Revolutionary Age For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

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Communist Party U. S. A. - Majority Group

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Simon Report Mere Fraud

Cloak for Imperialist Rule

The report of the British parliamentary Commission headed by Sir John Simon on conditions in India and "recommendations on policy" was announced on June 10 with the publication of a 400 page book representing the first part of this report. The second part, it is declared, will be made public June 24. The Simon Commission, made up of four Conservatives, two Laborites and one Liberal, all British with not a single Indian on it, declared itself unanimous in this report.

The entire activities of the Simon Commission encountered the determined boycott of almost all sections of the Indian population, including even the more conservative Nationalists, since it was clear on all sides that the object of the Simon Commission was to provide an apology for British rule in India and a screen under which this rule could be continued. When the first part of the report was published it met with bitter protest and detestation on the part of the whole Indian press, except the avowed mouthpieces of the British rulers and their native puppets. The British press on the other hand, capitalist and so-called "Labor" (the Daily Herald), generally welcomed the report very warmly and praised it for its alleged "dignity," "moderation" and "fairness"!

The report is to be followed by the so-called Round Table Conference in London in October 1930 "which will be open to delegates of all responsible groups in both countries" (England and India). Like the Simon Commission the Round Table Conference has also been boycotted by the Indian nationalist movement as a barefaced fraud and instrument of British domination. The Indian people have shown that they are determined to win full independence and will not be turned aside by such obvious swindles as the Simon Report or the Round Table Conference.

The Meaning of the Simon Report

"The British"-Marx once said in a letter-"exploit a continent and oppress a people with a sense of public service, as a matter of public duty." No one can fail to appreciate the truth of these words who reads the just published first part of the Report of the Simon Commission, with its intolerable sanctimonious hypoerisy masking the most calculated imperialist ruthlessness. The Simon Report is an invaluable commentary on the latest phase of the colonial policy of British imperialism.

The main theme of the first part of the Simon Report is that "ancient social and economic customs are to blame for the worst of the evils from which India is suffering" and that these "social and economic customs" provide "great and serious difficulties for the realization of responsible government in British India.' To bolster up this argument the Simon Commission has filled hundreds of pages with facts and figures, some true and

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Unite the Communist Party!

Appeal to Seventh Convention and to the Party Membership

Dear Comrades:

In the name of hundreds of Communists expelled from the Party within the last year because of their disagreement with the new line of the Party, we appeal to the Convention and to the entire Party membership for readmission into the Party. We appeal for the reunification of the ranks of the revolutionary movement in this country at a time when it is under heavy fire and when the forces of capitalist reaction are being concentrated for the most powerful attack upon our movement within the last ten years. We appeal to you for the consolidation and strengthening of the Communist forces so as to overcome the present crisis in which our Party finds itself and to put it back on the road towards bejudge the new line of the Party leadership upon that basis.

The Fruits of the New Course

What has the last year-the year of full sway of the new line of the Address -brought to our movement?

1. The membership of the Party today-according to the official figures of the Central Committee-is smaller than it has been at any time in the last few years. After the boasted membership drive (which was supposed to have gotten in 6,167 new members) the duespaying members (including exempt stamps) in January 1930 was 6,145 as compared with 8,689 in June 1928.

2. In the reactionary unions, where

year of the life of our Party and must members. The National Textile Workers Union has shrunk to small groups in two or three centers. The Independent Shoe Workers Union has a few hundred members in contrast to the thousands of a year ago. The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union has a few thousand members, practically all in New York, whereas the reactionary unions in the same industry have over 175,000. Within the last year these organizations have conducted no serious struggles, especially the miners and the textile unions. Moreover, the policies which have reduced them to this state are now being continued and even rein-

> 4. In the case of the Amalgamated Food Workers the attempt was made to split a left wing organization which had endorsed the Party election candidates. which had given thousands of dollars for the organization of the unorganized, to the I.L.D. and to the Gastonia defense, and which had helped the left wing movement in many other ways. This wanton (continued on page 2)

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coming a mass Communist Party acting as the vanguard of the American proletariat!

Many comrades did not believe and many more who did believe thought we were greatly exaggerating when we pointed out, one year ago, that the change of line forced upon the Party by the Address of the Comintern and the accompanying regime of terror would have the most disastrous consequences for our Party. But unfortunately the events of the last year have shown that our warnings were more than true! The Party Convention and the Party membership must carefully examine the last the overwhelming majority of the organized workers of this country are found, there is today hardly a Party fraction or an organized left wing movement, in spite of very favorable conditions for Communist work. The whole policy of the leadership of our Party has been and still continues to be to desert these mass organizations and to withdraw all left wing forces from them. Therefore the influence of our Party among the organized workers has declined almost to nothing.

3. The new militant unions, established thru such sacrifice and struggle, are in state of collapse. The National Miners Union counts a few hundred

Demand Freedom For India An enthusiastic well-attended mass meet-

ing was held on Tuesday, June 17, at Park Palace, New York City to voice support of the struggle of the Indian masses for freedom from British role. Tunothy Healy, for mer president of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, denounced British imperialist rule in Ireland but his tolerant attitude toward MacDonald's rule in India was sharply criticized by all the speakers who pointed out the direct responsibility of MacDonald as head of the "Labor" Government for the bloody regime in India. Peadar Onunain, of the Itish-American Friends of Indian Independence, delivered a scathing denunciation of British imperialist rule and exposed its ruthless role in Ireland. Sailendra nath Ghose, president of the Indian National Congress of America, likened the present stage of struggle of the Indian masses to the revolt of the American colonists in 1776 and called upon the workers to support that struggle, C. B. Jenkins, of the Harlem Tenants League, spoke of the solidarity of the Negro masses with the Indian people fighting for freedom. Bertram D. Wolfe, of the Revolutionary Age, gave an analysis of present day imperialist rule in the colonies, showing the cruel, hypocritical reactionary character of both British and American capitalism. He criticized the non-resistance and passive disobedience attitude of Gandhi, as an inflective, futile weapon against the British machine gons and airplanes. Mr. Onunain struck the keynote of the meeting when he urged the Indian workers and peasants to give the British "ball for ball" just as the American revolutionists did in 1776. The audience rose to its feet with enthusiasm when C. B. Jenkins for the Negro people, Ghose for the Indian asses, and Onunain, Coyle, and Wolfe joined hands on the stage in a dramatic gesture of mutual solidarity. The meeting decided to launch a widespread campaign under the auspices of the Labor Friends of India's Independence. Albert Coyle, former editor of Locomotive Engineers Journal, presided.

Challenge Post Office Ban

Revolutionary Age to Publish "Unmailable" Issue

In order to challenge the decision of the Post Office Department that the first six issues of Revolutionary Age are non-mailable" because they are "treasonable" and "seditious," the management of Revolutionary Age, with the assistance of the Civil Liberties Union, has decided to make a public test case by reprinting the entire issue of January 15, 1930 (No. 6) as part of a new issue and presenting it for mailing at the New York Post Office. The refusal of the authorities to mail this issue will strengthen the basis for the legal and political battle we are conducting.

It is clear that the attack upon Revo-Intionary Age is intended as an entering wedge for a concerted attack upon the labor movement and upon the labor press. It is clear that the Post Office is desirous of establishing a precedent for the suppression of labor papers because of their militant content. For this reason the CP-Majority Group, whose chief organ Revolutionary Age is, is determined to fight this battle out to the bitter end. In this battle it relies upon the support of the workers and farmers whose cause it champions and upon all people who stand for civil liberty and freedom of the

The Simon Report

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some false, some representative and some mere shameless slanders-but none of them proving anything of the sort. We are all familiar with this old trick of imperialism-its slaves are never "fit for self-government" until they take the matter in their own hands and prove their fitness by expelling their oppressors and governing themselves in fact.

It is quite true that the Indian people are suffering from "ancient social and economic customs" which are a curse upon their lives (the caste system, the purdah and the harem system for the women, child marriage, religious and racial antagonisms, blighting superstitions and dark feudal survivals). But who maintains and defends these poisonous abuses if not the puppet princes, the priests, the native reactionaries whose hands are upheld and strengthened by British imperialism whose base of support in India they are? Who is fighting tooth and nail for the rooting out of the vicious "relics of a bygone age" if not the nationalist movement, and especially its militant revolutionary section? Take the so-called "communal question" (the antagonisms between the various religious groups: Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs, etc.) which is always held up by the imperialists as pretext for British rule in India, and which is so much emphasized by the Simon report. But who does not know that these antagonisms are artificially stimulated and maintained by the British rulers who proceed on the time-honored principle of: "Divide and rule!"? Who does not know that the most potent factor for eliminating these differences and for welding together the masses into a fighting national unity is precisely the nationalist revolutionary

It is a familiar strategem of imperialism to encourage, stimulate and protect the most vicious of ancient abuses and then to parade them around as the pretext for its rule! This is the mission of the Simon Report!

The Simon Report makes imperialist capital of the political and organizational weaknesses of the Indian nationalist movement that must be recognized by the Indian people if their struggle for freedom is to triumph. With mulicious satisfaction the Report declares:

"The Nationalist movement directly affects the hopes of a very small fraction of the tecming peoples of India . . . Its leaders do not reflect the active sentiment of the masses . . . who know next to nothing of politicians and are absorbed in pursuing the traditional course of their daily lives,"

However exaggerated it may be, this certainly points to a great weakness of the present nationalist movement. It can be overcome only by rooting the nationalist movement more firmly in the masses and making it express the elementary needs of the masses. The declaration on the Lessons of the Luhore Conference. issued by the revolutionary left wing of the nationalist movement states quite

"Imperialism and its Indian auxiliaries contest the representative character of the Lahore resolution, because they know that on the issue of abstract independence the Congress or any particular party will never be able to secure the active support of the masses . . . It can be done only when the issue of national independence is placed before masses linked up with questions immediately concerning them . . . The masses will be mobilized in the struggle for the practical assertion of right of self determination, when the agitation for the creation of an organ of that struggle (the Constituent Assembly) is conducted with demands for the redress of their immediate grievances.

" . . . Committees for the election of a Constituent Assembly should be set up thruout the country. By actively demanding the redress of the burning grievances of the masses these committees will rally around them large popular masses engaged in partial and local struggles which will be eventually developed and coordinated into a general struggle for national independence . . ."

APPEAL TO THE PARTY CONVENTION

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split has destroyed the influence of our Party in this important organization.

The everyday political struggle has been given up in theory and in prac-There is no campaign for the protection of the foreign born, altho more vicious measures than ever are being planned. The Party has had nothing to say or do on the issues of the tariff, the Parker appointment, the reparations question, etc. The campaign for a Labor Party has now been officially aban-

6. In spite of the most favorable objective conditions, our Party has not succecded in developing an organized unemployment movement. The spontaneous activity of the masses which made possible the successful March 6 demonstrations has been dissipated. Instead of organizing a movement of the unemployed, instead of organizing a movement against unemployment, the Party leadership is shifting attention to the arrangement of "conferences" representing nobody and having no real basis or

In the Workmen's Circle situation Party leadership has led the left wing along the road to defeat. A few thousand left wingers were split off, with the greatest irresponsibility, from a fraternal organization (the Workmens Circle) numbering scores of thousands, were sent into the Independent Workmens Circle, were then split off from the Independent, and were finally formed a "pure Communist" fraternal society! All contact with the backward workers in either the WC or IWC has thus been lost for the Party; the power of the right wing burocrats has been strengthened in both: the organized left wing has been demoralized, isolated and dissipated. The work of years has been destroyed with a wave of the hand.

The Party leadership has succeeded in alienating from our Party the mass movement of Finnish Cooperatives in the North-Central states and has lost for our Party what has always been a center for strong and loyal support.

9. May Day 1930 has shown what has happened to our Party under its new leadership. The policy of bombast and bluff ("Drive the fascists and the police Union Square!" "Capture Union Square!") which played right into the hands of Whalen and the reactionaries and which tended to discredit our Party among the progressive workers, was followed by a policy of abject capitulation and underhand negotiation which made matters even worse. A comparison between May Day 1930 and May Day 1929, especially the comparison of the representation of the various labor organizations, should be made by the Party Convention and membership.

10. The work in the South, which formed one of the brightest pages of Party history, has been given up. Since Gastonia there has been no real organizing work nor any real struggles carried thru by the Party or the NTWU, in spite of the readiness of the masses. Whatever struggles did take place in the South were not under left wing leader-

11. The Party has failed to react in any way to the rise of the revolutionary movement in India. The Party leadership has not made the least attempt to darity with the Indian people. Instead, confusion and worse have been spread by the Party press and the prestige of

the Party thus seriously hurt. 12. In spite of the campaign of brutal attacks upon the revolutionary movement (El Centro case, Foster-Amter-Minor case in New York, Carr case in Georgia, etc.) no mass movement of defense of any sort has been developed and no real mobilization of the labor movement has been attempted. The Gastonia case, one of the most brutal instances of class justice in the American labor movement, has apparently been forgotten by our Central Committee and has certainly been allowed to disappear from the attention of the American workers. No attempt is being made to utilize the defendants themselves to develop broad working class support.

13. The Party has been split. Hundreds of good Communists have been ex-

pelled. Thousands have been driven out in disgust. The Party press has been filled with sewers of abuse which scriously discredit the whole Communist movement. The Party leaders have encouraged and even organized measures of physical violence against Communists -measures which are a disgrace to any workers' organization.

These are only a few of the outstanding consequences of the new line for our Party. Every delegate to the Convention, every Party member, can give five and ten times as many examples from his own experience.

The Convention and the membership must realize that the experiences of the last year are not peculiar to the U.S.A. alone. In every country of the world, the Communist Party has been split, has lost in membership and influence-in some countries even worse than in the United States. Under the present leadership and policies the Communist International is unable to live up to its tasks as the leader of the proletarian movement all over the world. It has made no attempt to rouse the masses in support of the Indian people fighting for freedom. In India itself no Communist Party exists and the Communist International is no significant factor. The Communist International has not succeeded in organizing a world movement against unemployment in the face of a very serious unemployment crisis all over the world. The Communist International has made no attempt to organize proletarian counter-action against the London Conference or against the recent incitement against the USSR. The crisis in the Communist movement is not merely in the U.S.A. but is world-wide.

There must be a reason for these things. Why have they happened? Why -after years in which the Party has been gaining in membership and in influence among the masses, had become "the stalwart leader of the workers in fierce class battles"-did the last year bring for our Party a record of such defeat and disaster? This is the chief question before the Party Convention

and before the entire Party membership. The reason for these things is that the policies being followed today in the Communist International and in our own Party are non-Leninist and can only divorce the Party from the masses, bring disintegration to the Party itself and rapidly destroy its contact with and its influence over the workers. They are policies which reject the Leninist principles of mass work, of the united front, of trade union work. Then are policies which can only lead to isolation and im-

Why We Were Expelled

It was for disagreeing with these policies when they were first put forward and for letting the membership know of our disagreement with these policies that we were expelled. Now, with the experience of one year of the theory and practise of the new line, the Convention and the Party membership should look back and re-examine the reasons why hundreds of fellow-fighters for Communism were expelled from the

Why were we expelled? We were expelled because we disagreed with the absolutely non-Leninist timation of the world situation and o the condition of American imperialism as made by the Ecci and by the new Party leadership in this country. We were expelled because we disagreed with the idea that "stabilization was collapsing," that there was a "new revolutionary upsurge," that "American imperialism was on the decline" and that there was "widespread and deep-going radicalization" in the U.S.A. The events of the year have proven that our disagreement was justified. Today even Comrade Manuilsky, the present spokesman of the ECCI, discovers: "The crisis indicates the commencement of the decay of capitalist stabilization. It is not the end of capitalist stabilization which is approaching but the beginning of the decay . . .

Then why were we expelled a year ago because we would not agree that capitalist stabilization was already then "decaved," had already then "collapsed,"

2. We were expelled on the charge of "exceptionalism", because we maintained that the objective situation was different in the various countries and that therefore the strategy and tactics of the Party must be different. Has this not been shown to be a fact? Does not even the ECCI today speak of the "uneven development of the crisis," of the "specific forms of the crisis," etc.?

3. We were expelled because we disagreed with the practical abandonment of the tactics of the united front. We were told that the united front tactics were not really being abandoned but that "new forms" were being adopted. What has the last year proved? Why has the Party not succeeded in establishing a united front movement on any issue, on the recognition of the Soviet Union, of May Day, on resistance to the attacks of capitalist reaction, on unemployment, on support of the Indian revolution? The united front tactics are in fact dead and

4. We were expelled because we disagreed with the new trade union policies, the policies of split and desertion of the old unions and of the artificial paper organization of new unions, without basis and without members. We were expelled because we disagred with the cries of "fascism" and "social-fascism" against the whole organized labor movement which had the inevitable effect of widen ing the chasm between the Communists and the organized workers. We were told that our warnings were baseless and exaggerated—that it was merely a question of a "sharpening" of the old line in view of the "new situation." Today there s no longer any doubt. The influence of the Party in the trade union movement is down to its vanishing point while the new militant unions are in collapse.

5. We were expelled because we disagreed with the new policies in the mass organizations which, we warned, would solate the Party from the workers in these organizations. What have the facts shown? The Party has broken with the Central Cooperative Exchange. The formerly powerful left wing in the Workmen's Circle and Independent Workmens Circle is demoralized and destroyed. In no mass organization has the Party made any headway! In all, its influence has

6. We were expelled because we pointed out the crisis in the Communist International as a result of the false policies of the ECCI. We were told that it was a mere trifle, a "crisis of growth." Who, today, can deny the deep crisis in the world Communist movement? Who today can deny the serious situation in every section of the Communist International?

7. We were expelled for insisting on the struggle against the capitalist frameup as the central point of the Gastonia defense and not the adventurist "selfdefense" slogan. We were expelled for criticizing the extremely opportunist and legalistic manner in which the Gastonia defense was conducted. We were expelled for insisting upon the campaign for the recognition of the Soviet Union which the Party leadership then branded as "opportunist" but later on was forced to readopt. We were expelled for calling immediate attention to the shameful anti-Communist semi-Zionist course of the Party leadership on the Palestine events which the Party was forced to repudiate when it was already too late. We were expelled for sharply condemning the conduct of the 1929 municipal election campaign which proved a serious defeat for the Party. We were expelled, in short, for criticizing the grave mistakes that the Party leadership was committing more and more frequently as a result of its false policies. The last year has shown whether our criticisms for which

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Second Convention of the Needle Trades Union

The second convention of our union met at a most critical moment.

The entire industry is undergoing deep changes.

It is many years since such degrading conditions have been forced upon the needle trades workers. In the ranks of the workers there is developing tremendous discontent. Fully aware of this situation, the reactionary burocrats and the government are working more feverishly and more cunningly then ever to fool the workers, to serve the bosses and to hold back the tides of revolt.

Under these decisive conditions the historic mission of our second convention could only be: to examine carefully the whole situation; work out those policies and tactics which would unite our ranks; arouse and mobilize the needle workers for militant struggle in defense of their most pressing needs under the inspiration and banner of the NTWIU; organze the hundreds of thousands of totally unorganized; and to destroy the reactionary burocracy by winning away the

masses from them. Unfortunately, our second national convention failed miserably to help achieve any of these goals. Instead of unifying our ranks the convention initiated a new campaign of slander and abuse against some of the most active workers of our union. Instead of providing correct policies for which there is such a crying need, the second convention sharply extended the wrong line which has already brought so much confusion and ruin to our union.

The Background of the Convention

In order to understand what really happened it is necessary to have a picture of certain events leading up to the convention.

At its last convention (Cleveland, Sept. 1929) the TUUL, with which our union is affiliated, adopted a basic change in the entire program and policies of the left wing movement in the trade unions. The new line substituted empty, so-called revolutionary catchphrases for the everyday struggles.

Soon our union was artificially and mechanically drawn into the serious crisis in which the CPUSA (under whose leadership the TUUL is working) found itself as a result of the fundamental

change of program and leadership. Then, the official leadership of our union turned its major attention from constructive union activities to a campaign of destructive factional manouvers, vilification and elimination, thus narrowing down our union into a help-

Naturally, under such conditions, our union, in recent months, failed to carry on any organization drives, thus failing to maintain and broaden the base of our union and thereby neglecting to defend and improve the conditions of the workers in the shops.

The Preparations for the Convention

During the period before the convention there was no real discussion of the problems and issues facing our union. Slander displaced analysis. No genuine self-criticism was tolerated. Tho the new line had already been in force for against an honest, frank, and free dismade to examine critically how it has union. Instead, the stage was all set for ganized. brought to our union. To cover up the ruinous course of the new line, its falsities were hushed and fake issues were raised. In order to hide the bankruptcy of the new line and to shift the blame of its tragic failures, the official leadership even went so far as to repeat the ridiculous slimy attacks of the Forward Green, Woll, McGrady and Company against the left wing movement in the needle trades. (Johnstone statement in Daily Worker and Freiheit of May 7 and the resolution indorsing this statement as adopted by the Shop Delegates Council on May 15.)

The official leadership of our union made no earnest effort to arange a discussion in the shops--even of the false issues they manufactured. A pretense

By Chas. S. Zimmerman

shops where the official leadership resorted to all sorts of manouvers in order to eliminate and make impossible the election of workers who opposed, criticized, or even questioned the false new line. An especially active figure in this campaign was the national secretary of

Finally, in the election of convention

delegates, there was altogether too much lisregard even of the basis adopted by the General Executive Board. Typical cases of this looseness and irresponsibility in the manner of electing the convention delegates are the following: In Philadelphia, about 300 members were gotten to elect forty-eight delegates, despite the fact that the official basis of representation was one delegate for the first ten members and an additional delegate for every twenty-five members thereafter. In certain cases, delegates were elected for shops where our union had no roots. On the other hand, in one case in New York City, all sorts of manouvers were resorted to by the official leadership in order to prevent a shop of over sixty workers from electing a delegation because it was known that the workers would most likely choose as their representatives opponents of the

The leadership of our union went to all these lengths merely to drum up, to rreate artificially a mass convention which would put the seal of approval on the wrong new line and the costly mistakes of the recent months. But all the boasting and boosting were of no use. Long in advance of the convention, the official leadership advertised that there would be at least 900 delegates at the convention. But the maximum total vote at the convention at no time reached even 300, altho the credentials committee reported 415.

Bluff, self-deception, an absence of constructive criticism, and cheap manouvers characterized the official preparations for the convention.

The Conduct of the Convention

Fully in line with what preceded it, the convention was so organized as to put a rubber stamp of approval on the official leadership and the false new line.

The convention was allowed to elect only one committee—the Presidium—officially called the Convention Committee. This committee assumed full power to propose the personnel of all of the com-

Not a single delegate who was opposed to or had a critical attitude towards the new line was placed on any of the convention committees. This showed clearly that the leadership was against any adequate consideration of the problems facing our union. So high-handed was this procedure that Delegate Berlin-who disagreed with the program as proposed by the Minority-withdrew from the Resolutions Committee as a protest against the treatment accorded the minority of the Convention. The whole atmosphere of the convention was one which was made more than nine months, no attempt was cussion of the urgent tasks facing our and in the organization of the unorworked in practice and what results it misrepresenting and prejudicing the position of the Minority and thus obscuring the real issues.

It was only thru the ruling laid down by Comrade Hyman, who at this point took over the chair from the embarrassed delegate Cohen, that we were able even to present our program to the convention. To deny us this elementary right would be already too much to swallow for Comrade Hyman.

Thruout the convention, the majority of the official leadership of the unionthat is, neither Hyman nor Borochovich, neither Portnoy nor Wortis-participated in the discussion of the programs presented. Why? . . . On the other hand, the leading spirit and moving hand of the convention was Jack Johnstone who

at discussion was made only in those was somewhat assisted by Potash and

Issues at the Convention

As we have previously pointed out, the tasks of this convention were; to analyze the changing conditions of the industry, to examine the intolerable conditions forced upon the workers, to make a critical estimate of achievements and mistakes since the previous convention. and finally to outline and decide upon a policy for building our union.

In the light of these tasks, the convention flatly failed to meet the basic issues. We emphasized this at the convention. Today, under the lash of our criticism and pressure, even John Schmies, Assistant National Secretary of the TUUL is compelled to admit it (Daily Worker, June 14, 1930):

"The needle trades convention which we have just experienced is the best example of this condition. The prepuration on the part of our Party COMRADES FOR THIS NATION-AL CONVENTION WAS A SCAN-DAL AND was a good example of how not to apply our Party trade union policy in the unions. Instead of organizing the Party fractions in order to really build up the convention politically and to present the TUUL program in a conscious militant fashion, giving to the workers in the needle trades industry and to the delegates at the convention a militant program for struggle, almost no preparations were made, the program presented to the convention tacking the most fundamental issues of the class strauule.'

The program presented by Gold was a hodge-podge, a confusion of opportunism and defeatism hiding behind a mess of meaningless, "revolutionary"sounding phrases. The policy it proposes leads away from struggle, plays into the hands of the reactionary burocracy, and leads to the liquidation and destruction of our union. Its most serious shortcomings are:

1. It presents a false and confused analysis and estimate of the recent economic developments and the present situation in the needle trades industry.

2. It utterly fails to present an economic program outlining demands to meet the immediate conditions in which the needle trades workers find themselves.

3. It presents an utierly false attitude towards and estimate of the reactionary unions. It fails to draw a line of distinction between the black, corrupt officialdom serving as agents of the bosses in the reactionary unions and the thousands of workers who are today in these organizations. The program fails to lay down a policy for winning these workers for the NTWIU but instead leaves them to the mercy of the reactionary burocrats trying to force company union policies upon the workers.

4. The program shows complete hankruptcy in the ouestion of strike strategy. Actually, the program doesn't say a word about strike strategy for a revolutionary union like ours. And this allimportant question of strike strategy is decisive in the building up of our union

5. The program proposes a denial of trade union democracy and the narrowing down of the base of our union so that it would become an impotent sect. This program perverts the true role of the shop delegates system and democratic centralism as means of activizing and increasing the responsibility and authority of the rank and file of our member-

6. It makes a hollow mockery of the principle of self-criticism.

On the other hand, the keynote of the program we presented at the convention

"The chief task of this convention is to adopt such policies and tactics as will build our union into a powerful mass industrial union of the needle workers."

We emphatically repudiate the slander ous charge that our proposal is to go back to the reactionary unions and to give up our union. Our line proposes the very opposite. We presented a clear program for building and strengthening our union and for winning, for the NT WIU, the many thousands of workers now in the reactionary unions. The main features of our program are:

1. An accurate estimate of the situation in the industry.

2. An analysis of the conditions of the workers.

3. A critical review of the activities. mistakes and shortcomings of our union since the last convention.

4. An estimate of the actual state of

organization of the workers in the industry and a plan for organizing the unorganized. 5. An estimate of the reactionary

unions and a line of tactics and policies for winning away the workers from these organizations and bringing them under the leadership and into the ranks of the NTWIU. .6. A complete economic program for

overcoming the immediate intolerable conditions in which the needle trades workers find themselves. 7. A detailed plan of revolutionary

strike strategy.

8. A plan for restoring democracy in our union, establishing a genuine shop delegates system and strengthening the apparatus of our union.

9. A thoro examination of the main features of the false line of the official leadership of our union.

Our program concludes with the following vigorous declaration of policy:

"We have actively participated in the founding and building of our industrial union. Today we are fighting to save and build our union. We are for militant action instead of loud phrases. We are for the sharpest straggle against the corrupt trade union burocracy instead of running away from this fight under the cover of pseudo-revolutionary phrases."

Our comrades could not be provoked into a contest of slander. We did not enter into fights over petty matters. Under great difficulties and despite the smallness of our numbers, we laid down a clear line of policy and placed the important issues squarely and sharply be-

fore the convention. The new constitution and the new General Executive Board are in the main fully in accord with the spirit which prevailed at the convention. The Minority was not given any representation at all on the new General Executive Board which consists of 47 members.

Forward to Building the NTWIU!

Our union finds itself in a very critical condition today, the the opportunities for building and strengthening our ranks are splendid. What our union needs most today is a correct policy. We urgently call upon all members of our union and all workers in the industry to examine the facts calmly and carefully, to study both programs, to discuss these programs in the shops, to think for themselves and then to arrive at their own conclusions.

Every honest worker will take the ridiculous accusations against us with a grain of salt. We are sure that after a critical examination of the facts by the workers, by the rank and file, the present dangerously wrong line will be rejected and the correct program which we propose will be adopted. Then we will be able to go forward to build our union, the NTWIU, into a mighty, militant industrial union of the needle trades

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

Organ of YCL-MAJORITY GROUP

Issued Monthly 50 cents a year 25 cents 6 mos.

............

The "New Turn" Twists the "New Line"

An Analysis of the CC Thesis for the Convention

II. THE QUESTION OF TACTICAL LINE Putschism Raised to A Complete System

(concluded from last issue)

But if the "new turn" appears in the analysis of the world situation, at least in the analysis of the position of the workers and in drawing the conclusions for the tasks of the Parties, the old "new line" still holds sway. According to the Presidium, the period of the Tenth Plenum was "the beginning of the counter-attack of the proletariat to the offensive of capital," but the present period is marked by the "maturing of the revolutionary upsurge." This is marked "not so much by the strike movement itself" but by "the tempestuous forms it assumes." While it is true that there are no general strikes, nevertheless we must remember, with the ECCI, that: "The English General Strike of 1926 was a very important event of the class struggle, but it proceeded under extreme peaceful forms, whilst (note the whilst-H.Z.) the present partial strikes bear a fighting character." By this form of self-hypnotism, it is not difficult to finally reach the conclusion, as done by the Pravda, that we are in a revolutionary situation, in which the struggle for power is on the agenda. While we have seen that in the analysis of the economic situation, the "deep-going, world-wide crisis" disappeared, it appears again in the analysis of the position of the workers. How else would it be possible to preserve the ultra-left tactics? The mere trifle that the Party members may wonder whence comes this revolutionary situation if there is no deep-going crisis, does not worry the ECCI. For the mere asking of such a question will be proof positive that the member is impregnated with "Lovestoneism" and therefore a subject for expulsion. Therefore, in the matter of tactics for the Communist Parties, the last Enlarged Presidium has gone even beyond the Tenth Plenum, for it has put the system of ultra-leftism upon a permanent plane, has built up a old unions. The slogan and idea of the complete theory out of the ultra-left tac- Labor Party are abandoned, because it

"Whether the present economic crisis will grow into a general volitical crisis depends on a number of factors, and before all on the subjective factor, on the power and fighting capacities of the Communist Parties.

This, Comrade Manuilsky, which you have delivered in the name of the ECCI, is putschism raised to a political theory. This, Comrades Browder and Plott, we repeat for your benefit, is political putschism. If the Communist Parties act along the lines of this theory, they win enter into such a series of disastrous adventures as the Comintern has not yet witnessed. If the tactics dictated by this theory are applied, they will bring such a series of defeats for the working class as will set the revolutionary movement back for years. Have you so forgotten all the most elementary teachings of Lenin as to believe that the Communist. Parties can create a general political crisis? Do you not know that the Communist Party does not and cannot create crises-what the Communist Party does is prepare the working class so that in made to increase manifold the activities the crisis it can make a struggle for power, led by the Communist Party?

The American CC is at one with the ECCI analysis of the movement of the working class, even the there is a "difference" in the world analysis. It begins by speaking about the "counter-offensive of the exploited masses" and, becoming more enthusiastic as the thesis proceeds, finally concludes that "a revolutionary upsurge grips the working masses" in the United States. Even Bittleman with his deep-going, widespread radicalization fades into insignificance when viewed thru the revolutionary spectacles of the ECCI and its satellites in America. If Manuilsky can so easily explain away the decrease in strikes, then just as easily can the CC explain away the growth of capitalist crisis. reaction, the defensive position of the workers, which in many cases is marked by retreat, and the loss of membership and influence of the Communist Parties. high-sounding revolutionary phrase on a

Here is the formula: " . . . if capitalist reaction is more militant and more all pervading than ever before, the revolutionary movement and its ally the oppressed colonial peoples are advancing still more rapidly thruout the whole world." (Emphasis mine-H.Z.) All the CC has to do now is show the membership where the "revolutionary upsurge" advancing more rapidly than capitalist reaction, has actually succeeded in beating the latter back. And still more interesting, let them show where in the United States has this been done. It would also be interesting to know how it is possible for capitalist reaction to be "more all-pervading than ever before" if at the same time the revolutionary move-

ment is advancing much more rapidly. In the thesis of the CC of our Party we find the first application, tho in a comparatively mild form, of the already discussed putschist theory. The CC thesis declares that the main road for the winning of the working class, the main road to the revolution is the building of new, revolutionary unions. The conclusion is based on the analysis that, in the United States, "a revolutionary upsurge grips the working masses, opening the road for the Communist Party for leading and mobilizing these masses into struggles." But, "the working masses, who are becoming increasingly revolutionary in the economic crisis, cannot be embraced organizationally by the Party alone . . . The primary organizations for this task are the revolutionary

Naturally, there is a rush-"revolutionary competition" to organize new, "perfect" "industrial" unionswhich have but one shortcoming-they have no workers in them. The A. F. of L. having been condemned first as "social fascist" and later as "fascist," there is no longer any need for working in the means building a Labor Party out of "fascist organizations," that is out of A. F. of L. unions. The CC. forgets that the Labor Party slogan has always been considered a means of mobilizing the workers in the A. F. of L. against the burocrats. The left wing workers and the Communists wherever they follow the instructions of the Party burocracy, are being drawn out of the old unions, and the several million workers in them are left to the tender mercies of the labor burocrats. The genuine leftward movement in these unions, caused by the tremendous unemployment and the continuing onslaughts on the conditions of the workers, together with the open collaboration between the the trade union leaders and the bosses, finds no leadership in the Communist Party. In its search for a fictitious "revolutionary unsurge," the Party leadership fails to see a powerful leftward swing of the masses where it really exists. In the entire thesis of the CC only the following phrase appears regarding work in the old unions: "Decided efforts must be of the Communist fractions in the reactionary trade unions." But the entire content of the thesis, the entire tone and line are against any further work whatsoever in the old trade unions. This facesaving phrase will not even be noticed by the membership, who are being drilled to believe that "the fifty thousand new members" which the TUUL wants to recruit represent the "road to the millions." Here is the essence of anti-trade union work! To believe that the winning of a few thousand workers for the revolutionary trade unions, even if it could be accomplished, is a substitute for

The Condition of the Party Of course, between writing down a break down the Aye.

work in the old trade unions is the coun-

ter part on the field of mass work of

Manuilsky's analysis of the "crisis"-

that the Communist Party can create the

sheet of paper and showing concrete results for the Party there is a vast gulfprecisely the gulf that exists between the present ultra-left line of the ECCI and its puppets in the various countries and a correct Leninist line. For in the present period, in the period since the Address to the American Party, what can the Party leadership boast of as a real achievement? In the two years provious. the Party had to its credit the great Passaic strike, the historic struggle of the miners in Pennsylvania and Ohio and West Virginia, the strikes in New Bedford and Fall River. The series of strikes in New York which really rooted the Party among the masses took place before the Address-the cloak makers, dressmakers and furriers struggles and the series of smaller strikes. The establishment of three new unions growing directly out of the struggles of the workers-the National Miners Union, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. the National Textile Workers Unionwas also one of the achievements for

> following insignificant claim: "The Communist Party of the U.S.A., after being free from the debasing influence of the renegades Lovestone, Pepper & Co. is advancing in size and political maturity at an unprecedented rate. It can be said approximately that the Communist Party of the United States is now gaining at the rate of about 100 new members every day. The Party has already arisen whitin a few short months from a position of relative isolation to one in which more than a million workers knowingly follow its leadership, and the revolutionary trade union movement

> which the present leadership is so much

ashamed. But as against these historic

accomplishments, the Party leadership

can show-demonstrations. And even

here, none of the demonstrations have

yet exceeded the Sacco-Vanzetti demon-

strations of 1927. In such a situation,

the Party leadership has embarked on

a campaign of bluff which must nauseate

every honest worker in the Party. On

March 20, the Daily Worker makes the

is already becoming a serious reality." On this basis, no less than 30,000 new members should join the Party in one year. The figures of the CC itself have shown, unfortunately that not only has the Party not increased its membership, but today it has less members than at any previous time in its history. This situation is so bad that even the CC is compelled to recognize it in its letter of May 28, but instead of laying this at the feet of the false line of the ECCI and

of the Party "leaders" it finds the usual scape-goat-the districts did not carry out the instructions of the center, and the membership consists of skilled workers and foreigners, and are therefore objectively right wingers. This is the extent of the "self-criticism" of the Party leadership. The campaign of bluff, however, cannot last forever. Already large sections of the membership are beginning to question and to doubt. The answer of the Party burocracy is still expulsion and branding as "renegades." This campaign of expulsion, which strikes the best section of the Party because the ones with independent thought and the courage of their convictions, is rapidly bleeding the Party white of forces. Even Manuilsky, who only a few short months ago boasted that the expulsions were a sign of Bolshevization, now complains that "we have very few people capable of leading mass movements, of winning the confidence of the masses, of consolidating among them the authority of the Party." No wonder! After precisely these elements have been expelled and destroyed in the Party, do you expect the "obedient but stupid" ones who are left to do this mighty work? Do you expect the Browders and Plotts to do it? Or perhaps you expect those people to lead the masses who have not the courage and the will to lead themselves-who disagree with everything the Party leadership does but dare not raise their voices in protest or their hands in contrary vote?

The Party convention is meeting in the shadow of the ideological terror of the ECCI and of the Party burocrafy. There is a pre-convention discussion, but no discussers and no opinions. There will be a convention, but not a convention of delegates. All the representatives will be carefully selected in advance. There will be no free discussion at the convention. Fear will be the steering committee which will direct the actions of the convention delegates. This convention will be a strait jacket upon the Party-unless the Party membership breaks thru the ultra-left sectarian bounds which are being fastened more tightly about the Party daily. The first step that must be taken for the convalescence of the Party is a free and open discussion in which every member can participate and express freely and without fear of consequences his opinion on the present situation in the Party. It is not to be expected that the membership will adopt our line over night. But a free discussion is a step which will lead to the adoption of our line, the line of the Opposition, the line of Leninism, for this is the only correct line, the only line that can bring the Party out of its present

--HERBERT ZAM

Letters from Workers

Comrades:

In answer to your letter of appeal find enclosed check for \$5.00.

"Revolutionary Age" has been the sharpest weapon that workers should possess, the courage to think and fight. Thru this only a victory is secured.

Readers of the "Revolutionary Age" cannot help to see the indispensibility of this revolutionary paper which enlightens every phase of the workers struggle Dear Comrades: for the possession of the world's wealth. No doubt every reader will do the utmost for its support.

Yours, for the continued fight to victorious finish.

June 14, 1930.

Dear Comrade:

I have just finished reading No. 15 of Revolutionary Age. It is a wonderful number. When I got it I read right thru it (except the Thesis which I will read tomorow). Comrade Gitlows article on the needle trades is very good and so is the explanation of the Indian Revolution.

I was surprised to see about the Post Office attack upon the Revolutionary Age. The Party says you are renegades but the government tries to stop you. But from the \$1,000 you raised I am sure you will beat them and not let them

In my section there is a lot of sym-

pathy to you because of the needle trades and building trades situation about which maybe you saw in the Daily Worker. I agree with you too especially about the trade union question. Maybe after the Convention I will come out and fight open. Anyway, I wish you luck. Comradely.

A Comrade.

I want to tell you how much I like the Revolutionary Age. It is a real workers naner. I am not a Communist myself and I don't know much about the fights that are going on inside the Communist Party in this country and in Moscow. But know that what you say in the Revolutionary Age about all workers uniting their forces to fight the bosses is the right stuff. That's what the union men in the United States need.

I used to belong to the Socialist Party up to 1919 and also to the Wobblies. I think I will get more acquainted with Communism now.

ALEX JOHNSTONE Cleveland, Ohio,

READ

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

:: For the Party Convention ::

Against Sectarian Dualism!

By William Z. Foster

On the occasion of the Party Convention we publish here the most important sections of the article by William Z. Foster on Old Unions and New Unions appearing in the July 1928 Communist. The problem with which Comrade Foster deals in this article is the central question in the American Communist movement today and has been for many years, the trade union question. Particularly today, the problem of the left wing in the organized labor movement is very acute. In spite of certain weaknesses, the article of Comrade Foster laid down the fundamentally correct line in our trade union work. At that time this corect line was championed by the Central Committee and Comrade Foster and was bitterly opposed by the Cannon-Johnstone-Bittleman-Browder bloc supported by the Lozovsky apparatus in Moscow. Today the false line against which Comrade Foster once polemized is the accepted line of the CI and of the Party and of Comrade Foster himself while the Leminist line on the trade union question is fought for by the CP-Majority Group.

Altho the situation imperatively de- unions, and the relation this will bear mands very much more stress upon the building of new industrial unions in the unorganized and semi-organized industries, it would be a great mistake to conclude from this that we shall abandon our work in the old unions . . .

The trade union movement is in a life and death crisis. With its reactionary leadership, obsolete forms of organization and antiquated practices, it cannot stand in the face of trustified industry

. . . On the other hand, it would be a serious error to conclude that all of them (the reactionary unions) are practically dead. Many, such as the building trades, railroad trades, printing trades, etc., still possess a mass character and much vitality. Signs of a growing industrial depression mutiply, and with the development of this depression the employers will intensify their attacks upon the trade unions. Discontent will spread among large masses of organized workers. They will resist, despite the class collaboration policy of the leaders. It is a major task of the Party to organize this resistance in the old unions. To do this the TUEL must be built into a mass left wing in the unions, and there conduct militant struggle to revolutionize these unions. With its slogans of "Organize the Unorganized," "Amalgamation," "Strike against Wage Cuts," "Fire Reactionary Leaders," etc., etc., the TU EL will lead the fight in the old unions against the reactionary leaders and the

The slogan "Save the Trade Unions" can be utilized to mobilize the opposition in the old unions. As the organized workers see that their unions are being threatened with destruction by the employers' attacks, the more progressive and militant among them will unite to defend their organizations, using some form of the Save-the-Union slogan. The middle group will tend to organize and co-operate with the left wing. The socalled Muste Group, while not itself large, is an evidence of this tendency. To consolidate the real opposition forces in the old unions is the task of the

Undoubtedly in some instances, in the coming period, we will confront a situation where in a given industry there exists on the one hand a new union, and on the other hand remnants of the old organization. The prospect is for this state of affairs in the mining, textile and needle industries. In such situations we must not only build the new organizations, but also develop an organized TU EL opposition in the old ones wherever they have a mass character. The new unions and the opposition in the old unions must work jointly for a revolutionary labor movement.

Much point was lent to the CEC plenum discussions by the caustic criticisms of Comrade Losovsky of our trade-union policies. Many of these criticisms are manifestly incorrect such as charges that we are "dancing quadrilles around the A.F. of L.," that we "always defer to the leaders of the reformist trade unions with requests to organize the unorganized, save the unions, lead strikes, etc." that we have "metaphysical misconceptions of the united front, etc." Comrade Losovsky also fails to sufficiently analyse the American situation and to give a clear line for our work inside the old

to the establishment of new organiza-

Our basic trade-union policy remains the same. It was right in the past and it is right now. It has nothing in common with traditional dual unionism! We participate actively in all mass trade mions and seek to revolutionize them. The question at issue is one of emphasis. The objective situation demands that we put much more emphasis upon the establishment of new unions. But it does not imply that we shall abandon the old organizations. Our flexible policy of our bulilding new unions and working within the old ones where they have a mass character is quite a different thing from the inflexible sectarian dualism of the IWW.

Our Party and the Comintern

By Max Bedacht

On the occasion of the Party Convention, one year after the notorious Address of the Comintern to the American Party, at a time all Party members should take serious thought of the present crisis and future of our Party and of the Comintern, we republish the letter written on February 20, 1928 by Comrade Max Bedacht, (today the nominal secretary of the Party) to Bertram D. Wolfe, then representative of the CPUSA to the Comintern. It is of course clear that the bitter remarks of Comrade Bedacht, which were quite justified by events, represented an inevitably still vague stage of our understanding of the real crisis in the Comintern. But in stead of going forward to a more basic and thoro understanding of the international Communist movement (as has been done by hundreds of comrades now expelled) Comrade Bedacht long ago decided to make his peace with the system of "deceit and hypocricy" and even to take the lead in forcing this system upon the Party as a

at the moment when the factional fight promises to end then the danger arises of the application of a pullmotor to revive the dying Minority and to encourage it to further unprincipled factionalism. Of course we are not silent partners to such a crime. On the contrary, our plans are to exploit the present exhaustion of the Minority and to throw the whole pack on the scrapheap . . .

Another aspect of this matter is the question of Party democracy. We are living in an almost impossible atmosphere. After we were told to fight it out, at the World Congress, and after we fought it out, to live in constant expectation that some Goldfarbian cable will nullify the whole history of the last few months and will declare that the

An Appeal to the Convention

(Continued from page 2) we were expelled were for the benefit of

our movement or to its detriment. 8. We were expelled because we had the Communist courage, because we felt it our Communist duty to the Party and to the Communist International to voice our disagreement officially and openly on such basic questions. We were expelled because we could not adopt the attitude of certain others, now leaders of he Party, who hid their disagreement from the Party for the sake of factional advantage, for the sake of "keeping their posts," and who in order to hide still more their real views, took the lead in expelling those comrades who did have the sense of duty to express their opinions openly. Let the Party membership decide which mode of conduct is for the benefit of the movement, which deserves the condemnation of the Party-which is the Communist way of acting!

Comrades! We were expelled for deending a line which would have carried our Party well on the road to the masses! We were expelled for disagreeing with line that has brought the Party nothing but weakness and defeat! It is on this basis that we appeal to the Convenion and to the Party membership to reexamine the line of the Party during the last year and to readmit into the Party the hundreds of comrades who have been expelled for defending the fundamentals of Leninist strategy and tactics. Especially now do we make this appeal to replenish and unite our forces when our Party and our whole movement is so hard pressed for lack of forces, when it is being attacked on all sides by the united ranks of reaction, by a united front of bosses, government and labor burocrats. In this situation we appeal for the unification of the Communist ranks, for a solid front in the face of the enemy!

The Road To Unity CONVENTION DELEGATES!

PARTY COMRADES!

Let us weld our forces to unify our Party, to overcome its crisis, to put it on the road to becoming a mass Party. To accomplish this the following steps are necessary:

1. The unconditional readmission with full rights of all comrades expelled for disagreeing with the present ultra-left

course of the Party leadership-the cessation of the destructive "enlightenment

campaign" in all its forms. 2. The initiation of a free and thoro discussion in the Party with a guarantee of freedom of expression for all viewpoints.

3. On the basis of this discussion the calling of a special Party Convention at which there shall be the fullest and freest representation of all viewpoints and which shall re-examine the recent course of the Party and shall decide its

future policies. These are the simplest demands of Party democracy. Only those who are blind to the critical situation of our movement or who are afraid of a free discussion can reject them. We are confident that the bulk of the Party membership will recognize the justice of these demands. We call upon the Convention to grant them and so to pave the way for the unification of the Communist movement of the United States!

For the Unity of the Communist International!

Long live the Communist Party of the

NATIONAL COUNCIL COMMUNIST PARTY OF U.S.A. (Majority Group)

ANOTHER "VICTORY

The Daily Worker announced a few days ago that the "entire" organization of the Proletarian Party in Philadelphia had finally joined the Communist Party. Compades here in Philadelphia are having a good laugh over it. Its just some more of this bluffing that's been going on wholesale and retail. At the time of the "unity" between the two "parties" the Proletarian Party numbered exactly 2 members. One of these, Fisher by name, who had described the C.P. for the Proletarians some time ago, now returned to the Party and was rewarded by being made agitprop director of the TUUL. The other "half" of the Proletarian Party of Philadelphia is still vacillating and has not joined the Party. This is just one more example of the cheap publicity methods used to build up reputations for such as Gardos and other

The pity of the situation is that just membership of our Party proposes and God Goldfarb disposes.

> I have told you in my last letter and repeat here that the role played by the Goldfarbs creates a most impossible relation with the Comintern. No edict of any person or any body can establish confidence of our Party members in the face of the Comintern if this face is that of an old Menshevik whose outstanding contribution to American Party history is his alliance with Abe Cahan and his right wing gangster tactics in the struggle against the Left wing. No matter how loud he hollers now about Bolshevism, he cannot drown the sound of his past tirades against the Left wing in the American SP and he cannot eradicate his history. It is a bitter experience for us who have gone thru the struggle against the Goldfarbs here, against his counterrevolutionary Menshevik conceptions and tactics, to be now treated like schoolboys by the same Goldfarb, posing as a school master of Bolshevism. That makes not only a cat laugh but also makes angels

> Unlike most of the Parties of the Comintern, our American Party has no internal crisis. Whatever there was of a crisis the last Party discussion and vote solved 90%. Yet, we are faced with a persistent effort to create a crisis. In the face of the incurable social-democratic tendencies of the Czecho-Slovakian Party, of the English Party, of the French Party, etc., we find that every dog is let loose in the publications of the CI, not to criticize the social-democrats of Czecho-Slovakia, the opportunists of Great Britain, the reformists of France, but to criticize the American Party. During the last two months there hasn't been a publication that didn't contain an attack against us. This becomes absolutely unbearable and will cause bitter resentment. Here is Mingulin's article. It is an open revision of the line of the Sixth Congress. Who is Mingulin anyway, that he should take the American Party to task for following the Sixth Congress line? His article is being mimeographed and distributed in America as the latest and highest wisdom of the CI. We are told that Bukharin is an old Right winger and that Trotsky had to be expelled because of the danger that Bukharin would form an alliance with him. We resent not only revision of the Sixth Congress line and the tactic that we should be condemned for not following the Sixth Congress line because we do not follow the line of the reservationists to the Sixth Congress.

Deceit and hypocrisy are not yet recognized Bolshevik methods and we refuse to use them, as well as we refuse to be made victims of them. Isn't there any sane person left in the Comintern to see that these tactics and policies lead to a crisis in our Party which can only end in disintegration and weakening of the

I know that you can do little in the matter and that my outbursts of moral indignation can have no decisive effect, except that they give you a picture of my own reactions, but I can assure you that these are not only my reactions but are those and will be those of thousands of our members.

What Are the Soviets?

posite will.

dividual is not easily satisfied by proxy.

So that it may be tersely stated that the

efficacy of a representative is inversely

proportional to the numerical strength of

Viewed from this angle it is obvious

why an order of things that has become

detrimental to the people at large can

be perpetuated by a "representative"

government which has degenerated into

a tool of the invisible government. The

history of the War is very instructive in

this, as in many other respects. It is

now clear as day how the invisible power,

the class owning and dominating the

economic apparatus in all countries,

the constituency represented.

Of the many terms in which the social and political sciences abound, the term "people" is perhaps the vaguest. Indeed, we have no clear-cut image and hence no effective idea of this apparently concrete entity: "people." Intimately connected with this term, no less vague and still more confusing, is the word "government," a word depicting a reality as concrete and as hard as the age-old rocks themselves. The relation, however, obtaining between these two realities is in one respect clear; inasmuch as all the power of people is vested in its government, the people is divested of all power.

The Russian revolution, now occupying the centre of the quaking world's stage, allows the careful observer to catch a glimpse of what that entity "people" really must be. The Russian people, struggling to assert itself, has in the travail of the revolution given birth to a new creation, flexible, mobile, and yet persistent as are the thought and will it expresses. This-creation is the

The trumpets of the March revolution, 1917, brought down the Romanov dynasty, and the rejoicing of the Russian people knew no bounds. But the events immediately following had a sobering effect upon the masses. The first burning question arose: "Is the Revolution safe?" As the embodied answer to this question, sprang up the Soviet (the council), a revolutionary creation, a child of the people's awakening consciousness. City, town and village as well as each unit of the army, all formed their local Soviets to safeguard the revolution.

These local organs, always functioning and therefore always reflecting the thoughts, desires and will of the small communities they represent, send delegates to the capital, who form the Central Executive Committee of all the Soviets of Workmen, Soldiers and Peasant Delegates . . . The Central Executive Committee has always represented all the various currents and even undecurrents of the Russian revolution.

Soon after the overthrow of tsardom, the people felt that the newly-formed Provisional Government did not intend to deviate from the general policies of the old regime. This popular feeling imparted itself to local Soviets, which resulted in the second question: "Who is the friend and who is the foe?" In other words, the Soviet was forced to explain the sense of the revolution. The first answer was a fermentation within the Soviets, reflecting the people's questioning mind, and this fermentation ended in the cleavage of the Soviet forces. Materially the split manifested itself in the first "coalition government," headed by Kerensky.

This second question was made more vital and insistent by the Kornilov uprising. It grew more and more obvious to the people that the Coalition Government was merely an expression of the old order under a new name. In response to the growing popular unrest, the rift in the Soviet deepened: whatever elements irresistibly tended to the right were pushed out by popular pressure upon the left, and the result was the July insurrection. The Soviet thus emphasised the popular interpretation of he sense of the revolution.

But if indeed this is the historical sense of the revolution, then arises a third question: "By whom and how shall the issues of the revolution be promoted and realized in life?" Of course by the people, and by the power which expresses the people-by the Soviets! Such was the categorical answer given by the November uprising, which for ever put an end to the policy of coalition and alliances of the real revolution with the repre-

sentatives of the dying old order . . . In brief, there are three phases passed thru by the Soviet-from birth to manhood: (1) It issued from the very heart of the people as guardian of the revolution; (2) While growing, it served as the pendulum-the interpreter of their revolution; (3) Fully matured as the volitional and intellectual organ of its parent, the people, it became the instrument other, the All-Russian Soviets, the direct for realizing the issues of the revolution.

The superiority of the Soviet over any other form of representation is easily demonstrable. All governments pretend pulse of the people. The dissolution of

Brands "Labor" India Brutalities

Ghose Exposes MacDonald Tyranny in India

We take great pleasure in publishing the most important sections of the adto represent the will of the people. Now granted (for the sake of argument) that dress delivered by Sailendra noth Ghose, a people's will is as real as the will of the President of the India National Congress, at the Debs Auditorium, People's an individual, and that it is the sum or House of America N.Y.C. June 4. A large resultant of the sundry wills composing it, it is manifest that no representative section of the audience was made up of Socialists (the People's House is the Sobody can satisfactorily execute this comcialist headquarters) and so Mr. Ghose At a matter of fact, the will of an inaddressed himself directly to them.

> I take this opportunity to tell you the story of bloody MacDonald and his renegade-Socialist "Labor" Party.

> Mr. MacDonald has been in Downing Street for a whole year. I shall confine myself to India because MacDonald willbe known by his deeds in India and not by his professions or by the apologies on his behalf by any of the MacDonalites of

> We are determined to obtain our liberty at any cost and at any sacrifice. We refuse to allow ourselves to be exploited by any nation, or any race or any group -no matter what may be the conse

his liberal promises. He championed our cause then for the sole purpose of winning the hearts of the progressive people of the world who would respond to his words of idealism and to the cause of justice and humanity. And after using India to achieve his fame and to obtain the control of the government of Britain, Mr. MacDonald proved to be but a damnable watchdog of British imperialism and showed the hypocrite of the man in him. Imperialist MacDonald is the greatest curse to the cause of Socialism and to humanity today. I defy any Socialist-blue-blooded or a

pink-blooded Socialist-to support Mac-Donald's brutalities and atrocities in India. I defy any champion of Socialism to deny us our right to be free and independent. I defy any MacDonalitefrom this very platform dedicated to truest, sincerest fighting Socialist of America, the uncompromising lover of liberty the world over, Eugene Victor Debs-to come forward and defend Mac-Donald's rule.

Friends! I shall take this opportunity of recapitulating a few of the highlights of the bloody rule of that renegade and degenerate Socialist, Ramsay MacDonald. As I stand before you tonight, Mr. Mac-Donald, while prating about peace and disarmament, is sending his hired savages to subdue my people just as Mr. MacDonald's predecessors sent the hired Hessians and drunken savages to subdue the American colonies during your own Revolutionary War. This morning's Peshawar dispatches tell of wholesale bombings of my people by forty-two British planes and of the incessant bombardment by British howitzers, which has been going on there. Mr. MacDonald is after the blood of our women, children and defenseless unarmed men. He is having it to his heart's content, heaped up and flowing over. But the blood that is being slied today by MacDonald's brutes in India will fertilize the soil of my country and out of that will arise a force which will show how blood can be shed even in London and down the Thames. We are prepared to lay down our lives to destroy the most immoral and the most degenerate political institution of this century-British rule in India which is so base and so degraded that Mr. MacDonald must deliberately drug my people so that they could not

put up sustained resistance. MacDonald today has ordered mass slaughter, mass murder, mass rape and mass outrages. Our women are not safe today from the attacks of MacDonald's ruffians, our children are not safe from the shots of MacDonald's hirelings and our unarmed men are not safe. Human butchery is taking place in India in a way which will surpass slaughter houses Chicago.

I throw this challenge to the Socialists America: Show us where you stand! And if you do not stand for MacDonald's Indian brutalities, I call on you officially to purge yourselves of your connections with bloody MacDonald or his renegade "Labor" Party. I call on you for this action in a way which will be heard all over the world.

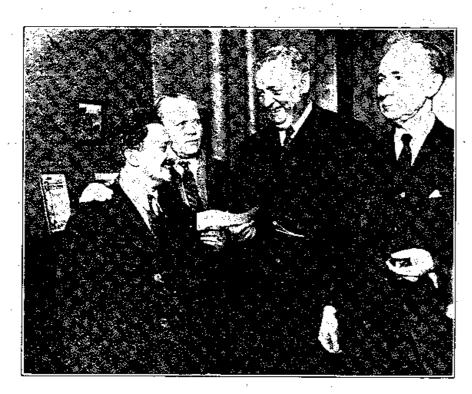
You cannot any more fraternize with bloody MacDonald! I call for action!

TRUSTS & SMALL STORES

The big trusts are swallowing the little stores in the field of distribution. The most complete and no-to-date survey of the growth of chain stores has been made by the Commercial Service Company which reports that there are today 8,206 chains with 211,159 units in the United States. The average chain has 25 units. There are 1,025 grocer chains; 865 department and dry-goods store chains; 665 drug, 465 shoes; 353 restaurants and lunch room chains; 427 men's clothing; 74 cigars and tobacco; 345 five-and-ten and \$1.00 variety stores.

In the northwest there has just been organized a big movement of the smaller store keepers with headquarters in the Twin Cities. This organization operates under the name "Break The Chains Association" and claims a circulation of 20,000 for its weekly paper. The smaller capitalists are putting up a desperate resistance to their being swallowed up by the big trusts.

HOW TO "DEFY THE POLICE"



The Daily Worker explained with the greatest bombast how the Chicago Party ply for a permit," and how it demonstrated picture illustrates exactly how it "defied"

Chicago District Committee of the Communist Party, Russell, chief of Chicago police, "defied the police," how it "refused to ap- and Stege, head of detectives. The document passing from the chief of police to on March 6 "without a permit". The above Comrade Bakel is the permit that they "demonstrated without!" The attitude of dethe police. From left to right: M. Bakal fiance on the part of Comrades Bakal and and Sam Hammersmark, members of the Hammersmark is especially noteworthy.

owned also the representative government, and thru it tried to perpetuate secret diplomacy, financial speculation, capitalist exploitation of the masses, all factors inevitably leading to both internal and external wars-and all this in any country. To this even MacDonald

In the first place, the Soviet is a local body, of the people and with the people. A member of the Soviet represents no more than about five hundred votes. He can be at any time replaced; he is always sight-no invisibles are allowed. Furthermore, the Soviet works "centrinetally"-the central body is controlled by the local constituent bodies.

Indeed, history seems to show mankind a new form of State organization which closely approaches the demands of the people, and corresponds with the new order of things ushered in by the Russian revolution.

These last few days have brought here (in Petrograd) face to face these two types of representation-on one hand, the Constituent Assembly, in which one man represents 200,000 wills, and on the guards, interpreters and promoters of the social revolution, whose each member is so closely connected with the very

my people we believe we shall have the sympathetic consideration of the true socialists of the world. True socialism never countenances the exploitation of curred when he was not in power when he was a rising politician. With respect to India and her desire to be free, this man MacDonald, who is responsible for the most atrocious barbaric brutalities now being committed in my country, upon his authority and with his sanction, claimed to be a valiant champion. But he championed our cause at a time when he knew he would not be called to task for the non-performance of

quences. In this fundamental desire of

the Constituent Assembly by the power of the Soviets stirred no ripple on the faces of the immense sea of the Russian masses; while the threatened curtailment of the powers of the Soviets, two months previously, destroyed the Provisional Government.

The Soviet, being close to the people, must express realities literally, as the people itself expresses them.

The Soviet is probably the most important contribution of the Russian Rev-

For Militant Struggle in the ACW

For the Fighting Unity of All Needle Workers!

The Hillman regime in the Amalgathe company union leadership of Hillmated Clothing Workers has made intolerable the conditions of the workers in the men's clothing industry. The Hillman borocracy has helped and is helping trol in the whole man's clothing industhe bosses cut wages, increase the speedup, reorganize the shops, in this manner causing greater unemployment and destroying all union conditions which the men's tailors won thru years of heroic struggle. The workers in the men's clothing industry who are fortunate enough not to be in the army of the unemployed are getting starvation wages and work under the worst sweat shop conditions. On all sides the corrupt union officials are selling out the interests of the workers. Every protest of the membership is crushed in a brutal manner

thru gangster methods. The recent convention of the A.C.W. was busy hearing the mutual admiration speeches of one company union leader to another. Representatives of clothing manufacturers, of the yellow Forward, of the S.P. sang the praises of Hillman and his agents as the "wisest" and the "most competent labor leader" in Amer-.

In this whole chorus of praise there was not heard the voice of the real master of the A.C.W.-the voice of the thousands of members who are starving because of the reductions and reorganizations and whose vitality is being rapidly sapped by the inhuman speed-up which the Hillman clique has introduced into the industry. The voice of these thousands of members can be heard in the Labor Buro where the workers come day after day for months, in the hope of finding a few days work and leave dis-

appointed in despair. It is therefore natural that the membership of the Amalgamated should be imbued with hatred against the treacherous burocracy of the Hillman clique. Never was the situation in the industry and in the union more favorable for an organized rank and file movement against the burocratic Hillman regime. Never was it more necessary to build up a united front of all fighting left wing and progressive workers in order to smash the corrupt machine and to drive Hillman and his union grafters from the industry and to build a union of struggle to guard the interests of the clothing workers.

The situation in the Amalgamated demands fearless leadership from the left wing. The Trade Union Unity League does everything possible to discredit the left wing in the Amalgamated and to smash it instead of uniting the forces of the rank and file. Instead of working in the Amalgamated the TUUL proposes a policy which, if carried out, would leave the great masses of the workers in the industry helpless in the hands of the Hillmans, Beckermans, Rissmans and the other reactionary cor-

rupt burocrats. What does the TUUL propose? It proposes to organize in the shops shop committees which should immediately ioin the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. It proposes that members of the Amalgamated should individually join the Industrial Union. In other words, the TUUL calls upon the workers to leave the Amalgamated immediately.

And what about the workers' jobs? And what about organizing a mass best way out-to leave the Amalgamated and join the Industrial Union?

Hillman welcomes such a policy because this leads to the isolation of the left-wing, and the workers in the ACW shops are left without leadership in the struggle against Hillmanism and the

What should be done? The policy of the TUUL must be rejected categorically. All left wing and progressive forces must be united and organized in a real rank and file movement to fight against Hillman's policies and against the exploitation by the bosses, for a real union controlled by and thru and for the workers in the shops.

For better conditions!

Against the speed-up, wage reductions and unemployment!

For a fighting leadership and against

man, Beckerman and Co.! For the organization and the establishment of union conditions and union con-

For unity of all needle trades workers and for a real industrial union in the needle trades!

Thru such a program, against the sectarian line which the TUUI, follows today, it is possible to build a mighty left wing movement in the Amalgamated to give leadership to the suffering workers in the industry and to inspire and encourage them to a more aggressive struggle leading to victory.

Not thru descriing the Amalgamated, but thru hard work will the left wing in the union, will the rank and file achieve

STEEL IS KING ...

In modern capitalist industry steel is supposed to be king. A glance at the recent technical developments in "King Steel" shows to what extent rationalization throws workers out of their jobs. Between 1926 and 1929 the number of workers in Bessenier converters dropped 24%; in puddling mills 18%; in har mills 17%; in standard rail mills 14%; in plate mills 11%; in blooming mills 9%; and in tin plate mills 6%. Great system, indeed, capitalism is when technical progress spells mass misery for those who do the work! All this time the volume of steel production has risen. What's true of steel technical progress under capitalism is paved with the sweat and blood, with the bodies and souls, with the very lives of the toiling masses. Can there be a more damnable indictment of any social system?

The Next War

By Bertram D. Wolfe

2. How Disarmament Conferences Disarm

(concluded from last issue)

How America Proposed to Reduce

And what did the United States delegation want from the Conference? Twelve hundred more or less naive paci fists, including among themselves both knaves and fools, cabled to the American delegation at London a petition for naval reduction. Stimson's answer was to call in the reporters and give them official "dope" as to the American position. Here are a few choice selections from this official propaganda interview of March 3, as cabled to the New York

"As for the plea for reduction, it is felt that emphasis on that demand is rather unfair to the American delegation

"As for cruisers, Britain has fifteen 10,000-tonners and America has two. President Hoover agreed tentalively . . hat the United States should have eighteen. It is rather embarrassing that 1,200 citizens should demand that Secre-

turn Stimson come down on crusiers . . . "In airplane carriers, the United States

has three and Britain six . . .

"America's destroyers are not very good and will soon be out of date. If America is to have destroyer parity with Britain in 1936, she must build some of them. The same applies to submarines if America wishes to get out of third or $iourth\ vlace$. . .

Small wonder that the Times correspondent wrote:

"It has been settled that buttleships are not going to be done away with. It is settled that submarines will still submerge . . . and reduction has gone so far into limbo that . . . the chief result of the London conference will be one of the finest naval construction programs the world has wet seen."

Even Will Rogers was wrong when be wrote that the delegates "will agree to scrap everything they wont need in the next war." He means the big super movement among the workers? Is this dreadnoughts which are now recognized not an important problem? Is it the as antiquated for fighting purposes, but the United States even refused to scrap

Fruits of the Conference

While the conference for "reduction and limitation" was so notoriously breaking down and so nakedly showing itself to be a speed-up contest in the mad armament race, all the big powers and the capitalist press and radio and pulpit and school kept up a regular barrage of peace talk, disarmament, limitation, "achievements," steps towards peace etc., etc.,-a veritable gas attack to cover up what was happening.

When the tumult and the shouting ceased and the smoke of battle cleared the achievements of the disarmament conference proved to be the following:

than France, thumbed its nose at the size of the fleet of any of the countries

conference and began work on the laying of the keels of 29 new ships for this year. This was reported in the Evening Telegram of May 3, under the cheerful title: "Naval Race Sure, Paris Believes."

2. France thumbed its nose at the conference, shook its fist at Italy, laid plans for even further enlarging its submarine and air fleets and even prepared to build a huge 27,000-ton cruiser as part of its new building program. The "Five-Power Conference" was thus reduced to a three-power conference.

Japan was obdurate and England and America were compelled to yield her the 70% ratio demanded or the pact would have been reduced to a two-power

4. But the biggest "gainer" by the conference was the American navy The New York Times London cable of April 15 sums up the result for the

United States as follows: . . . the United States, after its success in limiting navies, will have to spend nearly seven times more next year on the construction of warships than it did in 1928, the year following the failure to reach an accord at the Genera confer-

"Mareover, to achieve in the life of the treaty that parity which has been the koustone of the American policy here, it is asserted that the United States will have to spend six times more on naval construction in the six years following the limitation agreement than it did in the six years preceding it. These calculations are based on Navu Department

The Times dispatch then proceeds to show that this program will cost over a billion dollars, and that "limitation" or no limitation the United States could not possibly build faster than it now plans to since the program of "reduction" resulting from the London "Disarmament" Conference will tax American ship yards to their maximum building capacity.

naval experts . . . probably will tax to capacity the country's shiphuilding faciskilled labor."

Such are the fruits of the London "Disarmament" Conference! President Hoover explained that parity means that England and America have stopped their naval race. By the same theory when there are two express trains neither going faster than the other, they are not racing either the each is rushing at full

As if that were not enough to make clear the role of the London Conference as a huge leap forward in war preparations, the three signatory powers adopted a "safeguarding clause" entitling any one of the three to build still faster if it 1. Italy refused to agree to less ships decides that it needs to because of the

Plan World Bank Use Against USSR

How the international imperialists are planning to use the world-bank, just established, against the Soviet Union has just been revealed. Addressing the forum of the School of Business of the College of the City of New York on the role of the Bank of International Settlement, Dean George W. Edward said:

"It is even possible that the 'B. I. S." man develop broader functions. Under its charter it has a right to aid in the financial reconstruction of 'undeveloped regions'. This probably refers to Rus sia and it is expected that this bank will be the means for settling the Russian debt. . . . Also China, whenever that country ends its Civil War, may be one of the 'undeveloped regions' to be aided by the 'B. I. S.' . . . The Bank in its broadest conception may also exert considerable influence politically as well as financially since it is even suggested that the Bank could exert a financial blockade against nations carrying out policies against international public ininterest."

This is no loose talk. These are the soher words of a responsible financial authority. The World Bank is only another instrument in the hands of the imperialists against the Soviet Union and the colonial masses.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN DETROIT

Detroit has been hailed the world over as the symbol of the "New America." Detroit is the city of mass production, efficiency, speed-up, Henry Ford and General Motors. Here American capitalism has reached its pinnacle to date. Here, if anywhere, you would think that Hoover's plan of speeding up governmental construction and public itilities would show some results. But don't let anyone talk thru his hat. Nothing of the sort is the case. Listen to the Report of the Detroit Mayor's Labor Committee on Unemployment:

"The present methods utilized to only alleviate unemployment are obsolete . . . merely to speed up governmental construction and to request our railroads and our public utilities to expedite their programs to alleviate the present situation is only a temporary expediency, and does not in anyway approach the final solution of the periodic unemployment situation in so far as Detroit as a municipality is concerned, or the Nation as a whole."

And if Detroit suffered so much in 1929 under record production, little imagination is necessary to picture the misery in store for the workers in 1930, with much reduced automobile produc-

who didn't sign the agreement.

In brief, then, the London Conference, like Washington, like Geneva, like Locarno, like each of the conferences of the last decade, is only a step in war preparations. They disarm no one but the masses who should be struggling against the war preparations. They are part of a system of international maneuvers in preparation for war, each country talking peace and preparing for war, each country trying to make it appear that all Here is the concluding portion of the the other are warlike and it is peaceful, each country threatening the others and "The execution of a billion-dollar six- arming at full speed. The only agreeyear parity program . . . according to ments they come to at their international conferences, are, as we shall see in a subsequent article, agreements for comlities and its resources in the necessary mon military action against the workers' republic, the Soviet Union.

> NOTE:-The above is the second in a series of articles on "The Next War." No. 1 was entitled: "How is it Being Prepared." The next article by Comrade Wolfe will be: "What Causes War." No. A will tell "What the War Will he Like." a description of the "improvements" that modern chemistry will introduce into the next war. No. 5, "Proposed Methods of Abolishing War" and No. 6, "What to do about it."

> The article already published will be mailed to anyone on receipt of a 10-cent stamp or free to one worker who subscribes for the paper for three months

The Crisis in the Canadian Needle Unions

By J. Holtzman (Montreal)

The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union was organized on the initiative of the Canadian Communist Party.

The present condition of the Industrial Union should serve as a warning to all honest Party members and militant workers, to make sure that the same does not occur with all workers' mass organizations in Canada.

The Industrial Union had great possibilities for success in Canada. The Internationals in Canada are confined to the two large clothing centers only-Montreal and Toronto. It is very difficult for craft unions to exist in the many smaller clothing centers. Only the industrial Union was able to organize the needle trades workers in Winnipeg. The Internationals are discredited among the Canadian workers because of the burocratic and treacherous methods and the slogan of industrial unionism has a large following. The splendid response to the first appearance of the Industrial Union proved this. Also the fact that about three years ago the International, in an official communication, notified the cloakmakers that it was withdrawing from Montreal, which in reality meant withdrawing from Canada, and left the field completely open.

The leading comrades of the newly organized Industrial Union were, in the main, Party members, appointed by the Party for this work. As soon as the movement was well under way, a couple of irresponsible comrades (now the official "leaders" of the Party) began their sectarian factional game. The leading comrades of the Industrial Union were accused of wanting to organize a broad union where masses of workers may belong. Our sectarians, the present "leadrather wanted a small union but a "revolutionary one."

Without the slightest pretext the leading officers of the newly organized union were removed. The whole work was demoralized. The demoralization reached its highest mark with the removal of J. B. Salzberg, the most competent organizer that the Canadian workers had. The workers began to feel the mechanical control of our sectarians and large numbers of them left the industrial union.

The new "leaders" were interested in assuring their "control" over the Industrial Union but no organizational activity was undertaken. The work of the union did not progress.

The International utilized this opportunity and began to revive its locals. There was even talk of a mass meeting with Dubinsky but still our "leaders" argued and split hairs but did nothing. Comrade Stewart Smith, the present leader of the Canadian Communist Party, declared that the International would not return to Canada! Those who think different, he said, are right wingers and are seeking to create a spirit of defeatism. Not a word about mobilizing the workers.

The intolerable conditions in the cloak trade and the organization activity conducted by the Industrial Union at its inception prepared the ground for the organization of the Montreal cloakmakers for a struggle for better conditions. The cloakmakers looked to the Industrial union but when disappointed in the new leaders they went to the International. Without any serious effort the International took over the Montreal cloak-

The International leaders were mainly interested in getting the bosses on their side and therefore placed no demands. They openly declared that their return to Montreal was peaceful. The bosses looked upon the International with suspicion at first. The feeling among the workers was tense. Both sides sought a way out. After long negotiations the bosses permitted the International to call a stoppage in the trade.

On the day of the stoppage the workers left the shops demonstratively. It was an expression of protest against the intolerable conditions in the trade.

Instead of organizing these workers and mobilizing them for a real struggle, in this manner smashing the conspiracy

of the International leaders, our sectarians issued a call to the workers to ignore the stoppage! This was an easy way out for such "fighters" as our new leaders but the workers could not understand the wisdom of such actions.

Our new leaders sit with folded arms, do not call meetings of the Industrial Union and assure everyone that the International will fall to pieces. The new leadership has learned nothing. They still believe that attacks in the press are enough to drive the International clique from the labor movement.

The "great gains" of the stoppage did not satisfy the workers. A few large manufacturers voluntarily gave some unimportant concessions to the International clique and forced them to somewhat improve the working conditions in the shops of the small manufacturers. All this is merely a manouver to cover up the conspiracy of the International clique.

The International is following closely the road of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The union gets its taxes and dues and the bosses get increased profits. Shops are being reorganized, many workers become unemployed, production is increased, wages are slashed. If the Party, under its present leadership, will continue its sectarian line then the crisis will become even deeper.

Only an organized and united left wing can lead the Industrial Union out of the present crisis and make of it a virile organization of proletarian struggle!

LYNCH DEMOCRACY

Our unfathomable hatred of the American ruling class has inspired us to search the family tree of Sherman, Texas, where a Negro was lynched the other day in true "Stars and Stripes" fashion. We suppose the "hundred percenters" will jump with joy and pride at our findings. First of all, Sherman is the seat of Texas culture. It is known as the "Athens of Texas." It is 95% white, 195% American, has "fine schools" and boasts of no less than 27 churches. And lynching is the fruit of this American capitalist culture in the Southtaught in the schools and blessed by the church. But it is timely to refer to the orders of Governor Dan Moody, who is always ready to have the State militia preserve "law and order" against the workers. He wired the local sheriff: "Protect the Negro but don't shoot anybody." Under the circumstances, which the Governor knew very well, his orders were a guarantee for the lynching. Hypocricy is a fitting garb for lynchgovernors. Lynching is in the very blood and marrow of the class system in the United States. It is a specifically American form of capitalist class tyrannyespecially used against the Negro masses who suffer most under capitalism. The church, the schools, culture-these are only part of the paraphenalia of the capitalist lynchers. American democracy well deserves the title of lynch democ-

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(Manifesto of the International Communist Opposition for the Freedom of the Indian People-The Lessons of the Lahore Congress-The Course of the Indian Revolution and the Shameful Anti-Communist Line of the Official Party Leadership)

REVOLUTIONARY AGE 37 East 28th St. New York

The Big Fight Is On! Help Us Win!

Special Revolutionary Age Fighting Fund Lists Out!

As you can see from the special article in this issue, the big fight with the Post Office Department which wants to suppress our RÉVOLUTIONARY AGE as "treasonable" and "seditious" is on! For fighting we need ammunition and the ammunition in this fight is MONEY! For this we have established our WAR CHEST, the REVO-nesday, June 18:

LUTIONARY AGE FIGHTING FUND.

Our FIGHTING FUND Drive was startresponse of our comrades and readers of REVOLUTIONARY AGE has been ened less than one month ago. So far the response of comrades and readers has been encouraging. The list below gives the standing of the Fund up to and including Wed-

UP TO JUNE 12

NORWAY	Dan J. 21-5	0.00 Sah		20.00
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But our efforts must be redoubled! The collections in the shops, in labor organizafight has only just begun!

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tions, among your friends and fellow-workers. Send for some of these lists. Get into We have issued special REVOLUTIONthe Drive! Defend our REVOLUTIONARY AGE FIGHTING FUND LISTS for ARY AGE!

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RUSSIAN CONCERT TONIGHT

"Musical Mosaic" at Metropolitan to Ald Cultural Centre.

A cencert, entitled "A Musical Mosaic," will be given tenight at the Metropolitan Opera House for the benefit of the Russian Cultural Centre, under the patronage of a committee headed by Grand Duke Algender of Russia, Prince Paul Chaychavadze and Mrs. Otto H. Kann.

Other patrons and patronesses in-jude the Grand Duchess Marie of Other patrons and patronesses indiude the Grand Duchess Marie of
Russia, Prince George, Prince Theodore, Prince Dimitry, Prince Vassily of Russia; Princess Nina, Princess Xenta, Mrs. Henry Martyn
Alexander; Mrs. Vincent Astor,
Countess de Forceville, Mrs. Charles
Guggenheimer, Mrs. Christian
Holmes, Mrs. Benjamin Moore and
Mrs. Arthur Sachs.

N Y Times, April 8.

How does it happen that the Freiheit, the Jewish organ of the Communist Party of the USA, advertises the concert given by the White Guardist "Russian Cultural Center under the patronage of a committee headed by Grand Duke Alexander of Russia, Prince Paul Chavchavadze and Mrs. Otto H. Kahn?"

How does it happen that the Freiheit omits to indicate the patronage of the

נדויסער קאנצערט פון תוסיי שע מוויק דינסמאל אין ないいだのないないない

מין מעמראבאלימאן אָפּערא הויון חעם דינספאג אותם, דעם אמן אפריל, בארקומען אן אינטערעמאנטע פראנד ראב פון דומישע מוזיקון עם איז א בער בעפים קאנצערט פאר דעם רוסישן סולד טור צענטער. די בראוראם וועם זיך אנהויכן מום פאלאם פון נינא קאשעין, מארים המרענסא, ברינין אלעקסים אבד לענסקי און נאבריעל לעאנאף און סאר לא מענץ פון מיבאיל מאַדרקין. די צוריטע פייל פון פראנראם וועם באר שמיין בון א כתיקאלישע מאואיק אין צוניי סיילן: ארוכישע ציגיינער לידער אין דעם נופער נועלן אנפויל נעפען: בורסקאיא און פאכאניעווא פון מעסי ראפאליטאן, אפערא חויז, ניקאלאי או לולאה, למיטרו ההואנא און וולאדימיה בובינספי. הדער מוזיקאלישער דירעקי מאר אין אלעקסאנדער אלשאנעעקי און אויפגעפירט זוערט די זאך פון מ. אור ָּרָאָנְאָּלָ.

Freineit, April 7.

concert but advertises the concert itself? Is it criminal ignorance and negligence or ?

We await an answer!