

VOLUME I. NUMBER 15.

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### **Miners** Fight Unite Against Wage Cuts! Unemployment

On Sunday, May 25, 1930 there took place in the city of Wilkes Barre the Anthracite Unemployment Conference called by the Provisional Unemployment Committee. It was a splendid success! There were present 56 delegates representing 21 labor organizations of the hard coal region. These delegates represented some locals of the National Miners Union (Pittston, Wilkes-Barre, Ashley), two branches of the International Labor Defense, and a large number of workers benefit and fraternal organizations.

The conference lasted for several hours and the highest spirit prevailed. The conference was addressed in Italian by John Fornier (who presided at the conference) and in English by Pat Brennan and Frank Vrataric. There was a very thoro discussion and all motions and resolutions were adopted unanimously.

A program of action, outlining the demands of the workers against unemployment and proposing plans of struggle, was enthu-(Continue on page 2)

### Watch for Next Issue

The next issue of REVOLU-TIONARY AGE will be a SPEC-IAL PARTY CONVENTION issue which will be of the greatest interest and importance to every single Party member and revolusingle Party memoer and revolu-tionary worker. It will contain an APPEAL OF THE CP-MAJORI-TY GROUP TO THE PARTY CONVENTION which will review the experiences of the Party within the law and the set of the set of the last year and will indicate the course the Party must follow if it is to fulfil its role as the leader of the American working class. Be-sides this there will be much valuable Convention material that every militant worker should read. The next issue of REVOLUTIONARY AGE will also contain an examina-tion and analysis of the recent con-vention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.

### Smash the Bosses Attack on Labor!

A wage-cutting drive on a national scale is being launched with terrific impetus by the biggest employers of labor. All signs point to a whirlwind of wageslashes blowing in the ranks of labor before Thanksgiving Day. The openshoppers are preparing a fierce drive on the wages and standards to cover simultaneously every industry in every section of the country.

It is not merely a question of wage cuts in sundry industries which have been occurring with increasing frequency since the collapse of the Stock Market. It is a question of open and secret measures now being prepared by big capital to lower considerably the wage levels and working conditions won thru years of hard struggle. The new open-shop drive, now being prepared, is following in many ways, the course of the "grand offensive" of 1921. But from all indications the new offensive may assume as great or even greater dimensions than

the 1921 drive.

Neither wild speculation in New York nor loud talk in Washington have been able to prevent the breaking of the prosperity bubble. The festering sores of American capitalism are now poisoning the lives of millions of workers thru joblessness, starvation, and misery on the worst scale within the last ten years. The bosses are trying desperately to shift the full burden of the severe economic crisis to the backs of the workers. Grousing and glooming about their loss of profits in recent months, the exploiters are frantically seeking a way out. Prices of commodities have been falling sharply because of the economic crisis. But this has failed to stem the cbbs of the huge dividend tides in which big business has been bathing in the last six years. The price-cutting of today is proof of the deepening crisis and not a sign of recovery. Nor are Hoover's rosy statistics and the Department of Commerce cheerio talks and Sunday-prosperity sermons on the radio filling the coffers of the ruling class with fabulous profits. So the boss es are hell-bent on going the limit with their "tried and true" weapons of making the workers foot the whole bill, pay in full for the tragedy of the present economic crisis. Unemployment, reduced wages, worsened working standards and conditions-that's the price the workers are to pay if the bosses have their way.

The ground is being thoroly prepared for the winter offensive by the capitalists. First of all, red-scares are being manufactured. A country-wide anti-Communist drive have been launched in the spirit and ways of Palmer and Burleson. The North Carolina Masons have just voted at their convention to take the lead in the new anti-Communist campaign. The forty-first Congress of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution have, at their convention just closed, unfurled their black banners of reaction against the Communists and all militant workers. As we go to press, the American Plan-Open Shop Conference has just closed its National Convention in Duluth with a decision to wipe out all roots of unionism, to spread the open-shop, and to bring the country "back to normalcy," back to "normal" instead of "high" liv-

### U.S. Government Bans Revolutionary Age! Post Office Declares Communist Paper "Seditious"

Charging that its first six issues have violated the "sedition" and "indecency" clauses of the United States Code, the Post Office has barred REVOLUTIONARY AGE from the mails. In a letter to Mr. Morris L. Ernst, counsel for REVOLU-TIONARY AGE, Horace J. Donnely, Solicitor for the Post Office Department, has declared that REVOLUTIONARY AGE is unmailable under Sections 334 and 344 which read:

344.-Letters or writings advocating treason declared non-mailable. Every letter, writing, circular, possal card, picture, print, engraving, photograph, newspaper, pamphlet, book or other publication, matter or thing, of any kind, containing any matter advocating or urg-CONSIDERATION BOOTION ing treason, insurrection, or forcibe resistance to any law of the United States, is hereby declared to be non-mailable." "334. Criminal Code, section 211 amended. Mailing obscene matter... term, 'indecent' The within the intendment of this section shall include matter of a character tending to incite arson, murder, or assassination."

against all elements of the working class who are ready to take up a fight for their interests. The fight against the attempt of the Federal Government to ban REVOLU-TIONARY AGE will be a long and difficult one. The financial burden will be very great and it can only be met thru the immediate support of the Party membership and the militant workers.

Party members! The U. S. government is attempting to suppress a Communist paper on charges of "treason" and "sedition"! It is your duty to defy the burocrats and to help us smash this attack of the American imperialists!

Workers! The attack on REVOLUTION-

MAIL EARLY AND OFTEN TO HASTEN DISPATCH AND DELIVERY

Anited States Post Office NEW YORK, N.Y. May 17, 1930. ARY AGE is an attempt to usher in a new drive upon militant labor that will recall the worst excesses of the Burleson and Palmer regimes! Don't delay!

BOOST OUR FIGHTING FUND! RUSH IN DONATIONS! MAKE COL-LECTIONS! THE FATE OF REVOLU-TIONARY AGE DEPENDS UPON YOUR ANSWER!

On May 17, 1930, J. J. Kiely, Postmaster of New York informed the Revolutionary Age:

"In connection with your application for entry of Revolutionary Age as second class matter, the Solicitor of the Post Office Department has held

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the November 1 and 15, December 1 and 15, 1929 and January 1 and 15 1930 issues of this publication to be unmailable.

"The Third Assistant Postmaster General advis-

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The Communist Party (Majority Group) has already launched a campaign to mobilize the militant workers to protect a sur paper. The attempt to suppress REVOLUTIONARY AGE is a blow not merely against the whole labor movement-it is a blow Publishers of "Revolutionary Age" Reom 807, 37 East 28th Street, New York, N.Y.

Sectioner:

In connection with your application for entry of "Revolutionary Age" as second class matter, the Solicitor of the Post Office Department has held the November 1 and 15, December 1 and 15, 1929 and January 1 and 15, 1930 issues of this publication to be unmailable.

The Third Assistant Postmaster General advises that in view of the fact that no copies of a mailable issue of the publication have been submitted, no further consideration will be given to the pending application for entry of the publication as second class matter.

The deposits received to cover postage or mellings made under the conditional percit incover when the application for entry was filed will be converted into postage starps and rest to the Department.

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es that in view of the fact that no copies of a mailable issue of the publication have been sumbitted. no further consideration will be given to the pending application for entry of the publication as second class matter."

Not satisfied with this the New York Post Office has arbitrarily held up the mailing of the May 21 issue of Revolutionary Age for several days.

This is the first time since the war and post war "red baiting" hysteria that a working class publication has been re-

(Continued on page 2)

ing-by cutting the cost of labor-by means of wage cuts.

The opening guns of the wage-slashing drive have been fired in the last ten days by some of the most gigantic cor-The Rockefeller-controlled porations. Consolidation Coal Co., the biggest softcoal "producers" in the world, have just announced a minimum wage-cut of 14%. A prominent financial journal omniously says that this wage-reduction is "of great significance not only to the coal field but to industries now considering plans for reducing cut-throat competition."

The Vest Virginia and Pennsylvania bituminous fields are now in the throes of a devastating wage-cutting epidemic. How severely the coal diggers are suffering here is shown in the following estimate of one of the leading busines organs of the country. "An investigation of the

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# Banned

#### (Continued from page 1)

fused the second class mailing privilege! The significance of this step of the Post Office Department, of the Federal Government, cannot be mistaken. The declaration that Revolutionary Age is unmailable, the attempt to ban it from the mails, is merely a part of the rapidly growing capitalist offensive against the working class and against all labor organizations. The campaign of wage-cuts and union smashing, the Hoover-Green "no strike" pact, the increasing police brutality, the attacks on the foreign born, the recent decision of the House of Representatives to "investigate" the Communist and the whole revolutionary labor movement are all parts of this reactionary offensive against the workers and their organizations. The attack on Revolutionary Age is only the forerunner of a vicious attack on the whole militant labor press of this country.

Revolutionary Age has been picked as the first target of this reactionary attack upon the labor press because it is today the most effective organ of Communism in the United States. In the seven months of its existence it has been in the forefront in rallying the workers to fight for better conditions. On the questions of unemployment, on the Hoover-Green anti-labor pact, on the attacks on the foreign born, on Wall Street's imperialist adventures in Latin America, in defense of the Soviet Union, in defense of the rights of the Negroes, Revolutionary Age-as the chief organ of the Communist Party (Majority Group) -has given a militant lead to the workers and has shown them the road of effective struggle.

The holding up by the Post Office authorities of the May 21 issue of Revolutionary Age is not entirely unconnected with the exposure in the same issue of the real source of former Commissioner Whalen's salary and the open publication for the first time of the confidential Address on "Labor and War" delivered by Matthew Woll vice-president of the A. F. of L. to the Army War College, and the announcement of a series of exposures of the military measures the U.S. government is now preparing against the working class. The attempt now made to suppress, Revolutionary Age is clearly because it has already proved itself a courageous and effective champion of the working class.

Revolutionary Age, thru its legal representatives, will take all necessary legal steps to beat back this attack of the Federal Government.

But it is upon the support of the masses of the workers whose interests it is defending and upon the support of all people who really stand for free press and civil liberty against capitalist reaction that we are depending for a victorious struggle to smash this vicious attack of the Post Office Department!

### A QUOTA ON MEXICANS

The Senate has voted to apply the national origins quota to the Mexicans seeking to enter the country. This is the first application to any people west of the Atlantic Occan, to any country in It is the the Western Hemisphere. Mexican workers who have handled some of the hardest and heaviest work in the country, who have mucked about some of the dirtiest jobs in the oil fields and elsewhere. Of course, Wall Street's Senate will boast that in reducing the annual Mexican immigration from 56,000 to less than 1700 it has done "a great favor to organized labor." What idiocy! This "favor" will only serve as a cover the other day: "It was not my underfor robbing still more rights from the native workers, black and white alike. was agreed upon. What leaders did say Such "favors" are only blinders, smokescreens and poison gas. The bosses arc discharge men or cut wages. But in inalways anxious to manipulate the labor dustry when husiness falls off, it becomes supply-in their own interests and absolutely essential to pare down costs, against the workers. The workers in the much as we regret it." Plain talk in-South and in the whole country must see deed. "Pare down costs"-no matter thru this fraud and delusion. The in- how much sweetened by hypocritical reterests of our class demand unity above grets-means in the last and decisive inthe race and national lines. Otherwise stance cutting the guts out of the wagewe are doomed. The Senate is simply following the old rule of "divide and conquer." We must beat back their attempts to divide us. We must unite and then strike and strike hard.

sissically adopted by the Conference. The taken no step on this question in the conference demanded the release of Bonita and Mendola and of the convicted Communists in New York (Foster, Minor, Amter). A resolution favoring the formation of Labor Party and another rejecting the slanderous attacks made upon the Soviet Union as responsible, thru "coal dumping", for the miserable condition of the anthracite miners were adopted after discussion.

The conference decided to hold a mass demonstration in Pittston on June 15. It elected an Executive Committee of eleven and chose Frank Vrataric as secretary and Nick Borich as chairman.

#### \* \* \*

This splendid unemployment conference in the anthracite was organized upon the initiative of the CP-Majoray Group in the hard coal regions, under the leadership of Comrade Frank Vrataric. The official Party, which is never too tired of shouting that Comrade Vrataric and the others are "rencgades," "counter-revolutionaries," "agents of, the bosses" and the like, could find no time to consider the question of unemployment. Todate the official Party has

anthracite and no attempts have even ference. Yet the unemployment situation is extremely acute in the hard coal region. And now, when upon the initiative of our comrades an unemployment conference was called, the official Party burocrats launched the most vicious campaign of slanders and lies and openly called upon the organizations under their influence to boycott the conference and not to send delegates! For this the burocrats of the National Miners Union were also mobilized. Slinger of the NMU and Krankfeld, the district organizer of the Communist Party, went around to workers organizations to try to induce them to sabotage the conference. The Daily Worker openly boasted about this. By lying and misrepresentation they were able to keep some delegates away. But they could not prevent the conference from being a splendid success nevertheless. In spite of the shameful anti-working class sabotage of the Party burocrats we have succeeded in beginning the mobilization of the anthracite miners against unemployment!

1. Already in March the level of em-

ployment was 8.9% lower than in the

corresponding month of 1929, but the

pay rolls total for this month was much

lower-12.6% lower than in March a

2. Even according to the figures of

the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the

proportion of wage decreases has risen

3. An "apology" for this campaign to

slash wages to the bone is made by an

outstanding financial organ in this

ident's conferences of business and labor

leaders following the stock market crash

seems to have suffered somewhat the

same fate as the recent tariff truce con-

ference and the naval reduction parley.

The promises of employers not to reduce

wages and of labor organizations not to

demand wage increases were opportently

made without due allowance for the

weight of a business recession much

more prolonged and serious than was an-

4. This authoritative mouthpiece of

the brains of American big business sub-

sequently and significantly follows up the

abroad is: Wholesale prices of commodi-

tics have declined about 10% in a year

in almost all countries on a gold stan-

dard, when will retail prices decline in

proportion? . . . The answer is: when

wages decline . . . The only solution of

this nuccle so fur seems to be uncomplou-

ment . . . Wage reductions are being se-

riously discussed abroad as a means of

"In contrast to these declines retail

prices have fallen only 5%, the total

cost of living only about 2%, while aver-

industries are over 2% higher than they

"It is fairly clear that the brunt of

this discrepancy in prices and wayes has

been borne by the employee. The in-

crease of over 2% in average hourly

earnings merely indicates that payrolls

have been shortened by dropping the low-

est paid and less efficient workers and

retaining the higher paid and more effi-

means when it speaks of "efficient"

What this bulletin of the bosses really

Here we have the whole dastardly con-

spiracy against the workers. Foreign

competition will be blamed. The work-

ers are to pay for their bosses being

"unable to see" the gravity of the crisis!

"Economic laws cannot be violated" will

be the loudest cry of the high-priced

capitalist experts and economists. The

capitalist lawmakers will say; "Hound

and jail the most militant fighters in

the labor movement-the Communists,"

This will be another "solution" offered.

stimulating employment.

were at the neak last year

workers is skilled workers.

cient ones."

"The question business is asking itself

"The wage truce declared at the Pres-

steadily since Jan. 1, 1930.

ticipated at the time."

above by saying:

### Smash the Wage Cut Drive

nificant facts:

vear ago.

fashion:

### (Continued from page 1)

Fairmont field shows that there has been a steady disintegration of standards in that territory with many companies defaulting from a month to three months in wages . . . At one time or another 50% of the Fairmont field has held up pay days from 3 to 4 weeks . . . Another company is defending a suit in the Tay-County Court brought by a group lor of its workers for back wages, some of which have been due since October 1928."

The Northwest Bancorporation Review announcing the beginning of a wave of wage-slashes for the copper workers frankly speaks of "a further cut in wages on the first of June by at least 25 cents and possibly 50 cents per day. Present time mines are working with reduced forces, but production is better per man." In line with this, the Utah Copper Co., one of the biggest in the world, has just announced another wage cut because of the fall in the price of copper. All copper mines in Montana and Arisona : 😕 cutting wages.

In textiles, the factories are being operated on a half-time basis at reduced wages. Silver has fallen to the lowest price in modern times and this is being taken by other industries as a signal for further price reductions, which mean immediate sweeping wage reductions. The price of steel is being somewhat lowered and the wages of steel workers are being slashed deeply. Here the powerful Youngstown Sheet & Tube is setting the pace against the workers. The heaviest blows are now raining on the sheet and bar mill workingmen. Advertisements for skilled carpenters are already offering but but sixty cents an hour.

President Green of the A. F. of L. has loyally stuck to his promise to do all in his power to prevent the workers from age hourly carnings in manufacturing asking for wage increases during the resent crisis. It is now clear the most purblind workers that Hoover's promise to Green not to cut wages during the crisis was just a plain fake calculated to serve as a noisonous smoke screen to hide a murderous wage-slashing drive. Thus, Charles Piez, chairman of the Link-Belt Company, admitted, standing that any definite 'wage truce' was that only as a last resort would they levels

That this is exactly what's been happening and what will happen on a much bigger scale if the bosses can help it is further seen from the following very sigShiplacoff Resigns Union \$265,000 Short

At a meeting of the International Pocket Book Workers Union held at Stuyvesant High School on June 5, the Finance Committe exposed the wholesale looting of the treasury under the previous administration. It was shown that the Relief Fund, instead of finding its way to the needy members of the Union, was systematically tapped by the Socialist grafters. A lump sum of \$800 disappeared with no account as to how it was spent. The committee uncovered anonymous vouchers signed by Shiplacoff with no name to show to whom the money was given. Similar vouchers were signed by the ex-secretary-treasurer Goldman and by the chairman of the Relief Committee, Lubliner. Vouchers were also found made out to fictitious individuals, never heard of before. The investigation disclosed \$15,000 donated to the burocracy of the H.GWU, for purposes unstated. The fakers of the Suitcase and Bagmakers Union received \$21,000 as a "loan." When asked about the minutes of the Relief Committee, its chiarman claimed that minutes were never taken down, and the secretary claimed that they were "lost." All in all there is \$265,000 of the union funds, which has been filched by the Shiplacoff crew, which three years ago forced thru a \$60 tax on each member, with the help of gangsters and police at a meeting in Cooper Union. In addition to this there was another \$60 tax over a year ago, plus an increase in ducs. Instead of dealing with this union wrecking activity in a manner which

would safeguard the interests of the workers and especially their funds, the present administration proposes to refer the whole thing to an investigation by the so-called "impartial committee" consisting of Norman Thomas, Panken, Chanin, Vladeck and Feinstone, who are interested only in whitewashing Shiplacoff & Co. What should be done at once is that the workers must demand: 1) The repudiation of this whitewashing committee; 2) The election of a rank and file committee which shall investigate the entire affair, especially Shiplacoff and Goldman's part in it; 3) The establishment by this rank and file committee of full control of the Union funds, so that such frauds may not recur.

The Open-Shoppers will say: "Register and finger-print the foreign-born. Suppress the most dauntless labor papers. Smash the remaining trade unions. Spread the open-shop-the American Plan." And the refrain to all this, will be: "Cut wages, cut them fast and deep, everywhere." The road to capitalist prosperity is the road of reckless wagecutting.

We are sounding the alarm. The danger is terrific. The lives of the working masses and of their families are endangered by the new offensive that has just been launched by the bosses and their strike-breaking government. The reactionary trade union officials are only lieutenants of Wall Street in the ranks of labor-scouts and handymen of the worst exploiters and enemies of the workers.

It is not yet too late to beat back the encroaching enemy. There is hut one way to paralyze and smash this monstrous open-shop conspiracy. And this way it: to unite the workers against the capitalists, to build the broadest united front movement of all workers and their organizations to resist wage cuts and unionsmashing, to cripple the open-shop campaign, and to destroy the general offensive of capitalist reaction in the U.S. -JAY LOVESTONE.

Two workers realizing the importance of the REVOLUTION-ARY AGE at the present time enclose \$10.00 so as to help you carry on your splendid work. Two Montreal Workers DR. H. LINN DENTIST 1235 VYSE AVE. BRONX, N. Y.

Phone: DAYton 2257

lion pounds (\$800,000,000).

It is but natural that the people of India should revolt against these conditions of oppression and exploitation. The movement for national freedom already began in the eighties of the last century. But until the world war it did not affect the masses. The big bourgeoisie agitated for constitutional reforms and were placated by petty concessions granted from time to time. The petty bourgoois intelligentsia claimed the right of national freedom, but in the absence of a mass movement could not push the claim effectively. They organized themselves into secret revolutionary organizations with the object of overthrowing the British rule by armed uprising.

During the war the position of the British domination was so precarious that a large measure of self-government was promised in order to win over the support of the native bourgeoisie. But in consequence of the war the social basis of the nationalist movement had broadened Finally revolt came. Since 1918 a gigantic mass movement has developed in India not only against British rule but also against national reaction which constitutes, so to speak, the social basis of British power in India.

In the face of relentless repression by the imperialist rulers and in spite of the treacherous policy of the nationalist bourgeoisie, the movement gathered strength. In the young proletariat it found a brave vanguard. The peasant masses began to revolt against imperialist exploitation and feudal exactions. Encouraged by the revolutionary action of the toiling masses the petty bourgeois intelligentsia outgrew the narrow limits of the old terorist organizations and came out in the open demanding the overthrow of the foreign rule. During the last few years reformist and revolutionary forces contended for the leadership of the nationalist movement. The rapprochment between foreign imperialism and the native bourgeoisie sharpened the class antagonisms inside the nationalist movement, revolutionizing it further under the pressure of the working class. The labor movement developed very rapidly. The youthful proletariat acquired valuable experience in great industrial conflicts which, under the given conditions of the country, usually as-

### AGAIN THE "U.S. OF EUROPE"

Briand is again peddling his "United States of Europe." We have two questions of clarification in mind for his plan. The United States of Europe, for whom? The United States of Europe, against whom? It is not hard to answer these questions. Aristide Briand's plan is the plan of French imperialism for establishing firmly its hegemony on the continent of capitalist Europe. That's why this latest marvelous capitalist "peace plan" has as its first echoes in Italy the bitter and loud cry of "Down with France." But this plan doesn't stop here. It is to be forged as a weapon against the Soviet Union. This danger is even greater. Nor is British imperialism chuckling with glee at Briand's newest "pacifist" panacea. The British imperialist lion has not lost its sense of smell for loot. And to the extent that for national freedom. As is always the Briand ever could succeed in his plan, to that extent would it also serve as a powerful weapon against the continued encroachments of U.S. imperialism in Europe. Truly the banners of all capitalist "peace" plans are unfurled at the points of bayonets. Indeed, the temples of imperialist peace are terraced and collonaded with machine guns, cannons and heavy artillery. Briand's coming forward with his plan for a "United States of Europe" is one of the most of the Indian people antagonistic to the

been made to call an unemployment con-

# For Freedom of the Indian People!

For more than a hundred and fifty years India has been oppressed and exploited by British imperialism. The people are submerged in extreme poverty. They are deprived of the most elementary political rights. Nearly 85% of the population are illiterate. Every year British imperialism extracts from India the huge booty amounting to over 16 mil-

### Manifesto of the Int'l Communist Opposition

We publish here the most important sections of the manifesto issued by the International Communist Opposition for the freedom of the Indian people. Lack of space prevents us from publishing the manifesto as a whole but we strongly urge all of our readers to read this manifesto in unabridged form, in the pamphlet "India in Revolt" (15c a copy-order from Revolutionary Age).

danger of a new imperialist world war. sume strong political complexion. Agrarian disturbance began to break out in various parts of the country.

Alarmed by the situation, British imperialism sought to split the movement. On the one hand, it promised measures of self-government; and on the other, it opened a fierce attack upon the working class. In the teeth of this reign of terror the working class conducted the struggle not only for their own immediate interests, but as the vanguard of the oppressed masses fighting for national freedom. The least improvement of the conditions of the toiling masses, means an encroachment upon the privileges of imperialism. Under these circumstances the struggle of the workers for even the least immediate demands has a political significance. It is inseparably connected with the struggle for the overthrow of imperialist domination.

Independent revolutionary activity of the working class not only encouraged the petty bourgeois intelligentsia to raise radical political domands, but even a section of the big hourgeoisic stiffened its back. So the design of imperialism was frustrated. Instead of being split, the nationalist movement developed into a broad anti-imperialist front, still under the leadership of the reformist bourgeoisic but largely dominated by the working class. At its forty-third annual meeting, held towards the end of the last year, the National Congres declared in favor of complete national independence. The present situation in India has been created by activities to enforce this demand.

Altho the movement is objectively revolutionary—it will put an end to imperialist domination eventually-it is still under reformist leadership. Men like Gandhi reluctantly subscribed to the present radical program of the National Congress with the object of maintaining their hold upon the movement so that they might check its development in a revolutionary direction. But their calcuations have been upset by the stormy march of events. The attack upon the state salt monopoly has developed into a general clash with the entire state-power. Hoping that Gandhi would be able to keep the movement within reformist bounds, the government, in the beginning, was rather indulgent to him. But Gandhi, involuntarily, acted simply as the fuse setting fire to the powder-magazine. His own action mocked at his doctrine of non-violence As soon as the authority of the government was violated the heavy hand of repression came down upon the offenders. These had either to surrender or retaliate. Practical experience taught the followers of Gandhi to disregard his teachings and, in order not to lose his hold upon the movement, the apostle of non-violence himself advocated such actions as taking possession of the stores of salt and even storming of the police-stations. Acting under the irresistible pressure of the revolutionary masses Gandhi forfeited the indulgence of the government, and was put under detention.

The violation of the salt monopoly was only a signal. Great mass demonstrations took place throout the country. The democratic masses burst the bounds of reformist leadership and came out on the streets demonstrating their will to fight case, violence was first used by the established authorities. A veritable reign of terror is in force, the English Vicerov exercising despotic power.

A whole nation is in revolt against to suppress it with bloody ferocity. At this critical moment the affairs of the British Empire are managed by people who call themselves Socialists representing the working class. Is the freedom glaring signals of the acuteness of the interests of the British proletariat? Therefore, the creation of a National



Should the workers of England support the suppression of the fight for freedom in India? Certainly not! The English workers do not derive any benefit from the exploitation of the Indian masses. On the contrary, the command of the vast source of cheap labor in India enables the British bourgeoisie to lower the standard of living of the workers at home. The defense of the Empire is no concern of the working class. Already in the early days of colonial expansion Engels wrote that the proletarian revolution in England was conditional upon the break-up of the Empire. Marx also said that a nation that holds others in subjugation could not itself be free.

In its shameless effort to crush the Indian people's fight for freedom the "Labor Government" of MacDonald does not serve the interest of the working class; it acts as the agent of immerialism. The resolution of the National Congress was disregarded by the MacDonald Government as representing the desires of a small minority. The events of the last few weeks have shown that the entire nation with the exception of a small minority stand behind the National Con-

Workers of Britain! Organize mass meetings and demonstrations in support of India's right to freedom! Denounce the imperialist policy of the MacDonald Government! Demand the suspension of all the repressive measures in India, the release of all political prisoners and the complete freedom of the press, plaform and assembly! Support the right of the Indian people to revolt against the British rule with the object of overthrowing

Workers of the world! Express your solidarity with the Indian people thru mass meetings and demonstrations!

Finally we appeal to the oppressed people of India to be alive to the weaknesses of their movement with the object of removing them so that their struggle for freedom may successfully defy the forces of repression and advance mightily towards the final victory. The events of the last few years and particularly of the last few weeks have clearly shown that the will to fight for freedom is there. But they have also shown that there is lacking an organized leadership which can systematically marshall the popular forces and employ them effectively. The leadership of a gigantic mass movement cannot be vested in individuals, no matter how numerous or foreign domination and imperialism tries how efficient they are. The army must have a general staff to lead in the battle. The National Congress has failed to serve the purpose. It was very useful in the period of propaganda and agitation but it cannot act as a political party leading the people in actual struggle.

Revolutionary Party movement.

The working class also has not been able to influence the situation effectively because of the weakness of its political Party. To accomplish its task as the vanguard of the fight for national freedom as well as to defend its class interests, the proletariat must organize itself into revolutionary trade unions; it must build up a strong mass Communist Party, to carry on, on the basis of the fundamentals and aims of Communism, activity in the ranks of the nationalist revolution so as to lead it by conviction to the further aim, the overthrow of capitalist class domination and the establishment of the Soviet state as a transition to a classless Socialist society.

Unless these conditions are fulfilled, the movement will not be able to withstand the reign of terror, to develop from the present elemental to a higher and better organized stage. The big bourgeoisie will desert the movement. It must be determined beforehand what

(Continued on page 7)

### Ghose Calls for Indian Freedom **BRANDS BRUTALITY OF** "LABOR" GOVERNMENT

"I take this opportunity to tell you the story of bloody MacDonald and his renegade-Socialist 'Labor' Party!" These were the opening words of the address of S. N. Ghose, of the India National Congress of America, at the Rand School Auditorium in New York on Wednesday, June 4, 1930. The Socialists who had packed the meeting (held in their own headquarters), in order to defend Mac-Donald, were thrown into consternation and resorted to desperate attempts at hissing and booing the representative of the Indian nationalist movement.

The first speaker was A. J. Muste who attempted to apologize for MacDonald's bloody course in crushing the Indian revolution by referring to MacDonald's "difficult position" and by "hoping for the best" from the Maxtons and the Brockways of the ILP. In striking contrast was the speech of S. N. Ghose which burned with revolutionary fervor and with hatred of the murderous oppressors of his native land. He pointed out the role of the "Socialists" like Mac-Donald as the "watch-dogs of British imperialism." "After using India to achieve his fame and to obtain the control of the government of Britain, Mr. MacDonuld proved to be but a damnable watch-dog of British imperialism . . . Mr. MacDonald reestablished public flogging in Sholapur, punishment which was a remnant of chattel slavery days and long relegated to the age of barbarism!

Thruout Mr. Ghose's speech there was continuous hissing and disapproval of the part of the Socialist Party sympathizers of MacDonald; on the other hand there was applause and expressions of approval on the part of the Indians and militant workers present.

In the discussion a number of Socialusts took part who tried to pailiate the crimes of their comrade, MacDonald, by questioning the authenticity of the reports of British atrocities in India! A number of speakers, among whom were our Comrades I. Zimmerman, Shaines, and Intrator, defended the Indian people against the murderous imperialist Labor Government and their American Socialist apologists. The Socialist Party speakers complained pathetically that the Communists "had violated their hospitality," had come to a Socialist meeting and had exposed the Socialists!

The Rand School meeting showed how reactionary and corrupt has become the officialdom of the Socialist Party of America that they are ready to defend the butcher MacDonald against the millions of Indian people fighting for freedom.

In the next issue of Revolutionary Age we will publish the entire speech of S. N. Ghose,

### Revolutionary Age

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (Majority Group)

JAY LOVESTONE, Chairman B. D. WOLFE. Associate Editor

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BEN GITLOW, Editor

JUNE 15, 1930.

About Browder's "Out of Work"

### Unemployment and Vulgar "Marxism" by Vera Buch

A popular pamphlet on unemployment giving the workers a Marxian analysis in simple language, would fill a definition: "Propertyless persons (perreal need in the present situation. Evi- sons, mind you!) are called proletarians, dently this is the sort of pamphlet which Earl Browder wished to produce in his Out of a Job. But it is no Marxian class are the proletariat? Capitalist soanalysis which Browder gives; it is a ciety teems with "persons" without propconfused mixture of syndicalist misconceptions and liberal illusions. Out of a Job does not popularize Marxism, but vulgarizes it.

Browder's economic "analysis" distinguishes two kinds of unemployment: "cyclical," caused by crises of capitalist production, and "permanent," which, according to him, is a new development of the last ten years, caused by rationalization. Outside of a few phrases without explanation such as "unemployment is permanent" (page5), "Capitalism is built upon unemployment and reproduces unemployment upon a mass scale" (page 10), in no place in the pamphlet is there an analysis of the real cause of unemployment.

"In the early days of capitalist development," says Browder (Page 4) "unemployment was slight in 'good times' or 'prosperity' and became serious, largescale unemployment only during 'bad times', or 'depression', times of crisis." Marx has plainly pointed out that the formation of the industrial reserve army was impossible in the really early days of capitalist production since then the composition of capital changed but very slowly, and with its accumulation there kept pace, on the whole, a corresponding growth in the demand for labor.

Now take the following paragraph (page 10):

"Capitalism begins with unemployment. Capitalism cannot arise until there has first been created a large body of propertyless persons, who have no land or other means of living. Propertyless persons are called proletarians and as a class are the proletariat. The existence of unemployed proletariat is the first condition for the beginning of capital-

What Browder is trying to describe in these vague confused sentences is the expropriation of the peasantry, the driving of the farmers off their land, which took place in England and Western while working. The occasion when the Europe during the 15th and 16th and surplus labor-time of workers is reduced even during the 17th centuries during the transition between foudalism and capitalism.

But where does the "unemployed proletariat" come in which Browder claims finds his orders falling off, his products worker, the women and the children, in is the "first condition for the beginning" of capitalism"? The peasants who got work in the factories were certainly not the unemployed. And those who were expropriated and could not get work became beggars and thieves, not proletarians and were a tremendous source market, with low consumptive power of of embarrassment to the state authorities. They were victims whose horrible *ize his profit* because he cannot sell his fate testified mutely even at that early day to the ruthless bloody nature of the produced by the workers and remaining see only the struggle in the shops and capitalist monster then in its babyhood. But now we come to the real source of

know what a proletarian is! Here is his and as a class are the protetariat." Who are these propertyless persons who as a There are great numbers of proerty. fessional people, teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc. who do not own property. There are swarms of beggars, burglars, gunmen, prostitutes and other inhabitants of the underworld who do not own property. Public hospitals are full of propertyless persons. So are insanc asylums. Children and youths do not as a rule own property. There are hundreds of thousands of tenant and sharecrop farmers who do not own property. And there are finally the agricultural and industrial workers, the wage work-According to Earl Browder, all this great heterogenous mass makes up the proletariat. A true anarcho-liberal conception. There is only one Marxian definition of a proletarian. A proletarian

Browder's confusion here. He does not

What should have been said in this paragraph is that capitalism had to have as its foundation a body of free laborers -free in the double sense that they were not chattel slaves, were not bound either to land or lord, and also that they owned no means of production-and hence had to sell their labor-power to the capitalists who owned the means of production (the factories, machines, etc.) The expropriated peasants who went into the factories became the industrial proletariat. Those who did not became, not proletarians, but beggars and thieves.

is a wane worker.

He continues: "The workers must produce a surplus over and above their wages, or else the capitalist will shut down his factory and throw the proletariat into the streets without a jbb."

Apparently Earl Browder actually believes that if five or six million workers line of thought. And thus he falls into in the U.S. today are unemployed it is one of the main errors of the vulgar surplu while working. Here is Browder's second big error. He does not know this fundamental Marxian concept, that the workers must produce surplus-value to zero is one practically never occurring. What then actually happens in times of industrial crisis? As far as the individual capitalist is concerned, he the one hand involve the family of the towards the left, against the bosses and piling up on his hands. Then he lays off some of his workers. Because they were not producing surplus? No! Because they were producing too much. The normal capitalist crisis is one of overproduction combined with a restricted the masses. The capitalist cannot roulgoods. But the surplus value is there, "congealed" as Marx puts it, in the goods which the capitalist has on his hands.

### Two Miners' Conventions

by Frank Vrataric, Luzerne, Pa.

### THE UMWA TRIDISTRICT CONVENTION

The Hazleton Tri-District Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, which began on May 2, was opened with the usual blessing by a priest. During the convention and after, there were politicians conferring with the leaders and prominent delegates, trying to persuade them for this or that candidate in the primary elections. In order to protect himself against any rank and file opposition and so as to be able to knock them down whenever he wanted, Lewis got strong-arm protection, including detectives. Here is what one of their own papers said about it:

"Daniel T. McKelvery, popular Hazleton detective and champion lobbyist, is on hand looking after the cures and needs of the delegates. Dan is a popular gent."

The first day of the convention passed with speeches and the appointment of the different committees. The second day the Scale Committe gave their report, calling for a continuation of the present agreement for a number of years. We didn't expect anything else from the Lewis officialdom-in view of the fact that the present agreement means wage cuts and the Lewis officialdom is for it.

But here the Lewis-Kennery-Boylan crew met with strong opposition. Tho unorganized, this opposition was very strong and gave a big blow to the Lewis-Boylan officialdom.

At the Convention there were the professional supporters of the Lewis machine but there were also old experienced

The capitalist is thus glutted with products containing surplus value, but because they were producing too much of

Let us follow this error of Browder's to some logical conclusions. It leads directly to class collaboration. If Browder believes what he writes here, he should advise workers: "Work harder to produce a surplus and you will keep your jobs." Exactly the arguments of the A. F. of L., the SP and numberless liberal elements. And exactly, too, the arguments of the employers who fire their workers because "they are not making anything on them." And exactly, too, the argument to win over the worker to sympathy with the boss because the boss, too, is losing. As Marx puts it (Capital, vol. iii, page 271) : "The vulgar economist does practically no more than to translate the queer concepts of the capitalists, who are in the thralls of competition, into a more theoretical and generalizing language and to attempt a vindication of the correctness of these concentions."

Analyzing further we find Browder headed for another error. He seems to believe that workers work without producing surplus value. Where does the surplus value come from if it is not produced by the workers in the factories? There is only one other place it could come from and that would be from the market, from circulation. This must be the conclusion if we follow Browder's nomists against whom Marx polem ized sixty years ago.

Even Browder's description of the suffering of the workers under unemployment is insufficient. What is lacking or devote sufficient attention to it. We here (pp. 14-15) is any mention of the problems of high rent, high cost of living, lack of social insurance, etc. all of which become greatly intensified in times of unemployment. These problems on the class struggle, and on the other engage the working class in the struggle against other sections of the hourgeoisie than the employers themselves, landlords, chain store companies, etc. A struggle for social insurance involves the workers of a left wing in the UMWA locals for immediately in a struggle against the capitalist state as such. Failure to keep shows above all a syndicalist tendency to nothing else.

(Concluded in the next issue)

workers, dissatisfied with Lewis and his officialdom, who acepted the leadership of McCrone's opposition to the Lewis-Boylan leadership. Who is McCrone? He is one of those who was in the leadership of the insurgent McGarry movement. When Boylan got into office he asked Brennan and McCrone to leave the insurgent movement and he would give them jobs. They fell for this! William Brennan was made compensation sec." tary. McCrone was made the president of the Central Labor Union of Scranton and secretary of the General Grievance Committee of the H. Coal Company. But this was not satisfactory enough. The Lewis-Boylan machine couldn't satisfy him before the convention. McCrone saw that at the convention there were many delegates who would resist the treacherous role of Lewis. He exploited this situation for this purpose to put pressure on Lewis.

On Saturday, May 3, the convention was to adjourn. But big fire was opened on Lewis and his administration. All indications were that Lewis-Boylan would lose control. The report of the Scale Committee was actually defeated. But what happened? On Sunday, Mc-Crone came into private conference with the Lewis-Boylan forces and surrendered. On Monday when the session opened this was already clear. The resolutions were put thru regardless of their purposes. There were resolutions passed contradicting each other. But the proposals of the Scale Committee were passed pretty much in the same form. The final decision on the report of the scale committee shows that the wage cuts will not be regained, that a stop will not be put to the present policy of wage cuts, Here is what Lewis himself said about the opposition:

"The new self-appointed leaders were in the saddle. But they did not know what to do with their new found power and functions. Instead of a constructive definite policy 'for the business of the convention worked out on the basis of the demands, as made by the locals, they came in yesterday like a rudderless ship."

This is correct, because of the dishonesty of McCrone, the leader of the opposition!

The whole of the opposition at the Hazleton Convention cannot be put into the same category; they are not all the same as McCrone. Then why did the great rank-and-file opposition end up in nothing. Why were the delegates not organized for real fight? Why did they have to depend on the McCrone leadership?

The responsibility falls upon the Communist Party and the National Miners Union. They will be held responsible by the miners for their suicidal policy. Their policy was to refuse to participate in any elections, whether for convention delegates or for local officers. This is the policy of isolation, of deserting the struggle of helping the hurnerats keep their hold on the workers. Dan Slinger stood watching the convention from the sidewalk; he didn't even have connections with a single delegate.

But we also are responsible for failing to organize the rank-and-file group. We had delegates from each of Why? the districts and we could have made a strong fighting bloc. But we did not appoint a special comrade for this work failed to do this because we found it difficult to take a comrade out of the mines. We must take the responsibility.

What can we do now to direct the movement of the rank-and-file fighters the union fakers? After the fight in the Tri-District Convention, the situation is much better for us. We must mobilize the miners for the coming June elections in the local unions. We must give them a definite line and policy for building up a fight against wage cuts and against the treacherous burocrats. We must such problems as these always in mind utilize this movement for really building up militant industrial unionism in the mining industry.

(Continued on page 7)

for bettering their conditions.

CHAPTER L-Radicalism. 1. ADDITIONAL LEGAL AS-PECTS. The illegality of those ultraradical organizations which advocate the use of force and violence to overthrow the existing government or the taking away of private property from one class without due process of law and giving it to another, is in no wise dependent upon the actual use of the illegal means advocated by these organizations. The advocacy alone is sufficient.

3. ORGANIZATION. a. Normal.-Generally speaking, the radical groups are rather loosely organized, the leaders inefficient, and the members undisciplined. . . b. During uprisings. Uprisings against law and order are seldom well organized at the beginning, so the earlier such uprisings are attacked, the toxic gas and smoke, will be quite an greater the ease of suppressing. This is essential nart of the couloment. 12. TANKS. While tanks could be shown historically by the post-war exrather easily disabled by throwing down perience of Germany where communist uprisings which had taken possession upon them a sufficiently powerful exof a number of cities and numerous smalplosive, there will nevertheless be many ler communities were suppressed by cases where tanks can be used to good prompt action and by the experience of advantage. Certainly the moral effect of a tank bearing down upon a mob will Russia where delayed corrective action failed entirely to suppress the uprising. do much towards breaking up the mob ... 13. AIRPLANES. Regardless of the 4. DISTRIBUTION. a. Territorial. size of the command airplanes are val-In the United States the radical element seems to have an affinity for the West and Middle West, the large numbers will be found in the cities of the East and of the east-central portions of the country. The localities which are regarded as the most likely to become scenes of violent revolutionary activities are Chiby Bertram D. Wolfe cago, Cleveland, New York, Seattle, and San Francisco. . . Other areas which are likely to become involved are Boston, New Haven, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Detroit, Dayton and Baltimore. ... b. Occupational. The proportion of will remember all the peace conferences radical sympathizers in essential induspreceeding the war of 1914-18. Begintries and public utilities is about 20%, ning with the Algeciras Conference of with a high proportion of each of the 1906 and continuing to the very moment following: coal mining, longshoremen, of opening of hostilities, the smoke amalgamated clothing workers, lumberscreen of peace talk rose thicker and men, railway trackmen and yardmen, silk

workers, metal trade workers, etc.

gion. . . .

### How to Suppress Strikes and Labor Revolts Confidential Instructions of

U.S. War Department

We publish here a few of the most important paragraphs of the "Confidential Supplement to the Military Aid to the Civil Power" published as a confidential document by the General Service Schools at Fort Leaventworth, Kansas. The introduction to this booklet refers several times to its "confidential character" and any worker reading the material here published can readily understand why the ruling class wants this material to be kepts "confidential": it shows plainly that it is the business of the government and the army to break strikes and to suppress all movements of the workers.

5. PERNICIOUS ACTIVITIES. a. Inflammatory propaganda is disseminated by means of magazine, newspapers,. books, pamphlets, circulars, posters, schools; speeches at meetings, picnics, fairs, etc.; and by agitation by means of individual contact. The principal purpose seems to be proselyting and creating a spirit of unrest among employees by teaching them never to be satisfied no matter how much they get nor how great the public's sacrifice to labor may be. . . b. Other activities include the organizing, ordering and directing of labor disturbances, such as strikes, subotage, INTENTIONS. There is unmistakable voidence that these intentions include the ultimate extermination of the socalled capitalistic class and abolition of private property, nutionalism, und reli-

\* \* \* CHAPTER II .- Equipment for Duty in Domestic Disturbances.

9. EQUIPMENT IN GENERAL. The equipment required by federal troops for duty in connection with the suppression of domestic disturbances will not differ materially from that required for ordinary occasions of field service. 10. MACHINE GUNS, 37-MM GUNS, AND 3 INCH MORTARS. Machine guns and 3-inch mortars will be

required in about the proportion now issued to an infantry regiment. .



uable prior to the attack. . . During the attack, to the foregoing may be added the important task of keeping rioters off roofs by means of machine gun fire. 16: SPECIAL EQUIPMENT. \_...ot

guns, using charges of buckshot, may be very useful. \* \* \*

CHAPTER IV.—General Considerations Respecting Methods Employed Against Uprisings of Ultra-Radical Elements.

21.... So long as they (the radical leaders) are unable to secure the passage of laws tending to weaken the forces of government, there seems little probability of the ultra-radicals ever obtaining the political control which has been achieved by them in some countries of the Old World. However, no one is able correctly to estimate now the influence that this element might wield if we should become involved in a war of sufficient duration to tax our resources and the patience of the public to a very great extent.

CHAPTER VI.—Occupation of a City. 34. DUTIES OF THE MILITARY COMMANDER. a. In his efforts to understand the situation, the commander must set but at once to gather information which should normally include the following: (1) (a) Information relative to local radical elements of the population, including their numbers, activities, organization, leaders, places of assembly, methods of operation, equipment, newspapers controlled or influenced by them, their grievances or supposed grievances, previous acts of violence, labor unrest, presence of undesirable persons of ultra-

# The Next War

### 2. How Disarmament Conferences Disarm

He who troubles to think back a bit thicker. There were Hague Conferences, there were arbitration treaties (in place of the Kellogg Pact-the Bryan arbitration treaties), there was a world court of arbitration, there were peace societies like the Carnegie Foundation, peace prizes for "distinguished service in the cause of international peace" offered by Nobel, the munitions manufacturer (!) Among those who received one or another decoration or prizes for "distinguished service in the cause of peace" were Theodore Roosevelt, Czar Nicholas and Kaiser Wilhelm!

Again and again, Earl Grey and Premier Asquith declared in the House of nicketing, and acts of terrorism which Commons that "war between German often include the taking of life and the and Great Britain is unthinkable" just destruction of property. c. PROBABLE as Macdonald and Hoover are now de-America is unthinkable." And at the very moment when the incense of peace talk was rising to the heavens, a solitary shot dispelled the roseate cloud and revealed armies mobilized, nations armed to the teeth, ten-year old secret agreements, strategic plans all worked out, the world at war.

The average man has lost count of the last ten years. The very number of them build you." is a suspicious symptom of the strained of a new world war.

What have they achieved in the way the American army was never as hig in 11. HAND GRENADES. Hand gren- any previous peace year as it is today. ades, especially those filled with non- And the American cruiser fleet was never

as big, not even while the United States was fighting in the world war. Every imperialist power is spending more than it did in preparation for the last world war. Since 1924, in the thick of the billows of peace talk and disarmament conferences, the United States has jumped its military budget, the size of its fleet and armed forces, and every other item of war expenditure, every single year without exception. And, says Hoover, "programs now authorized will carry it (the military budget) to still larger figures in future years."

In other words, the "disarmament" conferences are only disarming those who might fight against war while the nations participating in them are arming at top speed.

Why They Had to Call the Conference

The London Conference is an outgrowth of two previous ones, at Washton in 1922, and at Geneva in 1927. The Washington Conference, presided over by Secretary of State Hughes, was claring that "war between England and called by the United States, amid a great ballyhoo of peace publicity, for the purpose of compelling Great Britain to abandon its age-old position that it must have a navy equal to that of the next two naval powers put together, for the purpose of compelling Great Britain to accept parity with the United States. The calling of the conference by the United States was a virtual ultimatum many "peace" and "disarmament" con- to England: "Either you accept parity ferences that have taken place in the with us, or we, being richer, will out-

England maneuvered skillfully, acceptinternational situation and the nearness ing parity only in big battleships-an arm of little importance in the next war (as will be shown in a later article)of disarmament? According to Hoover's and evading the acceptance of parity in message to Congress of December 4, 1929, cruisers and auxiliary ships. The Conference included the five leading naval powers, America, Britain, Japan, France and Italy, and set their battleship ratios

radical opinions . . . (b) Much of this information may be secured from the police department supplemented by private detective agencies, railroad detectives, agents of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, representatives of the Department of Justice, agents of the Post Office Department, customs agents, county sheriff, city health officer. etc.

35. INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. (c) Soldiers detailed for intelligence duty must be selected with care, for communistic organizations have been known to urge their members to enlist in the United States Army in order to spread there the doctrines of such organizations and thus undermine the loyalty of the Army . . .

41. CONDUCT TOWARDS CIVI-LIANS .-- Soldiers must be cautioned against discussing the military situation with civilians and must be impressed with the idea that all civilians are possible sympathizers with the disturbing element . . . Soldiers must accept no favors from civilians and, above all, nothing to eat or drink . . .

CHAPTER IX .- General Peace Time Preparations Against Disturbances 53. DUTIES OF POST OR CAMP COMMANDERS. (b) Commanding officers . . . must adopt measures to neutralize the effect of communistic propaganda. Each enlisted man should be instructed in the most important provisions of the Constitution of the United States and in the general functioning of our governmental machinery. (c) The soldier should be taught that the present form of our government is designed to give him liberty to the fullest extent; that the leaders who may try to bring about the downfall of the government are doing so to gratify some personal ambi-

tion for wealth or power and that they

have not at heart the interests of the

people as a whole.

as  $10:10:6\frac{1}{2}:3\frac{1}{2}$ . That is to say that Japan was to have 6 ships for every ten. of England and the United States, while France and Italy were to have 3½ each for every ten of the two leading powers.

The United States had determined to have "a navy second to none" in every respect (just as Germany challenged England's naval supremacy before the world war) and so the American government began a big program of cruiser construction after the battleship parity agreement, thereby compelling Britain to enter into another conference, the Geneva Conference of 1927. France and Italy, disgruntled by their small ratio in the Washington Conference and being busy building, refused to attend Geneva. The "peace" conference was stormy from the very outset. America demanded bigger cruisers with 8-inch guns, Britain smaller cruisers and more of them, with 6-inch guns. England preferred the latter building program because it has many naval bases thruout the world and widely scattered colonies. Therefore it can use efficiently ships with a smaller cruising radius. The United States, lacking adequate and strategically placed naval bases, can only fight effectively if it has bigger ships of a wider cruising radius. So the "disarmament" conference at Geneva ended in a scandalous smashup and again the nations built at top speed-the wealthy United States adopting the 15-cruiser-in three-years program.

#### On the Brink

England countered with a secret agreement with France against the United States-giving France what she wanted in the way of a superior standing army in return for a promise of backing against the United States in the naval dispute. When the agreement leaked out, the U.S. State Department sent an ultimatum to England ordering the cancelling of the Anglo-French Agreementthe sharpest ultimatum that has been sent by the American Government to any imperialist power since the Lusitania note with which it prepared its entrance into the world war.

War was thus brought very close, but Britain was not prepared to fight just (Continued on page 7)

## Crisis in the Needle Trades and the Way Out

Stop the Sectarian Split Course -- Rebuild the Forces of the Left Wing

By Ben Gitlow

#### The intolerable conditions in the needle tion of just a few thousands, having no con-Some Real Mistakes

The Source of the Crisis

have forced upon our union a narrow sec-

tarian policy. Our union and activity has

been narrowed down to those Party members

who agreed and fully supported the policies

of the present Party leadership. The mem-

bership as a whole has not been drawn

into trade union action. The union has

been converted into a propaganda sect. De-mocracy in the N. T. W. I. U. has been

crats in the right wing unions has been giv-

ers our union has been forned into a cari-

cature-neither a union nor a political par-

ty. The struggle within the Party has been

transferred to the union. Instead of organi-

action work the present officials of our

union, ably assisted by Johnstone have en-

gaged in slandering and discrediting the left

wing before the workers. No campaigns

for organizing the industry have taken place.

No efforts have been made to maintain

union conditions and standards in the shops.

No program of trade union unity to unite

ail the workers behind a class struggle pro-

gram has been put forward. No campaign

has been conducted for the immediate econ-

omic needs of the workers. Only a cam-

paign against "Lovestonism" has been con-

Gross and those who agreed with their

views in order to make possible the expul-

The failure to keep contact with the mass-

es, the failure to appreciate the needs of

the masses, the failure to develop and broad-

en the mass character of our union, the

failure to build up a left wing in the "re-

actionary unoins, the failure to conceive of

our union as a tighting organization of all

workers, with a class struggle program; of

militant action, against the bosses in the

interests of the workers, is mainly respon-

for the great loss in membership and influ-

trous policies that the right wing is making

the headway it is. They are gaining not because of their strength but because of the weakness of the left wing. The right

wing with the full assistance of the bosses

and the capitalist government has been alert

to capitalize on our weaknesses, failures and

The right wing has succeeded temporarily

their influence on the basis primarily of the

errors, shortcomings and sectarianism of the

N. T. W. I. U. today. We must recognize,

however, that the position of the right wing

is not solid and lasting but rests upon a foun-

dation of sand because it is based on coop-

eration with the empoyers which means serv-

ing the interests of the employers to the de-

tarian, wrecking line of the present leader-ship of the N. T. W. I. U. and of the

TUUL in order to prevent the complete li-

quidation of our union as a genuine union.

Just look where these policies are leading

the union. Only 0,000 to 1,000 left wing left in the N. T. W. J. U. No left wing

in the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers

Union. Many of the builders and founders

of our union eliminated from activities. The

lying attacks of Green Woll, and the Jewish

Daily Forward, are revived and made the of-

ficial statement of our union and the TUUL

The policies we once pursued in the needle

trades were the policies advocated by the

Communist Party and the TUUL in the

trade unions before the change of line in

the Communist International and in the

Party. As a result of these correct policies

the left wing was on the road of becoming

a powerful influential factor in the trade

union movement of the country. In the

needle trades unions, gangsterism was driv-en out, a militant fight put up for trade

union democracy, the expulsion campaign

of the right wing burocrats defeated. Kauf-

man was driven out of the furriers. Sigman

out of the I. L. G. W. U. The 40-hour

5-day week was raised into a national issue.

The needle trades became the initiative cen-

ter of the left wing in the labor movement.

This is a record of achievements to be proud

of. It is a vindication of corect trade union

in the Amalgamated, in the I. L. G. W.

It is necessary to fight the disastrous sec-

forcing into their ranks all the "middle

' together with the masses under

ence. It is precisely because of these disas-

for the defeats we have suffered and

sion of many comrades from the union.

ducted and against Gitlow, Zimmerman and

flaunted. -

en up.

sible

disastrous mistakes.

triment of the workers.

elements'

The struggle against the buro-

From a mass organization of work-

trol of conditions in the shops.

trades industry and the role of the reaction-ary burocracy in the A. F. of L. unions and the Amagamated Clothing Workers as the servile tools of the bosses' schemes against the living standards of the workers are creating wide discontent among the needle trade workers thruout the country. These conditions are responsible for bitter resentment and great unrest among the hundreds of thousands of organized and unorganized needle trade workers. There is every opportunity of making this discontent conscious, and directing it in struggles against the bosses and the reactionary officialdom. There is every opportunity to mobilize the workers to fight for better conditions and for union control of the shops. There is every opportunity to build the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union by organizing the unorganized and by reestablishing the left wing in the reactionary unions.

The N. T. W. I. U., however, is not availing itself of these opportunities. Quite the contrary is the case! The policies now being pursued are such as to divorce the union from the masses, to destroy its prestige, and to divide instead of to unite the workers. The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, instead of growing, instead of gaining strength, is going backwards. It is losing strikes. It is losing influence. It is losing membership.

### The Situation and the Problem

The issues here are so fundamental that they involve the very life of the union. For this it is necessary to examine the issues courageously and thoroly. What is the situation? In the reactionary unions there are organized today 175,000 workers. This is considerable section of the needle trades workers and under no circumstances can be ignored by the N. T. W. I. U. What is the membership of the N. T. W. I. U.? It has about 7,000 members. The bulk of the industry is unorganized. Out of the \$00,000 workers employed pproximately only 200,-000 are organized.

It is clear the big problem in the build-ing of the N. T. W. I. U. is first, the organization of the unorganized needle trade workers and second, the building of a left wing in the reactionary unions in order to win the masses of needle trade workers for our program and to drive the Schlesingers, Hillmans, Dubinskys, Kaufmans, etc. out of the ranks of the needle workers.

The comparison between the membership figures of the N. T. W. I. U with the reactionary union does not, however, adequately give the relative strength of the two forces. The N. T. W. I. U., with a correct policy, could overcome the handicap of numbers because even today its strength in the industry, in opposition to the bosses and the reactionary union officials, is much greater than its membership indicates.

The figures, however, are startling. What has happened to the needle trade workers who were ideologically and organizationally with us? The cloakmakers, the furriers, the dressmakers and millinery workers, where have they gone? It is clear from the figures that they have been forced back to the right wing. Less than 7,000 remain in the N. T. W. I. U. In New York alone we had 30,000 cloakinakers, 8,000 furriers, 20,000 dressmakers, 3,000 millinery workers. A powerful left wing existed in the Amalgamated. In Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Rochester, Los Angeles, thousands of work ers followed us. These workers have not melted away and disappeared like sugar in water. They have remained in the indus-Why were so many of them forced try. leave our organization and go back to the right wing?

They were once a part of the needle trades left wing which was the spearhead of militancy and radicalism in the trade union movement of the country. Why were these workers who followed us in the break with the reactionary policies in favor of a left wing program, forced to leave us and go back to the unions under the control of the reactionary right wing Forward leadership? An answer must be given to this question. They have not become reactionaries, renegades, and "social fascists" over night, Mainly responsible for this debacle of the left wing are the wrong policies pursued today! The present leadership of the union and

mmunist Party put the responsibilithe Co ty for this upon the so-called past errors and mistakes made by Gitlow, Zimmerman and Gross. But these comrades were expelled from the Communist Party and driven out of the leadership in the needle trades over one year ago. A new line of policy was adopted and a new leadership installed. It took only one year of these new trade union policies to wreck the left wing and to policies pursued in the past and for which reduce the N. T. W. I. U. to an organiza- we are fighting today.

While fundamentally the policies pursued were correct and brought results, nevertheess in the course of our activities and strugis a number of serious mistakes were made The crisis of the needle trades left wing w the left wing and the N. T. W. I. U. is the result of the wrong policies of the The recognition of these mistakes is necespresent leadership of the Communist Party, f the TUUL and of the N. T. W. I. U. The Communist Party leadership having following: decisive influence in our union, we have suffered the costly defeats we did because they

1. The mistake committed at the Philadelphia convention (1925) immediately following the Joint Action fight in not taking over the union and kicking out the buro-crats, in going back to the Sigman convention after the delegates representing the overwhelming majority of the membership had walked out. The failure to settle the cloakmakers'

strike of 1926 the eighth week, as a result of which we lost an opportunity to consolidate our organization and to get better terms from the bosses.

3. The confused bankrupt policies of the new line towards the recent so called general strike of the dressmakers led by Schles-

4. The absolute failure to propose a policy or take any steps to win over the work-ers in the I. L. G. W. U. for the N. T. W. I. U -- to build a left wing in the L. G. W. U. and other reactionary unions. For these most serious mistakes the advocates of the new policy are primarily responsible. For example, at the Philadelphia convention (1925) it was Johnstone and Dunne, and not Gitlow, who ordered the workers who had bolted the ILGWU convention to "crawl back on their bellies." Consider the following examples of the

new course in the trade unions: 1. Contempt for trade union organiza-

tion, allowing non-unionists to elect delegates to a national convention of the union Here is a quotation from the letter of June Croll ,organizer in Philadelphia:

Tuesday, June 3rd, 6 P. M. there will be a meeting of all union members in your shop for the purpose of electing a delegate to the convention of our union taking place in New York on June 6, 7, 8,

"You are entitled to one delegate at this mass convention where there will be at least five hundred delegates from shops all over the country. Come to the meeting and bring as many sympathetic workers with you as you can regardless of whether or not they are members of the union. The convention is open to all needle trade workers who are ready to organize and fight in order to better themselves and must be utilized as a means of winning new members thru having them participate in the convention elections."

2. Abandonment of the 200,00 organized needle trade workers to the right wing burocracy and running away from the fight against the Hillmans, Schlesingers, etc. for the leadership of the organized needle trades workers. The following is from a leaflet issued calling all needle trades workers to a mass meeting in Bryant Hall on June 5th:

The needle trades workers must also beware of the Lovestonites who advocate the organization of left-wing oppositions within the company-unions. The company-unions cannot be reformed, but must be fought against and destroyed, and all those elements who want to draw the workers into the so-called struggle to reform, improve or make use of the company unions in the workers struggles, are enemies of the workers and must he fought. At the present time clubs and centers are being formed in the comthe aim of anv-unions with diverting the attention of the needle trades work ers from the campaign for 6,000 new members, conducted by the Industrial Union, and from the mass rank and file convention.

The resolution for convention discussion adopted by the Shop Delegates Council May 15 goes even further; That the members of the shop committee, or individuals in the open shops

(all company unions are open shops) WHO HELPS THE ENEMIES OF LABOR?

shall become active members in the building and block organization committee and carry on energetically the drive for 6,000 iew members.

All "company union shops" are open shops! "Company union shops" means all shops organized in Amalgamated Clothing Workers, I. L. G. W. U., Hat, Cap and Milinery Workers Union! This is an open de claration for splitting tacties, for abandoning the 200,000 organized workers in the reactionary unions to the right wing of ficials and for individual shop scabbery! Abandonment of the organization of the workers on the basis of their pressing economic needs which is the first prerequisite in the organization and building up of unions. We again refer to the May 15 doc ument of the Shop Delegates Council. Not one paragraph included to deal with the

economic problems of the workers. 4. Abandonment of organization campaigns in favor of an abstract campaign for nembership "in general". This means giving up the fight to win the shops and place them under union control. This is not militancy but cowardice.

Conversion and narrowing the union into a factional agency of the Party. The following are quotations from the May 15 document of the Shop Delegates Council: "The results of these main errors were that a program of class collaboration was built up resulting in the formation of a right wing opportunist group under the leader-Gitlow, Zimmerman and Gross, who ship of now fight to make this right wing line the policy of the N. T. W. I. U. and openly carry on a struggle against the T. U. and the R. I. L. U. . . . Only with the defeat of the conscious opportunist leaders, Gitlow, Zimmerman and Gross, who led the struggle for the opportunist program at the Fourth Congress of the R. I. L. U. to condemn the Gitlow, Gross, Zimmerman opportunist clique, . . ." This is factional in its worst form-bringing into the union the slanderous, abusive, lying invective of the Party's "enlightenment" campaign! 6. Abandonment of the united front. This

is a quotation from leaflet which sees all developing oppositions as conspiracies staged burocrats to create false illusions among the workers:

"The registered workers of the needle industry, especially the cloakmakers, dressmakers, furriers and men's clothing workers, must be on their guard today. They nust not permit themselves to be fooled by the fake campaigns and false struggles carried on in the company-unions These so-called group conflicts in the company-unions are especially staged by these agents in order to create false illu sions amongst the workers that they can reform the company-unions and raise them to weapons of struggle.

This is pure unadulterated 100% sectaranism, De Leonism! Only we, in the industrial union, are the chosen ones to fight against the bosses and the right wing offi-The 200,000 organized workers are cials. all fools and dummies. The great leaders fail to see that the intolerable conditions are creating wide discontent in the reaction ary unions which forms the basis of some of the oppositions that arise. This contempt for the masses, this opposition to unite front action, make it impossible for N. T. W. U, to capitalize the growing discontent in the reactionary unions for organizing the left wing and building the N. T. W.

7. Abandonment of the task of politicali zation. The struggle among the trade union masses and the workers generally for politicalitation or the American working class as a class, thru the advocacy of the organization of a Labor Party.

These are the features of the present policies of the N. T. W. L U. These policies lead away from the building up of our union, lead away from building up the left wing lead away from organizing the unorganized. lead away from a struggle against the reactionary trade union officials, lead away from militancy and struggle.

The Basis for Our Policy What should be the basis for our policy

<u>0\_8\_001911180</u> רינסטאנ, מאי 20, 1930 קאמוניסטישע פארמיי ווייזמאויף אואלעס וואם רער פאָרווערמס האָמ געשריבען וועגען די פיהרער פון איהרע, ווניאַנס״ איז געווען אמת "

The Jewish Daily Porward-the organ of the reactionary forces in the Jewish labor movement-is jubilant. Referring to the official Party attacks upon Gitlow, Zimmerman, Gross, etc. it writes: Communist Party Proves That Everything the Forward Wrote About the Leaders of Its 'Unions' Was True,

The Hazelton Conference of the National Miners Union was a most shameful and union smashing conference. Thru deliberate confusion as to the time of the day, they arranged that the conference should begin before we came. When we came Tashinsky was already reporting. The first clash came when I asked for an extension of time to 15 minuteswhich the conference gave me. In his speech Tashinsky attacked us, saying that the individuals following Lovestone are working to smash our union. Everything was picked from the top. The chairman of the conference was Carl Herman, the vice-chairman was not even a union member, the secretary was Dan Slinger. On the credentials committee was Klavinkas, a Party member but not in the union. In the discussion all of our leading comrades (all workers in the mines) took part; on the side of the sectarians there were only the organizers: Tashinsky, Frankfeld (not a member of the union), Shinger, Zaldokas, McLaugran (I.L.D. organizer). Only one rank and filer, a man from Dumore, spokę.

The second session was a report by Klavinkas for the credentials committee that 58 delegates were present, including two women. One of them was the delcgate from our Unemployment Conference. At this time they took advantage of the fact that I was out of the room to try to change the order of business. The original order of husiness was: the question of the program, report of Frankfeld on the R.I.L.U., the reading of the resolutions (there was no resolutions committee), the election of the Executive Board, and the report of the I.L.D. organizer, McLaugran. The change of order of business was made to put the program and discussion for last. This was done because of fear of discussion After the report of Frankfeld on the R.I.I..U. he made the motion: That the conference nominate candidates to the R.I.L.U. and that we conduct a campaign in the local unions. I criticized the fact that there had been no campaign in the local unions before the conference so that the conference could have selected delegates from among the nominees of the locals. I made the amendment that this conference go on record in favor of the sending of delegates to the R.I.L.U. Congress and that the incoming Executive be instructed to notify the local unions of this fact and to carry thru a mass campaign in the local unions for the nomination of delegates. The vote was 29 for Frankfeld's motion and 18 for my motion We put forward our resolution of the

and their government defenders.

ting and union wrecking.

sary if we are not to repeat them. The nost important of these mistakes were the

### Two Miners Conventions

### (Continued from page 4) THE N.M.U. CONVENTION

Unemployment Council and for the united front June 15 demonstration. Frankfold and the others made the motion to refer these proposals to the Executive while we insisted that these resolutions be accepted. The vote was 27 to 18. Our resolution on the Labor Party was of course rejected. Our resolution on Bonita and Mendola was adopted. Our resolution on the recognition of the Soviet

We maintain that a trade union is not a revolutionary political party. A union is an economic organization of the working class. In order to be able to defend the interests of the workers, a union must be organized on the broadest basis and must draw into its leadership all militant elements. It must inspire the workers with self-confidence, responsibility and a militant will to struggle. It must mobilize the workers for the fight against the bosses; their reactionary agents,

What must be done? The most bitter fight must be conducted against the wrecking sectarian policies of the present leadership of our unión. We must fight for those policies which will regain the masses of needle trades workers for the left wing and for the N. I, W, I. U. We are for a united front of all forces in the needle trades who will support a class struggle program of militant action against the bosses and the reactionary bureerats, so that we may establish a mighty, genuine, militant industrial union of all needle trades workers, a union of militancy, a union that will engage in militant strikes to better conditions, to organize the unorganized and to fight capitalism. We propose a program of trade union unity in opposition to a program of sectarian split-

Union was also adopted because Tashinsky and his people didn't have any resolution on this at all! When it came to the election of an Executive Board. Tashinsky and Slinger said that they had gone over the list very carefully and then they read the names. Not one member from our locals! There were nominations from the floor and then nominations were closed. Frankfeld made the motion that the E.B. be made up of those on the list read by Tashinsky and Slinger. The vote was 31 for and 18 against.

Then came the reading of the programs, theirs and ours. Frankfeld ruled that where should be two speakers for each program and then vote. They made the motion that the program of the National Executive Board should be accepted and "developed on the basis of discussion." This gave the impression that both programs would be accepted and worked into one program. The sectarian burocrats were obliged to resort to such tricks in spite of the majority they had at the conference.

Apparently the purpose of the conference was to give a chance to Party memliers who refused to join the union in the past now to destroy the existing locals. On the Executive Board there were elected Party members who are not even members of the union at all!

The Hazleton Conference of the N.M.U. can show every single militant miner what the real sickness which is destroying the N.M.U .: marrow sectarian policies, abolition of workers democracy in the union, burocracy from above, the removal from leadership of good active comrades because they fight against the suicidal policies of the Party among the miners.

### SPLITTER OUSTED FROM OFFICE

On May .28, the Executive Board of Bakers Local 164, AFW, suspended its secretary, Goepfert, and placed a temporary secretary in his place. The vote was 9 to 4. Goepfert was removed because it was proven that he was actively working to split away the local from the Amalgamated Food Workers Union in order to affiliate with the new "Food Vorkers Industrial Union." In fact he had already advertised the local as affiliated with the so-called "new union." The local is to be congratulated for its decisive action against this disrupter.

### IT'S GREAT TO BE A BISHOP ...

It is great to be a bishop-provided you are loyal to the church and to the class which owns god and his house on earth. Such bishops have reserved scats in heaven and own good stocks on earth. The case of Bishop James Cannon who got a gift of \$65,000 from Edwin C. lameson, president of the Globe & Rutgers Fire Ins. co., especially convinces us that it pays for bishops and leaders of all other churches to be "loyal." For being a church loyalite and "a hard worker for prohibition" Bishop Cannon, one of the most loud-mouthed aries nestling in the folds of the American flag, received this handsome gift. That's why this Bishop was freed from the pangs and torture of waiting for happiness in heaven. This lickspittle of the Almighty (dollar) immediately exchanged his hereafter for a present. And to make it a real bargain the highpriced bishop and his partner in plunder, Doctor McBride, head of the Anti-Saloon League, declared to the Senate that: "The Anti-Saloon League was born of God, is led by Him, and will fight on as long as he leads." Dollars and divinity are certainly good partners! This is a sort of a new immaculate conception. At least it is as true as the old one. We might suggest a new prayer for the United States Senate to run something like this: "O, thou Divine Dollar, Thou art Almighty and Thy conception is Immaculate." "Progressive" senators please take special note.

Free India!

(Continued from page 3)

should be the attitude of the revolutionary democracy at that crisis. Boycott of the Round Table Conference and of its resolution will be only a negative attitude. Some alternative demand must he put forward. Simply to declare for complete independence will not be enough. There must be some concrete form for asserting the right to independence. The alternative demand should be the election of a Constituent Assembly for deciding the political future of India. Challenge the tutelage of imperialism and assert practically the sovereign right of the people and the right of revolt to defend that sovereignty.

The basis of that popular organ of power-the Constituent Assemblyshould be laid now. That should be the concrete outcome of the present stage of the struggle. Preparations should be made for the development of the movement into a general insurrection finally challenging the power of imperialism. To give some organized form to the awakened popular energy is the most important part of the work of preparation. This can be done by the creation of committees representing the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, small traders and, if possible, native soldiers, These committees should conduct the struggle constantly on the immediate demands of their constituent elements, rallving around them the masses in ever growing numbers. They are to conduct the struggle for the freedom of the press, platform and assembly, for the release of political prisoners, for 8-hour day, higher wages, reduction of rents and taxes. Finally they must begin the agitation for the election of the Constituent Assembly. Along this road will revolutionary India, supported by the action of the international working class and in alliance with the Soviet Union, win complete independence.

In this way the ground will be prepared for the rise of an organ of popular sovereignty not hanging in the air, but with its roots struck deep in the soil of the democratic masses organized under a centralized collective leadership. No power on earth can crush a movement so solidly based upon the democratic masses-the overwhelming majority of the people. If attacked, as it surely will be, it will then have ample power not only to defend itself, but to go over to the final offensive-to the general armed insurrection which will overthrow foreign rule and establish a free national democratic state!

Down with imperialism!

Long live free India!

The Group of Oppositional Indian Communists. The Communist Party of the U.

S. A. (Majority Group). The Communist Party of Germany (Opposition).

The Communist Party of France (Opposition), Alsace District. The Communist Party of Austria (Opposition).

The Communist Party of Swe den.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Opposition).

### The Next War

#### (Continued from page 5)

The Conservative Government of Great Britain, which had brought war too close at too high a speed, was substituted by a "Labor" Government and to Ramsay MacDonald was entrusted the task of retreating a bit and saving Britain's face in the awkward and dangerous situation. His Majesty's "Labor Premier took a "good-will" trip to the United States, Hoover and MacDonald both declared that war between England and the United States was "unthinkable" showing that they were both thinking about it came to an agreement against French submarines (which France has refused to pay any attention to) and decided to discuss cruisers again at the London Conference.

The purpose of the London Conference was announced to be reduction of armaments. France entered London with a declaration that it did not challenge the ratio set for it by the Washington Conference. At the same time, however, its "minimum needs" were for a navy of 725,000 tons by 1936 and its submarines were untouchable. If England and America were to build up their navies to keep the ratio to the French set by the Washington Conference, they would have to build up 2,537,-000 tons, more than twice as much as even the huge building program at present adopted, provides for.

Italy declared it would increase its navy as rapidly as France-"parity with any other continental European power' which means that Italy, since its entire fleet is in the Mediterranean, and only part of France's and England's are there, demands naval begemony in the Mediterranean.

Japan demanded an increase in its ratio from 10:10:6 to 10:10:7. that is a fleet 70% of the size of the British and American. Since its entire fleet is in the Pacific and only part of the British and American fleet are there, this means that Japan demands naval hegemony in the Pacific.

England declared that it wanted a fleet equal to any two European powers put together, which means equal to France and Italy. At the same time it continued to maneuver against French submarines, against American battleship replacements and for more and smaller cruisers as against the American demand for fewer and bigger cruisers.

The London correspondent of the New York Times on February 15, painted the situation as follows:

"Italy wants as much as France. France wants enough to beat Germany and Italy together. England wishes to maintain her position in the Mediterranean . . . America wants as much as England because we must have parity. and Japan seeks to improve her situa-

"And that, it should be said, is all among five nations which have promised never to fight each other and who are in danger from no noner not represented here, because the five powers at the London conference have 90% of the war ships of the world."

(Concluded in next issue)

GREEN CHARGES THE COMMUNISTS HAVE BOUGHT THE NEW YORK POLICE FORCE



# FOR A FREE PARTY DISCUSSION!

### The "New Turn" Twists the "New Line"

An Analysis of the GC Thesis for the Convention

### by Herbert Zam

Under the present conditions of terror in the Party it can hardly be expected the new turn. It took a few more cables that the Daily Worker will publish an objective and Leninist analysis of the recent and a special representative to do it, but thesis of the Polburo proposed to the coming Party Convention. Yet no thesis ever they finally got there. following article-which expresses the line of the CP-Majority Group-presents a The World Situation and the creased export of American goods by general examination of the CC Thesis from the point of view of the recent "new turn<sup>n</sup> in the line of the Communist International.

pating in a pre-convention discussion. Of course, it is with extreme difficulty that one is able to find "discussers." After the warning given by Pope Browder at the last plenum, nobody dares try his hand at analysis, criticism or proposals. Even the loudest shouters for the "new line? and the latest "new turn" of the "new line" stand aghast at the depth of stupidity and chaos into which the present leadership of the Comintern and of the American Party have sunk. If the Party membership is shocked and speechless, let them but remember that this of the American Party?

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The American Party is now partici- situation is the logical consequence of the developments that have taken place in the Comintern in the last two years. Is it to be expected that after expelling and politically destroying those who contributed most to the Party's line in the days when it was based on the realities of life, after adpoting a wild ultra-left line and putting into the leadership ultra-left political imbeciles and adventurers- is it not too much to expect a better analysis or a better thesis-a better political line from the leadership of the Comintern and

### I. THE ESTIMATION OF THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION The World Economic Crisis and Stabilization

The ultra-left line, which began over 2 years ago as a revision of the fundamental methods and basic tactical principles of Leninism, was first embodied in complete form in the Tenth Plenum decisions. Since then, all the parties have been driven mercilessly along this ultra-left line, regardless of the cost in membership and influence among the workers. But, a short while ago, faced by the growing crisis in the ranks of the Parties and increasing difficulties in the Soviet Union as a result of this line, the leadership of the Russian Party and of the Executive Committee of the CI was compelled to execute its latest "new turn" which in reality was an attempt to cover the content of the ultraleft line with more palatable phraseology, to find scape-goats for the disastrous effects of this ultra-left line, and to allay the discontent of the membership by a fake struggle against the "ultraleft." It is in the light of these developments that the Party membership must analyze the latest position of the leadership on various questions. The present "line" of the ECCI and of the American leadership represents the super-imposition of the phraseology of the "new turn" (as adopted by the Enlarged Presidium) upon the ultra-left content of the "new line" (as adopted at the Tenth Plenum).

The central question which brings into bold relief the bankruptcy of the present leadership, and the rock upon which it will eventually be wrecked is the analysis of the present world situation. It is in this analysis that the phraseology of the latest "new turn" is most evident. The present world situation was first analyzed by the ECCI and by all the Party leaderships as a "deep-going, world-wide economic crisis."

The Political Committee in its thesis on the "Economic Crisis and the Party Tasks" declared:

"The main outlines of the deep-going economic crisis now gripping United States capitalism are already clear. We are witnessing a cyclical economic crisis of capitalism which in the conditions of the third period of the general crisis of capitalism . . . is already very deep and will become one of the most far-reaching economic crises in the history of capitalism, involving the whole capitalist world." (emphasis mine-H.Z.)

The height of this analysis was reach ed when the Daily Worker declared, in accordance with the CC analysis, that this was "Capitalism's Second 1914" and elaborated:

"The economic and unemployment crisis is mounting to heights which can very well produce results as profound as those of the cataclysm of 1914-18.

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... Coming out of the present deep-going economic disturbances, growing more acute each day and spreading to the farthest ends of the capitalist world—can very likely come again the question of the struggle for class power by the workers in more than one capitalist country."

But this was not to last for long. In the latest thesis of the CC we find suddenly--wonder of wonders!--the "uneven development of the crisis." Only a short while ago, we were expelled for believing in this heresy, and it was forbidden even to know how to spell it. But now it is again respectable. But of course this inevenness' was not discovered in the United States. It is one of the products of the latest "new turn" and was given life at the last Enlarged Presidium by none other than the many-sided Manuilsky. No, Manuilsky retreated even further, and in that respect the American CC is still behind the "new turn." For according to Manuilsky, the economic crisis is not here yet. It is only "approaching"! Again and again he emphasizes this point: "The approach of the world economic crisis is now an indisputable fact." "Today, the approach of the world economic crisis is no longer disputed." "The approach of the crisis confirms" . . , etc. But does this new analysis-this deep-going retreat from the old position-prevent the American Party leadership and the ECCI leadership from shouting the same ultra-left phrases, all over again? Not at all! On March 20, that is after the Enlarged Presidium, the Daily Worker proclaims in an editorial on the first page, entitled "The Class Struggle Sharpens on World-Wide Front" that " . . . Other developments are furnishing the greatest possibility that has ever been seen for the oppressed peoples against the imperialist war makers. The whole capitalist world system is in the midst of a rapidly deepening crisis."- (my emphasis-H.Z.) And as late as April 24 the Daily Worker could still see " . . . the spreading of the economic crisis to all sections of economy and to all the world."-(my emphasis-H.Z.) The Daily Worker could still decrisis shows the same deepening"-"The capitalist world is in crisis"--"The crisis deepens." Where is the "uneven develfore-greater than 1917, greater than leadership was a little late in adopting the conclusion that the economic crisis

### Crisis in the U.S.A.

In essence, the present line of the ECCI and of the American leadership consists in this: In the United States there is a crisis—in other countries, maybe there will be one later. The Pravda declares (March 1) "the fundamental feature" of the present period to "the economic crisis in the United States." And Manuilsky declares: "In describing the development of the world economic crisis one can distinguish four types of countries. In the first place the United States of America. Secondly, Eastern and Central Europe. Thirdly, the colonies and semi-colonies: India, China and South America. Fourthly, countries in which the business situation might be described as that which precedes a crisis; these countries include Western Europe, France, Great Britain and partly also the Scandinavian countries." About France he says: "We cannot say of France that it already shows palpable signs of a crisis." Regarding England: "In Great Britain the chronic depression still continues, altho this country made some headway last year." So, this is what has become of the deep-going economic crisis which would be capitalism's second 1914 and usher in a few more Soviet Republics. Is it possible that such people can still be maintained at the head of the International Communist movement and direct came limited to the United States and

its fate? But this is not all. What has become of capitalist stabilization. The Tenth Plenum destroyed it. Kuusinen declared that it had never existed. Bittelman and Don shattered it in the U.S.A. Remmele undermined it in Germany. It was rotten and shaking and decayed in the entire capitalist world. Not so the brave Manuilsky! Hear him: "The crisis indicates the commencement of the decay of capitalist stabilization. It is not the end of the capitalist stabilization which is approaching but the beginning of the decay, for the decay of the capitalist stabilization would mean the collapse of the system, i.e. the rise of an objectively revolutionary situation in the capitalist countries .... No, Comrade Manuilsky? Then what is the meaning of the following in the Pravda of April 22. "It is difficult to imagine more favorable objective conditions for the widening and deepening of the revolutionary upsurge, for the transformation of this revolutionary upsurge in a revolutionary situation into an immediate struggle for power." The present leadership of the produce from their pocket, hats or sleeves any desired object-world-wide crisis, revolutionary situation, revolumobilization of the working class and tionary upsurge, struggle for powerand make them disappear again when the show is over.

We have seen that the ECCI and the American CC make the crisis binge upon the United States. But here also, there is a new turn. At the same that they insist that "the crisis in the United States is the most important and essential part of the world economic clare: "In its world-wide growth the crisis", the ECCI thru the mouth of Manuilsky, hastens to add that "the crisis in the United States has not yet reached that degree of acuteness which characopment" here? And who will maintain terized the crisis of 1920." It is even now that the present crisis offers greater more interesting to see what conseopportunities for revolution that ever be- guences the ECCI draws for the United States. Will American imperialism be 1919-21, greater than 1923? In fact, destroyed? Will stabilization be shatthe Daily Worker and the American tered? Not at all! Manuilsky comes to

will lead to the strenghtening of American imperialism all along the front! Listen to him:

"The most important of such factors (consequences of the crisis) is the aggressiveness of the United States. The forms of this aggressiveness will be various. In the first place the economic Hitherto America has exported but little of its total production, about 8%. In view of the huge extent of the production of the United States, the inin the world market with a disaster.

"The export of capital will serve in the hands of the United States the same purpose of weakening its rivals.

"American capital will rapidly capture the leading positions in the world arena in the most ilourishing spheres of industry: the electric, the chemical, the automobile industry, etc. But in addition to the economic forms of pressure, the aggresisveness of the United States will also and expression in military and political forms.

"A new period of colonization is opening in the history of American imperialism

Thus speaks, in the name of the ECCI, the hero of the "third period." Thus sucak the people who called us agents of American imperialism when we refused to agree that American imperialism was being shattered a year ago, before the "crisis." These are the people who condemned us as renegades because we emphasized the rapid industrialization of the South. But now, as the result of their "crisis" they see nothing wrong in predicting an era of unaparalleled victorics for American imperialism, a "new period of colonization."

This, then is the content of the "new turn" of the ECCI. The world-wide economic crisis of yesterday first began to have uneven developments, then benow the United States is faced with a "new period of colonization." It is for these people that the Program of the Comintern declares, very appropriately: "Communism also has to contend against a number of petty bourgeois tendencies . . . These tendencies which are distinguished for their extreme political instability, often cover up a right wing policy with left wing phraseology or drop into udventurism, substitute noisy political gesticulation for objective estimation of forces, and often tumble from ustounding heights of revolutionary bombast to profound depths of pessimism and downright capitulation before the enemy." Of course it is to be expected that the

various Parties will lag behind somewhat in executing this latest "new turn." Already various "leaders" have fallen victim because of their slowness: Reimann and Fried in Checho-Slovakia, Merker in Germany, etc. The American Party "leaders" are still very slow and may also produce some victims. It must not be forgotten, however, that the American "leaders" repeat every sound from Mos-ECCI are like a troupe of magicians who cow, even if it is only a faint echo, and for the amusement of the audience can never have the courage to voice any disagreements, as was done by Keimann Fried and Merker. But such a sudden turn is bound to confuse the "turners." That has already been indicated by the quotations from the Daily Worker editorials after the "new turn." The thesis of the CC naturally bears the earmarks of this lagging behind the ECCI's turn. Thus the thesis speaks of the "growth of the world crisis" instead of Manuilsky's "approach." "This crisis spreads thruout the capitalist world ....", the "uneven development" being inserted out of respect for Manuilsky's "new turn." Instead of Manuilsky's "commencement of the decay of stabilization." the CC thesis sees the acceleration of "the shattering of capitalist stabilization." Manuilsky does not know whether the economic crisis "will grow into a general political crisis," but the CC thesis already describes it as a "general crisis of world capitalism." Thus it is seen that even in the analysis

# May Day

Self-criticism appears to be the slogan and Brooklyn. They merely sat back in May Day, the working class holiday, of the day. So now-especially during a spirit of smug self-satisfaction which the symbol of class struggle and of the the Party Discussion-let's apply some is poison for a militant working class united from of all the forces of labor, of it to the shoe workers situation. regardless of race or color of present organization. Today, one year after the conclusion Long before the attack actually came political opinions, was celebrated this of one of the most brilliant organization we proposed: year by the Party in a way that is the drives ever witnessed in New York City, a) the mobilization and activization absolute opposite of the historical significance and meaning of May Day. which resulted in the organization of very available force in the union; nearly 6,000 shoe workers in about forty b) that these forces be made the nu-The so-called united front conference shops, we find the membership of the cleus of an intensive campaign in the was really a fake gesture to the tradi-Independent Shoe Workers Union reopen shops particularly the Board of tions of May Day to fool the workers Trade shops, the lions of the trade; duced to about 300. What has happened and the Party membership. The conto bring on such disaster? ference was a congregation of the Party c) that a special campaign to raise funds shall be undertaken. The leadership of the union should and its auxiliary organizations. All have known that the very success of the All of these proposals were turned other workers organizations were exclud-1929 drive, the very militancy of the ed as "social-fascists." down! Instead a patch-up policy was shoe workers and their organization adopted in the shops, as witness the At the first conference is was decided that we were going to "seize Union would bring vicious reprisals from the cases of the Refined, the Elmore, etc. Square." We were goin to proceed from bosses. If they did realize this they cer-Finally the attack came! As vicious our union headquarters (Hotel and Cafetainly failed utterly in doing anything an attack at any union ever had to face! to prepare the membership to resist any teria Workers Union) at 10 o'clock in A three cornered attack; the bosses, with the morning and to be at Union Souare attack that was sure to become. They their specially organized Metropolitan failed also to lay the basis for a broad Shoe Manufacturers Association, the at 11 o'clock-exactly at the time when mass movement to organize the remaingovernment (the letter of Labor Comthe war veterans and all fascist organing 25,000 shoe workers in New York izations were going to hold their antimissioner Woods, the attempt to register aliens) and the A. F. of L. burocrats. labor anti-Communist meeting, implications of the whole line. Here were issues on which we could In our union, notices were put up de-Another political question is the "mass have mobilized masses of workers. Yet

manding that all ex-service men register and be mobilized for the coming clash. At the May Day mobilization meeting volunteers for the Workers Defense Corps were asked to go down to the Workers Center to be trained. A provisional hospital was formed with nurses and doctors and medical supplies for the coming battles. On the other side, Police Commissioner

munist movement.

It was evident that the Party leaders were playing into the hands of Whalen. Comrade Bedacht made a speech at the Bronx Coliseum in bravado-bombastic fashion: 'Whalen or no Whalen, we demonstrate at Union Square at 11 o'clock. Under these circumstances, we, who are fighting for the Party to return to a Leninist line, appealed to the Party membership to force the adventurist leftist leadership of our Party to retreat from the dangerous trap that was arranged by the Tammany Hall Commissioner Whalen. For this our Party leaders called Comrade Gitlow and the others "traitors" and "agents of Whalen." That was what appeared in the Daily Worker. But only a few days later the official leaders of the Party sent a special messenger to apply for a permit to demonstrate at Rutgers Square and to parade to Union Square after the veterans' demonstration was over. Under the pressure of the membership and the workers, the present leaders of our party were forced to retreat. The tone of the Daily Worker changed-the slogan was issued that the workers should keep away from Union Square while the veterans were there.

and renegades.

of the world situation, the CC thesis has maintained essentially the same attitude as before the "new turn," but by the pressure of cables has been compelled to add on some phraseology of the "new turn.'

### The Lessons of What About the Shoe Workers?

A Contribution to the Party Discussion

By J. ZIMMERMAN

By B. KALFIDES

Whalen mobilized all available force of the police. The fascist organizations mobilized the gaugsters and sluggers of New York in order to smash the Com-

The retreat was made but Gitlow and the CP-Majority Group which had urged the retreat were still abused as traitors

The retreat was called a victory by the unprincipled Party leaders. But we, the Party membership, should not let ourselves be deceived. This is a pre-convention period. We should discuss the meaning of the original irresponsible adventurist policy of our Party leadership. It is up to us to discuss also how the retreat was made. It is up to the Party membership to draw the lessons and the

> (Concluded in next issue) . . . . .

political strike" called by the Party for May Day. It was well known in advance that the strength and the influence of the Party in the trade unions and in the mass organizations was at the lowest ebb in its history-and that the slogan of a "mass political strike" would find little or no response even among the workers closest to the Party. In the Cafeteria Workers Union the Weisman leadership introduced a decision of the Executive Council for a 24 hour strike in all cafeterias-from midnight of April 30 to midnight of May 1. But this was only a "show off," just as the Party "united front" was for "the sake of tradition." When May Day actually came, the workers in the cafeterias all remained at work except three cafeterias. Now, if the Party could not enforce a "mass political strike" in one of its most "revolutionary" unions, how could it have been put forward seriously as a slogan? How did the Party leaders expect the unorganized to pour out on the street for a mass political strike?

Last year, in the "second period," we had over 1500 striking cafeteria workers in the line of march-this year, in spite of all bluff and phrases, we had only about 100 cafeteria workers in the parade.

The questions face us Party members. We must discuss them. Only thru a free discussion, thru real self-criticism, can we correct the line of our Party and get rid of those "leaders" who have hurt the Party so much.

what did the leadership of the union do? Well, they sent a letter to Mayor Walker protesting against the use of municipal police in doing the work of the Federal government and another letter to the Department of Labor protesting that the registration of aliens" was being carried out "without legislative enactment!"

The proposal that we call a conference of all labor organizations to resist this new wave of terror and the proposal that we call a mass meeting of all shoe workers, organized and unorganized, were rejected!

I have not the space to enumerate all of the criminal blunders which were committed in the conduct of the strike The whole policy of the leadership of the union can best be characterized as narrow and sectarian to the highest degree.

Even after the lock-out and the most sweeping injunctions, the leadership of the union made no attempt to mobilize mass support for the ISWU. When at a meeting of the strike committee it was proposed to send out an appeal for support to all labor organizations, it was rejected on the ground that "we do not recognize any organizations that are not affiliated to the TUUL."!!

The union leadership also showed a complete failure to understand what a trade union really is. They do not seem to understand that the basis of a union is the struggle for the economic demands of the workers. They do not seem to unization based upon the economic struggle, class unity!

### NOTICE!

We have received a number of letters and articles of Party members for publication in REVOLU-TIONARY AGE. We would like very much to publish these articles but, for obvious reasons, we must know the names of the comrades before we can publish their articles. Of course, we will keep their names STRICTLY CONFIDEN-TIAL. We appeal to the comrades who have already sent in articles-and especially the "leading comrade in the Hungarian movement"-to let us have their names so that we can publish their articles without delay.

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embracing workers of all sorts of political opinions. They do not seem to understand that:

"The contemptuous and haughty attitude towards the daily struggle for the material interests of the union members will detach the vanguard from the masses and create a gulf between them and the compact columns of the proletarian urmy" (First Congress of the RILU),

When Bidenkapp tells us that he is not interested in how many members the union has but rather in the degree of class consciousness of the membership, he shows he does not know what a trade union is. He should be reminded that in our union at its height we had ardent supporters of the Mussolini regime in Italy, of the Venizelos regime in Greece, of La Guardia in New York and that many of these politically backward workers were in the forefront of our fight to resist the boss-government-A, F, of L burocrat onslaught upon our union.

Nor can the union be built by excluding from activity and leadership active comrades, leaders of the union, simply because they fight for constructive policies in our union and refuse to support the crazy disastrous policies of the leadership. This is the surest way to destroy a union and not to build it!

An end must be put to this policy of sectarianism and destruction. The narrow leftist Party policy in the union must be replaced by a Leninist policy of mass mobilization. The policy of widening the divisions in the working class and narowing the basis of our struggle derstand that a union is a mass organ- must be replaced by a policy of working

VOICES OUT OF THE PAST

### Emil Gardos Speaks:

There is no more vicious and enthusiastic Party wrecker to day than Emil Gardos, the present District Organizer of the Philadelphia District. But it was not always so! There was a time when Comrade Gardos had quite other opinions altho he was never very eager to let them he known publicly. On July 10, 1929 when the meaning of the Address and of the "new line" had already become clear Comrade Gardos, who was then District Organizer of the California District, wrote the following letter to Comrades Frank and Stella Vratarec:

"Dear Frank and Stella: "I just received your letter and cannot tell you how glad you made me with this short news from the Far East . . .

### And Now, Leon Platt:

Immediately upon the arrival of the Address, Leon Flatt, now the chief lickspittle of the new leadership expressed the following interesting sentiment regarding the "new line" and the new "leadership":

"I also want to relate to you the senti- conviction that this will break up our a fatalistic attitude 'to hell with all that' or 'what can we do' . . .

I am glad you took this attitude of refusal to endorse the Address. It is the only one that can be taken in my opinion by a comrade who knows his responsibility to himself and to the movement and one who puts the interest of the Party way above that of himself as an individual.

"I took a similar stand as yours and I know the consequences coming to me for this action . . . This means I will be removed, etc .- but I would be a prostitute, a business man, to act otherwise under the circumstances.

"I have followed the dictates of my communist conscience so far-I know that I have to pay the price for it ....

Comradely yours,

E. GARDOS."

ments that are now felt among the mem- Party ... The reason why we fight in bership. It is a feeling of disgust, with the American Party is because the present leadership will increase the right mistakes, will drive the Party more to "The fact, however, must be stated the right . . : Anyone who is trying to that the Party is being handed over to revise the congress decisions, will get it Foster and his group and it is my firm in his neck we must fight him openly."

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# The Present Situation and our Tasks

1929) and the subesequent Address of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. (May 1929). It was the Address which ushered in the new course in full force in this country and involved our Party in the general crisis of the Comintern. The months that have passed since have given sufficient proof as to the real nature of the new line and its effects upon our movement. The Party is in internal chaos; it has lost practically all its connections with the masses. The left wing movement is in confusion, demoralization and retreat; on many fronts it is already dissipated. A closed system of ultra-left phrases has replaced Leninism as a basis for strategy and tactics.

Political sterility and self-inflicted blindness is an inevitable consequence of the new line. The method of Leninist analysis of the objective situation and class relations as the basis for policy and program-of-action has been replaced by the mechanical repetition of storeotyped phrases in accord with the latest section of the Party---the following thes-"new turn" of the ECCI and by an un-

### The National Conference of the C.P.-Majority Group meets over 1 year after the VI Convention of our Party (March Of CP-Majority Group, July 4, 1930

principled distortion of facts and principles for purely factional advantage. The present line of the ECCI and of our Party renders it impossible for those who adhere to it to make a serious and realistic examination of the conditions of the class struggle upon which alone an effective line can be based. The CP-Majority Group, as the only section of the American Communist movement not dominated by the false line and method of approach of the ECCI, is faced with the responsibility of providing the American Party and the working class with a Leninist estimation of the present situation and the tasks of the Party because it alone is capable of pointing the way in this direction. With this objective--and in order also to examine the condition and tasks of our own group as a es are presented:

### I. THE PRESENT POSITION OF WORLD CAPITALISM

1. Eleven years after "the war to end war," the imperialist powers are fever-ishly preparing to rush the world headlong into a new imperialist conflagration-a most devastating world war. The numerous "peace-conferences" and "peace-pacts" (Kellogg, London Treaty) of the capitalist statesmen only prove the sharpening struggle among the leading imperialist powers each of whom is bargaining for more favorable terms and more suitable occasions for war.

Entire industries are being organized on a war basis-to be transformed for military purposes at a moment's notice. There are today ten million more men trained for imperialist war than there were in 1914. There is going on a terriffic race in chemical and aerial war preparations. The leading capitalis. governments are spending at least 75% of their annual budgets for imperialist war purposes. Armamoni expenditures today consume nearly 5% of the entire national income of the principal countries. As the most aggressive and powerful imperialist group, the American capitalists lead the world in armaments. While Wall Street beats its peace drums in London, its government's military expenditures are "in excess of the most highly militarized nations of the world" (Hoover). Even the defeated German bourgeoisie are turning out the most deadly up-to-date cruisers. The whole edifice of imperialist peace is made of the sharp steel of annihilating war, of poisonous gases, of infernal war machines which bring untold carnage and ruin to the workers and poor farmers.

We have been and still are in a period of chronic war danger. But the degree of acuteness of the imperialist war danger varies with the prevailing world economic and political conditions at a particular moment.

2. Ten years of the League of Nations have failed to help European capitalism achieve firm stabilization. The League of Nations has only mirrored the precarious foundations, the intensifying contradictions of world capitalism, the sharpening conflicts among the imperialist powers. The Dawes Plan, a basic lever in the "stabilization" of Germany and a much-hailed force for "stabilizing all European capitalism thru America's huge export of capital, altho achieving many of its tasks, could not continue to overate and had to be replaced. The conflict over reparations and war debts is again becoming most acute. Todate, Germany has borrowed \$1.84 for every dollar she has paid in reparations under the Dawes Plan. The victorious Allied Powers are compelled to pay on their debts to American imperialism practically as much as they can at best only hope to be able to collect from Germany. The new Young Plan does not alter

these basic relations which are loaded with dynamite for capitalist "stabil" and "peace." The establishment of the World Bank-The International Settlements Bank--- "to liquidate the effects of the last World Warn--can only serve as a powder magazine storing the explosives for the next World War.

A most significant result of the Young Plan is that American imperialism will become still more entangled in the maze of contradictions and antagonisms of world capitalism, which, in the postwar imperialist period, is historically in its final stage. The United States will thus be ever more subject to the complications and difficulties of European capi-

talism for which the World Bank will serve as a liaison with American capital-Clearly, the very measures international capitalism proposes for its stabilization and harmony, only lay the basis for shaking more deeply the already weakened foundations of imperialist "harmony" and "stability."

3. The developing irreconcilable antagonisms among the imperialist powers are brought into bold relief by the increasing conflict of interests between the United States and Great Britain. The contradictions arising out of this clash serve as the pivotal point around which center the post war conflicts among the world imperialist powers. Nor would any attempt at rapprochment or agreement on the part of Great Britain with America basically alter this relationship. All such manouvers and concessions on the part of the British imperialists are presently dictated by the dire economic straits in which England (declining imperialism) finds herself compared with the United States (rising imperialism).

America is pursuing a policy of systematic, consistent imperialist aggression to strengthen its position of world hegemony. Its chief costacle, primary and most potential capitalist competitor in the world market, remains Great Britain with its vast colonial empire, tremendous resources of raw material, powerful navy, and huge international trade and finance machinery. In every avenue of capitalist trade and finance, of capitalist power relationship, the interests of United States imperialism clash with the interests of British imperialism: (1) for the mastery of the world's oil resources (Shell vs. Standard); (2) over primary world's credit position and decisive control of gold supply (battle of bank rates and gold standard; (3) war debts and reparations (England is America's principal debtor and has the hardest terms); (4) for raw material sources and capital and commodity markets in Latin America (the recent Lord D'Abernon mission in Argentine); (5) over supremacy in shipping (U. S. working overtime to build merchant marine); monopoly in certain raw materials (rubber by England and cotton by U. dl-American merger); (9) in Near East (Palestine, Egypt; (10) in Far East (Chinese and Indian markets); (11) problem of adhesion to U. S. and American penetration of dominions (Canada, Ausrtalia); (12) domination of European commodity and capital markets (Dewey and Kemmerer mission in Poland, Ford plans in Austria, new flock of British diplomatic commercial attaches, "rationalization of British Empire" ery); (13) battle over tariffs (British protest against Smoot-Hawley Bill, Lord Beaver-brook's and Mond's "Empire Crusaders," and imperial preference schemes, retaliatory measures against American autos and films).

The the Anglo-American imperialist antagonisms are primary today, it does not mean that any particular moment the contradictions between other imperialist powers or between these giant powers and the others cannot come to the fore in world politics or be a source of the outbreak of a new world war.

4. The conflicts between British and French imperialism and between the United States and the other imperialist

powers are being sharpened. But the Wall Street ruling class is driving on for complete world hegemony. The economic crisis at home is only intensifying Yankee imperialist aggression in the world market. Within the last year Wall Street has increasingly resorted to the practice of establishing branch factories in Europe, Latin America, Africa and

It is with a view of repelling this American imperialist invasion that Briand has put forward the reactionary proposal of a "United States of Europe, aimed primarily against the U.S.A. but also against Great Britain. The French imperialists, flushed with pride over their strengthened economic position and with anger over American imperialist encroachments, are desperately seeking to establish their unquestioned hegemony over continental capitalist Europe. In the coming year, France, because of her recent amassing of great capital and credit resources, will be an especially sharp competitor with England and the United States in the export of capital. The extent to which European capitalist groups have been able to marshall their orces to beat back Wall Street's attacks is reflected in the fact that European cartels (steel, aluminum, copper, dyestuffs, eet.) already have an annual output valued at five billion dollars.

United States capitalism is also making a fierce drive on the Far Eastern markets. Vigorous measures have been taken to win primacy for American commodity and capital exports in China (the Kemmerer mission, huge sale of air-plane). American trade with India is steadily increasing. The United States is tightening its grip on the Philippines.

But American imperialist aggrandizement reflects itself most brutally in its drive on Latin-America. United States trade with the Latin American countries has increased 600 percent since 1900. Wall Street has eight billion dollars invested here, six billions of which have been exported since the war, and three billions of which have been placed in Latin American government bonds. The recent strikes in Haiti have been drowned in blood by the American marines. Nicaragua still groans under the heel of United States invading forces. Every effort at labor organization in Porto Rico is met with overwhelming violence. Upon Mexico the Wall Street government has foisted a rapacious clique doing the bid-ding of Washington in the field of domestic and foreign policy.

5. The general acuteness of the struggle and the insolvability of the contradictions among the imperialist powers was dramatized by the London Conference. This conference has been properly characterized by U. S. Admiral Fiske as "the greatest game played for the greatest stakes that the world has ever known."

The Lodon Conference graphically illustrated the new world position of American imperialism. Momentarily, British imperialism was compelled to yield parity because it is economically unable to maintain supremacy over the United States which can at any time win a naval race with any other imperialist power. S.); (7) mastery of the seas (naval At this conference, the imperialist pow-parity, freedom of the seas, freedom for ers made a desperate attempt to rationfood ships, etc.); (8) international cable alize their arming for war. French imand wireless control (Young proposal for perialism declared long in advance that "no final decisions would be taken" at the London Conference. And Japan protested against the United States demanding a higher cruiser tonnage than it even did at Geneva three years ago. The frand of the whole conference was brought into sharp relief by the vigorous opposition of its participants to the genuine disarmament proposal made by the Soviet Union in the Litvinoff Plan. In short, the London Conference was dedicated to devising the best and most economical ways and means of waging the next imperialist war.

6. Thruout the colonial world the forces of resistance to imperialist oppression are gathering increasing strength. In India the wave of revolt against British imperialism is sweeping the land. The struggles of the workets, peasants and petty bourgeois masses are leading to the formation of a militant revolutionary people's alliance uniting the vast majority of the population in the fight for liberation from the yoke of British imperialism. The ever more engulfing chaos and unending civil war in

have failed in their drive to establish a stable regime for themselves thru their tools and lackeys, the war-lords. In French Indo-China unrest and armed insurrection are assuming a mass character. The Filipinos are growing more insistent in their demands for complete freedom from United States imperialism. The recent events in Palestine show the mood of the Arabian masses towards British imperialism and towards anyone considered by them as British tools and agents. In South Africa the revolutionary and nationalist movements are showing more and more vitality. In Egypt the mass swing to the left is in part in dicated by the sweeping victory of the "Independence Party" (Wafd) in the recent parliamentary elections.

In Latin America the hatred of United States imperialism is growing (Argentine). Haiti is under martial law. In San Domingo there is increasing unrest In Mexico the rising protests and mass movements of the workers (strikes, etc.) are mercilessly crushed under the lash Yankee imperialism. . In Nicaragua, struggle is breaking out again. In Porto Rico the sugar workers are rebelling against their American exploiters.

The tremendous progress made by the Soviet Union towards Socialist construction thru the Five Year Plan has astounded the capitalist world and inspired the international working class. The Soviet Union has been progressing in heavy industrialization and in the collectivization of agriculture at an accelerating tempo, despite the severe handicaps and the continued hostility of all the imperialist powers.

It is this very great achievement towards the construction of Socialism that has lent impetus to the attacks of the immerialists and their lackeys against the Soviet Union. In warding off and crushing some of these attacks the Soviet Union has scored substantial victories in the past year. The growing political and economic might of the Soviet Union coupled with the economic crisis and the political pressure of the masses at home forced the British imperialist Labor Government to resume diplomatic relations. The stinging defeat administered to the Stimson plan of taking away the Chinese Eastern Railway thru a consortium dominated by the U.S. is also a

significant victory for the Soviet Union. But it would be folly to assume that these victories of the Soviet Union have ended the chronic conditions making for the danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union. The danger of a concerted attack of imperialist powers against the Soviet Union continues as the basic source of danger of an imperialist world war. Recent events have shown the preparation of a whole series of fresh manouvers and attacks against the Soviet Union. In many of these conspiracies American imperialism is the moving hand. Potentially the United States is the most dangerous enemy of the Soviet Union.

The two opposite poles of the world situation today are the Soviet Unionthe land of rising Socialism-and the United States, the leading imperialist power, the land of still ascending capitalism in a world of capitalism which is historically in its final stage. Around these two pivotal points revolve the fundamental developments of international politics today.

8. The internal contradictions of the various capitalist countries are becoming intensified. This is shown by the severe economic depression in the principal capitalist countries, the sharpening class relations, the growth of Fascist reaction. the ever-more open traitorous role of the Social-democracy, the spreading struggles of the working masses and the fierce attacks of the capitalist governments on the Communist Parties.

In the present sharpening struggles the social-reformists, the traitorous So cial-democracy and trade union burocracy are on the side of the ruling class and are its most energetic spokesmen in foreign as well as domestic policy.

Practically the entire capitalist 9. world is in a serious economic depression. Many of the principal capitalist countries (U. S., Germany, Japan, etc.) are grappling with the problems of econ-omic crisis. The very growth of rationalization; the very strengthening of stabilization, the very exceeding of pre-war levels in production and exchange have magnified the inherent contradictions of capitalism, have developed many of them to a world scale and brought on the present critical economic situation.

An examination of the present worldwide serious economic depression reveals that it is primarily brought on by the very level to which capitalist stabiliza-China shows that the imperialist powers tion and rationalization have reached.

Hence, we have the most violent credit crisis in the United States-the land of greatest mass production, rationalization, and accumulation of capital. The role played by the United States, the strongest imperialist power today, in contrast to 1923, is to sharpen rather than mitigate the elements of world crisis. Huge rationalization and mass production schemes are bringing vast armies of permanently unemployed. The growth in the productive and trading capacities of the reconstructed European countries is sharpening the struggle in the world market. The consequent need for in-creasing capitalist rationalization is bringing more severe capitalist pressure on the workers and resulting sharpened class war. Finally and most important, the gap between the rapid growth of productive capacities and the marketing possibunties is widening. This phenomenon is expressed in the most capitalist countries, in the absolutely falling living standards and in all countries even the relatively falling living standards is widening.

It would be utterly false to conclude as does the ECCI and the official American Party leadership, that the present economic crisis has already reached or is even entering upon an immediate period of total collapse of production and exchange comparable to 1914-1918 and with a resulting immediate open revolutionary situation on a world scale.

It is true the present economic crisis is much more serious than a normal prewar cyclical crisis. This is due to the basic structural changes in capitalist world economy flowing from the war (shifting of economic centre of gravity to the United States, freeing of Russia from capitalist clutches, revolutionary developments in colonies and semi-colonies, restricted internal markets as a result of war ruins, etc.) The course of the development of the historically final basic crisis of capitalism is not in a straight downward line in all countries simultaneously but rather in a series of violent up and down movements, each one more violent than the preceeding one. During this definitely downward trend in the decay of world capitalism we will find in some countries even temporary upward swings (France), in other countries slowed-down rates of decline (England), and in still other countries, upward curves for a number of years (United States). The basic features of capitalist world

10. The basic features of the economic situation in the United States are: (1) a rapid development of rationalization and mass production; (2) vast accumulation of capital; (3) marked trend toward mass mergers in industry and finance; (4) superabundance of credit; (5) increasing intensity of exploitation; (6) growing army of unemployed with multiplying indications of permanency; (7) continued deep-going critical condi-tions of agriculture; (8) widening gap hetween the growth of production and consumption. But the the general trend of American

in a large measure, superficial and arti-

the United States.

economy in 1929 were: further upward

concentration in industry, large harvests in general, and a huge increase in unemployment. Except for the United States and France the leading capitalist countries experienced a severe credit stringency during the year. This credit stringency was aggravated by the dominant financial position of the U.S. as a result of which "Wall Street had become a collossal suction pump . . . draining the world's capital and the suction . . . fast producing a vacuum" in the rest of the world. Rationalization itself swelled the ranks of the unemployed to ten millions outside of the U.S. The expanding overproductive capacities and the forced selling and narrowed internal markets after the New York Stock crash (which had its loud echoes in the principal stock markets of the world) have prought in their wake a world-wide decline in commodity prices. This will mean a further decline in purchasing power-a further narowing of the various domestic markets-and an aggravation of the already acute problem of overdeveloped productive capacities and overproduction in general in relation to the consumption capacities of the masses under capitalism. Herein lies a great menace to the entire capitalist credit structure founded on the free and untramineled movement of gold-which movement is already basically disturbed by the monopolist position of the United States. The sharpened competition and struggle in the world markets, due to the depression in the various home markets, will serve to lower still further the commodity prices.

France is not yet in an economic depression or crisis. But French imperialism's exports have been declining-\$52 million in the past year-and the increasing world competition will reduce her exports still more with the consequent disruptive effect on its industries. Besides, the vast supply of gold amassed by the French capitalists, especially during the past year, makes it absolutely necessary for France to export considerable capital and enter into an uneven struggle with American imperialism in this field. Should France not succeed in exporting huge quantities of capital in the coming months, it will unavoidably be pushed into aggravated overproduction and consequent speculation with a resulting economic situation of the kind in which the United States finds itself today.

### II. ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES

capitalism, in its world position, is still upward, recent months have seen a rapid and serious decline in the immediate economic) situation-the low point of which will not be reached for months to come. The situation is made more acute by the economic crisis in a number of the most important capitalist countries. The present conditions are not analogous to the period of deep depressions in 1924 and serious decline in 1927 when European conditions were going upward and were very favorable for the expansion of American foreign trade and capital export. Likewise, the immediate American economic decline sharpens the situation in other capitalist countries. The present signs of so-called recovery are,

ficialy strained. This "recovery" may very likely prove false and premature and thus hasten a renewed trade reaction and stock explosion. The recent rebound in steel has such elements in it in addition to the seasonal factor. The recent increase in auto production will be shortlived. The gains in stock quotations are temporary and the further easing of credit thru the last reductions in the discount rate by the New York and Chicago Federal Reserve Banks will only prove a stimulant to a revival of accelerated speculation. It is absolutely fallacious to conclude that the present economic crisis is already the final, basic crisis of American capitalism ushering in the period of revolution or even marking the beginning of the immediate downward trend of capitalist development in

11. The collapse of the stock market is the outstanding feature of American capitalist economy in 1929 and marks the end of a relatively steady upward swing for five years. Never before were

so many hit; never before was such a large proportion of the investors hit never before was a collapse so violent and so much money lost in so short a time.

Clearly, the panic, did not come be cause of the decline in various industries from the all-high peaks of a summer which didn't even see a seasonal recession. In 1927 the decline in American industry was much more severe than the decline between May and October in 1929 and yet not only was there no stock panic in 1927, but the Exchange even boomed. The gap between production and securities had not yet been wide enough in 1927. Of course, once the crash did come it served to intensify and accelerate the general decline which up to then had only been a recession from the highest records.

12. With the recession from "abnormal" peaks being accelerated and transformed by the Stock Market panic into a serious economic crisis, the Hoover administration issued a frantic call to the biggest capitalisis, the United States Chamber of Commerce, etc., to get together and dam the broken dykes of production and exchange starting to overflow the entire economic life of the country. There was thus organized the National Council-America's new "Four Hundred." Stripped of all its verbiage the Hoover program rests on the following four principles: 1) The stock market will no longer consume so much capital. Therefore, capital will flow "back into inlustry" which will thus be improved; 2) The letting loose of government and private capitalist forces (public works, etc.) will stimulate and increase production: 3) The exploitation of the workers thru further rationalization, speed-up, "more work" and devious wage-cut schemes will be intensified in order to save the biggest capitalists from all possible losses; 4) A vigorous foreign trade drive will be launched.

This program is doomed to failure for the following reasons: 1) The so-called change in the flow of capital from the stock-market to the industries instead of from the industries to the stock market is of no avail. Prior to the stock crash, during the time that the market was booming and production was reaching skyward, we were told that all was sunshine precisely because of so much capital being centered on the Exchange. First, we were told that "prosperity"

trend in production, rationalization, and came because capital was flowing towords the stock market. Now we are told that "prosperity" will come because of the very opposite reasons, because capital will flow away from the Stock Exchange; 2) Granted, for the moment, that the building of new steel plants and shoe factories and the enlargement of textile plants will, for a while, give jobs to some workers, tend to check unemployment. But, very soon the capitalists face their first and basic problem in a still more acute form-the question of the consumption of the newly produced commodities on an even greater mass basis. Overproduction cannot be cured with more production. Overdevelopment of the productive capacities cannot be overcome with still further expansion of the excess capacities. Thus, the gap between the productive capacities and consumptive possibilities of the workers is becoming still more developed. Thus, Hoover's program of furthering the already existing overdevelopment of industry is only accentuating, intensifying the basic contradiction of canitalism-the growing contradictions between the possibilities of production and the capacity for marketing the commodities produced; 3) The worsening of the workers' conditions, the wage-cuts and speed-up can only lead to more unemployment and greater resistance by the workers; 4) And a new "export offensive" is not so easy and simple today. The world market is more overcrowded than ever.

13. What is the cause of the present economic crisis? Mass production, rationalization, technique, efficiency, speedup, intensification of exploitation of labor, tremendous capital accumulation. huge natural resources, dominant world credit position-all of these usually ascribed causes of American capitalist prosperity are still here, but the cumulative effects and sequel today are an

economic crisis. The origin and source of the present crisis in the United States are international in character. The causes of this crisis grow out of the basic structural changes in American capitalist economy. These structural manges have come as a result of the United States becoming the dominant world power in the present condition of international capitalism. It is the very peak production records, efficiency, mass production, mass credit, etc. which have produced the present crisis.

Obviously, the present crisis comes not from underdevelopment but from overdevelopment of the productive capacities. The crisis was caused not by underproduction, not by the decline of production, but by the overedevelopment only partly reflected in the production peaks. great overproduction has produced the aggravated underconsumption (unemployment, lowered standard of living).

We see, that: 1) The the United States is today in an economic crisis, the general trend of American imperialism is not yet downward; 2) This general trend of American imperialism does not exempt it from the general historical decline of world capitalism in the present period; The very growth in American im-3) perialist strength has already reached a point where it is itself sharpening the inherent contradictions of capitalism in the United States and 4) generating and intensifying the contradictions and antagonisms which will lead not only to the collapse of American capitalism but also of international capitalism as a whole; 5) Today this rapid deevlopment of United States imperialism only intensifies the contradictions of international capitalism, only "serves as a force for sharpening and stimulating the elements of disintegration in international capitalism, thus making for a world crisis.

### III. STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND BASIC CONTRADIC-TIONS OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM

the present economic crisis and the outlook for the development of class relations in the United States it is first of all necessary to understand the recent (postwar) basic structural changes in American capitalist economy and the inherent contradictions of American capitalism which these changes have magnified and sharpened. These main structural changes are:

a) Productivity and Mass Production (Rationalization)—The average worker in the United States is today producing more than half again as much as he did in 1919. There has been going on a tremendous intensification of the exploitation of labor (speed-up, stretch-out, etc.) coupled with a change in the organic composition of capital-increasing proportion of constant capital (machinery) used as against variable capital (labor power). It has been estimated that half of the world's work is done in the United States, that the American worker produces from three to seven times as much as the European, and that the actual cost of labor power in the United States is relatively very low. The rationalization process is especially marked in the new industries.

b) Rationalization of Distribution-There has been a marked development of chain stores and chain department stores. Chain food distributors now control over one-third of the trade. In 1921, chain stores controlled 4% of retail trade; today 18.9%.

Hand-to-Mouth Buying -- The acceleration of communication and transportation has stimulated the extension in wholesale trade of "placing no orders ahead, buying in small lots, buying only for immediate requirements"-or handto-mouth buying: The objective of this practice is to keep down the inventories. d) Installment Selling-It is estithat over \$8,000,000 iou or at least 1/6 of the retail trade of the country is done on this basis. This practice is especially marked in autos.

c) The New Competition-There has been developing a new type of competi-tion-biggest in size and different in source. First of all, it is of one trust as against another in contradistinction to that of competition among small competitors (Ford vs. General Motors, Chain vs. Department Stores, Chain vs. Group Bankers). Secondly, it is rather competition between industrics as distinct from competition within industries (steel vs. lumber, natural gas vs. coal, oil and electricity vs. coal; rayon vs. silk, iron vs. aluminum, aluminum vs. copper).

f) Establishment of New Industries -Radio, auto, airplane, chemical and rayon, intensified and synthetic methods of use of coal and oil, industrial use of agricultural by-products (cornstalks), extension of all incthods of mass production from a few industries to nearly all industries.

g) Shifts In Industry-There is a

14. In order to be able to understand shift towards sources of raw material or power: Detroit becoming a steel centre, diffusion of factory sites, industrialization of South, transformation of economic character of New England (agriculture, textile, machine production).

h) Transformation of Transportation and Communication-There is going on an electrification of rail lines, growing commercial air traffic and combination with railroads. Motor bus mileage already exceeds railway mileage. There is a co-ordination of rail and water traffic. i) Electrification-Super-power plants, extension public utilities, increas-

ing use in farm operations, etc. j) Two Kinds of Rate of Profit-Latest income tax figures show that small establishments have lower rates than big trusts. Thru their monopolist position, the biggest trusts are enabled to absorb a portion of the profits which, under free competition would have gone to the smaller units.

k) Mass Accumulation of Capital-Concentration and Centralization of Contrgl in Industry and Finance-This trend is fastest in United States. Mergers be: ing transformed into super-mergers (huge power interests, steel)—trusts into super-trusts. There is the same trend in distribution, communications and transportation (I.C.C. Rail Plan Chain department stores). There is taking place a development of horizontal trusts (Standard Oil), vertical (U. S. Steel) and circular (Eaton and Du Ponte taking over rubber). There is a growing power of finance capital (Morgan taking over power, autos, rail). The pace of mergers in industry and trustification of banking is furious. Group or chain banking and branch banking are rapidly growing. Twelve financial concerns dominate 80% of the capitalization of all banks and 1% of the banks control 90% of the comercial deposits. There are today over 40,000 millionaires in the United States

1) The New Credit Structure (Export of Capital, etc.) -- The huge capital supply is the basis of new credit structure. Five main features here are: (1) Today, biggest banks making even smallest loans; (2) Growth in brokers loans; (3) Tremendous growth of non-banking lenders reflected in what is known as "loans for account of others." Corporations are becoming large-scale lenders in addition to being borrowers; (4) Shift in corporation financing from bonds to stocks, especially communistock; (5) Because of transfer of world's economic center of gravity from Europe, United States became world's creditor,

m) Stock Diffusion-The absolute number of stock holders has risen within the last decade. In this fashion the centralization of control is superficially blurred but actually made more secure. n) Stock Market and Expanded Spe-

culation-The six main new features of the Stock Exchange today are: 1) Entrance of industrial corporations; 2) Greater domination of trend of prices by

the 'blue chips" or leaders-biggest issues—about a dozen corporations; 3) Increasing diversified role of banks; Increased number of participants; 5) Close touch with and influence of government; 6) Pyramiding of securities, trusts investing in trusts---rise and importance of investment trusts.

o) Growth of Investment Trusts-This means greater fusion of industrial with finance capital and extends power of finance capital. A special feature is the taking over of small industries short of capital

p) Growing Rentier Class-The terriffic growth of tax exempt bonds, thru the mounting costs of government, export of capital netting at least one billion dollars annually in interest, expanded speculation on Exchange, so-called diffusion of stock ownership all make for development of a growing stratum of parasites-plain coupon clippers utterly divorced from the processes of production; to be found primarily in the most powerful banking groups.

q) Rationalization in Agriculture-A great mechanization process has begun. Between 1920-28 there has been a decline of over three million farm population, 13 million acres of cultivation, and three million horses and mules. Yet, in this period total crop production increased nearly 5% and productivity of farm-worker increased 15%. Introduction of factory farming, the combined harvester-thresher, tractor, motor truck, electric power, mechanical corn picker and cotton "sled" or stripper.

r) Character and Composition of Exports-There has been a rapid growth in volume of manufactured commodities and in the proportion of total exports that these commodities constitute. The United States now accounts for 35% of the world's exported manufactured commodities.

s) Brunch Factories Abroad-Today there are more than 2000 branch or independent American factories abroad capitalized at 3½ billion dollars. Over 100 auto branch plants in 29 foreign countries.

t) Organization of World Trade Apparatus-Role of Department of Commerce and its agents. Webb-Pomerene Act to help exporters. State Department and foreign loans. Network of financial missions and advisers and customs collectors. (Dewey, Kemmerer, Millspaugh) System of unofficial observers. Extension of branches of American banks throut the world.

u) Class Collaboration-Welding of reactionary trade union burocracy with finance capital. There is an attempt by the burocrats to transform the trade unions into mere employment and personnel agencies to help secure docile workers and to play role of "stabilizers" in industry. Company unions, profitsharing, stock ownership, trade union capitalism. New wage theory-the "pro-ductive efficiency" theory of wages.

tal following in the wake of rationalization develops a permanently disemployed army-unemployed workers thrown out of the process of production. Vitalitysapping speed also ages workers quickly and thus adds to the permanency of unemployed huge industrial reserve army, Growth of Mass Waste--Elimina-

tion of waste is an essential feature of rationalization. But in speeding up production good useable buildings are torn down and there is a huge rate of obsolescence of capital.

x) Role of Government-Government strikebreaking has become an openly integral part of capitalist economy. Systematic offensive against working standards. No-strike pacts. (Hoover-Green). Injunctions and spy system. Private police armies fusing with official govmarked extension of state capitalism along specifically American lines. Establishment of Federal Reserve, Farm Board, subsides to aviation - and shipping, tax refunds system. Hoover Conferences and National Business Council, merger of government with Big Business apparatus, new attitude towards consolidation in industry.

y) Attempted Conscious Planning and Accoutning-Increasing use of statistics, standarization, research, costfinding, accounting, trade associations, Taylor Sociey, growing importance of engineering and "scientific management," National Business Council formation.

15. Now let us examine these structural changes dialectically in order to of finance capital in agricultural econsee what contradictions grow therefrom. a) The Growing Gap Between the Possibilities—This is the basic contradiction of capitalism today. This contradiction expresses itself in various ways sumes the most acute form precisely in to diminish the domestic market either

so rampant. It is true the market for the products of American industry has, in the absolute sense, increased both at home and abroad since the World War. But this increase in marketing possibilities has not at all kept pace and is not at all keeping pace with the rate of rise in productive capacities.

Organic, Chronic Unemployment The very mass production and rationalization are producing a new, organic chronic, permanent unemployment. This is a sort of "prosperity" unemploymentan unemployment of the workers created by the very forces bringing prosperity to the capitalist exploiters. The introduction of new machines has been reducing the number of employed workers. The development of new markets is falling behind the speedy development of rationalization. New machinery makes skill more and more superfluous. This means an increasing number of women and even children entering industry. Mass production brings with it mass mergers and super-mergers. This only deepens the contradiction. If one huge factory discharges 60,000 workers it means that their reduced purchasing power will serve to bring on more unemployment in other industries. Then, monopoly capitalism with its murderous mass production and mass competition is ruining the lower middle class and farmers and forces them to enter the fac-The industrialization of the tories. South and the extension of mass production into the rural areas further swells the ranks of the proletariat.

Capitalism must have its permanent industrial reserve army of jobless. The new feature of the unemployment situation is that the problem of unemployment is no longer acute only in times of depression but is now also an acute problem in times of prosperity. Simultaneously with the very increase in production there is going on a decrease in the amount of labor power used by capital in industry—a change in the organic composition of capital. Thus, in certain basic industries the number of workers employed has fallen relatively and even absolutely in recent years. The pauperization flowing from permanent organic unemployment leads to increased resistance by the workers who are now compelled to fight not only for certain conditions but even for the very right to any kind of a place at all in production. Therein lies an important and decisive factor for the development of class consciousness in the United States.

The Deepgoing Serious Crisis in Agriculture-Despite temporary and su-perficial signs of improvement, the basic crisis in agriculture remains. The "scissors" problem is as acute as ever. The gap between the highly rationalized industries operating on the basis of mass factory production and the still dominantly individual relatively backward methods of production in agriculture as whole is not narrowing. This is the underlying source of the crisis. Then, compared with the needs of the domestic market, agriculture as such is overdeveloped; overexpanded on an uneconomical basis primarily by the war. This situation is only worsened by a similar condition of overexpansion in some of the chief competing agricultural countries. World agricultural competition is

thus becoming ever-more intense. The introduction of rationalization into agriculture does not solve but only aggravates the crisis. It means reducing the number of farmers. This means driving more millions of farmers off the land -more mass suffering in the rural areas. Within recent years over three million farmers have been expropriated, driven off the land and into the cities. Rationalization also means overproduction, which in turn brings lower prices and a further lowering of the farmers' stanernment's armed forces. There is a dards. The condition of the farming masses as a whole is miserable. The conditions of the tenant farmer in the South defy description. The purchasing power of the farmers is today less by nearly 31% billion dollars, or 20%, than it was ten years ago. Since 1920 farm mortgages rose to nearly ten billion dollars, or by about two billions. Finally, because of its disadvantageous technical position in relation to highly rationalized industry, agriculture, and its commodities are more subject to the difficulties and complications of the whole system of capitalist economy. All the Federal "relief" measures have not solved these contradictions but have only aggravated them especially thru enhancing the power

d) Increasing Forces for Narrowing Productive Capacities and the Marketing Domestic Market--For the United States, especially, the domestic market is of great importance - constituting about 90% of the total American market. in the different countries. But it as- There are a number of factors tending a country like the United States where relatively or absolutely: 1) The growth mass production and rationalization are of productive development already far

exceeds marketing posibilities; 2) The rising army of permanently disemployed caused by rationalization itself narrows the volume of consumption; 3) The lifesapping effects of rationalization bring an extensive trend to discharge workers at 40; 4) The chronic deep-going crisis in agriculture reduces the purchasing power of the farmers; 5) The growing costs of government is a burden upon industry; 6) The mounting costs of armaments have the same effect; 7) The increasing competition from other capitalist powers; 8) The establishment of branch factorics abroad to re-export home; 9) and the final repayment of debts which is in the sale of commodities to a great extent in the United States home market mean a narowing of the bome market for the American bourgeoisic themselves; 10) The changing character of the composition of American exports (means of production, machinery) tends to equip competitors for more effective challenge in American domestic market; 11) The growing capitalist offensive against wage and working standards continually lowers the capacities for consumption by the masses. e) Increasing Number of "Sick Industries"-The permanent derangement of such industries as coal, textiles, and oil is a source of serious crisis. In some cases this is due to relative backwardness in rationalization (textile, coal). In other industries, this derangement is due to reckless, chaotic exploitation (oil). Recent months have seen this derangement develop in such highly rationalized industries as the building and automotive. The latter is of extraordinary importance in view of growing importance of this industry which was the hub of the recent "prosperity" period.

f) Dependence of American Capitalsm on Other Imperialist Powers for Certain Basic Raw Materials-Among these are rubber, nitrates, tin, nickel, manganese, etc.

g) Installment Buying and Hand-to-Mouth Selling-Installment buying has undermining the entire system. It would been one of the main props of American "prosperity." This mortgaging of future purchasing power will serve as an aggravating force in a serious crisis. The very lack of substantial advance orders (due to hand-to-mouth buying) tends to make planned production more difficult and only adds hesitation and instability to capitalist industry. Hand-to-mouth buying also means an increase in the proportion of smaller orders and a consequent increase in the cost of the selling and marketing per order. This means more waste. The boast that because of hand-to-mouth buying the inventories in the warehouses are low is unfounded. Installment buying has moved these inventories from the warehouses to the consumers-and in addition inventories of consumable commodities are today of greater size than ever in the hands of the installment buyers. It is clear that installment buying and hand-to-mouth selling-both flowing from huge mass production-have not added stability but have only sharpened the contradictions of capitalism. Thus not only does capitalism today suffer from the destructive consequences of huge inventories of commodifies but it is already suffering from the even more serious consequences of the huge inventories of unused capital (surplus credit) and the unused machinery (excess productive capacity).

Increasing Political Character of Class Struggle and Growing Militurization of Industry-The Dunger of War-Mass production means concentration of great masses of workers in giant factories. This means mass struggles of the workers against trustified industrial and finance capital. Such sharpened struggles cause the bourgeoisie to develop a huge government apparatus more and more openly intervening as a strikebreaker. This only tends to sharpen the class struggles still further. mass production increases the gap between productive capacities and marketing possibilities. This sharpens the conflicts among the imperialists for places in world capital and commodity markets. The devolpment of capitalist competition to its highest form--imperialist war-is thus hastened. For this nearing eventuality United States capitalism is preparing. Under the National Defense Act a plan has been prepared for the complete militarization of industry. Certain industries (rayon) are roganized for almost instant transformation. Such preparedness only adds to the already huge waste of capitalist production. i) Increasing Export of Capital-

This creates for American capitalism a serious problem in the final repayment in commodities. This in turn brings up the question of reducing the tariff rates in order to permit the entry of these commodities-in order to enable the debtor to get enough money with which to repay. This means increasing competitive powers of the debtor imperialist groups against the creditor American

imperialism, not only in the world market, but in the very heart and home of Yankee imperialism — the domestic United States market.

j) Reutier Class-A significant sign the increasing decay of American capitalism is to be found in the growing rentier class (coupon-clipping parasites) -The extension of branch factories in other countries enhances this development.

Huge War Debts-Here American capitalism faces a serious dilemma. Wall Street fears to cancel these debts lest it might shake up the whole shoddy credit fabric on which world capitalism rests today. At the same time the very pay ment of these debts would today be dis-astrous to United States imperialism. If paid, these debts would be settled either in gold or in kind (commodities). Were the debts to be paid in the latter way, it would bring a debacle to production in the United States. If paid in gold, then the debtors must first be allowed to secure this gold. The accumulation of such a vast sum by these debtors could come only after a smashing victory for them in the world market. This would mean the end of American imperialist supremacy-an end against which United States capitalism would fight to the finish.

1) Intensifying World Competition There is a growth of the international cartel movement marking the economic recovery of the principal imperialist powers. The sharpened conflicts in the world market are especially aggravated by the revolutionary colonial movement and by the breaking of the world capitalist front thru the proletarian victory in Russia. The extension of branch fa tories likewise strengthens competition with American industries.

m) The New Credit Structure-Mass production develops a mass credit structure. The changes in the credit structure( extension thru installment plans, etc.) are factors for deeply shaking and be a mistake to assume that mass resentment and resistance to monopoly are at an end in the United States. A severe economic crisis, a flat failure of crops a disastrous war will bring mass hatree against the concentration of capital, credit, and its beneficiaries. The de veloping conflict between branch and chain banking and their common struggle against the small banker mean further wiping out of sections of the hourgeoisie and a battle royal for domination especially over the rural areas The increasing use of commercial paper and bankers acceptances by the bigges banks further tends to ruin the local the smaller banks, and thus undermines the stability of the credit structure. The weaknening foundation upon which capitalist stability rests was dramatized by the colossal collapse on the Stock Exchange,

Mass Wastefulness-With all its n) boasted efficiency and increasing rationalization, capitalism shows itself to be an increasingly wasteful system. It is precisely the efficiency and rationalization schemes which are supposed to eliminate waste that have brought even We have greater waste in their wake. the gigantic cost of the maintenance of the huge army of brokers, middlemen, tipsters, speculation sharks, money lenders, etc. in temples of high finance, the stables of speculation, the home of "bulls" and 'bears" in Wall Street-the Stock Market. But the most tragic phase of the wastefulness of capitalism is its mass extermination of the workers in industry thru terrific accident rates, life-sapping speed-up. Firing at forty only adds fuel to these devouring flames The growing army of permanently job less is the most damning indictment of capitalism in the United States.

0) Capitalist "Planning" and Specu www-1920 gave the best answer to the boasts of "organized" and "planned" capitalist economy. In 1929 it was seen -exceptionally clear in the United States, the land of highest developed capitalism-that all the bourgeois planning and organizing, all the rationalization, all the measures taken to secure "balanced production," "equilibrium" and "stability" only serve as driving forces for sharpening the inherent contradictions of capitalism, for making even less secure the already insecure stability, for making even more unbalanced the already seriously unbalanced production, for widening even more the already great gap between the excessive productive capacities and the relatively narrowing marketing possibilities. Capitalist economy in the United States is becoming fundamentally less stable than before the war, precisely because of the very advance in stabilization on a world scale All, of the efforts at capitalist "planning" serve not to solve, not to remove, but to intensify and enlarge the inherent contradictions of capitalism. In the pre-war days and in the pre-"stabil-

ization" period of American capitalist economy, the borgeoisie and their economic experts dreaded the "unbalancedness" expressing itself in the form of the "inflation" of commodity prices-speculation in commodities. It is true mass production has tended to lower, to cheapen prices. But at the same time, mass production has transformed this contradiction into a much bigger and more menacing contradiction. Commodityprice inflation has been replaced by the "inflation" of productive capacitieswhich means by the inflation of the quantity of capital (machinery, buildings, etc.) at hand and unused. This "inflation" of the productive capacities (mass production and rationalization) tried to "regulate," limit, and avoid excessive, inflated, inventorics of manufactured goods. The effect of such efforts is twofold: First, it tends to create relatively, and often even absolutely, excessive inventories of the basic raw materials of production. Secondly, it tends to rush capital to be used as credit in speculation on the stock market-credit "inflation." Thus, the stages of the increasing acuteness of this basic capitalist contradiction-in the final sense between overproduction and underconsumptionare from commodity price "inflation" to productive capacity and capital "inflation" and from productive-capacity and capital "inflation," to credit "inflation." Yesterday, business organizations as such (industrial corporations) limited themselves to speculating in their own particular lines. Today, these business talists.

16. Capitalist reaction continues firmly in the saddle in the U.S. The political situation reflects the domination of the government's domestic and foreign policies by the biggest capitalist interests, financial and industrial. From pretended opposition to the development of giant trusts, the United States Government has become a frank and avowed propagator, instigator and organizer of the movement for the integration of industry and finance. This is the sig-nificance of the Railway Consolidation Plan of the I.C.C. and of the proposal of the Comptroller of the Currency, Pole, for branch banking. A whole series of court decisions portray the extreme reactionary course of the government in behalf of the biggest capitalist groups.

interests. and international fields. Witness America's entry

ruptey.

organizations are more and more speculating "in lines other than their own." investing in other business organizations -becoming stock brokers, bankers and investment trusts. This practice is being resorted to by many corporations in order to make up for the falling rate of profits which their excessively developed manufactories have in store for them.

Obviously, genuine order is impossible in capitalist economy. The attempts of the most highly developed capitalist country, the United States, to remove disorder in the process of production and exchange basically tend to develop deeper and more widespread disorder. The very structural changes in American capitalist economy are hastening its collapse doom. The theories of "no more and crisis," "no more panics," the theories of "equilibrium in production," of "stability in production," of "balanced production' -these theories of Hoover, Carver, Foster and Catchings, Tugwell, and Chaseall these dreams of the "theoreticians" of the "New Era"-are false and worthless. Their shoddy, threadbare fabric went up in a smoke in the conflagration on the Stock Exchange and the subesequent "The economic crisis. As Lenin said: introduction of planning into industry keeps the workers enslaved none the less, the it enables the capitalists to gather their profits in a more planful way." But this only serves to sharpen the class war, to arouse the more intensely cxploited workers to more militant, energetic action as a class against the capi-

### IV. CAPITALIST REACTION AT THE HELM-THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

The vigor with which the government works as an agency of the top capitalist interests is also indicated by the hundreds of millions of dollars handed to them in the form of tax refunds, the proposal of Hoover to the conference of Governors to turn over 200 million acres public land to the various States so that they might the more easily, and without general notice, turn over this valuable land to the railway and power The gigantic public utility corporations are today playing the same role in settling the pace in the corruption and domination of the government agencies as the railroads did in the 'seventies' and 'eighties'. The decisive power of big business is equally shown in the local

into the World Court, the role played by the Federal Reserve in the organization of the World Bank, and the increasing influence of the banker's groups headed by Strawn in the Chicago municipal bank-

17. There is a marked accelerating tendency towards the merging of the machinery of the government with the apparatus of big business. The very election of Hoover who had never held any public elective office before symbolizes this trend very effectively. The lacing and interweaving between the highest government functionaries and the spokesmen of the biggest corporations. The appointments of Edge of Standard Oil fame as ambassador to France. Sackett to Germany, the appointment of Morrow of the House of Morgan to Senate, the selection of Hughes, a most vigorous agent of finance canital, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court especially at a time when he had a numher of important corporation cases before the court. the flooding of the cabinei with multi-millionaires (Mellon, Davis, Hurley, Lamont. Adams, etc.), the entrance of Grundy into the Senate, and the growing number of millionaires in the upper house all confirm the trend toward the fusion of the apparatus of the bigget financials and industrial camitalist groups with the machinery of the government. At the very first sign of a crisis, Hoover called together the captains of finance and industry to take emergency measures and set up joint ma-

chinery with the government to deal with the critical situation.

18. Recent months have seen the most rapid development of an extensive system of state capitalist enterprises in special American forms. The passing of the Agricultural Marketing Act ushered in the Farm Loan Board with \$150 million available for its operations as a socalled price-stabilizer but acutally as an agent to facilitate the extension of the power of finance capital in the rural areas. Millions are being handed out to the shipping magnates in the guise of easy loans and mail subsidies. Similar steps are being taken to subsides aviation. The Hoover Plan means the starting of a vast construction program to expend hundreds of millions in setting up all kinds of public works, public buildings, flood control machinery, etc. The Army Engineering Division is working overtime in devising plans for the extension of state capitalist enterprises.

19. Capitalist reaction is growing. The government has intensified its attack on the workers in every field, particularly because of the economic crisis and of the increasing signs of working class resistance to the capitalist onslaughts on the workers' rights and standards. The savage persecutions of the Communists are not only attacks on the most class conscious ranks of the workers but are brutal warnings of the ruling class to the entire working class, a brazen display of ruling class power aiming to terrorize into abject submission the entire working class. This is the meaning of the proposal to register and fingerprint and deport the foreign-born workers. This is the meaning of the proposal to register and fingerprint and de port the foreign-born workers. This is the meaing of the proposed legislation withdraw citizenship from militant workers, of the increasing persecution of Communists and the attempt to bar Revolutionary Age from the mails.

20. There has been going on a great centralization of government power, a notable growth of the government burocracy, and a marked shifting of govdisclosures of the Caraway Committee ernment power to the executive and on lobbying emphasized the close inter- judiciary departments as against the legislative divisions. The establishment the National Business Council by Hoover, without even presenting such a plan for consideration by the House and Senate, the growth in the number of government bureaus, the establishment of a "Social Research Commission" by Hoover show which way the winds are blowing in the government edifice. It is also indicative of the times that the proposals to end the much-vaunted right of trial by jury are multiplying. This centralization of executive and judiciary power is the keynote of the Wickersham Commission Report and of Hoover's Message on Crime. The sharpening of class relations at home and the new world role of American imperialism dictate these developments towards ever-more oven and less camouflaged capitalist dictatorship. This is the course of capitalist democracy. But this is not fascism. It is absolutely wrong to conclude that the National Business Council is a "Grand Fascist Council." (Daily Work-

er). Nor does the increasing use of violence against the workers in itself mean a transformation of the government into Fascism. The use of violence against the workers, jailing workingmen and women, "government by injunction," and open strikebreaking are the normal and natural functions of capitalist democracy at its best and in its purest forms.

The present economic crisis is not of such a character as to create the historical conditions under which open Fascism or social-reformism fulfilling the function of Fascism is at the helm of the capitalist dictatorship, at the head of the reactionary capitalist oftensive. We do not yet have in the U.S. the requisite "instability of capitalist relationships; the existence of considerable declassed elements, the pauperization of broad strata of the urban pettybourgeoisie and of the intelligentsia; discontent among the rural petty-bourgeoisic and finally, the constant menace of mass proletarian action" (Program of the Comintern)

21. In its foreign policy the government is likewise pursuing a course of extreme aggression in extending the interests of the United States imperialists. The marked growth of organized army reserves assumes special significance because of its playing the role of a most powerful political wing of the U.S. Army. The hostility towards to Soviet Union continues to express itself especially in the adamant refusal to recognize the Soviet Republic.

22. But the forces of disentegration are gnawing at the vitals of the twoparty system, an integral feature of the American capitalist dictatorship. The issue of prohibition is a source of sharp division in the ranks of the bourgeoisic. There is a conflict between those who demand prohibition on the ground that it enhances productive efficiency in industry and those who are against it primarily on the ground that it cannot be enforced and who declare that it thus generates such a sharp disregard for the law as to develop a tendency towards disregard, contempt, and undermining of the whole system of capitalist law and order. The conflict between the agricultural

tion in the labor movement revolve around the effects of capitalist rationalization and the war preparations and around reactions of the working masses towards these problems.

25. The idea that in the United States everybody is prosperous, that wages are generally high, that employment is regular, that hours of labor are short, that working conditions are glorious, that the U. S. A. is the "paradise of labor" is the central theme of the illusions which are systematically spread by American capitalism. How different from this rosy picture is grim reality, the life of the worker sufficiently testifies. Rationalization of capitalist industry has brought severe drudgery and stupefying monotony to the American workers. The American industrial accident rate is nearly four times as high as that of any major capitalist country.

The high tension of American production subjects the workers to deadening strain and killing stress. The workers are increasingly subject to terrible occupational deseases. Nowhere do workers get old so quickly as in the U.S.A. The speed-up system reaps a ghastly harvest. And yet in the U. S. A. there is no system of national social legislation whatever. In the U. S. A., the land "prosperity," there are over two million poverty-stricken, property-less people who are old age "dependents."

In the United States the concentration of wealth and poverty at the opposite poles of society is proceeding at breakneck speed. Today there are in this country at least 40,000 millionaires cording to latest survey of the Federal Trade Commission 87% of the American people own only 10% of the national wealth and 13% own 90% of the country's wealth. And the gap between the wealthy exploiters and the toiling masses, already so tremendous, is constantly widening at a rapid pace. The workers" share of the national income has been declining. Profits have been increasing far more rapidly than wages. From 1919 to 1926 the real wages of relatively skilled workers increased by 24%.

At the same time the income of the group of persons with annual incomes between \$5,000 to \$25,000 rose 34.2%, and the income of those getting over \$100,000 a year rese by 73.4%. As a matter of fact the American worker is the most intensely exploited. The margin of profit in the U. S. A. is greatest, the cost of labor is relatively lowest. Nor are the living condition's of the American workers what they are pictured to be in the capitalist fairy-tales. According to

interests and industrial and finance capitalist interests is sharpening. This was reflected in the attack on the Hughes Supreme Coutr appointment which was the sharpest of its kind, over such an office, in nearly a hundred years. The struggle over tariff legislation primarily reflects the clash of interests between agriculture and industrial capital and between the latter and finance capital.

More and more these struggles are cutting across Party lines instead of being limited between party lines. That is why the most powerful bourgeoisie who are conscious of the forces of disintegration within their class which these conflicts, reflect, often very vaguely and confusedly, now feel that "Con needs to be watched very carefully." "Congress prestige of Hoover has been hard hit by his inability to command and direct on the prohibition and tariff questions. In the Republican Party which so triumphantly swept the last elections there are now four blocs. The alliance between the irregular Republicans, the so-called insurgents, and the Democrats is showing repeated effectiveness in the congressional issues. Within the Democratic Party the forces of disintegration are becoming still more marked. As usual, the so-called Progressives led by the Borahs, LaFollettes and Norrises display hesitation, cowardice, vacillation and confusion in their attempts to defend the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie against the frontal attacks of big capital. 23. Practically the entire working class is still to be found in the ranks of the two old capitalist parties. They have not yet taken the elementary step of political class differentiation from their exploiters. The most powerful agency is thus tying the workers to the chariot of their oppressors is unquestionably the burocracy of the A. F. of L. which carries on an energetic propaganda against independent working class political ac-tion in any form. Yet signs are multiplying the disintegration of the two party system in the U. S. A. will mean not only the regrouping of bourgeois forces but will also contribute to the emergence of independent political action of the workers in the form of a Labor Party.

V. PRESENT SITUATION IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

24. The basic features of the situa- Professor Tugwell at least 86% of the American people are poor today. The latest figures of the Department of La bor show that millions or workers receive only \$10 a week when they work. Nearly 60% of the workers get under \$30, weekly-when they work. Womer and youth laborers, the unskilled and semi-skilled, suffer most. The figures of the National Bureau of Economic Research show that the overwhelming majority of the American working class gets far less than enough to meet even the most conservative standards of decent living. But the most striking indication of what capitalist "prosperity really means to the workers is unemploy ment, which has become a permanent horror for the American working class. There was always a permanent army of unemployment, but now there is developing an army of permanently unemved-workers permanently thrown out industry-pauperized.

26. Because of rationalization and mass production nearly 2½ million workers have been thrown out of jobs in manufacturing, transportation, mining and farm laboring within the past eight

Not only does mass production do away with skill lines, but, what is most important for the overwhelming majority of the working class, large scale machine production considerably reduces the number of workers required by the capitalists in industry and exchange.

The life sapping pace at which 27.rationalized capitalist production drives the workers has brought about a condition in which workers are being thrown out of industry at an earlier age than ever before and earlier than in any other country. The firing of workers at forty or fifty, because of the employer's fear that such workers cannot be geared to the terrific speed of present day production, has become a mass phenonmenon The problem of social legislation-old age, unemployment, sickness is therefore assuming a much more important and pressing character than ever before in the history of the American working class.

28. In order to meet the heavy costs of the war preparation and the effects of the economic crisis, the capitalists have been waging an intensified attack on even the most elementary of the workers' standards and rights with the view of shifting these burdens to the shoulders of the proletariat.

29. Considered, by and large, the American working class is largely unorganized. Of the more than 30,000,000 workers in the United States, no more than 3,000,000 are organized in the trade union movement-about 2½ millions in the A. F. of L. unions and about 34 of a million in all of the independent unions (railway unions, A.C.W., A.F.W., N.M. U., etc.) Some basic industries, like steel, metal mining, and oil are almost entirely unorganized. With the sharp decline of the U.M.W.A., most of the unions in the A. F. of L. are now organizations of skilled crafts. It is the general policy of the burocracy of the A. F. of L. to refuse to organize the unskilled and semi-skilled workers into the unions or even to permit their organization at all. Nor is the American working class appreciably organized in cooperatives, labor fraternal associations, etc. 30. The reactionary trade union hu-

rocracy dominating the labor aristocracy and the bulk of the existing unions has been drawn closer to the imperialim than ever before. The A. F. of L. officialdom is now issuing regular "business surveys." The biggest bourgeoisie are more and more considering the representatives of business to be "the whole range of business leadership from bankers to organized labor." The menace of social reformism, the menace of the influence of the corrupted labor aristocracy upon the working class as a whole, is especially acute today. It is false to conclude that rationalization wipes out or has been wiping out the labor aristocracy which is founded not solely upon skill, in the narrow sense, but upon the privileg ,i position accorded to it by the imperialists. The present seriousness of the menace of the reactionary trade union burocracy thru its having become more integrally a part of the whole imperialist machine, is expressed, for instance in the close cooperation between the A. F. of L. burocracy and the Army War College, the A. F. of L. policy toward Latin America, in the Hoover-Green pact against wage increases, in the nature of the plans of the A. F. of L. for the socalled organization campaign in the South, the A. F. of L.'s indorsement, for the first time, of the bill to register foreign-born workers, and the drawing of the government and the employers into intra-union disputes (building trades) as co-judges. These corrupt labor lieutenants of American imperialism, are spreading more energetically than ever the poisonous ideas of class collaboration. They are bitterly opposed to the strike as a method of working class struggle and are working overtime to transform and pervert this weapon into on instrument for "stabilized trade." "bringing order into industry," "to promote the welfare of the employers and the workers," in short, to help capitalist rationalization. This was the case in the recent I.L.G.W.U. strike. This is the policy of the restored Kaufman in the fur industry. Every act of the reactionary trade union burocracy during the past year has been against the interests of the workers and for the interests of the exploiters. But the sharpest distinction must be drawn between the burocratic leaders of the trade unions, who do the work of their imperialist masters, on the one hand, and the members of these organizations as well as the organizations themselves on the other. To brand the A. F. of L. unions as "fascist" because of the reactionary character of the leadership shows a complete rejection of the basic ideas of Leninist strategy.

There is a growing tendency toward a leftward movement primarily in the ranks of the unskilled and semiskilled, organized and unorganized, who suffer most from rationalization and war preparations. The objective basis of this is to be found in the very effects of capitalist rationalization and war preparations. The new feature of the present situation is that "American imperialist development has already reached the stage in its striving toward domination in world politics in which it is driven toward the most brutal forms of capitalist rationalization on the one hand and toward a tremendous growth in the oppressive war preparations on the other. Here we have the objective basis for the element of growing radicalization among the American workers."

The important sections of the workers are showing increasing discontent with capitalism, and showing increased signs best follow at the tail of these moveof radicalization, the past year has not witnessed any developments to warrant the conclusion that the whole American become revolutionary or even sufficiently radicalized to make a break with the political parties of the bourgeoisie to follow Communist leadership, to join in sub-It would be folly to conclude that "the American working class has already, on the whole, entered the period of offensive situation is to be found in the fact that there is an increasing tendency for the

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32. Rationalization has speeded up the trend toward the proletarianization of the Negro masses not only in drawing Negroes from the Southern rural areas to the northern industrial centers but also in drawing them into the factories and mines of the south itself. The rapid increase in the number of Negroes in industry during the past year has made the problem of organizing the Negrocs, who are even less organized than the white workers, more acute than ever-The A. F. of L. burocrats continue to pursue their policy of hostility to Negro membership in the trade unions.

33. Numerically the organized labor movement in the U.S. A. has remained stationary on the whole, altho notable losses have occurred within the last year. The disintegration of the U.M.W. of A. marked the collapse of the last mass A. F. of L. union of the unskilled and semi-skilled. It was aggravated by the crisis in the Illinois organization which contained the bulk of the organized soft coal diggers after the Lewis betrayal of The extent to which the masses in 1928.these fields have been disgusted and disillusioned with the corrupt Lewis regime and its equally corrupt Farrington counter-part is shown by the attempts which are now being made by the Howat-Walker bloc to capitalize this mass discontent and lead it away from militant struggle. The collapse of the "new" unions (particularly mining, textile, shoe,) was a serious blow to the organized labor movement.

34. In spite of the increasingly favorable objective basis for a left wing movement in the trade unions, it is nevertheless a fact that recent months have seen the decline and disintegration of the once powerful left-wing in the organized labor movement of this country. The organized left-wing and progressive groups which once existed in the old unions and were a challenging force to the burocrais have completely vanished, primarily as a result of the policy of desertion of the reactionary trade unions on the part of the official spokesmen for the left wing. The new militant unions, which constituted a powerful support for the left wing have been smashed to an important extent as a result of the fundamentally false course forced upon them (Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, National Textile Workers Union, National Miners Union, Independent Shoe Workers Union), and because of their isolation from the workers in the old unions. The left wing in the old unions and the left wing unions themselves have abandoned the attempt to give leadership to the workers in their actual struggles and have declined to a condition of revolutionary phrase mongering on the one hand and impotence and paralysis in the struggle on the other. The Trade Union Unity League, for which there is a broad basis and a real function as the organizing and guiding center for the left wing in the organized labor movement as well as a driving force for organizing the unorganized, has become no more than a dual "revolutionary" trade union center to the A. of L. and is fast becoming merely an extension (or a department) of the Communist Party-in program, control, activities, etc. After years of hard struggle and careful building we face the situation of the almost complete elimination of the organized left wing in the conservative labor movement.

35. A serious the temporary defeat has been administered to the spearhcad of the left wing movement of the organized workers, thru the victory of the reactionary trade union and Socialist Party burocracy over the Communist forces in the Jewish labor movement (Workmen's Circle, ranks of needle trades workers, etc.).

36. The regrouping of forces in the working class and the leftward tendencies among large sections of the organized American workers show themselves in a number of manifestations of spontaneous left movements and in the simultaneous reemergence in positons of lead-ership, of progressive elements, who at mens and at worst mislead them. The spontaneous left manifestations find no spiration or leadership on the part of working class, or even a majority, has the traditional left wing organizations (TUUL, new unisos, etc.) and therefore end up in demoralization or fall victim to the trickery of the burocrats. The classic example of this situation is stantial numbers the ranks of the new in the mining industry, where the rebel-militant unions or the Communist Party. Jion of the Illinois miners, deprived of real left wing leadership, could not overcome Fishwick and Farrington as they had overcome Lewis and where the leadstruggle, of counter-attack, of revolution- erless uprising of the Anthracite miners ary activity." The new feature of the at the recent tri-district convention was finally suppressed with the aid of self-"insurgents" who sold out. A styled

very favorable objective basis for the development of a powerful left wing exists-spontaneous manifestations are multiplying-but unless a conscious force arises ready to inspire and take leadership of the leftward movement, build it up, and guide it carefully among militant channels, the movement will be condemned to defeat and disintegration.

37. The Socialist Party has made no considerable numerical gains in the last months but it has been able to score certain political successes, as for example in the 1929 municipal elections campaigns, in the Jewish labor movement, and fraternal organizations, etc. At the same time the composition of the S.P. has become far more non-proletarian and much more petty-hourgeois and professional; its policies have lost every vestige, pretention and even the vocabulary of socialism and are absolutely indistinguishable from a bourgeois reform party. In the labor movement it is to be found uniformly on the side of reaction. In the S.P. itself there are tendencies toward a certain regrouping of forces. The petty-bourgeois and professional ele-ments around Norman Thomas and the S.P. want to drop entirely even the pretention of being a "Socialist" or "prole-tarian" organizations and would like to have it converted openly into a loose municipal reform party. They are op-posed by the official burocracy in the S.P. whose objective is to gain some foothold among the labor aristocracy and to form a working alliance with the most reactionary labor burecrats (Woll, etc.) so as to give the S.P. "standing" and

### VI. CONDITION OF THE C. P. OF THE U. S. A.

39. The objective conditions for building a mass Communist Party in the U. S. A. today are more favorable than they have been for many years. But it has been many years since the Communist Party has been so divided and shattered, had such weak roots in the ranks of the workers, had such a false line. Never before was the labor movement so much in need of and yet so deficient in constructive revolutionary leadership. Never before did the Communist Party find itself in such a deep crisis.

40. The new policies that lie at the root of the crisis in the Communist Party of the U. S. A. are an integral part of the new line of the Communist International, a line that represents a definite break with the Leninist estimation of the objective situation and with Leninist methods and tactics. Altho the first signs of it were already visible on a number of questions (especially in trade union work) as far back as the beginning of 1928, the new line in its full force reached the American movement with the notorious Address of the ECCl in May 1929. Since then the consequences of the false line have been as disastrous as they have been inevitable.

41. The political line of the Party has been perverted in the direction of the worst ultra-left sectarianism. The tactics and policies of the Party no longer have any connection with the actual conditions and class relations in this country. The Party is fast declining into an impotent sect. Inevitably in the field of trade union work the disastrous consequences of the new line are clearer than everywhere else. The once-powerful left wing in the old unions has been destroyed as a result of the Party policy that brands the A. F. of L. unions as "fascist" organizations and therefore prohibits any work in them. The left wing unions are in a state of organizational and political collapse; they have ceased to be organs of mass struggle and have become mere extensions (or even departments) of the Party apparatus. They have led no serious struggle of the workers within the last year. The fundamental principles of Leninist trade union policy which had been accepted for years by our Party have been replaced by a new edition of DeLeonism, by a policy of split and desertion of the old unions and the arbitrary proclamation of new unions according blueprint, without regard to the objective situation. Whatever organizaions the Party has controlled or had any influence in have either been lost to the reactionaries or else demoralized and destroyed thru the narrow sectarian policies and the wrecking course of the pres-

ent Party leadership. At the same time all real political struggle on immediate questions has been abandoned on the part of the Party leadership under the cloak of the "new revo-lutionary upsurge." The traditional La-bor Party policy of the Party, for years approved by the Comintern, (and emphasized by the VI World Congress) has been given up as "opportunist." The struggle against the attacks on the foreign born, in which our Party was able to rally tens of thousands of workers, was abandoned as "not revolutionary. The Parker issue, relations to the U.S. S.R., the questions of the tariff, the World Court, the reparations question,

"respectability" in the trade union movement. Lately there has been developing in the S.P. especially in New York a new "left wing" raising some "radical" slogans-"Face to the workers!," "For a Socialist trade union policy!","Against Communism!"-which aims to capitalize the dissatisfaction that is growing with the petty-bourgeois elements as well as the reactionary burocrats. For the workers the "radical"-sounding phrases of this "left wing" are more dangerousbecause more deceptive-than the outright reaction of the Socialist Party officialdom. The great danger that the S.P. holds out for the revolutionary movement at the present time is thatwith the organized left wing (C. P., T. U.U.L., new unions, etc.) in a state of sectarian impotence-it may capitalize the spontaneous left manifestations among the workers for its own ends, that is, for the ends of class collaboration and the interests of the reactionary burocra-(the collaboration of Germer and ev Ameringer with Fishwick and Farrington in Illinois).

38. The most inspiring, expressions of class militancy in the ranks of the worker was manifested in the heroic struggle of the aroused southern workersthe striking textile workers of Gasstonia, Marion and Elizabethton. The convictions at Gastonia, the heroic defense by the Gastonia strikers, the massacre of helpless workers at Marion, the first beginning of political consciousness by the Elizabethton workers are of tremendous importance to the entire American working class.

etc. have found no reaction in the Party press or organizations. Even in such a situation as unemployment, where the spontaneous reaction of the masses offers the greatest opportunities to the Communists, the Party has been prevented, because of its isolation line, from making any headway; not a single real council of the unemployed exists. There is no attempt at bringing together the employed and unemployed, the movement that began to crystallize around the March 6 demonstrations has dissipated. The struggle against the danger of a new world war has been paralyzed by a false analysis of the general situation ("oncoming revolutionary wave (" relation between external and internal contradictions), by a false estimation of the concrete relations of world politics

(Manchurian crisis, London Conference) and by false and scctarian tactics (emp ty shouting of phrases, rejection of united front). 42. Organizationally the Party has suffered the heaviest blows. The official

membership figures (padded the they themselves are) show the catastrophical truth in such a shocking form that it cannot be confused even by the policy of reckless bluff and fakery that has been raised into an art by the present Party leadership. Including exempt stamps, less than 40% of the claimed membership pay dues. The total dues paying membership (including exempt stamps) is less than the number of new members claimed to have been recruited in the recent drive; it is far below the number of ducs paying members in either January 1928 or June 1929. The shop nuclei and, shop pares of the Party have practically disappeared and the trade union fractions destroyed and demoralized. The leading cadres of the Party built up thru years of work have been dissipated and the whole institution of Communist leadership discredited. The influence of the Party among the masses is at its vanishing point and every act of the new leadership serves to discredit more and more the name of Communism among the American workers.

43. A Party regime has been established that is absolutely intolerable to any Communist. On the one hand the Party has been split wide open by the ECCI and hundreds of the oldest and best Communists of the Party expelled or driven out while thousands more have dropped away in demoralization and disgust. On the other hand, the leadership of the Party has been given over to precisely those elements who never be-fore had the confidence of the C.I. and who never had the confidence of the membership or any prestige among the workers, the most incompetent, corrupt and unprincipled elements in the Party. Party democracy has been completely abolished and replaced by the terror of the "enlightenment campaign." Ideological life in the Party has been stifled and extinguished. The process of the development of a mature mass Communist Party has been stopped and set back

many years. 43. The Young Communist League has met with an even more catastrophical fate than the Party. As a significant organization of the working youth the YCL does not exist today. Eevry feature of the crisis in the Party is repro-

45. The first effects of this new line internationally began to make themselves felt towards the beginning of 1928 (after the IV Congress of the R.I.L.U., the IN Plenum of the ECCI, etc.). Almost immediately the first attempts at introducing the new line in America were made, particularly at the IV R.I.L.U. Congress (March 1928). At this point the attitude of the former C.C.-Majority was characterized by a tacit (and often expressed) acceptance of the new line internationally and a hesitating the definite resistance to its application in the U.S.A. It is significant to note that at this stage the C.C.-Majority worked in close cooperation with Comrade Foster as against the minority led by Cannon-Bittleman-Johnstone (Foster article against Lozovsky, July 1928 Commu-nist). The attitude of the C.C.-Majority was essentially the attitude of "conciliation." This attitude was pursued sysrematically in the subsequent months.

The policy of self-isolation, adventurism,

The majority of the American delega-tion at the VI World Congress (July 1928) joined with the leadership of the Congress (Bukharin, Kuusinen, Manuilsky, Bela Kun, Piatnitsky, etc.) in the struggle against the ultra-left but strictly within the limits determined by the developments in the C.P.S.U. delegation. But behind the back of the Congress (in the "corridor Congress") preparations were already being made (the Foster-Stalin interview) for the offensive against the C.C.-Majority. The months after the Congres made it clear that the new ultra-left leadership of the ECCI (Stalin) was openly determined to get rid of the old leadership of our Party in order to be able to change the line of our Party in a very sharp and decisive manner. For in spite of all the "en-dorsements" and "condemnations" and "acceptances" and "agreements" in the resolutions of the C.C.-Majority the new leadership of the ECCI could have no confidence in the old Party leadership to carry out the new ultra-left line. And correctly so-for the new line was entirely opposed to the political ideas and tradi-tions of the old leading group in the Party. Therefore, the aim of the ECCI was to produce a complete change of leadership (instal the old C.C.-Minority as the leadership); but in the face of the overwhelming support the member-ship gave to the C.C.-Majority this had be accomplished "carefully" (thru trickery, diplomacy, mechanical measures, corruption, exile) and under the cover of nolitical camouflage ("elimination of factionalism," "victory for nei-ther group," etc.). The climax of this move came at the VI Convention of our Party (March 1929). To this convention the ECCI sent a letter which contained: a flat repudiation of the Foster-Bittleman charges of "opportunism" against the C.C.-Majority, high praise of the work and progress of our Party in the last period—the new line for America in a general the hidden form—and 'organizational proposals" which would transform the leadership of the Party and would ensure a change of line. The VI Convention itself took place in the spirit of "militant conciliation." The etter to the Convention was accepted (in spite of loud objections of many delegates expressed in caucus) but the "organizational proposals" were categorically rejected. With the rejection of the organizational proposals the top leadership of the old C.C.-Majority passed over from conciliation to militant struggle, altho still with too much hesitation and lack of clarity. Another section moved further towards conciliation

pledging "loyalty" to all decisions re-Majority and the crystallization of the capitulatory elements (Weinstone) took place. The confusion in the Party ranks was best expressed by the fact that the conciliators were left to lead the Party and the militant leadership went to Moscow. The next stage took place in the American Commission of the ECCI (May 1929) at which the Convention Delegation was present. The open and categorical refusal of the majority of the delegation to accept the Address of the ECCI and to stand responsible for its consequences was the real, initial step of the struggle of the C.P.-Majority Group as the Communist Opposition in the U. S. A. But this step was also marked by the capitulation of Comrade Bedacht who began by "accepting the disagreeing" with the Address and has now ended up as the nominal head of the Party-destroying clique in the leadership of our Party.

Meanwhile such elements as Minor-Stachel-Ballam, who had been left in

duced in an even more acute and per- confusion and bluff, burocracy and corverted form in the Communist youth. ruption holds full sway in the Y.C.L.

### VII. SITUATION OF THE CP-MAJORITY GROUP

and abject capitulation. They not only "accepted" and "endorsed" the Address (at first as a "manouver") but they began systematic work in sowing confusion and demoralization in the leading cadres of the old C.C.-Majority, spreading the most malicious rumors and the wildest speculations. By the time the Convention Delegation returned to the U.S. A. it was already virtually expelled and complete demoralization reigned in the ranks of the Party. It was in this situation that the Initial steps were taken to gather the first forces of the C.P.-Majority Group.

46. It is now about nine months that our group has had an organized existence. In the face of almost insurmountable difficulties of every sort-ideological, political, organizational and even physical-it has proved possible for us grow and become a significant factor in the American and international Communist movement, a recognized force in the struggle to overcome the crisis in the world Communist movement. If we examine the past nine months with a critical eye we can note the following points of progress which also mark the present status of our group:

1. Unquestionably the most significant step in the past period has been the organization of our group on a national scale as the American Communist Opposition, the Communist Party (Majority Group). This step has already acquired historical significance in the life of the American labor movement.

2. Only next in importance comes the establishment of Revolutionary Age as an authoritative organ which has not only been the most effective instrument of our struggle but which in the short time of its existence, has already won tse respect of considerable sections of the Party membership and sympathizers. The recent change in form and content of Revolutionary Age, marking the new stage of development of our struggle, has also been a great step forward.

3. The persistent propaganda of the fundamentals of Leninist strategy and tactics which are being forgotten and deliberately suppressed in this period of official ultra-left madness has been a big service rendered by our group. In this connection we must also note some progress made in ridding ourselves of concessions to the fundamentally anti-Leninist method of making analysis and estimations, of framing strategy and tactics, not on the basis of the actual conditions or class relations but on the speculation of "What will the ECCI say?", "Will they be able to find a right (or a left) deviation?," etc. While the remnants of this ideology have not yet been entirely liquidated, considerable progress in this direction has unquestionably been made.

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4. The beginnings of independent acgardless of content. At the same time tivity in the trade union movement based a division in the ranks of the old C.C.- upon our correct general line and in opposition to the Party's false course must be reckoned as a point of progress. The formation of the Unity Committee of the National Textile Workers Union. the straggle of the Minority of the GEB of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, our successful struggle against the splitting Party course in the Amalgamated Food Workers, our attempts to save the Independent Shoe Workers Union, etc. are steps in this direction.

5. The last few months have seen beginnings of our independent public activity among the workers (May Day meetings, unemployment conferences and demonstrations. Indian demonstrations,

The establishment of the Marx-Lenin School as a central institution to counteract the systematic revision of Marxist-Leninist teachings now going on the Comintern is an achievement.

7. A very great ideological achievement has been the growing recognition charge of the Party during the absence of the international character of our of the delegation took the step of open struggle, the recognition of the role of

the C.P.-Majority Group as a part of the International Communist Opposition movement that is rapidly developing on a world scale. We have largely succeeded in overcoming the attitude of provincialism, empty formalism, carefully nurtured prejudices from which we suffered in the past and which have been raised into a system under the present regime n the Comintern.

While we take note of these undoubted achievements, we must point to certain very serious shortcomings which must be removed for the further progress of our group.

Our basic weakness, the source of many of our other shortcomings and weaknesses, is unquestionably the weight of the past upon the present, an insufficiently sharp break with the false political conceptions, and working methods of the last period of Party history in which we were becoming to an increasing degree part of the ultra-left Stalin regime. Politically, this basic fact shows itself in a certain hesitation in taking a Leninist position where this represents a break with the ultra-left traditions of the past, in insufficient clarity and sharpness in placing political problems, tendencies of evasion, in the speculations on: "What will the Daily Worker say?", etc. Especially does it show itself in a certain resistance to the assumption of independent activity among the workers and in the mass organizations. In whatever form it manifests itself it seriously hampers our activity.

2. Along with the above point, is the undoubted fact that there is to be noted in our work a certain insufficiently prompt reaction to important political questions as they arise, and to developments in the Party, a certain slowness in laying down a clear policy. This tendency is now heing rapidly liquidated but remnants still exist.

3. Another serious shortcoming in our work is the slowness of response in certain sections of our organizations to the our shortcomings and difficulties.

### VIII. THE TASKS OF THE C P OF THE UNITED STATES

48. The extremely favorable objective situation, the increasing readiness of growing sections of the working class to resist the offensive of capital stands as a challenge to the Communist Party of the U. S. A. Will the Communist Party be able to measure up to its task as the vanguard of the working class, unite the forces of the proletariat, place itself at the head of its struggles, and, on the basis of constructive activity, political experience and conviction, lead the working masses to the goal of revolutionary action? The basic condition for the Communist Party being able to fulfill its tasks as the leader of the working masses is a fundamental and decisive rejection of the false ultra-left line that has been dominating the Communist In-ternational and the C.P.U.S.A. for some time and an open and determined return to the fundamentals of Leninist strategy and tactics. Unless this decisive turn is made the further development, of our Party will be a continuation and a repetition of the course of the self-isolation and destruction on an ever greater scale. How the Party now addresses itself to its great tasks will have decisive effect upon its whole future!

49. From the point of view of the present objective situation in the country and the present relation of class forces, the entire activity of the Party must be based upon the following main fundamentals:

The basic task of the Communists in the U.S.A. is to secure and maintain contact with the masses. All of the absurd phantasies about the oncoming "acute revolutionary situation" and "the already existing "Communist mass Party in America" cannot obliterate this most decisive fact. Our slogan must be the slogan of Lenin: "The most important task of a genuine Communist Party is to preserve constantly the closest contact with the widest masses of the workers. The Communists have no fear of the largest workers organizations even when they are of a decidedly reactionary nature." The formation, maintenance and broadening of contact with the masses is the absolutely essential prerequisite for Communist work.

2. The building of a mass Communist Party for the winning of the majority of the working class for Communism is possible only if the Communists carry on activity with the great persistence in all mass organizations of the workers, no matter how reactionary. This is particularly true in the present situation. The dangerous policy of desertion and splitting of the mass organizations, a policy of deliberate self-isolation, must be rejected with the greatest determination. 3. So far from being "out-of-date," the tactics of the united front assume greater importance today than ever before, not only because of the isolation of the Party today but chiefly because it is

slogans and directives of the leading bodies. This is especially seen in the beginnings of our idependent activity. There is an insufficient sense of discipline and responsibility in our ranks which is a very serious hindering factor for a group such as ours. There is a certain slackness and neglect in the everyday tasks of our organizations.

4. The limited character of our organization from a national viewpoint (concentration of forces in New York, weakness in important districts) constitutes our chief organizational shortcoming. The extension of our organization on a truly national scale is a condition for further progress.

5. The hesitation in organizing the workers agreeing with us to fight for a correct line in the mass organizations and in recruiting keeps our organiza-tion numerically weaker than it might be considering the growth of our influence. The hesitation at recruiting into our organization good left-wing workers who agree with Communist fundamentals and with our struggle is a paralyzing in-

fluence upon our organizational progress. 6. The financial support of *Revolu*tionary Age on the part of the membership of our group has been on en extremely narrow hase. This is not only a great obstacle in the development of the paper, but is also a serious hindrance in all our work.

7. There has been a failure to render adequate support to the building up of the Y.C.L.-Majority Group.

8. The greatest hindrance in over coming our short comings is the insufficient development of real self-criticism, a real Leninist examination of our policies, our work, our tasks, our achieve-ments and shortcomings. The traditions of the past, the factional Stalin regime atmosphere, have made the development f real self-criticism very difficult. Yet self-criticism is the only condition upon which we can really hope to overcome

only the application of the tactics of the united front that can enable the Party to take any advantage of the unmistakable signs of a leftward movement among the workers. Without the united front tactics the winning of the majority of the working class and the preparation of the proletarian revolution is quite im possible. An end must be put to the sophistical phrases of a "united front from below around the Communist Parwhich serve as a smokescreen be hind which to liquidate the Leninist tac-tics of the united front of the Communist Party with other workers organiza tions around specific issues.

4. Not only the tactical requirements of the Party but also the most fundamental interests of the American workers require that the central slogan of the working class be: Proletarian unity against capitalist reaction! It must be made clear to all workers that the Communists have no interests apart from the interests of the working class as a whole that what the Communists want and strive for is to unite the workers for fight against capitalism and the capital ist government. The struggle for working class unity is a fundamental problem in every field of the Party's activity. In the trade unions especially, the slogan of trade union unity in its various forms is one of the most powerful forces for building a left wing and for uniting the left wing in the old unions with the militant new unions, with the organization of the unorganized, etc. The struggle for working class unity means the liquidation of the dangerous theory of "social fascism" and any other theory which destroys the distinction between the reactionary leaders of the mass organizations and their misled but sincere proletarian followers or which tends to widen the divisions in the working class rather than to eliminate these divisions and to unite the workers for militant struggle.

50. On the basis of these guiding principles the main immediate tasks of the C.P.U.S.A. are:

To mobilize the forces of the workclass for a struggle against the capitalist reaction. The capitalist offensive against the working class is growing stronger on every field: union smashing and wage-cuts, rationalization, the open-shop-drive, attacks upon the foreign born workers and the Negroes, "investigation" and persecution of Com-munists, etc., etc. The workers are beginning, to an increasing degree, to resist the onslaught of reaction. It is the primary task of the Communists today to propagate realistic and appropriate slogans embodying the everyday political and economic interests of the workers. and to mobilize the workers around these slogans for a united struggle. The instrument for this mobilization of the workers for struggle on these immediate demands is the tactics of united front.

applied concretely in the most varied forms

The trade union work of the Party 2. remains as ever the center of gravity of its entire work. It is necessary now to concentrate all forces to make up as quickly as possible for the last year of ruin and destruction, for the virtual disappearance of the left wing in the old unions and for the practical collapse of the new unions, for the perversion and degeneration of the T.U.U.L., for the orgy of bluff and bombast in the paper organization of "new unions" according organization of "new unions" according to blueprint. An end must be put to the attempt to make the T.U.U.L. into a dual ("revolutionary") center to the A. F, of L., and even into a mere auxiliary or extension of the Party. It must be restored to what it should have been in the beginning: a center of the left wing in the trade unions, a force for the organization of the unorganized, a binding force for the whole left wing movement. A left wing must be reestablished in all unions (even in industries where T.U.U. L. unions exist) upon the basis of a concrete program of action. The organization of the unorganized is the central trade union issue of the Communists in the U. S. A. The slogan of the organ-ization of the unorganized must be raised in the old unions as one of the central points of the left wing program and every effort must be made to have the existing unions serve as organization centers for the organization of the un-organized. This issue is an especially powerful weapon against the trade union burocracy. But it must be recognized that in the U. S. A. the organization of the unorganized will take place largely thru the organization of the new unions. In the formation of new unions a break must be made with the present system of arbitrary proclamation of paper "revo-lutionary unions" according to blueprint. New unions can only be developed thru mass struggles and can only be established upon a broad mass base. Above all new unions must not be established thru splitting the old unions; they must be new unions, really organizing the unorganized.

As far as the existing T.U.U.L. unions are concerned, there must be an open and frank recognition not only of the catastrophic condition of these unions but of the causes of this condition: the false sectarian line, the introduction of the wrecking campaign into the unions, the persecution and removal of the most valuable comrades because of factional political reasons, the conversion of the unions themselves into Party auxiliaries. Upon the basis of facts ,no matter how unpleasant they may be, and not upon the basis of bluff, phantasy, or wishes, an examination must be made of the status of the T.U.U.L. unions and their prospects and a policy worked out of co-ordinating their work with the central task of building a left wing in the reactionary unions in the same industry. The slogan of trade union unity in various forms occupies the central position here. Upon the trade union question the entire mass work of the Party depends.

The acute unemployment situation 3. and the appearance of permanent mass unemployment on an unheard of scale puts some major tasks before the Party which so far it has signally failed to meet. On the basis of the *immediate de*mands of the unemployed and the struggle against the economic offensive of the bosses a movement can be built up which will unite the employed and the unemployed, the organized and the unorganized, and which will mobilize the organ-ized labor movement (regardless of existing political divisions) in the struggle against unemployment. That this can be done the spontaneous response that marked the March 6 demonstrations is sufficient evidence. But to do this it is necessary to drop the whole ultra-left system that has paralyzed the work of the Party. The unemployment movement cannot be made a department of the T.U.U.L., an auxiliary of the Party, with a Party program and platform. Organization and activity in the labor organizations must replace the policy of bluff. Realistic slogans and concrete immediate demands must replace the pseudo-revolutionary bombast and adventurist slogans of today. 4. The struggle against the danger of a new world war, and especially the struggle in defense of the U.S.S.R. is a central task of the Party in the present international situation. This struggle international situation. This struggle must be conducted on the basis of the concrete world-political relations and not on the basis of empty abstractions, as is done in the Comintern today. The struggle against the danger of war and against the burdens of militarism is one of the best basis for the very broadest united front movement. In the fore-ground stands the attack upon the imperialist adventures of Yankee imperialism, in Latin America, in China, in Eu-

rope and against the Soviet Union. The Party must actively work for the recog-nition of the Soviet Union by the United States

5. The ravages of capitalist rational-ization upon the workers, far worse in the U.S. A. than anywhere else, raises the problem of social legislation in a very acute form, for in the U. S. A. there is practically no national social legislation at all. The demand for the legal 7-hour day, the struggle for old age pensions, for workmen's compensation, for unempoyment relief and insurance, for maternity insurance, for accident and sickness insurance, etc. can readily be made mass issues in the struggle against capitalist reaction in the U.S.A.

6. The situation today points to an increasingly favorable basis for the slo-gan of a Labor Party. There is abso-lutely no reason in the objective situation for the scrapping of the Labor Party slogan as has been done by the Central Committee of our Party. On the contrary, precisely because of the grow-On the ing leftward movement among the work-ers and the growing political character of their struggles, does the situation demand an energetic campaign for a Labor Party, as a political united front movement for a break with the old parties of capital, for independent class political action. The struggle for Labor Party is a next stage in the advance of the American workers towards full class consciousnes, towards revolutionary struggle against the capitalists and their govern-Within the Labor Party movement. ment, the Communists maintain their right to criticism and independent political activity, continually pointing out the insufficiencies and limitations of the Labor Party and leading the masses to the Communist Party, the only Party that can lead the proleiariat to emanci-

pation. 7. Under the historical conditions of this country the Negro question is an extremely important one for the Communists and growing industrialization makes it even more so. For effective Negro work it is absolutely necessary to obtain clarity as to the real basis of our work among the Negro masses; that the Negro question in the U.S.A. is primarily a race problem, a problem of a subject racial minority.

8. Because of the strength of American imperialism, the size of the labor aristocracy, and the hopelessly reactionary and corrupt character of the upper layers of the trade union burocracy, the influence of reformism upon the workers of the U.S.A. is very strong. An effective struggle against reformism is conditioned upon a Leninist estimate of the roots and role of reformism (the rejection of the theory of the "break-up" of reformism and growth of social-fascism)

### IX. THE MAIN TASKS OF OUR GROUP

51. In the light of the present situation in the Party and its tasks, what are the chief tasks of our group as the Com-

munist Opposition in the Communist Party of the U. S. A.? 1. Our biggest job is the strengthen-ing of our organization, its extension upon a national scale, the intensification of recruiting, the formation of more factory groups and trade union fractions, above all the tightening of the organization and the development of more responsibility and discipline among our own comrades.

2. The propaganda of the Leninist principles of strategy and tactics, of mass work, of winning the majority of the working class among the Party membership and the working masses is our basic ideological task. This requires a thoro ideological training of our own comrades, in many respects (trade union line) a reeducation from the false ideas that have been propagated within the last two years. We must make a comlast two years. We must make a com-plete break with the false methods developed ito a system by the burocracy of the ECCI and from which ourselves have suffered. Moreover, we must clearly realize that in organizational forms and methods of work we cannot simply copy the methods and forms proper to a Communist Party, since we are only a group We must do away with a of the Party. certain fetishism of organizational forms and methods which are not useful but which are merely traditional. Ideological understanding and ideological conviction is the rock-bottom foundation of all our work. The reunification of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and of the Communist International is our main objective. The propaganda of Communist unity must be concentrated upon in every phase of our activity. The support given to Revolutionary 4. Age must be put on a completely new basis. It must be realized that without systematic and organized financial support Revolutionary Age cannot maintain itself, not to speak of being changed

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### The U.S. Government Wants to Suppress REVOLUTIONARY AGE

The Pest Office Department has declared that our paper, REVOLUTIONARY AGE. cannot be mailed because it is "seditious" and "treasonable." This is an open and deliberate attempt to suppress our paper. The last issue of REVOLUTIONARY AGE was held up by the Post Office for almostra week and further drastic steps are being planned against us because REVOLUTIONARY AGE is the most effective organ of Communism in this country.

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to its support! What will be your answer? You must answer with deeds not words!

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and upon the application of correct tactics (united front, work in reactionary mass organizations). The false Party line has helped considerably to strengthen the influence of reformism; it is now necessary to make a break with this false line and to wage a real struggle against reformism.

into a weekly, which is our immediate objective. Far more than hitherto must our paper be brought into the shops and the mass organizations.

5. The rapid development of our independent activity in the mass organizations (especially in the trade unions) and among the masses faces us as the next stage of our struggle. The political basis for this work and its relation to our work of winning the Party membership must be made very clear to our comrades. 6. The wall that the burocrats have

been attempting to build up between the Party membership and our comrades is breaking down under the force of events and our propaganda. The present pe-riod is very favorable for direct work in the Party, which must be resumed and systematized.

7. Immediate organizational and ideological assistance must be given to build-ing up the Y.C.L.-Majority Group which has lagged behind our general develop-ment and the opportunities offered to it. The events of the last year, in the U. S. A. and internationally, have more than justified the struggle we have been carrving on. The crisis in our Party has been shown to be an organic part of the crisis in the Communist International and our struggle to be a part of the struggle of the International Oppositition. (Our viewpoint on the question of the crisis in the Comintern is given in detail in our special resolution on this question.) Our first duty and our special task is to win the struggle for the international Leninist line on the American sector! Forward to the unity of the Communist International! Towards a mass Communist Party in the U. S. A.!

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