horses and plows. For this sons deprived of civil rights from the reason measures have now been taken collectives, exemption must be made in equivalent to the expropriation of the the case of families of teachers and Red kulaks in order to assure the collectives fighters on condition that they give a their stock and in order to destroy the political influence of the kulaks. The 6. Markets must not be closed and expropriation of the kulaks extends only local bazaars reopened; there must be to the regions of "thoro collectivization." no hampering of sales by peasants, in- The kulaks are therefore expropricluding members of collectives, in these ated of their means of production into the possession of the community, in this 7. All peasants, whether members of case of the collective.

the collectives or not, are not to be hin- The struggle for collectivization is in dered in leaving the villages for "season- progress. The decision is still in the al work" in construction camps, fisher- future. But there can be no question that these economic battles of the revolu-8. The leaders of the collectives are tion have a tremendous historical sigto be selected from the members of the nificance for the fate of hundreds of millions of peasants.

(From Gegen den Strom, theoretical organ of the German Communist Opposition).

peasant individual economy. Collectivization is intended to replace the peasant individual economy by the cooperative large-scale economy.

a tremendous revolutionary process is obvious even externally. The original figures of the Five-Year Plan for collectivization have been far outdistanced Today it is still groups of households which are consolidated into collectives; tomorrow it will be whole villages; the day after tomorrow whole regions will be thoroly collectivized. Collectivization began with communal work upon the soil. (artel); today, all means of production of the collectivity are being transformed into common ownership (commune).

now for the "liquidation of the kulak as a class." What does this mean? A decree of the Soviet Government of Feb. 1. 1930 formulates the practical means for the liquidation of the capitalist richpeasant kulak economy. In the regions of "thoro collectivization" the law on the permissibility of leasing of land and the application of wage-labor in the individual peasant economies is made noneffective (for middle peasant economies definite exceptions are made). Against the kulaks in these regions all methods may be used, including the confiscation of their possessions and their expulsion from the region in question. The confiscated property of the kulaks is given to the collectives and there becomes the common property of the poor peasants and land workers who joined

The immediate reasons given for the use of these methods was the following. Collectivization has now taken on such a scope that industry cannot for the moment supply the newly organized collectives with machines and stock. The task is to make the rich stock of the

"Noch nie hat Neuport eine solche Schlacht erlebt"

Gewaltige Massendemonstrationen am 6. März in ganz Amerika — Eine halbe Million in Reuport — Die Geburt der tommunistischen Massenbewegung

Renhort, 7. Mats. Der Berlauf des 6. Mars in den Bereinigten Etatten hat die fühnften Erwartungen ibertroffen. Die Rollarbreffe ift gutiefit erichroden: "Roch nie hat man in Amerifa jo etwas erlebt."

In Denhart beteiligten lich etwa eine halbe Million Mrbeiter an ben Aundgebungen. Mehr als 126 000 Arbeiter unaricilerten geichloffen im Juge. Dundertauferbe füllten ben finion Square. Schon eine Stunde vor der auf die Mittagszelt angesetten Aundgebung war der Niesendlat nach bürgerlichen Echäungen von etwa 140 000 Demonitranten besett. Alle Sänfer und Sausdächer der Umgebung waren von dichten Vuldwermeilen shertillt.

"Der Bürgermeister tanzt, die Arbeitslosen frieren"

Nach der Aundgebung sogen die Massen unbestümmert um das Versot in geschlosiener De monkration num Kathaus. Die ersten Polizeiseiten burden im Ruserdick. Unaushaltsam wätzte fich die Wassen dasse von der Demonstrate die Franzen furchtos, bolltähn. Mächtige Transparente ragten sine nus siber den Etrom der Demonstranten. Bon Franzen getragen, seuchtete besonders gress ein Riesenplastat:
"Der Bürgermeister tanzt – die Arbeitst

Neuvorks Zörgiebel blutig dispatch from the U. S. A.: geschlagen

In der Nahe des Nathanies itellte fich der Demonitration eine 25 voo Mann farte, friegomakig ausgerüftete Polizeiarmee entgegen. Die Demonitranten
wichen nicht von der Stelle. Als die Me fleicht un gewe here der Polizei auf der Straße and von den Tächern
zu fnattern begannen, entspaan sich eine er bliterte
Elrakenschlacht, die die in die haten Abendfinnden andenerie. Der Polizei prasident von
Renvork, der jelbst das Wasserte leitete, burde vor
übergehend von den Demonitranten umitngelt und
bluitg geschlegen. Er konnte nur mit Misse durch
ein polizelichee Stoftommando gerettet werden. Die
birvoerlich Vereine stellt feit: "Noch nie mals hat

"Irrsinnige im Blutrausch"

Die Jahl bet. Opfer steht noch nicht fest. Nach den bisher vorliegenden Meldungen wurden über 300 Demonstranten per I.M. And die Boliget hei farte Artluik zu nerzeichnen, die allerdings fortagitig obesimachalten werben. Die Boligei wurter mit bestialischer Brutalität. Selbst die bürgerliche Presse. ntiegt über bas Blutbad. Der "Berald Tribune" fteift fie fielge, mer Kriminalbeamte mit Journaliftenausmeilen verjegen habe, um bie Demoniftenten aus bem hinterhoft niederguichiegen. Bon biefen Boligeibestien melbet bas Blatt, sie hatten mie Erefinnige im Blutraufch" gewütet. Biele Berhaftungen murden vorgenommen. Unter den Berbafteten, die wegen "Aufruhre" angetlagt werden sollen, bestinden fich eine Reihe führender Genoffen unferer amerikanischen Studerpattei, u. a. die Genoffen Foser, Minor, Amter, Daren, Sistind.

Barrikaden in Detroit

In Detroit, ber Ford-Metropole, demonstrierten hunderitausende Arbeiter. Die Poligei fuhr mit ver nundertren Straßenbahmagen und Omribusien riedfichtslos in die Menge hinein, um auf diese Weise den Ausmarich zu flören. Se entwicklien sich Kürmische Käupfe. Die Demonitanten stürzten Straßenbahmagen um und beinigten sie als Barritaden. Etwa 12 Schwerverlette blieben auf der Strack, aber auch die Polizei hatte beträchtliche Verluste.

In Seattle wurde die Polizei von den Demonstranten mit einem Steinhagel in die Flucht gejagt.

Im gangen Lande gab es Massen dem on strationen Berlauf des 6. Natz ein Greignis von weltgeschichtlicher Bebeuind blutige Ausammenitöke. Meldungen liegen not u. a aug tung — ein Mendenunft von ungehauer Framelie dum Im ganzen Lande gab es Massendemen ist rationen und blutige Jusammenstöße. Melvagen liegen vot u. a. aus Boston, Bulfale, Chicago, Clevelach, Caintoloxis, Bittsburgh, Milmantee, Waterburgh, Newbritain, Connecticut, Worcejter, Vellachus, Editoloxis, Bittsburgh, Milmantee, Waterburgh, Newbritain, Connecticut, Worcejter, Vellachus, Cannecticut, Worcejter, Vellachus, Connecticut, Worcejter, Vellachus, Connecticut, Worcejter, Vellachus, Connecticut, Worcejter, Vellachus, Ausgendamin Vellachus, Ambien des eine Milion Arbeiter haben die ameritanischen Kommunischen mit ihren Stonomischen und politischen Lohang zusammengeschlossen. In Walbing massen dem Vellachus, Ausgendamigen Verschlichen und vollachus des eine Milion Arbeiter haben die ameritanischen Kommunischen mit ihren Isonomischen und politischen Lohang zusammengeschlossen. In Walbing und Landigsche Haben der geschlichen und vollachus des eine Milion Arbeiter haben die ameritanischen Kommunischen mit ihren Stonomischen und vollichen Lohang zusammengeschlossen weiter gewaltigen revolutionären Haben Zeitein Kanten und zu siener gewaltigen revolutionären Phalang zusammengeschlossen weiter gewaltigen revolutionären Phalang zusammengeschlossen weiter gewaltigen revolutionären Phalang zusammengeschlossen weiter gewaltigen verbeiter haben Wasseltigen Walsen und vollischen und vollischen und vollischen und vollischen und vollischen und den Phalang aus der gewalten Walsen Verbeurschlichen und der geschen dem Ausgeben den Ausgeben der geschlechte und über State vollischen Schlein und geschlechte und über State vollische Schlein und geschlechte und über State vollische Schlein und

The Regime of Bluff

lowing manner on the basis of a cable

"NEVER DID NEW YORK SEE SUCH A BATTLE

Powerful Mass Demonstrations on March 6 all over America—Half of Million in New York-The Birth of the Communist Muss Movement.

New York, March 7.—The events of March 6 in the United States have surpassed the most optimistic expectations . . .

In New York half a million workers participated in the demonstration. More than 120,000 workers marched in solid ranks . . .

The words of the Communist speakers were lost in the storm of enthusiastic shouting and in the strains of the International from hundreds of thousands of throats.

After the meeting the masses, undaunted by the police prohibition, marched in determined demonstration towards City Hall. The first police cordons were broken thru. Irresistibly the mass moved forward . . .

New York's Zorgiebel Bloodily Beaten In the vicinity of City Hall the demonstration was met by an army of police, 25,000 strong, equipped for war. The demonstrators refused to budge. When the police machine guns began to spit fire in the streets and from the roofs, there developed a bitter street battle that lasted into the late hours of the evening. The Police Commissioner of New York who personally led the massacre was overwhelmed by the demonstrators and bloodily beaten . . .

The number of victims is not yet certain. According to present reports over 300 demonstrators were wounded. The police also suffered severe losses which are carefully kept secret ...

Barricades in Detroit

In Detroit, the Ford metropolis, hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated . . . There developed stormy struggles. The demonstrators overturned streets cars and used them as barricades. About 12 severely wounded remained on the street but the police also suffered considerable

mass picket line promised by the TUUL. In Washington a mass of eighty thousand demonstrated before the White House . . . Ther e were 30 wounded and over 40 arrested.

The Communist Party of the United States has thru these events risen to the position of recognized leader of broad masses of the American prolein the United States . . ."

At the next shop meeting the situation was thoroly discussed. The strikers knew where the responsibility for defeat tariat... The 6 of March signifies the lay. They condemned on the one hand birth of the Communist mass Party the official agents and the lying articles in the Freiheit and Daily Worker. Now I wish to establish a few facts!

1) I am now under charges in the Union for the struggle I led against the A. F. of L. officials. 2) I am one of those who was excluded from the shop. 3) When I criticised the settlement and attacked the A. F. of L. officials, the loyalites united with those officials in the struggle against me. 4) The two loyal illusions regarding the Party's attitude to the struggles of the workers. The Party members deserted the strike.

tion and we would remain with a few

Communists in the new "union." The strikers proposed that the TUUL should help us in the strike and should simultaneously develop a broad TUUL group

Thursday, Fabruary 13, the business

agent reported to the strikers that the

firm would not take back more than eighteen workers. The report was such

as to indicate that the strike was lost.

Other motions were made of which one

was to call off the strike. I at that time

sharply attacked the Union officials. I

insisted that their threats of expulsion

would not help them; that since the

union officials do nothing we would ap-

ply to the TUUL. The workers voted

for the motion and a committee includ-

On Friday, February 14 when the

TUUL representatives came to our meet-

ing, the business agent protested and

demanded that they leave the hall. De-

spite threats of expulsion this motion

was carried. The chairman resigned

and the business agent left the hall. I

was elected chairman and the TIIII

representative spoke at the meeting. 1

spoke for the TUUL and against the

national and local officials of the union.

A strike committee including myself was

elected and it looked as the all would go

well, but what happened? Instead of ap-

plying themselves to the organization of

the strike, the new leadership immediate-

ly began to play the cheapest kind of

politics. A lying and provocative report

of the meeting appeared in the Party

press. They made a "Lovestone" issue

of it. The strikers were supposed to

have become genuine supporters of the

Comintern Address and were supposed to

On Saturday, February 15, the strike

Committee came to Sazer and demanded

that he deny the report printed in the

On Monday, February 17, the strikers

came to the shop expecting to see the

But there was no picket line. The union

officials, behind our back, had already

settled the strike and the return of the

workers to the shop followed soon.

Daily Worker. Sazer flatly refused.

have condemned Lovestone.

ing myself was elected.

These are the facts. The Freiheit and Daily Worker call me provocateur and scab. I want to place the following challege: Let a committee of workers be set up. This committee should call together the strikers and ascertain the facts. If it is proven that one tenth of one per cent of what the Freiheit and true. I will accept any penalty that the TUUL will place upon me.

The Party and the Party press showed in this strike their complete political used, workers are driven away from the Communists and left wing movement. They are undermining and destroying the the bounden duty of all Party comrades and revolutionary workers to protest against this political chicanery. Revolutionists must not lose courage because a new "industrial union of furniture of a group of political swindlers. The workers." 3) The TUUL will take over revolutionary workers must join us in our efforts to correct the harmful policies of the Party, to raise the prestige of the Party and Comintern and for the development of a really Communist and rank and file leadership. That is why hood refused assistance. They also at- union. The locals would reject our ac- left wing movement in the United States.

A Black Page in the History Of the New Line

By MAX PERLOW

THE workers who have built up the they disregarded the arrest of pickets. organs of the Communist Party, as organs of uncompromising struggle against the reformist platitudes and misleadership of the Socialist Party and the A. F. of L. reactionary clique, as organs laying the basis for a broad class struggle movement, are now amazed at the new turn of events. They cannot understand what has happened. They fail to that they fought bitterly against the see the numerous "victories" nor are they bosses and when the TUUL came not satisfied with the bumper crop of "traitors" and "renegades" is producing.

Why is this so? Because the "new line" of the Party has nothing to do Communists and are not yet ready to with the actual realities of American split their union and join the TUUL working class life. It is the "renegades" who are drawing the attention of the workers to the actual conditions. That's TUUL group in the union. The "new why the Party resorts to lies and slanders and attempts to discredit and destroy the influence of the "Lovestoneites".

The best illustration of the Party course can be found in the attitude to the Furniture strikers and to the secretary of the strike committee. In this strike the new leadership forgot that there is such a thing as a capitalist class. that there are bosses and a right wing, reactionary union officialdom. They remembered only one thing-a "Lovestoneite" was the leader of the strike. That's why they disregarded the struggle of stubborn resistance of the workers. the workers against the boss under a

Freiheit and the Daily Worker as They claimed their pound of flesh because a "Lovestoneite" was leading the

The furniture workers do not belong to the "radicalized" section of the workers. They do not know that just because they are members of the A. F. of L. they are considered as "social-fascists," by the Party. Because they didn't know with assistance but with lying, provocative leaflets, the workers saw in them just plain strike breakers.

The furniture workers are not vet just because Sazer says so. But many of them would be ready to help build a leadership," however, considers such a proposal as a "right deviation." "Why should we work in the A. F. of L. unions," they argue, "when the collapse of capitalism is as near as the dawn of the morrow?" Why work among the masses? The masses will come to us!"

The strike of the furniture workers in Brooklyn was a difficult one. Conditions in the trade are difficult. For the last few months the shops are closed. The attempt of the Brooklyn shop to cut down the working force met with the

tempted to force a settlement, because. according to the constitution of the Brotherhood compulsory equal division of work was not provided for. It was Comrade Perlow, who led the fight against the officials and defeated their proposals.

Now I must confess I had numerous

loyalite striker, Comrade Kutcher left the strike because he had been demoralized by the actions of the Party. Nevertheless I felt it necessary to call him and I said to him: "The strike is in a difficult position; the reactionary union officials are ready to come in as the saviors of the strike and capitulate to the bosses. There is a good basis to organize the TUUL group and I am ready to do everything possible to ac- Daily Worker said about the strike is complish this." The lovalite accepted the proposal and after approaching the TUUL telephoned me to come to the District Office. I came and reneated the same to Sazer. But he had one reply: "You are a Lovestoneite and we bankruptcy. With such methods as they will not work with you." Will Comrade Sazer denv it? It was on Saturday February 8. On February 11 the TUUL distributed a leaflet to our strikers calling them to a meeting. Altho I was prestige of the Party and the CI.. It is hitterly attacked in the leaflet. I called on the workers to come with me to the meeting. The policy proposed by Sazer for the TUUL was: 1) Don't go back to the strike hall. 2) Declare yourself as

At this meeting the strikers maintained that to do so meant that these workers not present at the meeting would go The national officers of the Brother- back to work with the sanction of the

the leadership of the strike.

Party Life

The March 6 Demonstrations

exaggeration.

According to the Daily Worker, the Philadelphia demonstration had 50,000 participants. What are the facts? Responding to lurid headlines in the capitalist press "Reds March On City Hall" a huge crowd assembled between 12 and 1 P. M. As it drew near to 1 o'clock the crowd began to melt rapidly. The leaders saw it and quickly finished their speeches and formed lines to march back to headquarters. This was the real test of the number actually and actively participating in the demonstration. The number who marched was less than three hundred by careful count.

Chicago was also awarded 50,000 workers by the Daily Worker. Five thousand is an optimistic estimate. The preparations and organization of the demonstration were very poor. This figure is a good figure for Chicago but exaggeration does not make it better.

The unemployment problem in New Bedford has been most serious for months, yet in this important city only 150 workers were at the lot where we used to have thousands. At the end of the meeting about fifty went to City

In New York, the largest demonstration was held. Of the 50,000 who watched the demonstration the greatest number were bystanders, not participants. There was no preparation or organization for the much advertised march to looking for him.

The Party Leadership and the ECCI

The present Party leadership seems strength of the "Lovestone group" in the International the drafting of a thesis for the American section. Whether he will return to the United States in time for the Party convention is not yet clear. The decision is that Comrade Weinstone is to come back to the American Party convention to give a report and then to

The question of the activities of the CP-Majority Group was considered by the leaders of the Comintern with the result that they have reached the conclusion that one of the clearest expressions of the viewpoint of opposition to the policies of the Comintern today is to be found in the CP-Majority Group in the U. S. A. The leaders of the Comintern have more than once indicated their complete dissatisfaction with the way in which the leadership of the American Party is executing the policies of the Comintern and handling the Opposition. As a result a very sharp letter criticizhas been sent to the Political Committee of the American Party In this letter the leadership of the American Party is is concerned can be readily imagined. sharply criticized for underestimating the CP-Majority Group. The CI informs them that the Party leadership underestimates the influence, prestige and

THE NEEDLE TRADES **ELECTIONS IN PHILADELPHIA**

The shop council of the Needle Trades Industrial Union met on March 10 with 28 delegates present, 16 from the dress shops and 12 from the furriers. Burt and Miller, altho not delegates, voted as such thruout. Clara Yampolsky was nominated for the executive committee and obtained 13 votes. The lowest elected was 17 votes. They elected an executive committee of 10, with a majority of Party members. Jean Kroll was elected as an additional organizer, in spite of the fact that the union can ill afford this extra expense.

The economic situation in the United City, Hall. Absolutely no organization States is such that the opportunities for remains as a result of the demonstracreating a mass movement against un- tion, for mobulzing the unemployed and employment are tremendous. Millions building up the struggle for relief. The are affected by the present depression. Socialist Party has seized the advantage Nothing is gained however, and the Par- and has called a "united front conferty is only discredited by bombast and ence," and will reap the benefit of what the Party should have done long ago.

In Wilkes Barre, there were 29 present at the March 6 meeting, including 3 Pioneers. The meeting was broken up by a tear gas bomb and six were arrested! Very few Party members were present, altho members of the CP-Majority Group were there.

Noise and exaggeration will certainly not hide the fact that the Party has failed to organize and capitalize the tremendous possibilities which exist for the establishment of a real movement of the unemployed in the United States.

On March 6 about 100,000 workers of Detroit turned out as a protest against unemployment. The capitalist press gave quite extensive write-ups, and radio broadcasters advised their listeners against going downtown on that day. In spite of this the turnout was excellent. As a Party demonstration it was a fiasco. The meeting was called in a place suitable for only a thousand workers. Several blocks from this place there are two large parks that could have held a very successful demonstration. The Party speakers were unable to address the mass of workers because the police kept everybody moving.

Stachel, the District Organizer, was not present during the demonstration. It is reported that he was in hiding because detectives were supposed to be

to be unable to adopt a thesis that meets ranks of the Party membership and in with the approval of the Communist In- the working class generally. It criticizes ternational with the result that Comrade the present leadership of the Party that Bedacht has been ordered to come to in executing the policies of the Comin-Moscow to take up with the Communist tern (left sectarian policies) the Party leadership made extreme leftist deviations and pursued a leftist adventurist course which tended to vindicate the criticisms of the Comintern policies and the present Party policies made by the "Lovestone group." It is needless to say that this letter of criticism-which of course does not change the course today return back to Moscow. being pursued by the Comintern but is a step in the direction of spurring the present Party leadership to take more drastic and effective measures against us—will never find the light of day. Such letters are not published in the

As an example of what is actually happening beneath the boasted progress of the Party under its new line and leadership we cite the San Antonio unit which has not met for two months. This unit is located where very important ing the leadership of the American Party work must be done among Mexican workers. What is happening to this work as far as the Party "leadership"

Daily Worker or presented to the Party

Following out the policy of pushing forward the diehard Fosterites, B. K. Gebert has been made District Organizer of Chicago, and Clarence Hathaway has been brought to the National Office.

Hertzberg has been expelled from the Chicago YCL, while Paul Wasserman of the DEC and Hackman have resigned.

The Plenum of the Central Committee will take place on March 30. The agenda has thus far not been announced. The national convention will take place in

A number of units in the New York District have adopted motions condemning the assault upon the recent Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting, held on March 2.

The N.Y. Membership Meeting

The New York membership was called to draw the lessons of March 6 and to prepare for May 1. When we arrived at New Star Casino, there was a squad of police already inside who refused to leave the hall. Comrade Herbert Benjamin thereupon instructed us to go to the Workers Center. Altogether there were about 700 comrades present at the two meetings held at the center, in spite of all the talk about the thousands of new members gotten in the membership drive. At the meeting which I attended Benjamin was the local reporter, Wilhamson reported for the TUUL. Siskind was in the chair. At the opening of the meeting Benjamin announced that he had been officially censured by the Dis-Amter was the reporter at the other benjamin eulogized the March 6

demonstration, stating that up to May 1, 1929, the Party showed a vacillating line, but from then on the new line begins. March 6 marked the new and higher phase of the struggle. He claimed that 110,000 workers participated in the demonstration. There were certain shortcomings: 1) There was practically no attempt to link up the unemployed with the employed workers. 2) He scolded the comrades for not following the Party instructions to proceed immediately to City Hall, no matter what was said from the platform—by subway, car, elevated, etc. Instead the comrades remained in Union Square and left Foster and Minor isolated at City Hall. The question of the march to City Hall from Union Square was not taken up at all. 3) No unemployment councils had been formed either before or after March 6. 4) He denounced the rumors that the Party is preparing to go underground. 5) Reports from sections show that 1700 members joined the Party in the membership drive, but of these 950 cards are still in the hands of the sections and have never been sent to the District office. 6) In spite of "the big increase in membership," the dues for the last three months showed "a big drop." 7) Only. ten units in the astrict are functioning. 8) We are suffering from a lack of functionaries and leading comrades. A num-

Siskind permitted the floor to only a few comrades mostly Fosterites. The reporters however were given four hours. A number of comrades criticized the fact that the Party is not functioning, that there is no leadership, that the TUUL is making no headway and still remains a narrow sect. Half the comrades left before the meeting was over. It was the deadest and most depressing meeting I

ber of functionaries in the NTWIU re-

fuse to accept offices claiming that they

are incompetent, others demanding a

leave of absence. This is a very un-

healthy condition. 9) On May 1 we will

fight for the right to the streets. The

slogan for May 1 is to be a General

Political Strike. Defense Corps must be

IN THE FINNISH COOPERATIVES

The results of the "new line" among the Finnish workers are just beginning to be exposed to the light of day. The Party membership among the Finns is now not more than 500! Many have dropped out. Not less than 100 Finnish comrades were expelled from the Party in Superior. The Party influence in the Cooperatives has dropped to zero, the Party being defeated by a vote of 6,000 to 96 in the recent referendum. The organizational features of the Open Letter from the Comintern were not published in the Daily Worker. They call for the sending to Moscow of Heikkinen another "loyalite" who is not fully trusted, who was always criticized for being too far to the left. Meanwhile opportunists like Tenhunen are being maintained in the leadership.

BOOKS

Jews Without Money. By Michael Gold. Woodcuts by Howard Simon, 309 pp. Horace Liveright. \$3.00.

Jews Without Money is as magnificent. a piece of literature as I have had the privilege of reading in many a moon. Mike Gold has finally decided to get. down to brass tacks and do something worth while. For quite some years it appeared as the Mike would follow in the foot steps of some of the other Greenwich Village authors and former contributors to the Masses and become a dilettante, satisfied to write every now and then, to merely scratch the surface of life and allow it to pass him by as tho it did not concern him. I was therefore agreeably surprised when I read this book. Mike Gold is a virile and prolific writer and knows his East Side better than any other present day writer. The only other book dealing with the East Side in a worth-while manner is Haunch, Paunch and Jowl by Samuel Ornitz, and trict Secretariat for "capitulating" to this book suffers by comparison with the police in adjourning the meeting. Jews Without Money. Mike has spent practically his entire life on the East Side, he has breathed deep of its odors. has drunk deep draughts of its life, and is still an integral part of it. In spite of all Gold's claims of "loyalism" to the cause of Communism, and to the Party, he is still above all else a Jewish nationalist. Thruout the entire book we have snatches of appeal to nationalism.

Once again I see the stirring panorama of the East Side. Once again I see the teeming streets, the hallways as well as the sweaty rooms and crowded roofs, the noisy and foul smelling airshafts, the corner saloons the stables, strings of horses tied to a rope being given a shower after a days hard work, children under the hoofs of these horses, stealing from the pushcarts, and "hard-boiled virgins" plying their trade, as Gold sorealistically puts it, "for 50 cents a night." Once again I recall the "block fights" and I place my hand to my head to feel once more the scar that I myself received in some of these block fights. when I fought to uphold the honor and tradition of my block, which was not Chrystie St., but Cherry St.

His characters are beautifully drawn from life: his father who despises trade unions, and strikes, who wants to own a suspender shop and become a rich man. who is a slave-driver when he becomes a foreman in a paint shop; his mother who hates "evil and wrong doing" and yet is the best and finest friend to the miserable prostitutes, and a mother to the entire neighborhood; Fyfka the miser, who lived with the Golds for months because he did not have to pay for his. room and board; Mendel Bum, who eked out a precarious living by allowing himself to be baptized by all the Bowery missions; Reb Samuel, the Melamid, continually quoting from the Talmud. All these are beautifully drawn.

Ornitz says of Gold: "Gold is the Gorki of the ghetto" and in these few words sums up this masterpiece of the East Side. Mike has created a real epic of the East Side, one that will long remain in our memories as a living breathing and fiery message and condemnation of the filthy slums and ghetto. One almost feels like becoming another "Carrie Nation" and take a hatchet and mow down the entire east side, this hell hole which has brought so much misery to the lives of the workers who have been compelled to live in it and die in it.

For stark realism I have always felt that Theodore Dreisser was the peer of all American writers, but I now take off my hat to Mike.

I hope that Mike Gold will in his next book, do a novel of a proletarian, depicting his life and struggles, and bring him right thru his adolescent stage into manhood, into life with its pitfalls and its struggles, bringing him into the class struggle with its harshness, its cruelness and its bitterness, without the appeal to nationalism which is one of the things which mars the beauty of this present

HARRY M. WINITSKY.

READ REVOLUTIONARY AGE

In the Communist International

THE SITUATION IN THE CHINESE PARTY

From International Information of the

Communist Opposition. The heavy defeat of the Chinese Communist Party in the summer of 1927 and subsequent white terror almost destroyed the Party. The putschist policy adopted afterward and continued even after the Canton uprising cost the Party its oldest and best cadres and at the same time isolated it from the masses. Under such circumstances inner-Party life was practically non-existent and there could be no talk of a real opposition movement.

The past two years have permitted the Party to begin a slow process of recuperation. Party life revived again and differences of opinion could no longer be suppressed. Among the first signs of the renewed political life of the Party was the sudden reappearance on the political arena of Comrade Chen Tuĥsiu, who had been made the scapegoat for the 1927 disasters.

Chen is the oldest and most experienced Marxist in China. He was a proneer of revolutionary scientific socialism in China and a founder of the CP China. He was the leader of the Party until after 1927. In the years 1926-27 the CP committed some very serious opportunist errors, under his leadership. These he has now recognized in a very frank manner and has analyzed their

source and significance. In his recent series of letters to the Central Committee of the CP of China Comrade Chen characterizes the present line as: putschism on the basis of the old opportunism. At a later occasion we will examine his viewpoint in detail. For the present it is sufficient to say that his letters to the CC-for which, of course, he was immediately expelledhave become the platform of those comrades who are fighting to free the Party from putschism and to restore normal

In his letters Chen approaches in some points the position of Trotsky on the social character of the international revolution and its class relations. It is to be hoped that as a result of a more thoro consideration of the problem Comrade Chen will leave behind these mistakes and will reach a correct position.

REVIVAL OF OPPOSITION IN THE C. P. S. U.

Pravda of March 24 prints a sensational article which shows that the recent "new turn" in the industrialization and collectivization campaign, carried thru by Stalin in the typical unprincipled and burocratic manner, has stimulated the revival of the so-called "right" opposition which disappeared from public notice with the capitulation of Bukharin, Tomsky and Rykoff. The article

"The right wing elements in the Party and in the state apparatus are in fact agents of the kulaks. Theu strive to utilize the individual mistakes and errors of the Party as a means of struggle against the Soviet Power. . . . The right-wing elements have raised their heads high and shout, as do the kulaks, that the attempt to force collectivization upon the peasants did not arise as a result of the errors of individual Party functionaries but in fact constituted the Party line."

INTERNATIONAL "INFORMATION!"

From: Daily Worker, March 20, 1930

Another of Lovestone's Pals "Arrives" VIENNA (By Inprecorr Press Communist Party have now joined Service)—The social democratic the Austrian social democratic party Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" reports in a body. Ziegler has already othat the group of members headed timed a good position in the Metal by Affred Ziegler expelled from the Workers Union. From: Revolutionary age, January 1, 1950

WHO ARE THE RENEGADES? WHO ARE THE RENEGADES?

A LFRED Ziegler, former chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of, Austria, has gone over to the Austrian Social-democracy! Karl Krail, another member of the CC, has joined with the Helmwehr-fascist organization!

instalinal Both Ziegler and Krail were passionate defenders of the "new course" in Austria and of the expulsion of the Opposition. Both belonged to the new "left" leadership recently installed by the Ecci. Ziegler, who announces his desertion of the movement in a long article in the Social-democratic Vienna Arbeiterzeitung, was the leader of the one, big shop nucleus the Party had (in the large Warschalowski factory) and also of the factory council of that factory. Now the shop has gone over to the Social-democracy and the CPA has lost its_last_slim contact with the

democracy and the "managed." The official Party press never tires of crying that the "right wingers and conciliators" are

Rebellion of Membership in the German Party

IN THE BERLIN-BRANDENBURG PARTY ORGANIZATION

THE real depth of the crisis in the Communist Party of Germany was indicated in the sensational developments that took place recently in Berlin. Sixty of the most prominent Party functionaries of the Berlin District, including two municipal councillors and many factory councillors, issued a declaration in which the ultra-left Party line is bitterly condemned and its consequences for the Party and the working class exposed. Already it is clear that this action of the "sixty" is only a first step; large numbers of functionaries and rank-andfilers thruout the country, hitherto strictly "loyal," have solidarized themselves with the declaration.

On the initiative of the factory council of the big factory N.A.G. a conference of Communist factory councillors and other functionaries in Berlin was called to take up the serious situation in the Party and the threat that the Party's line offers to the whole revolutionary movement. At the conference which took place there were over 37 Communist factory councillors from twelve of the most significant Berlin factories, the representatives of other shops and factories, and a number of other important figures. The conference discussed the situation thoroly and is sued a declaration which was immediately printed as a leaflet and distributed thruout the Berlin factories. This declaration was signed by municipal councillors, Erich Raddatz and Karl Lucke, by the Communist functionaries and councillors in N.A.G., Siemens Electrical Works, Siemans Cable Works, Ludwig Lowe, Hufeland, etc. and by many others, totalling sixty of the most prominent Communist functionaries in Berlin.

It is unfortunately impossible to reproduce here the declaration of the "sixty" (issued February 27) because of lack of space. The most significant

"The Communist Party has recently

completed a turn which is turning out

to be of greater and greater harm to

the German labor movement . . . The German Party is represented . . . as standing on the eve of a proletarian revolution, as an almost completely illegal Party, which . . . in spite of all difficulties 'has the majority of the German working class behind it and is not far from the day when it will achieve power in Germany.' . . . In the trade union field a line is followed which is marked for defeat from the beginning . . . The strongly consolidated trust capital can desire nothing better than further disruption and splitting in the workers organizations ... at a time when unity of the working class is more necessary than ever ... (A critique follows of the May Day action and a large number of recent actions of the Party). All these conditions exist because the leadership of the C.P.G. Central Committee makes its decisions on the basis of paper resolutions adopted somewhere without estimating, as responthe Party who does not endorse everything in every detail . . . is immediately branded as a Party enemy and as a renegade . . . The Party leadership itself presents the picture of mutually fighting cliques. We represent the opinion that the struggles of the German working class must be carried on the basis of the conditions existing in Germany. We fight against a policy that has as its effects the splitting of the proletarian mass organizations as well as the trade unions. We recognize that a real revolutionary proletarian policy can only be carried thru in Germany if the German Party is financially indepen-

dent. We know that a large section of the old functionaries and members of the C.P.G. are of our opinion . . .

This declaration and the movement it represents has produced consternation in the camp of the official burocracy. All of the "sixty" and many more have already been summarily expelled. No argument is even attempted—merely abuse, vituperation, and slander! The action of the "sixty" offers an excellent commentary upon the "iron Bolshevik unity of the Party" about which the burocrats boasted so much a week previously on the occasion of the capitulation of Ewert.

The Communist Opposition of Germany greeted the signatories of the documents as "carrying on the same struggle and fighting for the same aims as we "We know," it is declared by Arbeiterpolitik (the daily organ of the C.P.G.-Opposition), "that sooner or later the majority of the sixty comrades will join the ranks of the Opposition . . . Forward to a strong united opposition!" In Arbeiterpolitik of March 1, Jakob Walcher declares quite correctly:

"The signatures under the declaration show in what an extraordinary situation the Party is that such comrades, who have hitherto been of all sorts of opinions on inner-Party questions, should come together for a common protest. Whether these comrades . . . will also stand united on positive questions, whether they are ready to provide a uniform answer to the question: What next? this will only be seen in the future. Upon the answer to this question depends the fate of this group . . . Basically there are only two possibilities! Either joining with the Communist Opposition or else going over to the Socialdemocracy. In the latter the prospects are for well-paid jobs, posts and honors; in the former, long, wearisome and scarificial struggle . . . For the real Communist . . . there is no choice . . We are convinced that the majority of the signatories will not that they will fight with the Opposi-

IN THE PROVINCES

Another wave of rebellion of the Party membership has broken out in Bavaria. In Nurnberg, the political secretary and member of the provincial diet, Karl Groensfelder and the Communist member of the diet, Buchs, have followed him. In the district committee nine of the most important shop functionaries voted against these expulsions, including the representative of the largest Nurnberg nucleus, MAN. Then entire MAN nucleus and many other nuclei have solidarized themselves with the expelled. Eighty four of the leading functionaries of Nurnberg have issued a declaration in support of the position of Buchs, Groensfelder, etc. On March 8, 1930 a meeting of oppositional comrades was held in Nurnberg, in spite of the frantic attempts of the Party leadership to break it up. By a vote of 150 for, 1 against, and 7 abstentions, this meeting decided, upon the report of Comrade Buchs, to join the CPG-Opposition! The CPG-Opposition has thus already strongly entrenched itself in Bavaria. And the movement of rebellion is just begin-

At the Nurnberg meeting there was present Comrade Dilger of Augsburg (Bavaria) who announced that the opposition comrades of that city had already organized themselves as a part of the GPG-Opposition.

In the Hamburg district a new group of comrades have been expelled for refusing to carry thru the suicidal tactic of separate "red" factory council lists. The dozen comrades expelled come from the most important factories of the dis-

In the Halle district seven Communist functionaries have been expelled for "sympathy with Brandler."

In Konigsberg there has just taken place the expulsion of five comrades for refusal to carry thru the self-isolation tactics in the factory council elections. Six more functionaries have already solidarized themselves with these comrades go over to the Social-democracy . . . and the movement is growing. The expelled comrades have issued a leaflet for distribution in the factories.

OPPOSITION IN THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY

From International Information of the

Communist Opposition: In the Communist Party of Great Britain there is yet no organized opposition. But this does not mean that the entire Party is in complete agreement with the present line or that this line is leading towards a mass Communist Party. The lack of an organized opposition is to be traced to the general weakness of the CPGB. It is a fact that the majority of the old cadre of the Party was in disagreement with the new line. But at the recent Party Congress (December 1929) they all capitulated with the exception of Comrade Arthur Horner. Nevertheless, neither Rothstein nor Bell sible leaders should, the political and nor a number of other comrades were economic possibilities in a sober and allowed to remain on the CC and, of foreign editor of the Daily Herald. realistic manner. This road leads not course, Comrade Horner was removed. to the proletarian revolution but to Comrade Horner, a very influential trade in the CPGB to fight openly against the purposeless actions. Anyone within union leader and member of the Execu- present ultra-left line is only a question tive of the Miners Federation of Great of time.

Britain, concentrated his attack upon the course towards the organization of "new revolutionary unions."

Another sign of coming events is the expulsion of Sam Ellsbury under whose leadership the farce of the organization of the "Clothing Workers Union" took place. Ellsbury was expelled because of "breach of discipline."

Comrade W. N. Ewer was recently expelled as a "renegade" because he expressed a varying opinion on the estimation of the foreign policy of British imperialism and on the outcome of the Soviet-Chinese conflict. Ewer has been a member of the Party since its foundation and for the last four years has been

The rise of an organized opposition

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Shall We Fight for Legality?

By BERT MILLER

"Inexperienced revolutionaries often think that legal means of struggle are opportunist, for the bourgeoisie often (especially in 'peaceful' nonrevolutionary times) use such legal means to deceive and fool the workers. On the other hand they think that illegal means in the struggle are revolutionary. This is not true. What is true is that the opportunists and traitors of the working class are those parties and leaders who are unable, or who do not want . . . to apply ittegal means to the struggle . . . But those who cannot coordinate illegal forms of the struggle with legal ones are very poor revolutionaries.'

Lenin—Left Wing Communism.
Contrary to the established principles of the Communist movement, we find the official leadership of the Party falling down completely in the task of fighting against the forces of reaction, which are seeking to again drive the Party underground. In fact there is every appearance of a tendency in the Party to welcome a state of illegality as vindicating the official theory that we are confronted in the United States today, with an immediate revolutionary situation, that American imperialism tottering in its final basic crisis.

When Mr. Whalen publicly announced that there would be no more open air meetings by the Communists, the Party made no attempt to challenge this threat. Instead of mobilizing the full strength of the Party and the working class to fight for its right to open existence, the Party has already put units on an illegal footing. The slogans issued by the Party bristle with such bombastic and untimely phrases as "Down with the government!" "Fight the police!" "Fight for the streets!", which would be appropriate for a period of immediate mass revolt. They have played into the hands of the reactionaries. How ridiculous and suicidal this policy appears when compared with Lenin's sage coun-

"Openly to tell the enemy, who is now better armed than we are, whether or not we shall fight him, is stupidity and not revolutionism . . . To accept battle when this is obviously profitable to the enemy, and not to oneself, is a crime."

The enemies of the Party have been quick to reap full benefit from the Party's ruinous policy. Taking advantage of the Party's unrealistic and empty slogans and its increasing isolation from the mass of the workers a terrific attack has been opened against the Party by the reactionaries. Hall and public squares are being barred to Party meetings. Leaders of the Party are being jailed under serious charges and held incommunicado and the Party finds itself unable to mobilize a broad mass movement in its own defense. A spy system was instituted to infest and disrupt the Party's ranks. Communists are being threatened with discharge from their place of employment and with deportation from the country. In fact an impetus and an

excuse has been given for a wave of reactionary attack upon the foreign born, upon the right of free speech and assembly upon the unions, upon the working class as a whole. Not only the Party, but the working class as a whole has suffered a severe setback, involving the loss of gains established thru years of stubborn struggle since the days of Daugherty and Palmer.

How does it happen that the present leadership appears to welcome illegality so warmly? First, it helps to corroborate their estimate of the "present revolutionary situation." Second, it gives the Party burocracy a better whip over the membership, less opportunity for discussion, for troublesome questions as to policy, a better excuse for the complete abrogation of Party democracy-what little there is left. Third, it is but a further step in the Party's path toward economism, the abandonment of any real political struggle covered up with the most empty phrases about "political mass strikes." This is indicated by the Party's refusal to take up the fight against the registration of the foreign born, the dropping of the Labor Party campaign and by the complete lack of activity in the last election campaign. These are not accidental. They are part of a line. They are part and parcel of the wrong estimate of the present condition of American imperialism and the problems of the American working class.

Is it true that the American capitalist class is at present in such a state of collapse that it must cast aside its mask of democracy and show its hideous face more openly? It is not! Mayor Jimmy Walker can still afford to wisecrack delegations of the unemployed on occasions when he finds this more advisable than clubbing. The capitalist class can still afford to prate about free speech and maintain the illusion of democracy before the workers, in other words maintain "a general assertion of liberty, and a proviso whereby the liberty is denied" (Marx). This mask must be stripped from the ugly face of American capitalism. We must learn "to trip the bourgeoisie upon their own words utilizing the apparatus created by them" (Lenin).

It is therefore our job, as Communists, to learn how to expose the myth of capitalist democracy, by utilizing to the utmost such legal possibilities as street corner meetings, public hearings, the press, the right to picket, etc. and where these rights are limited or denied, we must be able to rally the widest possible support in order to maintain our right to legality. The present sectarian, isolationist line of the Party leadership can only hinder this struggle. Once again it becomes necessary to remind the party of the memorable words of Comrade Ruthenberg regarding The Legalization of the Communist Movement:

"The Communists have no particular love for the underground life or for working in secret. They have nothing to hide. They desire nothing more than to proclaim their principles openly and publicly."

Is This in the Spirit of Lenin?

THE readers of Revolutionary Age are already acquainted with the disgraceful procedure in connection with the "celebration" of Stalin's 50th birthday which Stalin and the Party apparatus compelled the Party to carry out. We wish to give an additional sample of the shameful excesses to which this has gone.

The State Publishing House has just published a book whose main aim is to replace Lenin by Stalin. It is 270 pages in length and sells for 30 kopecks (15 cents), a ridiculously low price for a book of this size. To make sure that a large number workers will be reached, 300,000 copies have been issued. Here is a partial list of the contents:

"The Bulwark of Bolshevism" by Kalinin; "Stalin and Industrialization" by Kuybishev; "Stalin and the Party" by Kaganovich; "Stalin and the Red Army" by Voroshiloff; "Stalin, the Leader of the Comintern by Manuilsky; "Stalin and the Bolshevization of the Sections of the Comin

tern" by Kuusinen; "The Theoretician and Practical Worker" by Krumin; Stalin, the Theoretician of Leninism" by Adoratzky; "Stalin and the National Minorities Policies of the Leninist Party" by Popov; "The Iron Bolshevik" by Orjonikidze; "The Steel Soldier of the Bolshevik Guard" by Mikoyan; "Leninist, Organizer and Leader" by Bubnov; "Stalin Continues the Work of Lenin" by Saweliev. We leave it to the Party membership and revolutionary workers to judge whether such disgusting idolization is in the spirit of Lenin—and of Communism!

JUST OUT!

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