A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY (Majority Group)

WORKERS OF ALL

COUNTRIES

UNITE

VOL. II, No. 7.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1931.

PRICE 5 CENTS

### SENATE IN FAKE **FARM RELIEF MOVE**

Scared by Farmers Unrest, It Passes Relief Bill—But House Will Reject It

CHARGE JIM CROW IN RELIEF

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6.—Seriously scared by the desperate uprisings of the starving Arkansas farmers, especially the sensational storming of the town of England, Arkansas last week by drought-stricken farmers to whom the government had denied all relief, the Senate yesterday made a frantic gesture by adopting without a record vote the amendment of Sen. Garaway (Arkansas) to add to Pres. Hoover's budget proposals \$45,000,000 drought relief appropriation, including \$15,000,000 for food supply leans. It will be recalled that the original appropriations as passed by the House of Representatives specifically ex-cluded the possibility of spending any of the appropriated money for the relief of starving farmers, since, as Secretary of Agriculture Hyde declared, such expenditures would constitute a dole and therefor be "unscientific."

Rep. Longworth, speaker of the House, and spokesman of the admin-istration forces, declared that the House would almost certainly defeat the Senate amendment. Secretary Hyde also issued a statement in which he said that no "special emergency" existed and that the "Red Cross

could handle the situation." Meanwhile famine among the farm-ers grows more acute and the misery of the unemployed deeper and deper. And the government of the richest country in the world, the richest country in human history, can do nothing more than to jockey bills around from one house of congress to the other and argue whether relief should be limited to the mules or should extend to human beings also!

Open discrimination by the Red Gross against the Negro farmers in the drought stricken area of Arkansas in the distribution of relief, is charged. It is declared that the Red Cross relief, miserable as it is, is unequally distributed, with the colored farmers geting practically nothing altho their situation is even worse

### **WEAVERS STRIKE** IN LANCASHIRE

Textile Union Prepare DRIVE for General Strike Against Speed-up

MANCHESTER, England, Jan. 8. -All the workers from the last of the ten mills in Burnley, Lancashire have come out on strike. The strike is against the 8-loom-per-man which has been put into experimental operation in these mills.

Moreover the Northern Textile Trades Federation, which represents all the unions of workers in the manufacturing branches of the Lancashire cotton industry, reaffirmed its decision to support the weavers in their struggle against the eight-loom system and threatened a general lockout on January 19.

### **BORO PARK YOUTH** HOLD GROSS MEET

A memorial meeting for the fallen working class fighter, Aaron Gross, will be held this Friday evening, January 16, 8 P. M., by the Boro Park Workers Youth Club at 4109A 13 Avenue. Speakers will be Charles Zimmerman, Isidor Shapiro and Paul Broder.

The general activities of the club are proceeding will in spite of the Matthew Well, vice-president of the constant attack of the "loyalite" club American Federation of Labor, Edand the Communist Party press. The club now has a well functioning soccer team, debating team, and a class in the A B C of Communism every attack upon Judge John Bassett Thursday, led by Comrade Benjamin.

there will be the first big dance in the year in the club rooms.

On Friday, February 6, Rubin Brainin, well known writer, who reently returned from Soviet Russia,



Aaron Gross Being Led Away After the Bloody Attack on Him in 1927 By Gangsters Hired by the Right Wing Union Burocrats

### AGAINST PROPOSED BY FISH COMMITTEE

At Big Mass Meeting Hamilton Fish Announces Plan for Attack on Workers; "Labor" Leaders Help Bosses

NEW YORK, Jan. 10. - The re- | against it." establishment of a buro in the Departorganizations in this country," the absolute exclusion of all Soviet goods from America, the continued nonrecognition of the Soviet government by the United States, and the out-lawing of the Communist movement in the United States, were the demands embodied in a resolution passed last night by an anti-Communist mass meeting held in Carnegic Hall under the auspices of over fifty patriotic societies. Representative Hamilton Fish, the Chairman of the Fish Com-

mittee, was the main speaker. With the addition of the provision that the immigration laws be "strengthened" so as to allow for the deportation of alien Communists, this resolution constitutes in substance the recommendations the Fish Committee will make to the House of Represen-

tatives in its report on January 17. Other speakers at the meeting were American Federation of Labor, Edmund A. Walsh, vice-president of the Georgetown University, etc.

Representative Fish made a bitter hursday, led by Comrade Benjamin.

On Saturday evening, January 17, the Bar Association, had urged the recognition of the Soviet Union by the year in the club rooms. clared that Communism was "a standing breach of the law in this country" and that the nation should re-

One of the bitterest attacks upon ment of Justice "with full authority to the Soviet Union and the Communists search out, scrutinge and keep under was made by Matthew Woll who preconstant supervision the Communist tended to speak in the name of labor. Mr. Woll is acting president of the National Civic Federation, an openly anti-labor organization.

that the United States government is bosses.

the working class.

lutionary Age is in danger.

A New York worker and active trade unionist writes:

as a weekly, the paper is excellent. It is now

very easy to read and to sell the Age. Workers

to whom I could never before sell the Age are

now asking me for every copy of the Age be-

cause, as they say, the paper knows what it wants

and it gives an answer to all of the problems of

Yes, it is "now very easy to read and to sell the Age"!

The Weekly Age is becoming a real workers paper, re-

sponding to the questions that agitate the working class

of this country. At the same time it is becoming a bet-

ter Communist paper, reacting to every problem in the

world Communist movement, especially in this period of

Do you realize what this question means? The Revo-

Unless every reader and supporter wakes up to this

But-how long wift the Weekly Age last?

"Since the Revolutionary Age has come out

United Progressive League Member Raises Fight Against Sigman

NEW YORK, Jan. 6.-The installar ion meeting of the new Joint Board of the Cloakmakers Union, International Ladies Gatment Workers Union, took place here last night, January 5. The president of the union, Schlesinger, and the secretary, Dubinsky took charge of the installation.

The meeting was mostly concerned with the election of president and score-tary-treasurer of the Joint Board. Phil Anshel was reelected president by ac-clamation. For secretary-treasurer the Schlesinger clique put up A. J. Ashpiz. the former secretary-treasurer. The lead-ing elements of Locals 9 and 1 proposed the name of M. Sigman, S. Rabinowitz, a member of the left-wing United Cloak and Dressmakers Progressive-League and delegate to the Joint/Board from Local I, made a strong fight against both candidates. He called attention to the fact that Sigman's candidacy was made impos-sible by his record in the union—it was Sigman who had broken up the cloakmakers union and brought it to the verge

On a vote, Ashpiz received 33 votes and Sigman 15. Rabinowitz voted against Another delegate, Herman, from Local 9, who had not spoken, was recorded as abstaining.

Thus the only voice raised against Sig-man in the Joint Board of the reformist H.GWU was that of the representative of the United Cloak and Dressmakers Progressive League, the very organization that the Freiheit has been denounc ng as a "Sigman organization

### APPLE SELLERS MAKE S4 WEEKLY

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 7. - According to the special report prepared by a firm of accountants for the mayor of this city, a total of unemployed apple sellers carned \$54,344 be-tween November 24 and December 27. This makes on an average of 61% cents a day, or \$4.30 weekly.

going to initiate upon the basis of the recommendations of the Fish Committee. It already foreshadows the foreign horn workers will be among those first attacked and the most brutal measures, including deportation (which frequently means death, if he deportation is to such countries as Italy, Poland, Rumania, etc.) will be applied. At the same time a much sharpened drive against the Soviet Union will be undertaken with a view to the destruction of commercial relations and the preparation of armed attack. Then will come the attempt to drive the whole Communist and militant labor movement into illegality, to suppress meetings, outlaw papers, make wholesale arrests, etc.

The whole plan is a scheme to break the resistance of the workers to the wage-cutting, union-smashing drive by which the capitalists are shifting the burdens of the economic crisis upon the workers. It is also an at-tempt to stifle the desperate discontent of the unemployed who are starving with no prospect of government relief in sight.

The situation demands in the most urgent manner the immediate unity of all Communist forces and the est-The Carnegie Hall meeting is the ablishment of the united front of laopening gun of a bitter campaign bor in order to meet and defeat the against the militant labor movement carefully planned offensive of the

The WEEKLY AGE is in Danger!

# NEW CLOAK JOINT Masses March in Big Rain BOARD INSTALLED TO Day House to C To Pay Honor to Gross

Over a Thousand of His Comrades Parade Through Needle Trades District While Thousands More Line Route of March in Heavy Storm Bryant Hall Jammed to Overflowing

WORKERS PLEDGE FIGHT FOR POWERFUL UNION AND UNITED PARTY

# Statement of the National Council, Communist Party Majority Group

Another brave fighter in the cause of the working class has fallen!

Aaron Gross, former vice-president the founders of the Communist Party of the International Fur Workers Union, one of the organizers of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, outstanding left wing leader in the needle trades, devoted Communist, member of the National Council of the Communist Party (Major ity Group), has died at the age of thirty seven. He died as a result of heart failure. The weakened condition of his heart was a direct consequence of the murderous attack which had been made upon him in 1927 by the hired gangsters of the right wing burocrats and which left him shat-tered in health and on the way to

Comrade Gross was the best type of Communist trade union leader. His whole life was devoted to the task of rooting the Communist movement in the organizations of labor. All his energies were directed upon the task of organizing the workers, strengthening and uniting the organizations of the workers, driving out the reactionary burocrats from the unions, making the unions real fighting weapons of the working class.

Comrade Gross was a Communist thru and thru. He held his Commun-ist principles above everything else because he was permeated with the conviction that only Communism provides the road to the emancipation of the working class. And when the Communist International and the Communist Party of the U.S.A. began munist Party of the U.S.A. began the provided and the communist Party of the U.S.A. began the provided and the communist Party of the U.S.A. began and the capitalist system and for the municipation of form this offensive will take. The the new course which is reducing Com- the workers and farmers! munism to a sterile dogma without any influence among the working masses, Aaron Gross was among the first to raise his voice in warning and protest. In spite of his shattered physical condition, he took up the

(Majority Group), in the ranks of their hired gangsters, which he remained active in a leading In the hall, more than 1,500 work position to the day of his death.

of his activities in recent months in ment in which Comrade Gross had fighting for a Leninist policy in the been active, told of his life-long fight needle trades, in resisting the suicidal for the interests of the workers, for sectarian course of the Needle Trades the building and strengthening of the Workers Industrial Union. He championed the cause of the reestablishment of a left wing in the reformist needle trades unions, a task which the speakers included S. Zimmerman, Trade Union Uity League leadership summarily rejected and still fights of the Needle Trades Workers Indusagainst. He raised his voice for the unification of the needle trades workers, for the establishment of one industrial union in the needle trades.

Communists! Needle Workers!

Workers of America! The death of Anron Gross deprives us all of a val-

iant champion of our cause, of a brave and effective fighter in the interests of labor. Let us honor the memory of Aaron Gross by taking up with renewed vigor the great tasks to which he gave his entire life!
For the reunification of the Communist movement! For the restora-

tion of the Leninist course! For the rebuilding of the left wing

Honor to the memory of Aaron

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

## PLAN HUGE SILVER LOAN TO CHINA TO TIGHTEN WALL STREET RULE

Senate Sub-Committee to Submit Resolution; Aims at Complete Stranglehold Over Chinese Workers and Farmers

cial information has been released here to the effect that in about ten days a subcommittee will present to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations a report in which it will be proposed to extend a huge loan (estimated at a quarter of a billion) to the Nanking government in China with the "double object of bringing peace to China and making a

situation, there will be no Weekly Age very soon!

paper reaches you! Right now!

was) due. Pay today! Renew now!

too late. Wire what you can today!

Readers! Supporters! Workers! If you want to see

our paper continue and grow, you must act now! You

must get your organization to act now! You must col-

lect funds in your shop and union and rush them in nowl

Now means this, minute! This very day! The day this

Out-of-town organizations! Do you know that most of

your agents have not paid a single cent since the Weekly

has been in existencel. Within the last week Detroit and

San Antonio have responded but what about the rest? Get

Subscriber: Have you renewed your sub? Why not?

San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia,

Boston, the Anthracite, Baltimore, Washington Pittsburgh

-what are you doing? How much can you send this

week? Don't mail the money! Wire! Mail may come

And growing! Act today! Save and build the Weekly!

We're turning out a good weekly. Help keep it going!

The date on your wrapper shows when renewal is (or

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8 .- Semi-offic practical initial attempt towards over coming existing world economic depres-The report will include a proposal that the President invite the "interested foreign powers" to join in a program comprising in part, a heavy loan of silver to the Chinese Nationalist government, "an effort to bring back the purchasing value of silver to a normal standard, and the development of a comprehensive pian of public improvements in Chinese territory under strict international supervision.

The resolution on which the subcommittee is acting was offered by Senator Pittman of Nevada, chairman of the body. It is understood that all members of the subcommittee are substantially in agreement with the proposal.

The report will declare that the measures it proposes will put an end to the chronic civil war that has existed in China for about twenty years, since "one of the chief causes of the present hostilities against the Nationalist government by the armies of the six war-lords has been the inability of President Chiang Kai-shek to carry out his extensive program of in-

ternal improvements." Before submitting the report to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, the subcommittee will consult Owen D. Young, Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co., and Bernard M. Baruch. The proposals of the sub-committee are understood to be similar to those recently made by Premier Bennett of Can-

Favorable action as far as the general line of the report is concerned is expect-(Continued on Page 4)

More than one thousand workers braved the driving rain and sleet to participate in the funeral procession of Aaron Gross from the headquarters of the Communist Party (Majority Group) at 63 Madison, to Bryant hall, where the memorial meeting was held. Many more accompanied the procession on the sidewalks, while thousands of workers lined the streets to pay their last respects to the fallen leader as the procession wended its way thru the fur market, where on Leninism. Aaron Gross was among workers in their fights against the the founders of the Communist Party bosses, the right wing hypograph (Majority Group). in the realize of

ers were packed in as the speakers, Comrade Gross concentrated most representing all sections of the movechairman, Zirlin, Shapiro and Baratz, trial Umon and the Needle Trade Unity League, and Bert Wolfe, Ben Gillow and Jay Lovestone of the Communist Party (Majority Group). Telegrams and greetings were

read from shops, unions and other working class organizations but from the Needle Trades Workers Indus-trial Union which he built and led, and from the Communist Party of which Gross was a leader and loyal fighter, there was neither greet-

ing nor speaker.

The meeting opened and closed the spirit of continuing the f which Comrade Gross carried of his life which he died-the movement in the reformist needle against the capitalist system and for unions! For one union in the needle the proletarian revolution, for Comagainst the capitalist system and for

> bronze, but a living monument, a militant unified needle trades union, a united Communist Party to carry on the fight for which Gross gave his life-in spite of obstacles, in spite of dangers, in spite of slander and misrepresentation: The cowards flinch and traitors

We'll keep the Red Flag flying here."

### **ADMITS CRISIS WORSE THAN 1921**

But Colonel Woods Tries To Lie About Number Of Unemployed

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8 .-- No improvement of the economic situation in the near future is seen by Col. Arthur Woods, chairman of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment, in testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee yesterday. Comparing the economic status of the country with that of 1921 Col. Woods said that the present depression is worse than that of 1921.

Col. Woods insisted that there are between 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 unemployed in the United States today. In reply to a question of Senator Copeland, Col. Woods declared the unemployment situation constitutes "menace to the present social or-

The official Woods estimate of be tween four and five million unemployed is a gross underestimation, quite in line with the government policy of underestimating the amount of unemployment in the country by 30%. There can hardly be any ques-tion that there are at least six million unemployed workers in the United States today.

DETROIT, Mich., Dec. 14.-The aplication of William Miller, militant Deroit auto worker, for readmission into he International Association of Machinists was rejected on December 11 by he general executive of the union.

William Miller was expelled from the inion some years ago for his active work n building the left wing movement in

rill speak at Crystal Palace on "How sort to "vigilant inspection, rigid qua-he Jews Live in Soviet Rusia." sort to "vigilant inspection, rigid qua-rantine and drastic disinfection

### AARON GROSS-LEFT WING LEADER

by Chas S. Zimmerman

Aaron Gross is dead! It is difficult international of Labor Unions to believe—yet such is the fact. The which he was a delegate, he spent voice of Gross that we were accushis time in learning as much as he will about the middle torder unions. tomed to hear so often in the discusclass and particularly the needle trades workers lose one of their most valiant fighters and clearest thinkers whom it will be very difficult indeed to replace.

Thruout the needle trades struggles Gross was known as one of the clever-est and clearest thinkers in the leadest and clearest thinkers in the lead-ership of the left wing. A striking example comes to mind to illustrate his clarity of thought. In 1927 al-most the entire body of organized furriers supported the left wing which was in control of the New York Joint the American Federation of Labor sent in Matthew Woll and McGrady to launch the attack against the left wing in order to save the discredited remnants of the right wing burocracy in the Fur Workers International. The burocrats called a "convention" in Washington from which they excluded the left wing, i.e., practically the entire membership. At that time Comrade Gross was the only one to propose that, with the masses entirely Supporting the left wing, the New his former comrades could shake him. Satisfied to remain behind and just plan. York Joint Board should disregard the Washington "convention" and proceed to take over the Fur Workers proceed to take over the Fur Workers



Arron Gross and Charles

International. He clearly saw that at that juncture the right wing burocrats vere completely discredited, had no anding and no following among the kers, and that that was the time

the fur workers could once and 'I get rid of this clique and take ion into their own hands. It took two years for the rest to realize and proposal and the opportunity we to say:

Gentlemen: Thru graft and politithe correctness of Gross's analysis

rade Gross was always deeply inter-

ested in the working class movement all over the world. On his way to the Fourth World Congress of the Red

### GROSS TAUGHT US...

by Mary Cohen

Courade Gross will be remembered by the needle trades workers as one who led and understood their struggles. The young workers in the needle trades have good cause to remember Comrade

Gross.

When the necessity for organizing the young workers who were becoming an economic factor in the industry began to be realized, the few young comrades (mostly now expelled members of the Young Communist League) who took up the task of organizing the young needle trades workers, were inexperienced and resented at the time the advice of those adult comrades who offered to teach us the lessons they had learned thru years of struggle.

Comrade Gross was very patient and understanding in dealing with us young comrades. I remember Contrade Gross repeatedly telling us that it is not by formal motions or representation on this or that committee that we would accomplish our task but thru participation in the daily struggles of the needle trades work ers as a whole, thus drawing the young workers into these struggles and at the same time making the older workers realize the necessity of fighting for the economic demands of the young workers.

Comrade Gross fully realized that the young needle trades workers are becoming a significant numerical factor and are suffering greatly thru exploitation, are discontented with their miserable conditions, and are greatly in need of organization. He taught us that this could not be accomplished thru abstract slogans and resolutions such as the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union is trying today, but thru persistent hard work. Gross means to continue the fight of This was the big lesson we learned from the needle workers on to victory Comrade Gross.

### FROM A GROUP OF CLOAK AND DRESS CUTTERS

We, a group of cloak and dress cutters, Cross, who died as a result of his vigorous fight against capitalism and its agents in the American labor movement the fight.

could about the world trade union sion of the problems of the working class is heard no more. In the death of Comrade Gross the whole working the congress. At the congress itself he made a special effort not to limit himself to merely American questions. He was a member of the Czechoslovakakian Commission which had to deal with a difficult and complex situation. He carefully studied the problems facing the commission and took his task with the greatest seriousness. It was due to his consciously international outlook that he was able to orientate himself immediately in the crisis that set in the Communist International and to see the dangers to the Communist movement that lay in The Executive Council of the revision of Leninist strategy and tactics initiated by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Always placing principles above everything else, he did not hesitate to take up the struggle against the dangerous new course, in spite of the heaps of abuse and slander that were sure to pour down on him.

> This struggle he maintained vigorously until his last days. Neither the planner, the one who mapped out physical weakness nor the attacks of the field of operations. But he was not

In the trade union he was uncorrupt-Always a militant and a revolution-

> or against their agents, the reactionary burocrats, we find Comrade Gross in al the struggles in the vanguard inspiring the workers, educating them, organizing them and leading them in the battle. In victory and in defeat he was always true to his class!

# WITH GROSS IN THE STRUGGLE

The only way we can commemorate Aaron Gross is by continuing

the fight for what Comrade Gross

fought and died for-for the establishment of real militant fighting

unions, for the unification of the

working class against capitalism, for

the unification of the Communist

movement the world over.

by I. Shapiro

when the murderous attack was made upon Gross by the gangsters hired by the unscrupulous right wing clique of the furriers council together with

the A. F. of L. officialdom.

I helped to bring him over to the police station and there, holding him n my arms, I tried to keep back the blood until the ambulance would arrive. From the condition in which he was taken to the hospital it was evident to me that Gross would never recover.

Since the 1920 strike I worked to gether with Aaron Gross in all the struggles. I had the best opportunity to learn from him. His honesty and devotion to the cause of the labor movement were an inspiration to me as well as to all the other workers who came into contact with him.

My estimation of the effects of the murderous attack upon Gross proved to be correct. Altho he continued his activities, Gross grow weaker from day to day. It was a result of that illness that his untimely death came. Personally I have lost one of the

best friends and comrades I ever had. But of course the loss is much, mach greater to the working class as a

To those who were instrumental in planning the attack on Gross I want

Altho the center of his activities lay cal influence you succeeded in getting n the struggles of the furriers, Com- away those who planned and those who did the bloody deed—the actua murderers of Gross. But you will never be able to wash way the bloody stain. Gross is dead but the shadow of what you have done will always follow you in the labor movement and the workers in the future will take up

and pass judgment upon you. To Comrade Sarah Gross and te the two youngsters, Morris and Arthur, I want to say: In your moment of sorrow and deep grief, remember

#### 1897年1998年(1975年)第二日 **新**華子 (1986年1988年1970年1984年)第二日代第 FROM THE WORKERS OF THE SALFELT HAT CO.

We, the workers of the Salfelt Ha Co., mourn the death of our beloved comrade and leader Aaron Gross, who died January 3, 1931 at the age of thirty

seven.
The revolutionary labor movemen lost one of its most tried and trusted leaders. Especially of the needle trade work-ers struggles. We pledge ourselves in the memory to Comrade Gross, to be active fighters in the revolutionary labor movement for the emancipation of the working class.

#### FROM THE WORKERS IN THE KIBITZ, POLSKY AND BERNARD SHOP

We, the workers of Kibitz Polsky and Bernard Shop, make manifest our deepest and sincerest grief at the death of Comrade Aaron Gross at the early ago of 37.1 Comrade Gross was a heroid fighter for the workers. His whole life was devoted to the workers struggle: and to the struggle of the needle workers. He died as a result of the injuries he received on the picket line at the hands of the gangsters of the right wing officials. He died as he lived-faithful to the workers.

To honor the memory of Comrade Shop Committee.

#### FROM THE WORKERS OF THE ARROW HAT COMPANY

We, the workers of the Arrow Hat mourn the death of our beloved come Company, mourn the loss of our comrade and militant fighter in the interests rade and leader, Aaron Gross, who of the working class, Comrade Aaron fought fearlessly in the ranks of the

## Aaron Gross -- Communist

by Ben Gitlow

The death of Comrade Gross deprives was to be found on the picket lines, in adopted that divided the forces of the

The working class has every reason to be proud of its young Gross and to pay tribute to his memory now that he is

The workers from the factories gave us vhole life was devoted to the cause of the workers. His whole being, agitated by a hatred of capitalism, was inspired with great love and devotion for the working

Always a leader of the rank and Whether it was against the bosses

Comrade Gross was not a spectacular dramatic figure. He was the strategist,

the working class of a young proletarian, the midst of combats. He was feared workers and isolated the Communists and leader, a Communist and courageous by the bosses and hated by the reaction-

Comrade Gross was a leading figure in the trade union movement in the building up of a left wing. He was uncom-promising in his fight against the reactionary trade union burocrats and their Gross. The confidence which they tionary trade union burocrats and their placed in him has not been in vain. His policies of peace and cooperation with the bosses. He was always for the building up of a broad united front of labor for a fighting policy against the bosses, for organization of the unorganized and for industrial unionism. Today, when the left wing has been abandoned and liquidated by the official Communist Party leadership and by the T.U.U.L., we find Comrade Gross conducting an energetic campaign, particularly in the needle trades, to revive the left wing and to build it up as a mighty movement of the rade union masses in the United States.

> Comrade Cross was a Communist. He ecognized that if his class was to be freed, capitalism had to be overthrown by a revolutionary working class. His activities in the trade unions and in the abor movement generally were always directed to develop the consciousness of the workers, to increase their militancy and to prepare them in their struggles against the bosses for the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

He recognized the necessity of building a mass movement against capitalism. He was a fee of sectarianism, was always for working with the trade union masses, in their organizations in order to win them for a revolutionary program and to rally them against capitalism. The success of the Communists in the needle Still fresh in my mind and never that he lived and died for the cause trades in a large measure is due to the to be forgotten is that bloody day of the working class. Comrade Gross. The Communist movement cannot easily fill in the gap left by his death.

> He was a Communist of deep convic-tion. The principles of Communism and the policies and factics of the Party were not mere dogmas to him. the line of the Communist International began to be revised, when policies were rid of Gross. The attack on him in lems. He was not a mass speaker but

discredited Communism, Comrade Gross rebelled and fought for correct working class policies. He was not satisfied to agree to submit to the revision of Communist principles and the wrecking of he Communist movement. So he fought, regardless of the consequences. For this ne was expelled by the Communist Party leadership and the most victous campaign was started by them to discredit him.

But the principles for which Comrade Gross fought are today being vindicated. The slander campaign has failed. The workers are not deceived. They know their Gross and they respect and love

omrade. But as workers, we are inspired by his life. It is rich in service to out class. From him we draw renewed courage and determination to fight on for unity and victory. Nothing can be mirch the vision of a nodest proletarian, slight of stature, with

an ironical, gentle, roguish smile, eyes that sparkled with the fire of battle, a searching restlessness for the future. That is Gross, brave proletarian, Communist, fighter. The leader of workers and one of them. Out of such metal will

the revolutionary army be made and the revolution against capitalism won.

WORKING WITH AARON GROSS

by B. Colenberg

It is difficult to write now, when the 1927 was not accidental. They calculated wound is still open and the pain great, of that with the death of Gross it would be comrade who was so respected and easier for them to take over the union.

a comrade who was so respected and loved. It is difficult to get used to loved. It is difficult to get used to 1927 Gross was seriously ill.

Their plans were partly succession. 1927 Gross was seriously ill.

I had the privilege of working to 1 had the 1 had t

every meeting—lies dead, torn from his friends and comrades. No wonder the state the state through the state that the state through the st

right wing Forward clique sought to get his practicality and clear grasp of prob

### AARON GROSS-UNION LEADER

by B. Baraz

with him once, it is clear that at the the International, age of 14 he was compelled to leave. In the successful his home town because of a disagreement with his orthodox parents. He later other activities he was chairman of the oined the Social-democratic party in Berlin and when he came to the United States he entered the Socialist Party and est contribution in the 1926 strike was his became very active. From the very first guidance in the conferences with the day he joined the Furriers Union where manufacturers association and the successhe soon became a leading member. He

I became acquainted with Gross in me a pamphlet entitled "A Proletarian tor", Dr. Abelson. we mourn our departed Political Party". After a little discussion of what the union should be Gross enouraged me to become active in the urriers union. Gross was among the very first to organize the furriers section of the TUEL. In the entire struggle of the left wing in the furriers union Gross played a leading part. In shaping a policy, in presenting an effective argument, Gross was especially striking. That is why in his public speeches Gold never ments of the left wing.

> was compensated by possessing a clear mind which he knew how to utilize... Early in the summer of 1930 the ex-

> pulsion campaign of the Party was car-

fied into the unions. Gross was expelled

from the position of manager of the fur

department of the Industrial Union, For

weeks we walked the streets looking for

work. Gross was dejected at the effects

of the expulsion campaign on the Party

and the unions, but was fully confident

that a change would come. Without a cent to his name and without even a drop of milk for his children he looked for work tho he knew how harmful such

vere overjoyed. They were proud to

Working in the shop during the ter-rific summer beat and in the evenings—

meetings-his vitality was sapped quick-

ly. He was begged to forego meetings but he refused. "It is better to die in

but he refused. "It is better to die in the movement" he said, "than to be

When heart attacks became more fre-

quent, he was finally compelled to leave

New York. In September he went to

Los Angeles. He left with the determi-

ports from Los Angeles showed that

Gross was very active there. On the

day of his horrible death he participated

in a meeting and helped to map out

work and policies. So he lived—as a

you began, we will carry forward with

even greater energy. Honor to your

GEORGE JAFFE SHOP

The workers of George Jaffe shop ex-

press their heartfelt grief at the sudden death of Comrade Aaron Gross, who just

lied in Los Angeles at the untimely age

of 37. Comrade Gross died as he lived-

lighting in the interests of the workers.

His death came largely as a result of in-

juries he had received on the picket line at the hands of the gangsters of the right

In memory of Comrade Gross

pledge ourselves to continue the struggle

to which he gave his entire life and in

which he died-the struggle against the

bosses and for the freedom of the work-

Isidore Landau

wing burocrats.

ing class.

nation to continue his work there.

"dead" outside the movement."

A revolutionist from his early youth | Gross was at the head of the united Aaron Gross gave his entire life to the front movement concluded in 1925. In the revolutionary struggle. Gross was never November convention of the IFWU anxious to discuss his intimate life, es when the SP succeeded in breaking the pecially his early youth. But from what united front, Gross was the only left could get out of a private discussion winger elected to the vice-presidency of

In the successful strike of 1926 he gave full guidance and leadership. Among finance committee. He kept an open eye on all income and expenses. His greatful settlement and achievement of the served in the executives and joint boards. 40-hour, 5-day week. The fur workers will never forget how their complaints were attended to and how Gross so frethe beginning of 1922 when Gross sold quently outmanouvered the clever "media-

In 1927, when the officials of the A. F. of L. of the IFWU, in collaboration with the manufacturers, judges, and police, tried to break the ranks of the fur riers strike, Gross was murderously attacked and assaulted by a gang hired by the International officialdom. From this attack he never really recovered.

In spite of his shattered physical con dition Cross continued his work in the union. At the beginning of 1928 he represented the left wing needle workers at missed paying tribute to Gross for his the fourth congress of the Red Interna-tremendous contributions to the achieve, tional of Labor Unions in Moscow. He was amongst the leaders that organized the NTWIU. He served as manager of



Aaron Gross

the for department of this union. As a result of the wrong policy later adopted by the union in conjunction with the Communist Party the strike called was unsuccessful-to a large extent because of the internal factional strife which led to the destruction of the union activity. Comrade Gross was one of the first to

be expelled from the Communist Party because of his opposition to the new policies of the party. He joined the Commonist Party (Majority Group). He was a member of the National Council work was for him. He finally succeeded in of this group. He was also a leading getting a job because he was a good methanic and a few days later took use up to work in the same shop. With Gross coming into the shop almost all workers

Of this group. The was member of the Needles T that the last day of his life.

With the loss of Common the last day of his life. member of the Needles Trades Workers Unity League in which he was active un-

With the loss of Contrade Gross the revolutionary labor movement generally have Gross work in their shop. Non but and the furworkers in particular have lost the few close friends knew how badly one of its most honest and devoted milithe chemicals and fur dust effected his tant lighters. Revolutionists do not shed health. A few of us attempted to convince him to quit his work but Gross was adamant. "A left wing union working he said, "must die on the street with rade Gross by consolidating our ranks, and the said of the the masses or in the shop at the mach-line masses or in the shop at the mach-struggle against the common enemy in the light for the economic conditions of the workers and in the struggle for the establishment of a workers and farmers government in this country.

### WE WILL MISS GROSS...

by Joe Farber

How the needle trades workers will niss Comrade Aaron Gross! He was the leader of the fur work ers through the most difficult years of their struggles. Gross lived, and died lighter; and he died as a lighter. Rest and fought for the workers. I know for in peace, dear comrade! The work which a fact that Gross gave away every hour a fact that Gross gave away every hour to the movement. There was not a meet-

ing Gross missed there was nothing in which he did not participate. His correct approach in shaping policies in the struggle against the and the burocracy made him the outstanding leader in our activities. We furriers feel particularly that with the loss of Comrade Cross we have lost one of the most militant and courageous comrades in the labor movement. For all of us it is left to fill the place made vacant by the loss of our comrade by continuing the struggle against the enemies of the working class.

#### FROM THE WORKERS OF THE HOROWITZ AND DUBER-MAN SHOP

The workers of the Horowitz and Duberman shop express their grief at the untimely death of Aaron Gross and contribute to help cover the expenses of the funeral.

Jack Kramer, Chairman

### FROM THE WORKERS OF THE A. STALNOVSKY SHOP

We are deeply grieved at the death of our good fighter, Comrade Aaron we conduct to his final resting place Gross. His untimely death has hit us our prematurely dead comrade, our very hard because we know that his leader, Aaron Gross. He died a vicdeath is connected with our struggle tim of the bloody hand of the right against the bosses and for the liberation of the working class. We send our deep heroic struggle against oppression. est sympathy to his family and we come | We, the workers of the Handeraft fort them with the fact that his name Sportswear Shop, will continue the will remain forever in the history of the fight to its final victory and together

### FROM THE WORKERS OF THE

Committee

HANDCRAFT SPORTSWEAR With heads bowed in silent grief

The Committee | comrade Aaron Gross.

### AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE RED LABOR UNION INTERNATIONAL



Aaron Gross Is Seated Third From the Left

### In Memory of Aaron Gross

Resolutions from Shops and Workers Organizations

WORKERS UNITY LEAGUE

feit sorrow at the death of our comrade and brother-fighter, Aaron Gross. For years Comrade Gross fought for the interests of the needle workers against the bosses, against the police, against the right wing burocracy and its gangsters. In this fight he was assaulted and wounded to the point of death in 1927 and this contributed heavily to his untimely death at the age of 37.

Always in the forefront of the workers struggle against the bosses, Comrade Gross realized the importance of continuing the fight against the right wing burocrats inside of the right wing unions when these onions had masses with them. This work he initiated and conducted energetically in spite of slanders and denunciation from those whose factional blindness caused them to forget the interests of the workers. Comrade Gross fought to establish one powerful union of the needle workers, to realize the fight for the interests of the needle workers, and for this purpose participated in the organization of the Needle Trades Workers Unity League as an instrument in

Comrade Gross devoted his entire life to the revolutionary struggles against capitalism. He was a symbol of proletarian integrity, energy and devotion to the workers. Neither defeats nor obstacles could sway him from this road. In the death of Comrade Gross, the

FROM THE NEEDLE TRADES | labor movement in general and the left | FROM THE WORKERS IN THE wing and revolutionary working class movement in particular, suffers a heavy This loss can be made up ouly by greater activity, devotion and loyalty The Needle Trades Workers Unity on the part of the workers for the cause league expresses its deepest and hearts for which Gross fought. We call upon all workers to pay tribute to our departed comrade by closing their ranks, unilying the left wing, and establishing a solid working class front against the bossis and their agents to the end of capitalsm with its exploitation and brutality of the workers, shall be abolished.

### FROM THE UNITED PROGRES-SIVE LEAGUE

Another brave fighter has fallen, a vic im in the struggle for the interest of the workers. Comrade Aaron Gross, who devoted his whole life to the struggle of the needle trades workers and to the fight against the betrayers of the work ing class, has been taken from us at soch an untimely age, at the age of 37. For us the loss is very great. Today, just as we have again taken up the task of rebuilding the shuttered left wing move ment and of carrying on with united forces the fight against the traitorous bu rocracy and for better conditions of la nor for the needle trades workers, we will especially feel the absence of his practical plans and his comradely cooperation. The only way in which we will best be able to honor his memory is by continuing the struggle he could not end. We pledge ourselves to do this.

United Cloak and Dressmakers Progressive League.

#### THE THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPER FROM THE WORKERS OF THE LEOPOLD HAAS SHOP

We, the workers of Leopold Haas shop, express our deep and heartfelt sor-row at the untimely death of Comrade Aaron Gross, valiant fighter in the cause of the working class and militant leader of the needle trades workers. Comrade Gross died as the victim of the brutal attacks of the gaugsters of the right wing burocracy; he died as a soldier in the class struggle.

In the memory of Comrade Gross, pledge ourselves to carry forward the struggle for which Comrade Gross gave

L. Solomon Lena Greenberg Committee

### FORM THE WORKERS OF THE NOVELTY HAT COMPANY

We, the workers of the Novelty Hat Company, mourn the loss of our leader Comrade Aaron Gross. We pledge our selves to help achieve the unity of the working class in our struggle against the For the milliners and operators of the Novelty Hat Company.

#### FROM THE WORKERS OF FUTERANSCKY AND SON

We, a group of workers of the Futer. anseky and Son shop, grieve over the loss of the brave fighter against capital good contrade, Aaron Gross. we will honor the memory of our ism, Aaron Gross.

### Lenin or DeLeon?

## DeLeonism, Then and Now

by Herbert Zam.

on, robbed the SLP of the most active revolutionary elements as well as of those elements having the greatest contact with and influence among the workers. The development of the SLP since then has demonstrated with what merciless logic the germ of sectarianism operates to destroy a promising organization once it obtains roots and a breeding place. The history of the SLP is a lesson and a warning to- all revolutionists, except those, who like the present leaders of the Party and of the ECCI, refuse to see what is before their eyes.

It is quite significant that in all his activities against "pure and simple" trade unionism, DeLeon took no measures to guard against the penetration of petty bourgeois, anti-trade union elements. Thus the 1900 convention, which pro-hibited membership in the SLP to offi-cials, paid and unpaid, of the trade unions, and forbade SLP members to join the trade unions, at the same time defeated a motion to exclude employers from mem-bership in the SLP. We see an exact duplicate today in connection with the "new" fraternal orders which the Party is establishing.

Lack of space does not permit the discussion of other questions raised by the articles previously mentioned. It might be well, however, to mention that De-Leon's "internationalism", which Comrade Raisky praises, consisted in the belief that the proletarian revolution would start in the United States because it was the most industrially developed (where did we hear that before?) and that all the Socialist movements must follow the SLP to be regarded as "really revolution-He considered international Socialist action and organization as unnecessary and a waste of time and money, as well as an "annoyance" to the Amer ican delegates.

#### DeLeonism, Thirty Years Ago and Today

It can be quite easily guessed what part of the content of DeLeonism is attracting the Party leaders of today. is his dual unionism. Today, they do not worry about the size of a trade union, so long as it is "revolutionary". Nothing original! The SLP said in 1900 (Trade Union Resolution): "The strength of a labor organization is not in the number of its members, not in the amount in its treasury, but in the height of its aims, and the depth of its solidari-Today, they are making a virtue of splitting labor organizations, and the higgest splitters are the biggest heroes. Also nothing original! The highest praise which the SLP candidate for President of the U.S. received in 1900 was the following by the one who nominated him: "This candidate smashed the Cen-tral Labor Union of that city (Haverhill, Mass .--- H.Z.) and it has never been resurrected and I hope never will," Today the Party trade union leaders are trying Austria. to emulate this example.

### The "Lenie of America"

That Comrade Raisky considers De-Leon the American Lenin is obvious from as well as in Europe as a whole. German the many concrete parallels he draws imperialism was defeated and thus one between the two. "Like Lenin, DeLeon of the great forces in the colonial East is a constantly recurring expression in his article. "... the history of the SLP became inseparable from the political history of Daniel Deleon, just as the history of the CPSU is closely connected with the name of Lonin," doclares Comrade Raisky.

Indeed DeLeon and the SLP are inseparable but not "just as" Lonin and the CPSU! In fact for appresite reasons. Lenin continually pushed the CPSU to the masses and the masses to action against capitalism. De Leon continually dragged the SLP away from the masses substituted revolutionary sounding phrases for revolutionary action. Under DeLeon's leadership the SLP entered "on a broad political highway" -- to impotence and obscurity.

"A comparison between Delleon and Lenin naturally presents itself to one's mind. Delicon's views on innerparty questions resembles Lenin's even in the style in which they are expressed."

So Comrade Raisky! To make such a

comparison between DeLeon and Lenin is a travesty on the lifedong struggle Lenin carried on for the establishment of a Bolshevik party and Bolshevik methods of work. Deleon's methods were the direct opposite of Lenin's. Lenin demanded the widest inner-party democracy, the participation of the membership in working out policy, the broadest dis cussion of differences, the discussion of problems before final decisions are made and action taken, but iron discipline in carrying out decisions once made. De-Lean just reversed this procedure. first made his decisions and carried them pare the way for elections that would give out, then tried to convince the member him an undisputed majority. Then he ship of the correctness of these decisions. then expelled those who disagreed, and objective.

Goally called a convention for rubber. The elections were held. Venizelos stamp approval. The most momentous step in the history of the SLP, the formation of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, was taken in this manner. DeLeon tolerated no opposition or opponents. Not discussion but expulsion

sis method of persuasion. Del.con ilated not only Party organs but so to say. a consparty institutions as if he were a divinely appointed dictator. Thus on

#### A Scholastic Marxist

In the foregoing brief discussion of a number of phases of DeLeon's activity and political beliefs, we have seen wheth er a parallel can be drawn between Lenin and DeLeon. Comrade Raisky and Comade Marmor have given their answer. Let the reader judge whether that answer can stand unchallenged in the light of a real analysis of DeLeon's works. Sulfice it to sum up this question by pointing out that in all of DeLeon's works we see no mention of imperialism, in spite of the fact that he lived in the period of full bloom of imperialism (DeLeon lied in 1914). That this question was not unkonwn during DeLeon's lifetime we can see from the controversies that raged on the question of imperialism beween Lenin, Bucharin and the Russian Marxists and Luxemburg, Hilferding, Kautsky and others who differed with Lenin's conception. This "oversight" on DeLeon's part was a result of his static interpretation of Marxism, his refusal to apply the basic Marxian laws to the latest developments of capitalism. All of DeLeon's "Marxism" consisted of lifeless abstract scholasticism. It is from this basic shortcoming that all of De-Leon's major errors can be traced.

DeLeon's Positive Contributions Naturally, the nature of this atticle on "Lenin or DeLeon"

can Socialism, which are many and valuable. We had to confine ourselves to When an objective attempt is made to trace the development of American Socialism and to properly estimate the various outstanding figures, no doubt the be recognized. No one who knows any thing about this development will fail to give to DeLeon a higher place than to Hillquit or to Berger. Deleon was in-deed an involerate fighter against the brand of opportunism represented by Hillquit; he was indeed fanatically devoted to the interests of the working class and gave his entire life to the workers. He strove to be a revolutionary Marxist. But his own serious shortcomings and deep sectarianism, scholasticism and opportunism make it impossible to consider him the Lenin of America. Just because he fought Hillquit no more makes him the forerunner of American Communism than Debs, or Haywood, American Communism developed out of many revolutionary elements in the American labor movement, particularly out of the most revolutionary elements of the Socialist Party. But of all factors contributing to-wards this development, the SLP, the Party of DeLcon, contributed least.

This concludes the series of articles

### VENIZELOS MOBILIZES FOR WAR

by Basil Kalfides

East, to India, Australia and China. In secuted. the pre-war struggle of German and English imperialism for the control of the East, the Balkans were used as the experimental ground for the political and liplomatic intrigues of the Entente (England, France, Czarist Russia) on the one and and the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, Italy) on the other. Germany's goal was to build a road from Berlin to Britain tried to block the German penetration to the East thru the Balkans. The Balkans therefore became the battleground for the two gigantic imperialist Alliances, intrigues, protectorates and spheres of influence were the order of the day until the situation culminated first in the Balkan and then in the great World War, which started in a war hetween Jugoslavia (Servia) and

### Realignments After the War

After the World War the situation changed fundamentally in the Balkans was eliminated. But if Great Britain got rid of a dangerous rival with the collapse of Germany, an even more dangerous enemy appeared on the horizon. -the Union of Socialist Soviet Repub-

This time the "enemy" does not have to carry on diplomatic manouvers for the penetration of the Balkans. For that matter, geography is secondary consideration to the Soviet Union as a defender of the rights of self-determination and emancipation of national minorities and enslaved peoples.

A realignment of forces began to take place in order to meet the situation. Tolay, as far as England is concerned, the Balkans are important not from the point of view of blocking German imperialism from reaching India but rather as an instrument of attack against the Soviet Union. Italy and France, on the other hand, have a double interest in the Balkans, first in order to attain hegemony in the peninsula and, secondly, in the interest of an attack on the USSR. In the performance of this complicated and rather difficult task both England and France are depending upon the most able diplomat in the Balkans, Elefmost and sage.
therios Venízelos.

\* \* \*

#### Venizelos Back in the Political Arena

As soon as Pangalos' dictatorship was overthrown by General Kondylis, Venizelos was called over from France to take over the reins of government in Greece. The first act of Venizelos was to prewould be able to proceed to his ultimate

carried with an overwhelming majority, after having outlawed the Communist Party of Greece and having utilized the 1923 election lists without much regard f the voters were dead or alive, Venizelos obtained a legal footbold and was able to speak for the Greek people

With the "people's mandate," Venizelos proceeded to a large-scale offensive one occasion when he was not fully against the labor movement, against the pleased with the National Executive Communist Party and the left wing Board that the STELA had elected, he unions. Parliament passed a law making

With the black clouds of war spreading over the horizons of Europe the political situation in the Balkan peninsula deserves our closest attention. The Balkan peninsula holds the key to the Far Balk to India Australia and China. In

#### Venizelos Makes His Grand Tour

After his offensive against "subversive" elements at home, Venizelos began a grand tour of European capitals. He had interviews with Mussolini, Aristide Briand, Baldwin, etc. and then returned to Athens. The capitalist press announced India, the famous Berlin-Bagdad railroad. at the time that Venizelos was "travel-The slogan was: "Nach Osten!" Great ling for his health"—and also trying to secure a loan for Greece.

The next step towards his goal of establishing an anti-Soviet block in the Balkans was taken by Venizelos in the calling of an all-Balkan "commercial conference" in Athens to discuss tariff questions in the Balkans and to draw up commercial treaties—so it was said. Those who understand politics know what commercial treaties mean and what is hidder under the clook of "commerce"!

Another step in the construction of the Balkan bloc was the calling of the all-Balkan Olympic games in Athens, Psy-

in politics.

After the Balkan Commercial Conferince Venizelos visited the Bulgarian capital and then proceeded to Angora, the capital of Turkey. The Greek regalists and part of the Pangalos opposition reied to utilize the visit of Venizelas to Furkey in order to arouse the people against the government. They accused Veri-zelos of "sacrificing" Greece and of "smrendering" everything to Turkey in the interest of foreign imperialism. They attempted to organize a coup d'etat bus

were immediately suppressed. Venizelos was received with the greatest honors in Angora, by Kemal Pasha and a treaty of mutual neutrality was drawn up providing that in case of war with any other power neither Greece nor Turkey would attack one another.

This treaty lets the cat out of the bar. Venizelos has at last succeeded in neutralizing Turkey in case of an attack against the USSR in which the Bolkan states will participate. After the Greco Furkish treaty came Jugoslavia. Here Venizelos did not have to visit Belgrade. The foreign minister of Jugoslavia, Marinkovich, visited Athens. Venizelos gave a dinner in honor of Marinkovch at Hotel Great Britain. The Jugoslavian minister told the Greek press that his counry was "not at all alarmed" at the rumors following the Greco-Turkish treaty. Nor was it "disturbed" at the conference that had taken place in Angora between the Greek delegation and the premier o Hungary, Bethlen.

### "In the Interests of the Civilized States!"

Marinkovich declared:

"The Balkan people are duty bound to prove that their struggle to form free and independent states corresponds with the interests of all civilized AGE. Subscribe now! states. This duty our two countries will not violate and in the endeavorto achieve this end, which is the basis 63 Madison Ave., New York City. of their policy, I am sure that we can depend on one another."

These few words of the Jugoslavian iplomat explain a good deal. Both Greece and Jugoslavia are working in common for the "interests of all civilized states", and this is the basis of their policy in the Balkans. In European diplomacy "civilized states" means big capitalist-imperialist countries-while "uncivilized states" means the Soviet Union.

### On the German Conference

In a footnote to the article on "The German Conference," published in the last issue of the Revolutionary Age, we announced that since certain amendments and changes in the poli-The expulsion and splits which were a just removed it and himself appointed an does not permit of the discussion of Der tical resolution adopted at the Gerpermanent feature of the SLP from then other one! public, they could not be noted in the article. We now publish these amendrefuting the false estimates which placed ments below. The amendments are DeLeon on the same level with Lenin. printed in bold-face.—Editor.

> "The current party regime in the Sovict Union is therefore historically conditioned and necessary. Every Communist must therefore defend it in fundamentals which, of course, in no sense excludes criticism of mistakes when they occur. Communists have the duty of carrying on a revolutionary-conscientious criticism of the shortcomings and mistakes of the CPSU, in the questions of the Soviet state as well as in inner-party questions. Only such a criticism can awaken in the masses a feeling of confidence in the sincerity of our propaganda and thru this a feeling of confidence in the Soviet Union

"It depends upon the leadership of the CPSU whether this transition (i.e., the transition to inner-party democracy—Editor.) . . . will take place with or without friction. For this, cooperation in catrying thru governmental tasks-in which already today broad sections of the proletariat are drawn -is insufficient; for this is above all necessary the continual extension of the participation of the masses of the Party members in the making of political and economic decisions, the taking over of responsibility, the stimulation of initiative."

"Under the current Party regime the Comintern is not led by an interna-tional leadership but is exclusively influenced from the viewpoint of the factional necessities of the leadership of the CPSU. . . The CPSU does no play in the Comintern the role of first among equals, but the role of the determining party. Its transfers me-chanically the inner-party necessities facing the CPSU, as a victorious party of the proletarian dictatorship and of Socialist construction, and the methods of the CPSU, to the Comintern. In this way the factional struggles in the the Comintern and its sections. This also explains the inability of the Comintern to lead international political mass actions, because its measures are determined by the factional strug-gle in the CPSU. The leading role of the Ecci and of the World Congress upon the Comintern is thereby distorted into a caricative. The Comintern is fully and completely respon-sible for the ultra-left course in the individual sections.

"The CPG-O represents the standpoint that the Comintern must be the political and organizational center of the Communist world movement and that as the advisor, helper and leader of the individual sections, its political directives must not be determined on the basis of the factional necessities of the leadership of the SPSU but above all on the basis of the actual inner and outer political situation and the inner-party relations of the individual sections. This presupposes that the Ecci should be composed of the most mature, most critical and most independent forces of the various sections, who are acquainted with the international labor movement or large parts of it thro their own experience and participation.

statement for the Greek press declaring that "all our efforts are directed towards peace. Peace is our slogan." But the Balkan workers know from bitter experience that when diplomats speak of peace" they are preparing for war.

### And to Poland Too!

Only a few weeks ago Venizelos visitd Poland and had a long interview with Pilsudski. What the mission of Venixelos was in Poland, the keystone of the cordon sanitaire which France has built up around the USSR, it is not difficult to imagine. At the same time General What was the mission of D'Esperian? Here also the answer is not dificult to imagine! The Corriere, Italian daily newspaper, reports that Venizelos will be in Rome on January 7 and will discuss very important matters with Mus-He will also "thank Mussolini for the part he played in bringing Greece and Turkey together." From this general viewpoint it is now

## Seeds of New Wars

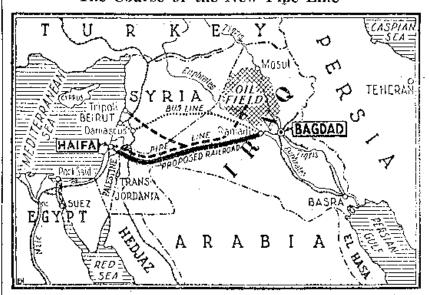
# The New Mosul Pipe Line

by J. B. (Jerusalem)

rations which are being carried on with

The question of the oil pipe-line occur } which is at the head of the interventions are more or less connected with the sosies an important place in the war prepolist forces against the Soviet Union. In lution of this question. the second place, in this question there ncreased intensity in the Middle East, is once again seen the rivalry between The fight over the pipe-line has now assumed a phase which descrives attention for several reasons. In the first place the solution of the question is now being obviously forced by the Shell Group, Palestine the negotiations with Ibn Saud,

### The Course of the New Pipe Line



### UNEMPLOYMENT AND LOCAL 4

by A Clothing Cutter

The unemployment situation has hit josition of a referendum on the folthe cutters of the Men's Clothing In-dustry very hard. With the result that the unemployment question is this way the factional struggles in the agitating the Cutter Union, Local CPSU are transferred schematically to Big 4 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,

The Unemployment Situation

Today hundreds of cutters are jobless and have no prospects of obtaining work. The Philip Orlofsky administration in control of the local levied a special assessment for unemploment relief for which assessment they did practically nothing for the unemployed. In addition to this when the unemployment insurance fund was paid out by the officials of our Union, the unemployed workers were forced to pay up for back dues with the result that the bulk of the unemployment insurance money which should have been paid to the unemployed found its way back into the treasury of the local union and the general office. Another measure of the Orlofsky administration was to increase the dues from \$2.00 a month to \$4.00 a month as an aid to the un-

#### The Proposals of the Executive Board

After the meeting of the General Executive Board, the membership of Local 4 was eager to hear about its decisions, on the question of unemployment. The recommendations of the Philip Orlofsky administration on the decisions of the General Exccutive Board was looked forward to by the membership of the Union. After much delay the Executive Board of Local 4 brought forward the prop-

Turkey and Bulgaria, and July at the Geneva conference for a revision of the Versailles and Sevres treaties. In order to achieve begemony in the Balkans in D'Esperain of the French military staff the form of the consolidation of a bloc went on a tour thruout Greece and Tur- against the USSR it is necessary to "give something". Venizelos is ready to com-promise to the utmost extent in order to achieve his ultimate objective.

The Communist Parties of the Balkans and the whole of the Communist International must thoroly analyze the recent developments in the Balkans and must explain them to the workers so as to be able to mobilize the masses against the From this general viewpoint it is now war manouvers of Ventzelos and of Eng-clear why Greece sided with Germany, lish and French imperialism.

.apgr.graf.pangenengeografigenengengografigenengeografigenengenengengografigenengengografigenengografigenengog sografigenengowerssografigenengografigenengeografigenengengografigenengografigenengografigenengografigenengogr

lowing two questions. 1. Shorter hours with a guaran-

tee cost of production which necessitates a change in working conditions,

2. An assessment for the unemployed upon those working for an indefinite period.

The referendum was so framed that either one or the other proposi-tion had to be passed. Both propositions in no way help the unemployed. Proposition number 1 means increased speed-up, the introduction of piece work in the cutting rooms and the permanent discharge of hundreds of cutter from the cutting rooms. Proposition number 2 does not nullify the introduction of proposition number 1 because already the manufacturers have been served notice that the union officials are not against the introduction of this system in the cut-

4 to indefinitely collect assessment, ever, does not thick for a moment of employed. This measure practically drove all of the unemployed cutters which will be squandered by the Officialdom of the Local Union but will who are unable to pay dues out of the not go to help the unemployed or to carry on real organization work.

> The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union in meeting this situation issued a leaflet in which they called upon the members of Local 4 to vote for the shorter hours proposal. In this way the so-called revolutionary mion supported the most dastardly, ncious speed-up proposal of the Hillman administration and the manufac-

The only course that a militant rade unionist could pursue in the referendum was to vote against both propositions of the Orlofsky adminstration because only in defeating both proposals could an answer be given to the Orlofsky and Hillman administration that the workers want nothing of their treacherous bosses'

The Orlofsky administration succeeded in forcing the workers to vote for the assessment. The vote on the referendum was as follows: For the shorfer hours proposal 310, for the assessment 1039 and against both

### A Program of Action

The results of the referendum make it necessary to develop a rank and file demand for the following immediate measures that will assure some relief in the present situation:

- 1. The carrying out of the convention decisions for the 40 hour week with no reduction in pay.
- 2. The rigid enforcement of equal division of work so that work will be divided to provide a livlihood for every union cutter.
- 3. The repeated decisions of our of our union have seen fit to ignore tine, as well as to the doubtful attitude and violate must be enforced at once, of Ibn Saud, in order to defeat the Briand violate must be enforced at once. The temporary card system makes it possible for the bosses and our busines agents and officials to discrimthem of a livelihood.
- put in their places.

It is high time for the rank and file cutters, those who are working and those who are unemployed to stand on their own feet and fight against such arch reactionary regime to be performed not only by tanks and of Orlofsky and the treachery of the seroplanes, but by the treacherous Arab

#### The Interests of the British

Great Britain has the greatest interest in the solution of this question. It is generally assumed that Britain possesses only half of the shares of the joint stock company which controls the oil fields of North Iraq. It must be remembered, however, that the pipe-line is not only in-tended to convey to the Mediterranean the oil yielded by the Baba-Gurgur field, which is in the hands of the Iraq, formerly Turkish) petroleum company. It is true the English possess, only half of the shares of this company, the rest of the shares being in the hands of French and Americans. But the pipe-line is also intended to serve the oil fields of Naftkhana, in the neighborhood of Khanakin, which is in the hands of the purely British Anglo Persian Company and is one of the richest pretroleum reservoirs of

Sir Henry Dobbs, a leading British colonial politician and former High Commissioner of Iraq, records these facts in an article which appeared in the September issue of the "Nineteenth Century and After", and emphasizes the great strategical importance from the British standpoint which must be attached to the pipe-line. From the British military standpoint it oppears that both projects: pipe line and ailway line are inseparably connected. Together they are to form not only the main support of any British advance against the Caucasus and Azerbeijan, but are to be of decisive importance for operations against India and Arabia and also should occasion arise, against Turkey, Afghanistan and Persia.

On this point, moreover, the interests of France and England are identical. Neither the one nor the other imperialist power, declares Sir Henry Dobbs, can in time of war he compelled to rely for its supplies of such an important commodity from a long distance by neutral ships, or to purchase it on a free market against neutrals or enemies.

The intentive activity displayed in the last few months in speeding up the construction of the pipedine and of the allway thus clearly shows how seriously the British and French experts regard the approach of war. A part of the oil reservoirs of the Shell Co. in Haila, a part of the Haifa war harbor and several important aerodromes on British and French territory have been completed,

Nevertheless, the columnn front against the Soviet Union by no means does away with the antagonism between the imperinlist Powers themselves. According to the Franco-British oil treaty, the pipeline is to run through French mandatory territory, a circumstance which would give French imperialism a number of immediate economic advantages, and in All that proposition number 2 does the event of war the superiority over is to enable the officialdom of Local England. The British government, howthe event of war the superiority over keeping this treaty which was conclud-

### Conflict With the French

According to England only British mandatory territory is suited for the installation of the pipe-line and only Haila, situated on British territory, comes into question as the terminus of the pipe-line. The Iraq government, a tool of Great Britain, serves as the mouthpiece of British interests in regard to this question. All the protests of the French govern-ment (which on its part makes use of the Syrain bourgeoisie for its own interests), would have been of no avail if the American partner, the "Near East Oil Corporation", had not approached the French standpoint. Thus a compromise was arranged. The pipedine is to be laid from Mosul to the frontier of Iraq on British territory, at which point it will bifurcate: Franco-American oil running thru Syria (French mandatory territory) to Tripolis, and the British oil being conveved through Transfordania and Palestine to Haifa.

The French were compelled to agree to this compromise, but the fight is not by any means thereby ended. British interested parties are exerting every elfort in order to hinder the diversion of the French share to Tripoli. The division of the oil will undoubtedly result in a herce competitive struggle, and the peroleum magnates are auxious on account of their profits

In this conflict the question of "seurities" plays no small role. Whilst England point out that the line would have to pass Jebel Drus and other rebellious districts if the French standpoint is accepted, and openly alludes to the experiences of the revolt against the French mandate in 1925-27, the French point to the numerous anti-British revolts in Iraq, Transfordania and Palestish resistance. To obtain the co-operation of the native feudal strata and the hourgeoisie in maintaining order in the mineral oil is to flow, forms therefore 4. The bosses must be removed a part of French and British imperialist from the cutting table and cutters policy. If other war is to be waged (against the Soviet Union), then at the same time the strategic lines and the piper lines must be protected against the vising wave of indignation of the oppressed feliahin and workers. This task is now landowners and compradores.

### SUBSCRIBE

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE brings you weekly information of the most important political developments internationally and at home, news and reviews of the world of labor, articles on the most important problems facing the revolutionary movement in all countries. If you are Union for the abolition of the temporary card system which the officials of our mion have seen fit to jenore

REVOLUTIONARY AGE.

I want to subscribe to the Revolutionary Age. I am enclosing \$2.50 inate against workers and to deprive countries through which the precious (\$1.50) for a year's (6-months) sub.

seece and lugoslavia are working in	I NAME i	from the cutting lable
week and jugosatem are working in	NAME	put in their places.
d states", and this is the basis of their	ADDDDGG	It is high time for t
olicy in the Balkans In European die	ADDRESS	file cutters, those who
lomacy "civilized states" means big		and those who are un
tomacy civilizen states means big		
apitalist-imperialist countries—while "un-		
vilized states" means the Soviet Union.		agamse such arch reach
		of Orlofsky and the trea
After the dinner Venizelos made a	20040000000000000000000000000000000000	Hillman administration
	######################################	miniman annumentation.

### Revolutionary Age

Published Weekly by the

ROVOLUTIONARY AGE ASSN., 63 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor JAY LOVESTONE, Editor WILL HERBERG, Managing Editor ALEX BAIL, Business Mgr.

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

Subscription rates: Foreign: \$3.50 a year-\$2.00 six mos.-Domestic: \$2.50 a year; \$1.50 six mos; 5 cents a copy.

Application for second class entry pending.

VOL. II, No. 7

JANUARY 17, 1931

#### SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

Secretary Stimson's note on slavery in Liberia is one of the most brazen examples of hypocrisy in the entire black history of imperialist diplomacy,

The Negro African Republic of Liberia is only nominally independent. Actually it is completely under the control of American capital and under the dictatorship of the American state department. Its financial and political outlook the convention made system is in the hands of American receivers, appointed by the American state department. Its government a mere puppet government. Under the domination of United States capitalists the most brutal system of slavery and forced labor have prevailed in the land which was founded as a "homeland" for freed Negro slaves. The biggest slave-run industry in the country is the vast rubber plantation system of Harvey Firestone (Firestone Tire Company) where natives are driven to work in chain gangs at the point of the bayonet and receive the munificent wage of 1 penny a day, PAID NOT TO THEM BUT TO THEIR OVERSEER THE TRIBAL CHEFTAIN FROM WHOM THEY ARE PUR-CHASED.

But when Secretary Stimson learns that the League of Nations is petty bourgeoisie). This extreme right prepared to issue a report on January 10, exposing certain aspects of American slavery in Liberia, he ceases giving private orders to the puppet president of Liberia and issues a public note ordering the Liberian president and vice-president to resign and denouncing slavery in the American protectorate. Thus the League of Nations exposure of January 10 is made to appear as if it were a more backing up of the Stimson note against slavery of January 7. The American-appointed president and vice-president promptly thank him for his "frank and friendly" note and with amazing alacrity resign their posts. If we add to all this dirty business the fact that the League of Nations exposure is reported to tackle only enslavement of Liberians by native Liberians and domestic household slavery at the same time whitewashing the ruthless chain-gang and lash mass slavery system of Harvey Firestone and the other big slave-drivers of Liberia, then the tale of diplomatic rottenness is complete.

There is a big lesson in this for every American opponent of imperialism and every lover of freedom. But there is a still bigger lesson for every American Negro. For the situation of the unhappy "sovereign" republic of Liberia is a demonstration as to the real logic of Garveyistu. Marcus Garvey urges the American Negro awakened to struggle against political, economic, social and racial discrimination, that he should abandon that struggle on behalf of the downtrodden masses of American Negroes and seek a homeland in Africa where he can be "free." But Africa and Asia are the most enslaved continents in the world today. There the big imperialist powers hold undisputed sway, and rule with a naked ruthlessness that exceeds even the brutality of their rule in the mother countries themselves. The real struggle against racial, economic, political and of rank and file trade unionists and condifferentiation process under way in the social discrimination and exploitation can best be served by the American Negro's doing his duty to his African brother and to himself by deliv- ly of the Socialist youth. ering a smashing blow at imperialism in its world center, in the United As distinct from the first two factions, States of America. In this struggle they will have the support of their allies and comrades in arms, the awakened white workers, who have the same enemy—the American ruling class—and the same cause, the overthrow of capitalist imperialism and the abolition of all forms of exploitation and slavery.

### What Really Happened At the W. I. R. Camp

Jenkins concerning the question of I. COHEN, FOR HIS RESPONSIcharges of white chauvinism at the W.I.R. Scout Camp. This was published under "Letters from Workers". These letters are the expressions of opinions of the workers writing them, and the Revolutionary Age is not as such responsible for any statements

contained in them.

However, the letter in question raises three important questions: namely, 1) Was there or was there not treatment of Negro children unbecoming a workers' camp; 2) Has the Negro World properly stated and properly interpreted the facts; 3) Have comrades F. and L. Makel and Rothchild Francis properly reported the facts? On these questions the Revolutionary Age has made investigation and finds:

1. There really were disgraceful exhibitions of white chauvinism at the

W.I.R. Scout Camp last summer. This is attested by original letters from the District Negro Department of the Communist Party, the Negro Department of the Central Committee of the Party and the National Office of the W.I.R., acknowledging the expression of white chauvinism against the Makel children at the camp. (These letters addressed to Comrade Makel are in the possession of the Revolutionary Age, bearing the signatures of B. D. Amis for the Negro Department of the Central Commit tee, Gibarti for the W.I.R. and O. E. Huiswood for the District Negro Committee and may be seen by any

In our issue of January 10 we published a letter from Comrade C. B. THE DIRECTOR OF THE CAMP, BILITY IN THE DISGRACEFUL

3. Comrade Jenkins is mistaken in of the CP-Majority Group. The discrimination against them took place in July 1930, while the Makels were members in good standing of the official Communist Party and the recognized leaders of the Party's Negro work in Brooklyn. The Makels did not become connected with the CP-Majority Grow until November 1930. Thus the essential accuracy of the facts as stated by the two Comrades Makel and Comrade Francis are established, as well as the unjustifiable use or misuse made of those facts by the Negro World to attack the Communist Party for alleged countenancing of white chauvinism.

While the Negro World made an impermissible kind of attack upon the Communist Party, it must be recognized that the Party's conduct in Negro work has not always been above reproach. The facts are that the Party has not carried on sufficient activity against white chauvinism in the ranks of its members and sympathizers as to make such dis-graceful incidents as the discrimination against the Makel children im-possible. Further, when Rothschild feature of the leftward movement in the one interested and published in photostatif it should prove necessary).

2. However, the Negro World wrote an absolutely imperimmissible and unjustifiable editorial against the Communist Party and Communism in general, because the PARTY DOES NOT APPROVE OF BUT ENER-OFF OF BUT ENER-OFF OF GETICALLY COMBATS WHITE

Francis and Grace Lamb came as delegates from Negro organizations to an Anti-Lynching conference under organizations to an Anti-Lynching conference under the were in a shameful manner exhelicd from that conference. This is not a matter of white chauvinism but of wrecking of workingelass unity due to the present false line of the party.

Francis and Grace Lamb came as delegates from Negro organizations to on other questions the views of the left group are not so clear or well defined. Yet even here a distinct leftward is visible. On the trade union question, for example, Oneal (the right which justified as shameless resolution in support of the old line of the SP which increasing numbers of Socialists in the whole world.

Finally the proposal of the Senate sub-tend is visible. On the trade union question, for example, Oneal (the right which justified as shameless resolution in support of the old line of the SP which increasing numbers of Socialists in the whole world.

Finally the proposal of the Senate sub-tend is visible. On the trade union question, for example, Oneal (the right which all of the murderous brutalities of Chiang Kairshek have not succeeded in repressing.

It is clear that the plan of the Senate which increasing numbers of Socialists in the whole world. Francis and Grace Lamb came as SP.

# The Socialist City Convention

### Groups in the S. P. - Perspectives of the Left Movement -The Line of the Communists

by Will Herberg

ion (December 27 and 28) of the Socialist Party deserves the most careful attention of every Communist. The proceedings of the convention showed in all larity the deep processes at work within of L, non-partisan policy, against class the Socialist movement of this country.

#### THREE GROUPS IN THE SP

That within the Socialist Party today there can be distinguished three distinct tendencies each with its own platform abundantly clear. In the first place, there is the extreme right Norman Thomas group, composed largely of bourgeois liberals whose number in the SP has been increasing pretty considerably in recent years. The general line of this group is for the dissolution of the Socialist party into the general bourgeois liberal-radica movement (particularly in the form of a "third party"). The forte of this group is municipal politics which it understands completely in the sense of bourgeois monicipal reformism. It thoroly deprecates any "undue attention" to the workers on the part of the SP and believes that the Socialist movement should address itself to the "people as a whole" (i.e., to the group, thoroly bourgeois and anti-Socialist in every sense, has managed to clothe itself in a "left" mantle because of its characteristic liberal championship of 'fair play" and its opposition to the gross excesses of burocracy within the SP and On the other hand when Hilquit, with his especially of the SP officials in the trade pseudo-Marxist profundity, branded the

In the second place we have the right wing Hillquit-Oneal group which represents the so-called "orthodox Socialist" burocracy in the party, the "old timers."
The orientation of this group is upon the labor burocracy and its chief objective is to capture some A. F. of L. "respectability" for the SP. The line of this group, which today dominates the SP, is that of utmost reformism and vulgar pseudo-Marxism coupled with abject fawning before the reactionary anti-Socialist officials of the trade unions, This group is the real American representative of international Social-democracy, of he Second International.

In the struggle partly against the liberalizing Thomas tendency but above all against the arch-reformist Hillquit group. tinct political tendency (i.e., it has already ward tendency seems to be some strata siderable sections of the younger electprogressive movement uself. ments of the Socialist movement, especial-

which represent already formed and unchangeable political tendencies, the left group manifests as its chief feature a con-

### THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE

The political struggles that took place it the city convention dramatized the three-cornered differentiation within the Socialist party. But it also focussed attention upon the essential character of the leftward movement, upon its strength and upon its weaknesses. The most basic question that faced

the convention, altho characteristically enough it did not even come up for a vote, was the question of attitude towards claiming that the Makel children the Russian Revolution. The "Russian were discriminated against at camp question" still forms the fundamental because their parents were members line of cleavage separating the revolutionaries from the reformists in the labor movement and it is an extremely hopeful sign for the left movement that it is precisely upon this question that it took its clearest and its sharpest stand. Two resolutions lay before the conference. The Hillquit-Oneal resolution took an outright anti-Soviet position, thoroly in line with the Kautskyan viewpoint of the Second International. The resolution introduced by the Stanley group, on the other hand, was thoroly pro Soviet not merely in sentiment but in revolutionary class content. It recognized completely that the USSR is a workers state, building Socialism. It adopted a "definitely friendly attitude" towards the Soviet Union. It called for support of the live-Year Plan, declaring that the building of Socialism in the USSR "is consistent with Socialist philosophy"—precisely the opposite of the viewpoint of in-

ternational Social-democracy. It is clear from a mere reading of both resolutions that on this question (and the question is fundamental) the differences have already reached the point where they cannot remain within the bounds of one party. The stand for the

The recent New York city convenigate beginning to realize is a definitely (Russia) and that even on strategical-tacti anti-labor line. y demanded a fight against the A. F. collaboration, for industrial unionism, for the organization of the organized. The differences in the discussion of the resolution were far sharper than in the resolutions themselves. And in the end the Stanley resolution succeeded in getting about 40% of the votes (41 out

> The lowest point reached by the left ving was on the India resolution where adopted a thoroly liberal Norman homas stand without revolutionary or class content. Just as the USSR resolution marked the strength of the left group so did the India resolution mark

ts weakness. A curious thing happened in connec-Hillquit group). This resolution was full of "left" sounding phrases and contained a sharp attack upon the Norman Thomas municipal reformism. The factional line up was quite obvious. In the course of the debate Stanley got up and for the left group made a declaration that the "militants" were not to be identified with the Lee resolution. Evidently the hopes of a flirtation with the Norman Thomas extreme right still lingers in the breasts of the leaders of the left group. lefts as "petty bourgeois radicals", a left delegate interrupted with the remark that it must be Norman Thomas to whom Hillquit was referring! So the begin-nings of an understanding of the real class role of the Thomas tendency seems to be penetrating the leftward movement, altho a false estimation on this question still remains the biggest pitfall in the way of developing leftward movement.

#### THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE LEFT WARD MOVEMENT

The differentiation process in the So cialist Party not only reflects a similar process taking place internationally within the Social-democratic movement, it is also an expression of deep changes taking place in the American labor movement, in the realignment of forces witha leftward tendency has been making in the trade unions, in the emergence of a rapid progress in the Socialist party. It new left wing. From this viewpoint there has already reached the stage where it is a close inner connection between the is conscious of its own existence as a dis- developments in the Socialist party and the processes at work in the Conference organized itself as a distinct faction) for Progressive Labor Action ("Muste altho, of course, it is still almost totally movement"). Both Stanley and Oneal unconscious of the objective logic of its are leading figures in the CPLA and the own development. The base of this left gap that is widening between them in the SP is reflected in another form in the

The leftward movement in the Socialist Party is still extremely immature, heterogeneous in its composition and uttely amorphous in its political outlook the workers"! For the official Com-

today and the foundation principles of the Communist Party but which the Party Socialist party is already a fundamental leaders consistently refuse to carry out o chasm (witness the two resolutions on even to face.

The left faction intro- cal question the differences are assumduced a somewhat vague and rather weak ing a programmatic character. But what resolution. But this resolution distinct is hidden from them is very clear indeed to Hillquit and Oneal!

Two roads lie before the leftware movement in the SP: either towards Communism (which means, withdrawalvoluntary or involuntary--from the SP or to capitulation! No middle course is permanently possible; this has been adequately proved by the whole history of centrist movements in Europe and in this ountry. This too is still unintelligible to the leaders of the left group altho the right wing burocrats appreciate it thoroly. "Some of you will leave us just as others have left us before!" warned Oneal at the city convention.

The inner contradictions within the leftward movement in the Socialist Party are a sign of its liminature and transitory development; further development will with the resolution on Socialist Party resolve this contradiction one way ocampaigns introduced by Lee (for the the other. But the direction in which this the other. But the direction in which this contradiction is ultimately resolved wil not be independent of the attitude of the Communists and of their course in relation to the developing left wing in the

> THE LINE OF THE COMMUNISTS The traditional policy of the Commun sts towards left wing developments in the Social democratic parties was clearly deined in the resolution of the VI Plenus of the Comintern (1926):

"The attitude of the Comintern and the Communist Parties towards the growing opposition within the reformist (organizations) is quite clear. is the outcome of the fundamenta rules of Bolshevist tactics; support at

all times for every opposition move-ment within reformist political . . . organizations which is directed against the theory and practise of these organ-We cannot and must not wait until these left tendencies crystallize completely; we must use all our energy and strength to help the opposition movement, to assist these workers who are beginning to shake themselves free of reformist ideology

In a word Communist Parties must be quick to respond to all processes within the reformist organizations-to all ideological fermentand do their utmost to help these elements within the reformist organizations in their struggle against class collaboration.

onfirmation in practise in the successful ampaigns carried thru by the Communist International in connection with the 1903 right thru 1923. development of left wings in the Social-In the most serious way the ultra-left the two main factions in which Rus-line today regards all leftward move sian Social-democracy was divided ments in the SP as "a conspiracy to fool since 1903, Bolsheviks and Menshe munist Party there can therefore be no olutionary party could only be built group manifests as its chief feature a continuous ever changing dynamic character. This fundamental feature also distinguishes the left wing and between the left wing and between the left wing and between the left wing and the SP as a whole are inevitable as the movement from classical centrism, altho there can be no question of the SP except heaping upon it meaningless abuse. Even a sharp criticism and exposure of the dangerous errors and exposure of the dangerous errors and exposure of the lefts in the SP and potential, are swept in with the movement to the left and are still undifferentiated from it.

THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE

ginning. Realignments of forces within question of doing anything whatever in the Left wing and between the left wing and between the left wing and between the left wing and the SP except heaping upon it meaningless abuse. Even a sharp criticism and exposure of the dangerous errors and exposure of the elits in the SP and exposure of the official leadness. The left group believes its viewers of the Communist movement to attempt to movement. They cannot see that the triumph of the Bolsheviks connection with any leftward movement. Trotsky conceived such a party and exposure of the dangerous errors and exposure of the elits in the SP except heaping upon it meaningless abuse. Even a sharp criticism and exposure of the dangerous errors and exposure of the lefts in the SP except heaping upon it meaningless abuse. Even a sharp criticism and exposure of the dengerous errors and exposure of the dengerous errors and exposure of the official leadness. The left group believes its viewers of the Ommunist movement to attempt to the full the rotant in the SP except heaping upon it meaningless abuse. Even a sharp criticism and shottcomings of the lefts in the SP except heaping upon it meaningless abuse. Even a sharp criticism and shottcomings of the lefts in the SP except heaping upon it meaningless abuse. It is a party at the movement to the given and shottcomings of the official leadness. The left ward ginning. Realignments of forces within question of doing anything whatever in thru the defeat of the Mensheviks

that between its views even as they are ment of the class struggle puts before the

## PLAN HUGE SILVER LOAN TO CHINA

(Continued from Page 1) ed from the Senate.

The proposal for a huge silver loan to in destroying the influence of these pow Chiang Kai-shek by the United States is ers in China and in establishing the un the principal part of a planned offensive disputed hegemony of Yankee imperiar of Wall Street for complete hegemony ism. The U. S. government is planning in China. It is a plan, on the one hand, to to meet this resistance by proposing to strengthen the Nanking government "invite" other powers to participate it in the loan-playing second fiddle, o course to the United States. imperialism) and make its influence dominant thruout China, and, on the other hand, to make Chiang Kai-shek complete-ly subservient to Wall Street. The recent relative consolidation of the Nanking government thru the defeat of the Northern coalition provides a good basis for such an attempt.

From an economic viewpoint the pla is to seize a tight hold of the incalculable valuable Chinese market for the United States and so help overcome the discrepancy between productive capacity and marketing possibilities that lies at the root of the present economic crisis. Of course such a solution of the crisis would be made at the expense of the Chinese workers and farmers who would be surrendered even more thoroly than today to the tender mercies of the huge American banks and financial houses, than whom no more ruthless exploiters exist

I subcommittee will meet with great resist ance on the part of Great Britain and Japan since it is aimed to a large exten-

Involved in the whole affair is also at attempt of the U. S. A. to win Canada and Australia for the American Chinese policy as opposed to the British course

### The Political Show at Washington

"Third Party; Labor Party"

forum lecture by

HERBERT ZAM This Sunday at 8 P. M.

New Workers School 63 Madison Avenue

Next Sunday Night: David Saposs "Future of A.F.L."



PERMANENTE REVOLU TION, by Leon Trotsky. Verlay Die Aktion, 1930,

The pamphlet on the permanent revolution is an important work. In form it is an answer to a document of Radek's which foreshadowed his capitulation; in essence it is a serious discussion of the basic problems of the course of the revolution in countries where the bourgeois revolution is still incomplete. After reading this pamphlet no one can fail to understand what Trotsky really means by permanent revolution.

Two questions arise: Is the Trotsyist theory of the permanent revoaution identical with the conception Lenin elaborated and defended on the eve of the revolution of 1905 under the formula: "Democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"? And if it is not identical but on he contrary quite different, which has stood the test of experience within the last quarter of a century?

Trotsky's conception of the permaent revolution is carefully and ac urately formulated in his own words "In relation to countries with a

delayed bourgeois development especially to colonial and semi-co

lonial countries, the theory of per manent revolution means that the full and complete solution of it democratic tasks and the problem its national emancipation i thinkable only thru the dictator ship of the proletariat as the lead er of the oppressed masses, an above all, of the peasant masses. Can any one doubt that this con ption is thoroly different from the onception of Lenin who even admit ad the possibility that in the "demo-ratic dictatorship" the representa ves of the petty bourgeoisic an easantry might even have a majorit us against the Social-democrate he representatives of the proletaria Lenin made the sharpest distinction etween the "democratic dictatorship f the proletariat and peasantry," or he one hand, and the "Socialist (proetarian) dictatorship" on the other It is one of the outstanding charac cristics of Trotsky's theoretical sys em that this distinction almost, if no

entirely, disappears. Which of the two conceptions ha een confirmed thru experience is o. ourse another question but one hard y open to two answers: the concep ions of Lenin have found the mos striking confirmation in the course of he revolutionary developments with n the last twenty-five years! In essence Trotsky maintains the

following: 1. That on all essential political questions, on matters of principle as

well as on matters of strategy and This line of policy received brilliant tactics, Trotsky was in thoro agreement with Lenin and in thoro disagreement with the Mensheviks, fron

2. That on "only one question" did democracies of Hungary, Austria, Ger. Trotsky disagree with Lenin-on the many, etc. But of course today the at question of the estimation of the poli titude of the Comintern is quite different, tical character and perspectives of viks. Lenin believed that a real rev

> were always in open or hidden dis agreement with the political line of Lenin and manifested this disagree ment at every crisis (post-1905 period, February 1917, October 1917

Now these contentions of Trotsky may be very convenient from the viewpoint of justifying his own mul-ti-colored inner-party history but they bear no relation to objective fact Above all they rest upon an absolutely inexplicable contradiction:

In what way could Trotsky agree with the political view point of Lenin and yet carry on a bitter factional struggle over a period of nearly fifteen year against the Bolsheviks? How coul-Trotsky agree with the politica viewpoint of Lenin and fight fo fusion with the Mensheviks and for cutting off the "extremes" (i.e. Lenin in the Bolshevik faction? How could Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc. be in persistent and permanent op postion to Lenin's political line an yet remain Lenin's closest co-work ers in the faction of the Bolshe viki?

The questions deserve an answer-They go to the root of the historica egends of Trotskyism.

How Trotsky really estimated the elation of his views to those of the Solsheviks on the one hand and the Mensheviki on the other is given in an article of his written in 1909 for

a Polish paper:

"The Mensheviks, making as their point of departure the abstraction that our revolution is a bourgeois revolution, come to the conception that the entire tactics of the proletariat must be adapted to the conduct of the liberal bourgeoisie, including its capture of state power. The Bolsheviks, making as their point of departure the same naked abstraction: 'demo-cratic, not socialist dictatorship' come to the idea of the bourgeoisdemocratic self-limitation of the proletariat . . . While the anti-revolutionary aspects of Menshe-vism are already manifesting them-



Cal Guards Morale of Jobless

Calvin Coolidge has joined Woll, Green, Hoover, Edgerton and Fish in their opposition to unemployment in-

"If when unemployed", writes Colvumist Cal in the Tribune, "the worker is to receive something he did not pay for, evidently the morale would be lowered . . . The duty to relieve unemployment is plain, but not even the unemployed have a right to what they do not carn.'

It is useless to remind strikebreaker Coolidge that dividend recipients 'get something they don't carn", that speculators do likewise, exploiters of labor, likewise. By the way, now that Cal Coolidge is an unemployed president, isn't he getting a pension he doesn't earn? And did he earn his salary when he was president? And as for the drivel he writes as a colyumist in the Tribune, whatever he gets for it is too much. Does it lower his morale? It can't. Nothing can.

Ewald's secretary admits that hiz-zonner was looking for \$75,900 to buy post in general sessions. Outrageous! There ought to be a law limiting the high cost of judgeships.

A Nobel prize for cheerful lying should be awarded Frank B. Kellogg for his report to President Hoover that "there are no war clouds hovering over Europe." Baron Munch-hausen was a mere novice compared with Kellogg,

Now that Hoover has won his big victory for the mules providing that they should get farm relief, but not the men, the Arkansas farmers are balking and showing that the mules haven't a monopoly of all the intelligence in the country. Next they should learn how to kick. Then stand be hind the president—and kick!

The demonstration of a few hunired distressed farmers in England, Arkansas, frightened the Senate into adding \$15,000,000 to the "drought aid" bill. If all the exploited farmers and workers would demonstrate together they could take the whole vealth of America into their hands

"Labor Leader" Matthew Woll complains that in the Soviet Union "the unemployed must accept the work offered by the government" or they wont get unemployment insurance! That's Soviet propaganda, Matty. Wish we could complain of the same thing here in America.

### Pawning A Crown

Voltaire once pointed out that there vere enough fragments of the "true eross" (On which Christ was crucified) floating around medieval Europe to build the entire British Navy. Now we learn of fragments of the crown of thorns, one of which has just been pawned by an art dealer as security for a loan with the Provident Loan Society. Authoritative officials of the Roman Catholic Church declare that not all these thorns are genuine. To be genuine they must be accompanied by a church forgery known as "The Authentic." Historians have proved every one of the documents on which the catholic church bases its claims to authority to be forgeries. That a thorn can last nincteen centuries is in itself enough of a miracle to arouse our admiration. But that you can get something for it in u hock shop strains our credulity to the breaking point!

### Hooray for Herbert!

Hoover has a head like an apple. He has a round bely well-lined inside and outside. He lives in a warm house, has a good job and an expense account. Besides, he is a multi-mil-lionaire in his own right. He is a booster for the administration. He is not despondent about the depression. The other day, he told the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce hat there is no cause for despon-

dency:
"We have been cheerful in the use
of automobiles," he told them. "I
to not assume they are being used
for transportation to the poor house." Now that's reassuring. We always hought that in America poor folking cars for their last ride to the poor house. He's a great president and if his head's like an apple that only helps to explain the kind of speeches that come out of the front of his face.

"Reported Breaking Link With Tammany for 1932" Roosevelt: Look out, boys, don't speak

to me, I'm being watched. The Boys: Whatsamatter, ashamed of Roosevelt: No 'taint that boys, it's

just ... oh, you understand ...
The Boys: Well, if you say so ...
Roosevelt: Now, if I make out I don't know you, you won't get sore? .... The Boys: It's all right, chief. We don't mind being high-hatted. It's

he low-down we're after.
Roosevelt: When I'm in the White
House—you can use the back door.
The Boys: Back door, hell!

B. D. W.

selves in all strength today, the anti-revolutionary features of Bolshevism will manifest themselves as a great danger only in case of revolutionary victory.