REVOLUTIONARY

CLASS STRUGGLE!

WORKERS OF ALL

COUNTRIES

UNITE!

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CLOSE THE RANKS! UNITE THE PARTY! California Red Flag Law Voided By Supreme Court; "Age" Case On

Other Anti-Red Laws Still Remain in State; Hays Appeals "Age" Case to Supreme Court

WASHINGTON, May 18. — The NEW YORK, May 18. -The banning United States Supreme Court has der of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE, official the Red Flag or any similar device was made illegal and punishable by long im-prisonment. The decision came on the ornia. Justice Hughes wrote the majority opinion and a dissenting opinion was submitted by three of the justices. At the same time, other sections of the California law which are being used against the workers and against lahor organizations, were declared "valid", thus leaving the door open to the California Legislature to put the law into different words and continue using it.

The workers must continue the struggle against these, the criminal syndical-

clared unconstitutional the California Red organ of the Communist Party (Majority Flag Law, under which the display of Group), from the mails has been ap-the Red Flag or any similar device was pealed to the Supreme Court by its attorney, Arthur Garfield Hays, of the American Civil Liberities Union. The apappeal of Yetta Stromberg, who was sentenced to a long term for displaying the Red Flag at a Pioneer Camp in Calif-upholding the decision of Judge Woolsey and of the Post Office Department. The REVOLUTIONARY AGE was barred on the ground that it was "seditious" Charles W. Tuttle, who later became the Republican candidate for Governor of New York State, was the Federal attorney who presented the case for the government.

The case of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE is of tremendous importance. It is the first radical paper barred from the mails in ten years. Since the banning of gle against these, the command which are ism laws and many other laws which are being used against the labor and radical incre Communist papers and one anarchist paper have also been barred.

Boost and Build the Weekly Age!

Detroit Works Hard

One week of the drive and subs are; manager increase the order. coming in fast. New York is being pressed hard. Detroit is getting on the job, we learn how anxious workers are to get The Detroit district is now preparing the the "Revolutionary Age." ground thoroly for new subscribers. The la the first week 416 points were district organizer. Comrade Millen, is scored in the drive. We urgently call conducting splendid open-air meetings in front of City Hall. The "Revolutionary Age" is being sold in increasing numbers. Comrade Miller writes: "The last four issues were completely sold out, particularly the last issue which was sold in Me must reach our sold should be desired. ticularly the last issue which was sold in one night during my open air meeting in Subscribe now. front of City Hall. Have the business

"POLITICOS" DROP

Sumulong, Quezon Desert Filipino Cause: Masses To Go On Fighting

front on the part of the native politicians to the Filipino independence movement,] which has been a long time in developing, was climaxed on May 19 by the declaration of Senator Juan Sumulong, upon his return to Manila, to the effect that "immediate independence for the Philippines was impractical." At the same time Manuel Quezon, president of the ate, announced in an interview in Washington that "the definition of the Philippine demands must be revised to climinate the demand for independence."

During the last few months the cause of independence has been steadily losing support among the Filipino bourgeoisie and among the "politicos" (professional politicians, reflecting the interests of the native bourgeoisie). Both the Tribune and the Herald, official independence papers, have publicly announced their desertion of the independence

The change of front on the part of the "politicos" and the Filipino bourgeoisie is everywhere recognized as being based upon long negotiations and a final agreement (even the tentative) between American interests concerned with retaining possession of the Philippines and the Pilipino bourgeoisie. On the other hand, certain American interests, such as the heet sugar, dairy and cotton pro-ducers, are anxious for Philippine independence with the consequent tariff barriers to obstruct Filipino competition.

The desertion of the "politicos" and the Filipino bourgeoisie from the independence inovement comes at a time when the strivings for independence among the peasantry and the city workers have been increasing rapidly as evidenced by the series of strikes and the numerous peasant revolts in the last year or

The capitulation of the "politicos" will but it will not be able to suppress it.

From New Mexico and North Dakota

We must reach our goal ahead of time.

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BIG OPEN AIR MEETS IN NEW YORK

Gitlow Speaks In Bronx, Francis Addresses Boro Park Meet

Nearly 1,000 workers stood for over an hour and a half at an open air meeting held under the auspices of the Commun st Party (Majority Group) on May 21 The crowd listened attentively to the speaker, Ben Gitlow. The attempt of a number of Party and League members to disrupt the meeting by means of such cries as "How about the Daily Worker, Mr Gitlow?", came to naught as the crowd, who knew Comrade Gitlow as an old working class leader, heard a working class speech and saw that they were at working class meeting.

In his speech Comrade Gitlow pointed out how the crisis is sharpening and how the boss politicans are trying to underestimate the crisis, and throw sand in the eyes of the workers. He pointed out that only by organization could the workers gain any real unemployment relief. A large number of copies of the Revolution ary Age were sold.

The largest open-air meeting ever held in the neighborhood took place on May 18 at the corner of 45th Street and 13th Avenue, Boro Park, Brooklyn, under the auspices of the Communist Party (Major ity Group). Rothschild Francis spoke for over an hour on the Scottshoro case. The growd, numbering over 300, was very sympathetic. Members of the Socialist party, a Boy Scout, several trade unionists and others took part in the dis-

An hour after the meeting was adprobably have a dampening effect upon journed workers still remained on the the independence struggle of the masses corner discussing the subject. A number of copies of the Age were sold.

Appeal of the National Council of the Communist Party (Majority Group)

Two years have passed since the splitting of the Communist ranks by whosesale expulsions and by the adoption of a new sectarian line for the Communist Party of the United States. They have been two years tremendously favorable for the growth of the Communist Party. Two years of smashing attack upon working class standards. Two years of war preparations. Two years of mass unemployment. Two years of sharp offensive of the bosses on Party, unions, living conditions. Two years of growing resistance of the workers. Every moment of those two years has shown the crying need of Communist unity, of unity in the working class, in the face of the brutal capitalist offensive. The longing for unity in the Communist ranks grows deeper and deeper. Ever wider sections of the movement and its sympathizers have come to realize that Communist unity is today a life-and-death necessity. The biggest problem before the whole Communist movement today is: HOW TO REESTABLISH COMMUNIST

THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

Unfortunately, the official leadership of the Communist International and our Party do not seem to be interested in reastablishing Communist unity. How else can we explain the fact that not one honest move towards unity has been initiated or even discussed by them during these two years? How else can we explain the complete silence of the XI Plenum, called after two years of crisis, on this butnning question?

The only talk of "unity" in official ranks has been underhand, backstairs diplomacy, private negotiations with in dividuals, private promises of "unity-specialists" in the leadership, circulation of rumors and gossip with the purpose of gaining factional advantage, of stilling the burning desire for unity and weakening the pressure of criticism by means of petty maneuvers. Not a word, not a gesture, not an act, to hasten unity. Such dishonest and frivolous playing with the deep desire of the revolutionary workers for real Communist unity is a crime against the movement, a serious blow against the cause of real unity in the Communist

COMINTERN ORDERS NEW "UNITY" DRIVE At this very moment the Party leadership is on the point of initiating a new lake "unity" drive, a new large

scale campaign to disarm and frustrate the pressure for unification. This drive is being prepared and conducted UN-DER THE DIRECT LEADERSHIP OF REPRESENTA TIVES OF THE COMMUNST INTERNATIONAL AND THE Y. C. I. These representatives have the following in-

1. The representative of the Communist International has "mandatory instructions" to liquidate the Communist Party (Majority Group) "at all costs".

2. The objective of the "unity" drive is to give the Party membership the feeling of finality about the struggle in the Party. Too many members of the Party, it is declared, the they feel that the Party burocracy has so far had the upper hand organizationally, yet do not feel that the "struggle is settled."

3. Toward this purpose, the following methods are to be used individually towards members of the Communist Opposition: (a) Maintain the propaganda that the Party has made a "change of line". (b) Declare "unofficially" that no statement of any kind will be required from Opposition comrades who rejoin the Party, that they can immediately "come back" without "any strings to it." (c) Appeal on the basis of old group prejudices to have the adherents of the Communist Opposition rejoin the Party as individuals in order to "help the old Majority recapture the Party."

More fake "new turns"! more maneuvers with the lifeand-death needs of the Party and the working class! More private negotiations! More offers to trade reinstatement for abandonment of Communist convictions! More backstairs negotiations with individuals to urge them to "save" their membership by abandoning the rights and supreme duties of membership—the right and duty to criticize what is wrong and to try to set it straight. A fresh crime against genuine unity and the basic interests of the Communist movement!

WHAT IS BEHIND THIS DRIVE

Wha is behind this new factional drive? Behind it is an irresponsible attempt to silence the growing demand for an end to the inner struggle which so weakens the resistance of the revolutionary movement to the capitalist offensive.

Behind it is the un-Communist attempt to avoid draw ing conclusions from the disastrous effects of two years of the new Party line in practise, Behind it is the effort to cover up the disastrous loss

membership in a period so favorable.

Behind it is the effort to hide the practical collapse of the Party's trade union work, the fact that work in the reformist unions "has almost completely disappeared" (R.J. L.U. Resolution), the fact that the revolutionary unions have disappeared as trade union organizations, the fact that "the revolutionary unions and the T.U.U.L. have been declining in numbers and have lost considerable positions in the ranks of the working class during recent months" (R. I. L. U. Resolution),

Behind it is the effort to conceal the complete failure of the unemployment work of the Party at a time like this, the fact that after eighteen months of activity there are no functioning councils, the fact that there is "almost complete lack of contact between . . . the party members and the unemployed workers!!!" (Hathaway in May COMMUNIST) the steady decline in the size of unemployment demonstrations while unemployment and mass misery are mount-

Behind it is the effort to cover up the disastrous de struction of the influence of the Party among the organi-

zations of foreign-born workers, the loss of the co-operatives, the practical liquidation of the Pinnish Communist press, the destruction of the Finnish section, the destruction of the Jewish left wing movement, the crisis in the Lithuanian section, the sowing of dissension in the South Slavic, Slovak and Ukrainian workers organizations.

(Majority Group)

And behind this fake "unity" offensive and shameful factional maneuver is a desperate effort to conceal the fact that political initiative in Communist policy has passed to the Communist Opposition on the main fields of work. The Communist Opposition has long ceased to limit itself to criticism of wrong theories and policies and has been obliged to take the initiative in outlining and executing cor rect policies in the face of the inability or refusal of the Party officialdom to correct their errors or learn the smallest thing from the facts of experience. The main care of the official leadership today is to defend their wrong line against the policies outlined and the practical Communist activities carried out by the Communist Opposition. Take the needle trades for example, where the Party leadership has been trailing forlornly, shouting slanders and abuse today at what it pretends to accept tomorrow. Factional face-saving has become more important than building the movement or correcting the line.

CAN DOUBLE DEALING LEAD TO UNITY?

In this new fraudulent "unity" drive, the Party Jeadership is instructed to intensify its policy of political doubledealing: publicity sharpen its vicious attacks on "Lovestoneism" and privately whisper to "Lovestoneites" that it is adopting a "new line"; publicly attack them as "counter-revolutionists" and privately promise them to make it "easy" for them to come back to the Party (without, of course, accomplishing their Communist purpose). While the public slander increases in intensity and venom, the private rumors will grow in volume: "See, we are adopting your policies. Why go on fighting? Denounce your policies—aren't we adopting them?"

Can such double-dealing ever lead to correct Communist policy? Can such deals behind the scenes ever lead to party democracy? Can such despicable, anti-Communist "unity" methods and maneuvers ever lead to Communist

THE CAUSES OF THE CRISIS

What are the causes for the disunity and split in the Communist ranks? THE MAIN CAUSES ARE THE DISASTROUS WRONG TACTICAL LINE OF THE PAST TWO YEARS AND THE ATTEMPT OF THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP OF THE ECCLAND THE PARTY TO FORCE THIS WRONG LINE THROUGH WITHOUT DISCUSSION OR CONVICTION AND BY MEANS OF BUREAUCRATIC, ANTI-DEMOCRATIC INNER-PARTY METHODS. Expulsion, slander, terror ist Party members, even attempts to, break upsion meetings by force, have been employed to prevent Communist discussion. Ideological terror, physical force, expulsions wholesale, the stifling of political life, the destruction of the elementary rights of the membership, the perversion of democratic centralization into burocratic centralization, the suppression of criticism, the making of a game out of self-criticism, raising maneuvers with "new turns" into a system—these are the causes of the crisis. And the representatives of the Communist International and Y. C. L. carry instructions to intensify these methods still further, in order to forestall any real move for Communist unity. 20 00 00

THE ROAD TO UNITY

Comrades! There is only one road to the unity of Communist forces which we all desire so deeply, and that road is THE REMOVAL OF THE BASIC CAUSES THAT HAVE LED TO THE SPLIT IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. No individual negotiations! No maneuvers! No clever tricks, can take its place!

We do not ask that our views on the questions under discussion be adopted by the Party as a condition for unity. We are confident that the Party membership will come to the realization of the correctness of these views as soon as free discussion is permitted. What we ask for is the opportunity for free Communist discussion within normal party channels, honest speaking and honest expression of

The first essential steps toward Communist unity are: 1. The unconditional readmission with full rights of all comrades expelled for disagreeing with the present ul-

tra-left course of the Party leadership. 2. The initiation of a free and thoro discussion in the Party with a guarantee of freedom of expression for all

3. On the basis of this discussion the calling of a special Party Convention at which there shall be the fullest and freest representation of all viewpoints and which

shall re-examine the recent course of the Party and shall decide its future policies. These are the simplest demands of Party democracy. Only those who are blind to the critical situation of our movement or who are afraid of a free discussion can reject

bership will recognize the justice of these demands. Comrades! The new "unity" drive raises the whole question more sharply than ever. The need of unity is great. The opportunity for Communist work is unparalleled. The offensive of capitalism grows sharper.

them. We are confident that the bulk of the Party mem-

Especially now do we make this appeal to replenish and unite our forces when our Party and our whole movement is so hard pressed for lack of forces, when it is being attacked on all sides by the united ranks of reaction, by a united front of bosses, government and labor burocrats. In this situation we appeal for the unification of the Communist ranks, for a solid front in the face of the enemy!

Litvinoff Proposes No-Dumping Pact; Boss Diplomats Dismayed

Soviet Delegate Presents Economic Non-Aggression Proposal; Exposes War Aims of Imperialists Shows Peace Aims of Soviet Union

GENEVA—A sensation was creat-Soviet delegate, on the other.

After an analysis of the fundamenof the twenty-seven capitalist couniris at the European Union Commission of the League of Nations by the Soviet Union, which do not, however, speech and declaration of Maxim Literacture possibilities of temporary inoff. Soviet commissar of foreign affairs and representative of the J.S.S.R. The contrast was striking (1) that the European nations should etween the diplomatic manouvers and tricky intriguing of the capitalist delegates, who were only trying to nide their schemes of aggression and e further their own imperialistic interests, on the one hand, and the clear and straightforward proposals of the

Republican Regime Breaks choslovakia, Poland and Germany sold Moroccan Strike; Masses for Ousting Clergy

MADRID. -- A general strike which ied up all public transit and which was Ceuta, Spanish Morocco, just across the in the construction of socialism in the Straits of Gibraltar from Spain, was suppressed by military force after the declaration of martial law on May 16 by Minister of War, Azama of the "revolutionary" republican government. The general strike broke out against the miser the Soviets, mutually advantageous, ably low wages and long working hours for which there is ample scope, of the workers as well as as against the conservative course of the Zamora gov-

the new republican government, especial capitalist countries. from Spain.

MADRID.—The periodical Crisol, tephe Jesuits and the other religious soci delegates. ieties be expelled from Spain. The government has not yet given a definitive answer to this demand; it is delaying in the hope that the bitterly anti-clerical feeling of the masses will spend itself with time. Meanwhile the Jesuits are busy at work inciting the backward Basque peasants against the republican overthrow and in favor of a restoration. The inhience of the Jesuits has always been trong in the Biscay region and today these clerical intriguers are utilizing the opposition of the Zamora government o the pational self-determination of the Basque people in the interests of reaction.

MADRID.—The Ministry of Labor ssued a decree on May 19 authorizing ssociations of agricultural workers to rent arm lands and cultivate them on the

coperative plan.

aborers at this action by the government. Since its establishment the Zamora government has been feeding the peasants and agricultural workers with promises ing on a cut in acreage is because the for a "radical alleviation" of their con- Federal Farm Board has a huge surplus ditions. And now comes this "alleviation" -a petty, insignificant measure "allowing" groups of workers to rent land, after eral economic crisis, naving the landlords, of course. A great The Soviet Union was prepared to coconcession" to the agricultural laborers!

that the ruling republican-Socialist coalition has no intention whatever of infringing upon the privileges of the land- 100,000 deaths and 10,000,000 injuries lords is increasing the popularity of the from accidents—many times the number real revolutionary-democratic slogans on of Americans killed and wounded during the agrarian question: the confiscation of the world war. The figures have been the big estates of the aristocrats, of the mounting steadily from year to year. The church, of the royal family; the division merciless speed up system is of land among the peasantry thru the factor in this reckless disregard for human establishment of the poor peasant com-

tal economic and political antagonisms between the capitalist world and the economic cooperation, Comrade Litvinoff made two concrete proposals: undertake u pledge of economic non-aggression, and (2) that they should undertake to prevent economic dumping by an agreement for the compulsory sale of goods on the national market at prices not exceeding those demanded abroad.

Litvinoff made a vigorous attack upon the economic policies of the capitalist countries. He refuted the dumping charges so frequently made against the U.S.S.R. by means of official figures as to amount of exports and prices. On the other hand, he proved the existence of dumping prac-tices on the part of the capitalist powers of Europe, showing that Czesugar last year abroad at prices considerably below those on the home market. He cited examples of high wheat prices in Paris, Berlin and London to show the effects of capital-

ist monopoly and dumping.
"It would be naive," he concluded, observed by all organized workers in "to expect a capitalist state to assist Ceuta, Spanish Morocco, just across the in the construction of socialism in the

The excitement brought in among the capitalist delegates by the Litvinoff proposals is the result of the BARCELONA .- The most rigorous realization on the part of the imsuppressive measures are being taken by perialist diplomats of the profound the Catalonian Generalidad under Francisco Macia to suppress all opposition to upon the masses of the people of the ly on the Catalonian national question, realize quite well that for the capitalaccording to official reports issued here ist powers to accept the Litvinoss proon May 15. The measures, Col. Macia, posals is altogether out of the quesexplained, are to be directed against the tion-since they stand in direct op-Communists (under which term are in position to their basic interests which cluded all those who fight against the are rooted in economic aggression. reactionary policy of the new govern But the failure of the League of Nament) as well as against all those who der tions to endorse the Litvinoff plan mand the right of separation of Catalonia will prove to wider sections of the workers, peasants and lower middle class elements that the capitalist world is bent on war and only the esenting extreme republican circles, has Soviet Union really wants neace. oined the Communists in demanding that Hence the quandary of the capitalist

BIG WHEAT MEET

U. S. A. Insists All Lands Cut Wheat Acreage

LONDON: -The international conference to regulate wheat export for 1931-32 and to stabilize the prices has collapsed.

The failure is due to the insistent demand of the U. S. A. to have all wheatexporting countries out acreage sown. The Soviet Union vigorously resisted this man-The greatest disappointment is being ouver of Wall Street which if successful, felt by large sections of the agricultural would have undermined the rapid progress of collectivization under the 5-Year

Another reason for the U.S. A. insiston hand which it cannot dispose of at a profit in the severe agricultural and gen-

operate to avoid conflicts but demanded The growing disillusionment of the that it be accorded the same position and peasants and land laborers with the "good rights in the world wheat markets as Czarpeasants and land laborers with the "good rights in the world wheat markets as Czarntentions" of the Zamora government ist Russia had. The U. S. A. was the and the growing appreciation of the fact chief opponent of the Soviet proposals.

Official estimates for 1930 reveal over life. Peace hath its victories as well as

CRIMES DECREASE

Experts Attribute Fall In Crime to Improved Living Conditions in Land

MOSCOW-Crime in Soviet Union is on the decrease, especially murder and "bootlegging," according to the figures just completed by the National Institute for Research Into Crime and Criminals.

The institute's statistics for the first six months of 1930 show 4,532 convictions in the Soviet Union for murder (the figures do not include the smaller republics) against 7,431 for the first six months of

In a similar period of 1929 there were 21,304 convictions for bootlegging or illegal manufacture of vodka, the national drink, whereas there were only 7,575 arrests for this during the same period last year. Production of liquor is a govern ment monopoly.

Convictions for hold-ups in 1929 to-talled 2,164, against 1,469 last year, while sexual crimes dropped from 4,864 in 1929 to 3,106 in 1930.

There is no death sentence for murder in Russia, the maximum penalty being ten years' imprisonment. Death by shooting is meted out to some counter-

According to Professor David Rubenstein, head of the institute, the decrease in crime is due to decreased unemploycollective farm movement. Greater decreases are expected during the current year, with the labor shortage said to be the greatest in the history of the country. The Daily Worker, as well as the

IN THE U.S.S.R. For the Unity of the Communist Movement

Declarations of Party Members and Revolutionary Workers

HOW COMRADE STAHL WAS EXPELLED T

A Letter from a Party Member

the wrong Party line. Only a few

of his articles were printed after

Browder had filed them carefully.

And a few days later Browder wrote

Stahl was active not only in the

as well. He was a member of the

section committee and was a unit or-

ganizer and it was under his leader-

In the pre-convention discussion

Comrade Stahl sharply criticized the

theses of the Central Committee and

When the first articles of Losovsky

on the R.I.I.U. Congress appeared in the Daily Worker, Stahl again wrote several articles but the C.C. of

These are the real facts. The Cen-

couple of weeks ago I attended an af-

Working Class Unity

A Statement

every capitalist country, the increas-

ing misery of the workers and the

preparing for another war which it

rades. The Soviet Union is the Work-

We have therefore turned, as class-

conscious workers, to the Communist

movement. Unfortunately we find

masses, following a leadership who

ion. Whether it be in the trade

unions, in the organization of the un-

employed or in the defense of the Ne-

confronted with the same mistaken

policy: rigid sectarianism, withdraw-

ing from the masses and an intol-

erance that stamps every worker who

is not a member of the official Party

as a "social-fascist," fascist or worse,

We see that such a leadership and

lutionary working class movement

here in the U. S. and elsewhere. How-

of the American workers. A Party

so directed can only suffer chroni-

cally from splits and splinters and

must become anemic from constant

Communist Party (Majority Group)

munist movement that holds out the

On the other hand we see in the

expulsions of its best elements.

er's Fatherland!

The present world economic crisis

don't want to admit it.

Control Commission expelled

er against Stahl.

best in the section.

June 4, 1931. German Party paper, Der Arbeiter

Dear Comrades:

the expulsion of Comrade Stahl. As an old member of the Communist movement I am carrying on a Why? Because the Party officials struggle against the wrong line of tried to make the members believe the burocrats within the Party. How that Comrade Stahl simply "left" the long I will be able to do this, I don't Party. know! I am sure you are right but as the present time I can do more where I am now. I am sending you my opinion on the expulsion of Comrade trade union question to be published in the Arbeiter in which he criticized

Whatever you feel right to do with this story I will be pleased. If you print it in the "Age" the Party members will see the real facts. I have been unemployed for a long while. Anyhow I am sending you a dollar for the Revolutionary Age. German organizations but in his unit

Comrade Stahl-a founder of the famous Spartakusbund and for many ship that the unit was considered the years a district organizer of the Ger-

the section convention he was the leading speaker against the Party of-

Control Committee

by Jack Soderberg

We publish below some paragraphs Why? Because the Party officials from the statement sent in by Comrade Jack Soderberg to the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the United States. We will publish the document in full in a sub-Here is the real story: Long before the VII Convention sequent issue of the REVOLUTION- $ARY\ AGE.$

I have received a notice to appear at hearing of the Control Commission. I shall try in this statement to make my stand clear on the whole situation, three long articles in the Daily Work- joined the union in Philadelphia one year ago this month. I joined the Party a couple of weeks later.. In the early beginning of my membership I had some difficulties with the district leadership in Philadelphia due to certain syndicalistic tendencies that I was told I had acquired during my seventeen years of membership in the I. W. W. I tried my best to overcome these tendencies and adjust myself to the line of the Party. However, as the organization of the Marine Workers Industrial Union proceeded on the waterfront of Philadelphia,

with others, former members of the I. W. W., found ourselves increasingly getting into difficulties with the leader-ship. At the time I thought that the buphia amounted to nothing compared with certain manner that if I wanted to remain in the Party I had to obey orders without questioning them, ,.

to nothing but antagonism between the workers and ourselves . . .

world become a meaningless scrap of par per and cannot correct the errors unless the fundamental basis of the line is

Members of the union! I have tried in this statement to give the real reason for the persecution and judging by what has happened in cases before mine, will most likely be my subsequent expulsion. I appeal to you to think the whole matter over and ask yourself the question: Are we today gaining the confidence of the workers or are we losing it? I appeal to the rank and file in the union not to leave the union but to stay there and fight the burocracy on every turn, to fight for real democracy in the union and build such a "line" can effect nothing, but a fighting organization that will be able to successfully fight the ship-owners, the longshore contractors, the barge-owners, and the whole of the boss class. Build your organization on a clear-cut basis ever zealous the rank and file mem-land insist upon a line that the workers pers of the Party, such a "line" will will follow and only by doing so will never win for Communism the mass you be able to help to finally destroy the capitalist system of society and establish a Soviet America.

Jack Soderberg.

by Joseph Quinn I have been a member of the Party since November 1929 and still ain a member. I joined the Marine Workers League upon its inception and have been an active member of the League and continued by activity after the League, became as it is now known, the Marine of the situation on the waterfront, the Workers Industrial Union. During my union is falling apart and cannot boast membership I lined up over 200 members broad base in the masses of the having been active as job delegate on the ships and as member of the Port Or II is our union, comrades, and we have vestigation of the union leadership ganizing Committee during my stay a right to demand that the Party change and the matters of the union general-ashore. I have always tried to do the its policy with regards to our union. I ly be made. It has come to a bad American working class. We therefore ally ourselves with it, well aware of the double difficulties of the task ashere. I have always tried to do the its policy with regards to our union. I ly be made. It has come to a bad best I knew how in the union as well as appeal to all comrades of the Party and pass when a few burocrats that never imposed upon us. To be a Commuendeavoring to do my duties as a Come the union to unite and prevent the comnist is not easy; to be in the opposition is harder still. But it is the

UNIONTOWN WORKERS SPEAK UP

New Forces for C.P.-Majority Group

A group of undersigned comtades have been meeting in Uniontown several times during the past few weeks in order to discuss the situation in Uniontown, Marsontown, Brownsville, and Republic in this section, order to find a way to rebuild our move made in the ment in this section which has been allowed to die here by the present leader-

ship. After discussion we all agreed that the C.P.-Majority Group was following the correct Marxist-Leninist line. We therefore decided to join the C.P.-Majority Group and have started our activities to correct the line of the Party against sectarianism, for the winning of the mass-

A Party & League Member! Makes An Appeal

by Elmer Smith

I am sending this statement to the comeades as an appeal for the unity which our Party and League needs as an aid in the building of the revolutionary movement. I say this as an active and goodstanding member of the Communist Party and Young Communist League. In May of 1929 when the Cominters

Address arrived in America I was ready to support any attempt to end the bitter wrote several articles but the C.C. of the Party did not permit the Arbeiter to print them. The C.C. ordered the section committee (of which I was a member at that time) to take steps against Comrade Stabl ing up of the Lovestone meetings, the that of New York. Whenever I dared beatings of "Lovestoneites", and all other to question the correctness of the policies methods used in carrying out the Ad as interpreted by the national leadership, dress. At this time I not only became I found that the iron fist was immediately an ardent supporter of the "Enlighten-brought down and I was told in no une ment Campaign" but I was one of the chief instruments in carrying this out in the Baltimore Party and League. I further "dissolved" my family connections with an official statement in the Daily Worker. It was further on a communic cation from me that my sister, Ellen Lee, was expelled from the International La-

bor Defense. All of these acts were motivated by a desire to help the Party, as are all my acts at the present time. I have no other desire than to help the Party in

every way possible. In the early part of this year, I developed disagreements with the present ultra left line of the Party and League. At the beginning of the present Y.C.L. pre-convention discussion, I presented an article, as I had a right to do, proposing that the line of the League be chang-What is my stand today? I stand for clear-cut revolutionary unionism. I oppose the attempt of narrowing down the line that can only carry with it segretation from the masses. We must not largely coincided with the views

of this group. (Here Contrade Smith proceeds to an examination of the official Party line on the estimation of American imperialism, on social reformism and "social-fascism", on the united front, on trade union work, etc. which he criticizes very sharply basing himself on the viewpoint of the C.P. Majority Group. He also examines the organizational status of the League, the condition of anti-militarist work and Pioneer work, and the general collapse of the Communist youth movement. Lack of space prevents us from giving the statement in full at this time; we will

publish it in a subsequent issue). What is this situation due to? It can be explained only on the basis of: (a) an incorrect, ultra-left line of the Party and League, and (b) an incompetent, inexperienced and burocratic leadership. The membership of our Party and (a) the readinssion into the ranks of the Party and League of all those expelled for

League must face facts; they must force: fighting against the ultra-left line, and (b) a discussion throout the ranks of the Party and League on all basic problems facing us.

Only on this basis can we reunite out

Party and go forward in the building of a mass Communist Party and Young Communist League. Because I agree with the line of the C.P. Majority Group, because the C.P.-Majority Group is fighting for these things, I declare my ad-herence to the C.P. Majority Group. Elmer Smith

"I Can No Longer Remain Quiet :"

criminal misshandling of the union by pulsion from the Party but I can no long, the Party of our class and the union the Party appointed leadership, I find to er stand by and quietly allow the union of our industry. Comrades, it is up day that the union is gradually falling to be destroyed. apart and today remains not even at

Uniontown, Pa. Jes to the side of Communista and the revolution.

The present leadership of the Party is responsible for the disruption of the five organizations which we formerly had in No serious efforts were made in the last two years to carry on the Party work here. Even if applications for membership were sent to the district office no action was taken. The Party leadership is also responsible for the disruption of the N. M. U. and I. L. D. locals we had in this section.

At this time when the district convention of the N. M. U. is being held in Pittsburgh (May 23-24), the Party and One demonstration on May 19 was brok-the N. M. U. are hastily trying to call en up by the police, twelve workers and mass meetings here in order to get some delegates from this section to the convention. There is only one local of the N. M. U. in this section with not more than filteen members, in a section where there are 23,000 miners. Another important fact is that this section is the so-called home-section of Vincent Kemmovich who has many friends here; ye he is unable to make any headway be

ause of his wrong policies. We are now joining the Communic Party (Majority Group). Signed

(We are unable to make public the names of these five contrades because of the danger of blacklisting.—Editor.)

Why I Joined the C. P. Majority Group

by R. A. MacNamee

When I first began to suspect that our

I attended meetings. Heard speakers calling everyone but themselves a lot of bad names. Heard them tell how rotten conditions were. Heard them rant and rave, and shout until they were hoarse but did not bear what I wanted to know and that was: what and why is Com-

I asked many Communists. They all beat around the bush, began yelling, calling names, etc.
"Be a Communist!" I was told; but—

how could I be something that I didn't know anything about? It seemed to me that "Communism" must be a great secret-something that was being carefully hidden from me, and

"Dann this raving!" I told one Party and was later sent to munist after an out-door meeting. "I that the District School by the Party. speaker after an out-door meeting, "I wanted facts. Don't you realize that there's thousands of American workers

bourgeoisie and we don't need them or

later, having nowhere to go (and no money to go there with) I wandered into a Communist meeting on 23rd St. That was a lot different. The speaker was serious, earnest. He

didn't call any names or "sling mud." He stated facts and gave proofs. talked sense.

I didn't know what the words Majneity Group on the advertisement outside the hall meant but- I stayed after the meeting to talk to that speaker (Jay Lovestone). I told him my troubles and he provided me with literature to study. He showed me the difference between the "Majority Group" and the present leaders of the Party.

He encouraged me to study—to learn for myself until I could conscientiously say: "This is the way I want to go." Then he led me further, giving me

knowledge so that I could go out to my fellow-workers and give them a logical, common-sense reason why they too were needed to join in one great organization to demand from the world the fruits of

That is why I joined the Communist Party (Majority Group). R. A. MacNamee,

shell of its former self. Time and again, with other comrades of the union I have raised the question of the mismanage ment of the union by the leadership only to be told that I was a syndicalist and

"bad" Communist.
Comrades! It took us a long time to build the union. It took a lot of work sacrifices and energy. Today, owing to the most criminal disregard for the wishes of the members and due to the utter lack of understanding by the Party, even a membership of 300.

plete destruction of the union. I read will, shall be able to say who shall However, due to the burocratic and lize that my writing will mean my ex and who shall not be a member of

Joseph Quinn,

BIG STRIKES ON

Demonstrations In Swedish Capital; Miners and Textile Workers Out

A wave of strikes, indicating the beginning of the resistance of the workers against the burdens placed upon them thru the unemployment crisis and the wave of wage-cuts is sweeping Europe and assuming large proportions.

In Sweden, a strike began in the sawmills of Addalen against wage cuts. The bosses immediately called in troops to force the workers back to work. Clashes took place in which several strikers were killed. As a result of this, several sympathy strikes were declared, including the building workers and municipal workers in Stockholm. Several demonstrations have been held in Stockholm and thruout Sweden to protest against the shooting of the strikers in Aadalen, one of them consisting of more than 100,000 workers. four policemen being injured.

The workers are now in complete control of Audalen and no one can leave or enter without permission of the strikers committee. The Communists are very active in the strike as well as in the sympathy demonstrations throout the country."

More than 20,000 Polish miners went on strike, on May 18, in the Dobrowa and Cracow coal fields against a 10% wage-cut. The present earnings of the miners are between 56¢ and 79¢ a day, and they average only three or four days work a week. It is expected that the miners of Upper Silesia will join the strike movement in a few days.

On May 20, the police, endeavoring to suppress the strike, fired on the strik-ers killing four and wounding seven. This took place near Cracow.

TOURCOING, France, May 20.- A total of 113,000 textile workers are now on strike here and in Roubaix against efforts of the manufacturers to cut wages, The textile teamsters and chauffeurs have also joined the strike. The left wing unions of the C. G. T. U. have leadership in the strike and the workers have present capitalistic system was getting too ship in the strike and the workers have rank to stand much longer, and heard rejected all efforts of the reformists to

EXPERIENCE TEACHES

by Joseph Reilly

I joined the Marine Workers Industrial Union in July 1929 and from that date became an active member of that organization. Like most of the rest of the marine workers I had great hope for the union when it first started. From one ship I was on I brought in 25 new members. As 1 members from every ship I was on.

However, I soon realized that not only did we fail to increase the membership of the union but were actually losing members due to the appalling disregard of the will of the rank and file members. Finally I took the whole matter up in the fraction but was told by Mink and Johnstone that as a good Communist I must keep my mouth shut. I took the matter up in the Buro meetings. No result. Finally I took the whole matter to the mem-bership. This, of course, finished my

The only conclusion I can draw from my own experience in our union is the following.

berg and others that were being openly persecuted by this so-called leadership ,then I was told by the Party to get a ship and get out. Comrades and members of the Ma-

rine Workers Union! I am appealing Are we going to allow this to continue? to you to demarkd that a thoro inwent to sea in their life and never to you.

Joseph Reilly.

by Trade Unionist On May 23-24 there will take place tion? The answer to these questions lies

THE NEEDLE TRADES MEET IN CANADA

in Toronto the second convention of in the wrong policies imposed upon the the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union by the Party leadership. What are Union of Canada. A realistic estimation these policies? In the main they are of its activities and policies will be in these:

"leadership" of the Industrial Union claims success and achievements, especially after they had abolished the old local and joint board form of organization and introduced the shop delegate system. The leadership claims that the union is no more a propaganda organization. The union is now-so they want us to believe-the leader of the needle trades workers in all their struggles against piece-work, wage-cuts, etc. and of course, against the "company unions". They point to the strikes in Montreal. Toronto and Winnipeg as sufficient proof that the Industrial Union is already a mass organization.

The Real Facts

What are the real facts? A close examination of the activities and achievements of the Industrial Union will show us quite a different picture. Despite the fact that the Industrial Union is nearly three years old, it still remains a comparatively small propagandist orgnization with practically no shop control.

The mass of the organized needle workers are to be found in the reformist trade unions. The tailors are in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The cloakmakers are in the I. L. G. W. U. and so on. Only a very small section of the dressmakers are to be found in the Industrial Union.

And the Strike Struggles

But what about the strikes led by the 1. U.? Yes, all the strikes under the revolutionary leadership of the union were lost. The strike of the Toronto dressmakers was a "strike" only on paper. There was very little preparations for the strike. In fact, the strike was originally planned for Montreal, but because there were indications that the In | not know the official reason for my ternational was going to call a strike in expulsion, with the exception of the Toronto, the Industrial Union thought excuse of membership in the Solidait wise to be the "first on the field" and rity League where there are other they called out the deessmakers on strike. Party members also. Then there was Because of the fact that the Union had the I.L.D. incident that occurred about no shop control, not even strong shop a week previous to my expulsion. This committees, and because the Union did incident was the following: the workers in the reformist unions, no wonder the workers remained on their came thru to Amter. What was said jobs when the strike call was issued!

puts it this way: "Our dressmakers strike would have been a "big success". But Ambrody and one other comrade from because the workers remained on their the Marine Workers Union, there on jobs the strike is only a "little success." some business. I found no evidence In Winnipeg the workers of Jacob and of any "gangsters" being there and Crowley's shop responded fairly well to the call of the union and, in the first days of the strike, they fought bitterly against the bosses and the police. But later, because of the arbitration manouvers on the part of the city mayor, the leadership of the Union lost control of the situation and the result was fatal. The

About the strikes in Montreal there is very little to say. Not having the full any particular influence but was docontrol of a shop, the Union was forced to call section strikes, that is, to call only ty and as a comrade. I cannot to date a section of the workers of a single shop. Naturally, the strikes were lost.

can be seen that the Industrial Union is far from being a union with mass support, not to speak already of successes wish to emphatically protest against and achievements. On the contrary, the this procedure of the present buro-I. U. remains an isolated propagandist

What Are the Reasons?

But why did not the Industrial Union and tactics as are employed today by Union Square during the March 6th demonstration. I did not refuse my organize and to win the confidence of Presumably after the appearance of duty then and have never refused durfusion of policy? And, finally, why was cial organ of the Party. However, I and file members to be my judge and there so much "revolutionary" talk and ask comrades to remember that only I am confident of their judgment.

The reactionary unions are 'com pany unions', therefore we have to smash them. The worker who belongs to the company unions are social fas-cists. To work in a reformist union

These ultra-left policies brought about confusion and chaos among the workers. They bindered the work of the Industrial Union and prevented the build ing of militant left wings in the reform-

cide yet to abandon empty phrases in favor of constructive militant action. A campaign to organize the unorganized, the building up of left wings in the reactionary unions, not with the object of destroying them but with the purpose of fighting against piece-work, against wagecuts, against the reactionary policies of the union burocrats and against all other evils of the industry, and for one union in the industry, strikes to be well propared, the united front to be applied as a means to mobilize the workers on con-

Will the second convention take the necessary step in the right direction?

EXPELLED-NO REASON

I was officially expelled on May the

thru the Party at the present time.

As a member of the working class I eratic and sectarian leadership to deny the workers the right of membership in their Party whenever they

dare question the correctness of policy

against Comrade Stahl. Stahl in September of last year. A

can be permitted only on one condi-tion: to break that union. The united front has been abandoned."

there disunity and confusion. We see 15, altho no particular charges were placed against me. To this day I do a Party weak and isolated from the mechanically apply a "line" without regard for the realities of the situagro and foreign-born workers, we are

o Soderberg. I was then accused by Amter of being under the influence as a Communist. It is evident that From all that has been said above, it there is a wave of expulsions raging

so little of concrete and constructive ac a very short time ago the same organ

fair of the German workers and when I asked a Party member about Comrade Stahl, the answer was: "Stahl dropped out of the Party!" Comrade Stahl has sent a half-dozen letters to the Central Control Commission asking definitely about the decision on him, but no answer.

They expel a member of the Party but The Only Instrument of It is not too late yet for the second convention of the Industrial Union to repair the damages the wrong policies brought about. The convention can de-

enslavement of the colonial masses, the spectacle of a world, not yet re-covered from the last war, feverishly

by Joe Leston

One day during my visit to the Y.C.L. office, a call from the I.L.D. on the phone I did not know but the A. Buller, union organizer in Toronto, result of the phone message was that I was instructed by Amter to proceed would have been a big success were it to the I.L.D. office as some "gang-not for the open scalbery of the Inter-sters" were there wrecking the of-national . . . "Sure, if the workers fice. Upon my arrival at the I.L.D. had listened to the strike-call, the strike office I found Comrades Soderberg, eventual demoralization of the revoever sincere the leadership and howbers of the Party, such a "line" will some business. I found no evidence of any "gangsters" being there and reported this to Amter later. I spoke of Soderberg. As far as I knew then and as far as I know now Comrade Sederberg was and still is a member of the Party and I could not thereand the International Communist Opfore know why it would be a crime position a tendency within the Comto be under his influence, as Amter terms it. However, I was not under . hope of Communist unity and real ing my duty as a member of the Parsee where I have failed in my duty

revolutionary struggle along Leninist lines. Adhering steadfastly to Com-munist principles it applies them clearly and practically. Believing with Lenin that it is the Communist duty to go where the masses are, it seeks to work with all working class groups. Instead of deserting the trade unions and leaving their mem-

had a different story to tell. I am referring to the time of my arrest together with Foster, Amter, etc. on organize and to win the confidence of this statement all kinds of slander ing the entire four year period of only way to Communist ist unions? Why was there such a contain and charges will appear in the offinembership. I leave it to the rank working class victory.

Albert Bell.

What is the situation? I have waged a fight in the union against the burocracy and in my opinion the incorrect line and policies. I have always contended that was correct in this stand. And today we find that in the Daily Work-er of May 18, the resolution of the Profintern, the very thing for which the persecution of myself and others was in-stituted is given officially by the Profintern. I always contended that our policy and our line in our union is segregating us from actual contact with the masses and instead of building a mass union we are rapidly becoming a small sect or a from which capitalism confessedly cult hoplessly crying in the wilderness cannot extricate itself, the growing and absolutely disregarded by the mass army of millions of unemployed in of workers. I always contended that we

does not know how to avert, present a situation to which the international Communist movement alone offers a bold and practical solution. We rethough the international communist movement alone offers a bold and practical solution. We rethough the reformist unions but huild within those unions a powerful left wing these charges I made a study of the position of the Communist Party within those unions a powerful left wing the position of the Communist Party within those unions a powerful left wing the position of the Communist Party within those unions a powerful left wing the position of the Communist Party within those unions a powerful left wing the position of the Communist Party within those unions a powerful left wing the position of the Communist Party within those unions a powerful left wing the position of the Communist Party within those unions a powerful left wing the position of the Communist Party within those unions are presented in the position of the Communist Party within those unions are presented in the position of the Communist Party within those unions are presented in the position of the Communist Party within those unions are presented in the position of the Communist Party within those unions are presented in the position of the Communist Party within those unions are presented in the position of the Communist Party within those unions are presented in the presented in the position of the Communist Party within those unions are presented in the present means to mobilize the workers on concentrations the crete issues in their daily struggle for better conditions, this is what is needed at the present time.

Continuous invented about only the vicinity of the condition. We result that will make its presence felt, view of the present time. of the world proletariat can we come es and try to change the reformist unions out of chaos into order, out of war into militant organs of working class into peace, out of capitalist exploitainto peace, out of capitalist exploita-tion into a workers republic. We to today of "Control the unions or hail the example of our Russian com-smash them!" is a slogan that will lead

All the Profintern resolutions in the

Comrades! Members of the Party!

bers helpless in the hands of the reactionary burocrats, it seeks to lead these workers in their struggles against their bosses and their mis eaders. It applies the principle of he united front tactic not as an emp ty phrase but as a sure and powerful weapon in the class struggle. It makes the workers class-conscious thru their struggles first and then asks them for their allegiance.
We see in the C. P.-Majority Group the only instrument for workng class unity and that, only thru its program can the the Communist Party become a Leninist Party with

only way to Communist unity and Edgar M. Stillman

about Communism, I wanted to learn go back to work and submit the dispute more of it.

signed on the ships I continued in the capacity of job delegate bringing in

Early in August after my return there's thousands of American workers like me who want to know what a thing from the Soviet Union I was elected secretary of the New York branch of "Yes," I continued. "Many thousands of us. And you people need us too, if you ever hope to succeed."

"Secretary of the New York branch of the Marine Workers Union. I continued in that capacity until my entering the school. I realized, of course, tering the school. I realized, of course, Here is his reply—get it! that something was wrong with the "Comrade", he said, "we don't need union due to its slowness in growing them. Men who put their own petry and its actual lack of influence on deas and thoughts ahead of the Party are the waterfront. However, until I became secretary of the Branch I wan want anything to do with them!"

I immediately determined to drop all existed. After taking office, I soon thought of Communism but, a few nights found out. I was made a member of the National Buro-not by election but by appointment from Papa Mink. Upon receiving this appointment I was told in no uncertain manner that from now on it would be a question of supporting the leadership no matter what would be their errors or mistakes. This I endeavored to do as a good Communist. I was given to understand by Mink and others that as long as I remained a "good Com-munist" and refrained from asking questions, I would be all right.

career in the union.

As long as one keeps one's mouth closed and shut one's eyes to the burocracy just that long one is all ight. But the moment one starts to investigate a little and ask questions it means the end. In other words, had I been willing to fool the mem-bership I would still have been O.K. with Mink and Johnstone. But when I raised my voice in defense of Soder-

Appeal for Mili-

A big sensation has been created in the millinery market of New York by the leaflet issued by the Millinery

tions the left wing has issued for

The leaflet, addressed to the milli-

nery workers of Local 24, begins with

a vivid description of the present in-

credible conditions in the trade, es-

pecially unemployment. It then pro-

eceds to a sharp criticism of the poli-

ries of the union officialdom which,

it shows, has in fact helped the bosses

to introduce the worst forms of ex-

"Millinery workers!" the statement

roes on. "We must do something to

improve our conditions . . . The im-

tion and contracting shop pestilence

in New York . . . Our miserable con-

ditions pass beyond toleration. It is

mpossible to let them go on further.

Something must be done. The mem-

bership must adopt radical measures

to improve their conditions. One of

the most effective means in this di-

rection is a general stoppage in the

trade which must be prepared for

now! . . . We must destroy the scab nests and force thru the following

union conditions: (1) No bosses must

wage scale of \$65-\$70 must be main

tained. (3) No reductions. (4) No reorganizations—the equal division of

"We want to warn the millinery

vorkers that to carry out a successful

stoppage there must be: (1) Unity in the ranks of all millinery workers

and radical changes in the adminis-

tration of the union. (2) Determina-

tion to earry thru full democracy in

our union, the abolition of the offi-

cials monopoly over the job.
"We suffer sufficiently from the

boss and our union must serve as our

must rebuild the union . . . We must

"We, a group of millinery workers

organized in the Millinery Workers

Unity Committee, propose the follow-

ing program to make it possible for

our union to become a mighty force

in the interests of the millinery work-

ers: (1) To begin preparations for

a general stoppage to root out cor-

poration and contracting shops, to prevent hosses from working them-

selves at the machine, to reestablish the union wage scale (\$65-\$70), to

put a stop to reductions and reorgan-

izations and to introduce equal division of work in place of temporary

paid by the boss and controlled by

the workers. (3) To prepare the

week. (4) A campaign to organize

the trade outside of New York with

special attention to organizing the

thousands of unorganized trimmers.

(5) To maintain and to extend week-

work in all branches of the trade.

(7) The union must make every at-

tempt to get jobs for the unemployed.

suance of working permits. (10) A

ommittee of the unemployed, toge-

her with a rank and file organiza-

ions committee in which any mem-

ber can serve, shall patrol the shops

resentatives and shall include all

(12) Local meetings shall be held

every two weeks and shop chairmen

(14) The executive shall incur no ex-

members who want to serve on it

the is

(2) Unemployment insurance

make it impossible for a clique of

heir own private affair . . .

work must be carried thru.

mediate curse upon us is the corpora-

many years.

Balance Sheet of the New Line tant Struggle

by Herbert Zam

In the Cooperative Movement

of the delegates to the International Co-

the same conference takes place and the

Party has not a single delegate. The Par-

ty's position is presented by someone

from the outside, and not one delegate gets up to defend the Party's position.

The key organization in the cooperative

movement in the United States, the Cen-

tral Cooperative Exchange of Superior. Wis., with 20,000-25,000 individual mem-

hers, for years under the complete con-

est sources of strength, has been lost

thru ultra-left policies and narrow, me-

Among the Fraternal Societies

Among the fraternal organizations al

so, the felt wing is being wiped out by

the splitting policy. In the Workmen

6,000 members. In the Independent Workmen's Circle, an organization of

6.000-8,000 members was controlled by

only resulted in loss of control, but in-

organization. A similar situation occur-

red in the reactionary Hungarian fratern

al organization. At the convention in 1929, the left wing was supported by

about 40% of the delegates. Instead of

ization. Less than 1,500 workers follow-

000-30,000 members). In the Lithuans

continuing to work in the organization

split in which about 2,000 followed

the Party.

The ultra-left line has not

chanical, sectarian methods of work.

trol of the Party and one of its great

In the final analysis, the test of the correctness or falseness of a certain line, policy or tactics is in its results. If, after the application of a certain policy, the that policy was essentially correct. If, on the contrary, the movement has been weakened while objective conditions did not become more unfavorable then, ob-

viously that policy was incorrect. It is now two years since the "new line" has been in full bloom in this country. In that period, all the "open", "hidden" and "conciliatory" opposition to this line has been "crushed." The "excess-' were discovered and climinated. The es" were discovered and eliminated. The "left manifestation" of "opportunism" was exposed and destroyed. "line" and its pure application remained. There can be no more scape-goats found to assume the blame. If there are faults, defeats, failure, they rest on the shoulders of the "new line" and its advocates. In these two years also, there has been a continual extension of the favorable conditions for Communist activity, the economic crisis and severe unemployment, sharpened war danger, greater sympathy for the Soviet Union among large masses of workers, farmers and middle class elements. The hurdens of the toilers have become heavier. As a consequence there was a decided movement of large masses of workers to the left. The Party had better opportunities than had existed for years. And yet, what are the results?

The Party Membership

The first place to test the growing or diminshing influence of the Party, is in the Party itself, its strength as an organization. Does the membership increase of That is the most vital question. If the influence of the Party upon the masses increases, then the most advanced section of these masses flock into the Party. But in the case of the "third we see something quite different. Not only has the membership of the Party not increased, but it has decreased steadily since the "new line" was first put into effect. Today the Party has less members than at any time in its history.

The Trade Union Work

We next turn to the most important field of Party work among the masses— trade union work. Here we see a disas-trous situation. The ultra-left policy of dual unionism has not only resulted the destruction of the influence of th Party in the reactionary unions, but has also destroyed whatever new unions had previously existed. Let us cite a few Today, the Trade Union Unity League claims 15,000 members for all the unions, Leagues and groups affiliated with it. But two years ago the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union alone had 15,000 members. The Independent Shoe Workers Union had 5,000 The Na-tional Textile Union had 3,000 members in New Bedford alone. Miners Union had several thousand members and a tremendous number of fol-lowers. The Auto Workers Union in Detroit was prowing rapidly. In April 1930 the Marine Workers Union had 4,000 members. Today the Marine Workers Union has less than 200 members, the Needle Trades Union has a maximum of 1500-2000 members, the Needle Trades Union has a control of the New York Island State only a small propaganda group. bers, the Needle Trades Union has a light in which we, the left wing, won become only a small propaganda group, maximum of 1500-2,000 members, while control of the New York Joint Board. Today, the N. T. W. I. U. can't do a

In addition to these "new" unions, the Party either controlled or had dominant influence on a whole series of other unions, as for instance, in New York: the Iron Workers Union, the Window Ceanthe House Wreckers, the Union of Technical Men. These unions, all with substantial memberships, were either wrecked or handed over to the right wing as a result of the false policies. The case of the Amalgamated Food Workers is even more striking. An independent union, for years supporting the Party in all its campaigns, thoroly militant, with 6,000 members in an important industry, conducted, under the inspiration of the Party a number of brilliant strugdefeated by a small margin in the question of affiliation to the T. U. U. L., a solit was carried out, a few hundred split away, and the Party lost all influ-

ence in this union! What about the influence of the Parto in the reactionary unions? It has been practically wiped out. The United Mine Workers presents a tragic example. In 1926-27 the left wing was so powerful in it that John Brophy, the left wing candidate, received a majority in the elections for president. Lewis, who stole the elections, as even the liberals admitted, credited Brophy with 68,000 votes against 110,000 for himself. But today, the left wing is so weak that when the miners in Illinois revolted against Lewis and split from the U. M. W. A., the Party was not even there to give them leadership, thus enabling a few hurocrats to place themselves at the head of the movement and sell it out to Lewis. In the Anthracite, which today is seething with revolt, with miners seeking a way to rid themselves of Lewis, the Party has so little influence among the 150,000 organized miners, that for the first time in the existence of the Party, it could not get enough local endorsements to put up a left wing slate in the district elections. The tragedy of the situation among the miners has only repeated itself on a smaller scale in every industry. The abandon-ment by the Party of work in the reactionary unions has left a clear field to the burocrats. When therank and file move against the burocracy, they find no leadership and the movement collap-It would be interesting, if space were available, to take a few of the more to lose all the way down the line. important cities and list the A. F. of L. locals which the Party used to control, I. U. adopt the policy of building an or and which it has lost as a result of the A comparison of Party united front conferences in 1927 and 1928 mass of needle trades workers were to be with recent ones would tell the tale.

| Mass of needle trades workers were to be found. Our proposal of this constructive

Workers Unity Committee a few weeks age. This leaflet, it is universally declared, is one of the best declaralactual majority of the membership, but not a clear majority at the convention, When we turn to the cooperative field, instead of consolidating its support and the same dismal picture presents itself. At one time the Party was so powerful overthrowing the right wing administra-Party is strengthened, then, obviously, in the cooperative movement that at the tion, the Party decided to split, taking national conference of the Cooperative only a fraction of its followers along with League of America it was only a few it. Unfortunately, it seems that the presvotes short of a majority, while at the same time it was able to elect a majority ent leaders of the Party have learned nothing from these events. A similar course is being followed in every fraternal organization in which the Party has operative Congress and a very strong minority to the National Board. Today, yet any influence and more splits are in preparation with what disastrous results can be imagined.

Strike Struggles In strike struggles the Party has met with the same disastrous results. In contrast to the splendid struggles of the period of 1925-29 (Passaic, New Bedford, the mining strike, the needle trades struggles, Gastonia, the shoe strike, the cafeteria strike), we find a whole series of strikes ending disastrously for the Party: Lawrence, Flint, Philadelphia and New Orleans waterfront strikes, needle trades. These strikes, at first hailed as great victories are now admitted to have been disasters even by the R. J. L. U. Ex-

This gives us a bird's eye view of what work at the machine. (2) The union Circle, an organization of over 80,000 has become of the left wing in the Amer-members, where the left wing had a fol- ican labor movement, at one time such a has become of the left wing in the Amerowing of 25,000 workers, a split was on powerful factor. In successful imitation fineered which broke away perhaps 5000 of their German predecessors, Ruth Fischer and Maslow, the present leaders of our Party have substituted revolutionary phraseology and noisy demonstrations for the basic mass work in the organizations without which a Communist Party cannot be built. the left wing and the rest remained in the

We see that the events themselves have repudiated the "new line". It has been tested and found wanting. It has brought not success, but failure; not added strength, but greater weakness; not new allies, but loss of old support; not the defense and not the opposite. We acquisition of new forces, but the loss of must rebuild the union . . . We must the Party decided to split and join the the best old ones. It has brought the revolutionary Hungarian fraternal organ. Communist movements of the United burocrats to transform the union into States to a very low ebb. Any real imed the Party. (The organization had 25, provement in the position of the Party is today out of the question as long as ian organization, where the Party had and this false line remains.

The Way Out for the Needle Workers

WHY I JOINED THE I.L.G.W.U.

by Chas. S. Zimmerman

al Ladies Garment Workers Union. In right wing unions was met only with order to forestail misrepresentation, sland species, denunciations, and slander. der and rumors which this step may bring forth in certain circles, I am herewith issuing a statement setting down the facts clearly so that all workers may onderstand the reasons for my action.

The Struggle in the I.L.G.W.U.

For a number of years there went on a determined fight in the L. L. G. W. U the Joint Board from the union. two years--from the end of 1926 to the close of 1928—we fought against this expulsion, against this splitting of our mion by the reactionary leadership, in a militant, in an energetic effort to save he unity of the organization.

In the course of this struggle, because of the expulsion of the Joint Board, there was no effective union left in the field. The bosses took advantage of this. Working conditions which it took us years to vin were lost, were broken down.

In this fight against the burocracy and heir reactionary policies, the great mass of the needle trades workers supported the left wing. Therefore, we decided to solidify our ranks by organizing a union but because the Party was to fight for and to defend the interests of the workers in the trade. When the N.T.W.I.U. was organized, it had real possibilities, a good chance to become the decisive factor in the field, as could be seen from the militant dress strike it waged in the beginning of 1929.

A Change of Line

In the same year, a number of new developments and significant events occurred which changed the situation on-First of all, towards the middle of 1929 the N. T. W. I. U. made a sharp of 1929 the N. T. W. L. G. man and break with the tactics so successfully pursued by the left wing for years. This new course split the ranks of the left wing. Many active rank and file workers were eliminated and removed from all activities in the N. T. W. I. U. All rade union democracy was wiped out in the organization. Thus the Industrial Union was scriously weakened and its fighting capacity undermined. Then, thru the so-called qloak-makers "strike" in July 1929, the reactionary burocrats forced most of the cloak makers to join the right wing union. The I. I. G. W. U. became the only union in the field so for as the cloakmakers were concerned, In February 1930, a similar so-called "strike" was called among the dressmakers and thousands of these workers were thus compelled to join the right wing

The N. T. W. I. U. leadership, con tinning its false policies, refused to face facts as they are, refused to recognize the changed situation. Instead of gaining ground, the N. T. W. I. U. soon began this point we proposed that the N. T. W ganized left wing in the conservative unions, in those organizations where the

I have decided to join the Internations policy of organizing a left wing within the

of the N. T. W. I. U. was seen in its recent dress strike which was a flat failas a union.

Today, the right wing union, the is cannot fight for the conditions of the needle trades workers.

But there is a way out of this deplor able situation for the needle trades work What has to be done is to revive the fighting spirit of the workers, to moworkers can arouse them to militant G. W. U. for the purpose of building up this union into a powerful weapon hosses—to fight for one mighty union in the industry.

decided to join the I. L. G. W. U. That. s why I will help in every way to work: for a militant class struggle program for . the union, to fight against the reactionaries and the bosses, and for one powerful needle trades union in the industry. believe it is now the duty of every mili-

The Logic of the False Course

The logic of the whole wrong course painfully that the empty, bombastic and the right of every worker who parases of the N. T. W. I. U. went over gets a job to remain in the shop. the heads of the masses of workers and came. Today, the N. T. W. I. U. has Sunday work as long as there is un- of sacrifices, sufferings and hereism workers and cannot therefore function

has the masses in its fold, does not and workers because of the class-collaboration policies of its leadership, because it is ontrolled by burocrats whose reactionary policies only stifle the union. That's why the mass of workers in the I. L. G. W. U. are so dissatisfied, so discouraged, and inactive. That's why they are not lighting against the burneracy and the hosses, not fighting for better conditions. Disillusionment and demoralization have replaced the militancy which has hitherto elected thru a secret referendum vote.

The Way Out

bilize them for struggle against the boss, the season. (17) To amalgamate Locs and the burocracy. Only the left wing cals 24 and 42 into one union and to action. Therefore, it is the duty of mittee system to make possible real every left wing worker to join the L. L. democracy in the union." in the hands of the workers against the

It is for all these reasons that I have

institute a shop delegate and comdemocracy in the union.

the right wing union and help the speed-

iest and most decisive achievement of

these tasks.

lebt, starting with the beginning of

and driving force that will again rally the to fight for more wages! needle trades workers for victorious strug-

About the XI Plenum of the C.I.

The Plenum of the "New Turn"

by Will Herberg

the X Pienum, is of especial importance deliberate contradictions and diplomatic in that its political decisions uncover most manouvering but also that this whole diseffectively the real content of the strate- honest system can neither hide nor at gy of the "new turn" behind which the all modify the fundamentally false, ultra-Ecci leadership has been systematically; trying to hide the disastrous consequen-ces of its own policies. The XI Plenum shows not only that the "new turn" strategy involves the most unprincipled

The XI. Plenum, held two years after system of carefully turned half-statements, left and sectarian political course that has in fact been aggravated with every "new turn". lesson of the XI Plenum.

TWO REVOLUTIONARY PAPERS IN INDIA

THE MASSES.

ORGAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR ORGANIZING THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS PARTY OF INDIA

PRICE HALF Anna.

PRICE ONE PICE.

THE KARACHI CONGRESS.

Eleved years ago the Congress broke away from 1 attered only in authorence. The preventing apirit of

REVOLT (Circular of the Committee of Action for Independence)

OUR OBJECT.

The contributly resolutionary elegacian in the Congress, finite programme directed interest action which the leaders from the very beginning, did not operate of the Werking absolute confining into negotiation with the government for rank and his to hight such prevail at Baracha. No provide left rank and his to hight such prevail at Baracha. No provide left rank and his to hight such prevail at Baracha. No provide left rank and his to hight such prevail at Baracha. No provide left rank and his to hight such to carry the day with the chean as the factual negotiation began. They had the courage to say frankly whether the line adopted by the loaders was bound in deterministy longist out to the finish.

What is National Independence? How will it be realised? What will be the conditions of the Free National State? W When the claims were their second of the Free National State? W'

The Masses," Organ of the Committee for Organizing the Revolutionary Working Class Party of India, and the "Revolt", Organ of the Committee of Action for Independence, Both Published Illegally Under the Influence of the Communist Opposition.

The Indian Struggle Continues!

FIGHT FOR SWARAJ FOR THE MASSES

Manifesto of Committee of Action for Independence

union for a struggle for the 40-hour

ruce with the Government. They say must be first removed. But the Swathat they have made truce because raj the Congress has won is not go-Responsible Government. Sardar Val- tation, as far as the masses are conthe Government has agreed to grant labhbhai Patel came to Rombay to cerned. explain how Swaraj is in sight, and Mahatma Gandhi himself came to do the same thing.

But what is this Swaraj? What are the workers and peasants going (8) No overtime and no Saturday and to win for their innumerable deeds

unemployed, together with the execu- the call of the Congress? It is said that the Gove lords and capitalists. people who oppress and exploit the long as there is unemployment. (11) much as the foreign capitalists. The organization committee shall be When these people will get more That's reorganized on the basis of shop rep- power they will exploit the masses landlords and capitalists. more. This Swaraj the Congress has The Congress leaders do not explain how the conditions of the workers and peasants will be any betand committee meetings every two ter, when the rich people of India will weeks. (13) The executive shall be have the chance to be richer. The Congress leaders are very an-

noyed with those who defend the inpenses without the approval of the terest of the workers. At the Azad local meeting. (15) The officials shall Maidan meeting Vallabhbhai Patel receive \$55 a week. (16) To issue a asked the workers not to fight the manifesto making good-standing all Indian acpitalists but to help the Con-members who owe eight month dues gress to place them in power. He as a result of unemployment, with a maintained that the Congress stands period of three months to pay off the for the workers and peasants! Can the workers still believe it?

In their anxiety to get Swaraj for ich men the Congress leaders have altogether disregarded the demands of the workers and peasants who cheer fully suffered great hardships at the call of the Congress. The demand for the redress of most burning grievances of the workers and peasants have been repeatedly placed before the Big Open Air Meeting In Passaic Congress. They have received no at-Fellow needle trades workers! The tention, while the Congress leaders need of the hour is one militant indus have fully supported the demands of trial union! Only by going where the the Indian capitalists. The boycott masses are and working amongst them movement has greatly helped the and with them constructively can the left Bombay mill owners but the Congress wing be-as it must be-the inspiring lleaders would not allow the workers

Vallabhai Patel also told that tant, every left wing worker, every class gle against the present intolerable con- Congress is not prepared to harm the la crowd of over 150 listened for three conscious needle trades worker, to join ditions! princes and the landlords. So under

(The Committee of Action for Independence has issued the following by side with the Indian capitalists. Innifesto.) The Congress leaders have made the plea that foreign exploitation ing to put an end to foreign exploi-

The British capitalists make an annual profit of about 250 erores of rupees thru India. To pay this huge of "national Bolshevism" by the Gerr bill is the "obligation" of India. Who Party and Ecci within the last year. discharges this obligation actually? The workers and peasants, who produce goods with which the payment is employment. (9) A committee of the |-deeds committed enthusiastically at |made. The average burden per head | of a toiler is 40 to 50 rupees a year, that we were: "with both feet in the revnder "Swaraj" this burden will not the country will be largely handed over to the Indians. But who are these Indians? The princes, land-"obligation" shall be discharged by fution". At the XI Plenum, two years That is, the the Indian people. That is, the In- later, however, we are told that "there dian workers and peasants will con- has been a growing increase in the revoto see that no overtime is worked as Indian workers and peasants just as tinue to be exploited by the foreign capitalists under "Swaraj" which will satisfy the ambition of the Indian

> The workers have no reason to be liscouraged. They now know that the Congress does not stand for them. They must help themselves. They must continue the struggle against foreign as well as against Indian exploiters at the same time, under the leadership of their own party-the party of the workers and peasants of India, Under the Red Flag of that party all the oppressed and the exploited must unite and struggle for freedom. They must unite the peasantry and all the other oppressed to continue the fight with the object of conquering Swaraj for the masses. Committee of Action for Independence

GOOD MEETINGS HELD IN NEW JERSEY

Francis Speaks in Orange

PASSAIC, N. J.—The extent to which the workers here are interested in the message of the Communist Party (Majority Group) can hest be judged from the fact that Saturday night at Hudson and Market Streets, Francis who discussed unemployment, wage-cuts, lynching, etc.

All efforts by two members of the official Communist Party to coerce Negro workers from listening to all the speakers were futile. At the close of the meeting these workers went to our headquarters here Comrade Keller and other explained to them the value of organization.

ORANGE, N. J .-- At the request of the President of the Muselet Club, Negro organization, Rothschild Francis spoke for an hour at its headquarters on: "The Class Struggle." A resolution was passed unanimously by the club to hear Jay Lovestone speak on "Communism" in Jersey City on Monday, May 25, at the Jewish Community Center.

1. The Analysis of the Objective Situation

Quite correctly does the XI Plenum resolution make as the central axis of its analysis of the present world economic and political situation the sharp and funlamental contrast between the capitalist world in acute crisis and the Soviet Union n rapid Socialist construction. The summary formulation of the Plenum on the conomic situation is:

"Capitalist stabilization is coming to an end. In the U. S. S. R. the laying of the foundations of Socialist economy is being completed." So "capitalist stalibilization" is only

now (1931) "coming to an end"? But at the X Plenum (1929) it was already "shattered" and "liquidated"—and to doubt this was the surest sign of a "right winger" and "renegade". Why, at that very time, the official reporter at the X Plenum even assured us that the very term "stabilization" was "confusing" and should perhaps never have been applied!" The retreat here is obvious,

But even this "cautious" formulation of the XI Plenum is incorrect because it separates "stabilization" (and its liquidation) as an economic condition from the political factors organically associated with it. The Platform of the International Communist Opposition (Revolutionary Age, April 27, 1931) declares quite cor-

"The so-called stabilization of capital is, therefore, no mere economic phenomenon. It signifies the reestablishment of capitalism, economic and political."

The liquidation of stabilization, thereore, does not come automatically and by itself with a deep economic crisis but accessarily involves also the shattering of he reestablished political domination of he hourgeoisie. The International Plattorm emphasizes;

'An economic crisis does not in it self mean the end of the so-called stabdization. It only signifies such an end if the working class makes use of the objective revolutionary possibilities created for overthrowing the rule of capital."

But for the bourgeoisie there is no sitnation necessarily without a way out. If the working class is not in position to take advantage of the economic conditions for the ending of capitalist stabilization, there the bourgeoisic will temporarily overcome the crisis at the expense of the toilers and, under certain conditions, thru the victory of the extreme counter-revolu-

The Question of Fascism

An astonishing feature of the XI Plenum resolution is the absolute neglect of the question of Fascism altho surely the sweeping advance of Fascism is an outstanding feature of the present political situation. The superficial treatment of the question of Fascism in the resolution is to be associated with the complete sterility of the Comintern today in the tactics of the struggle against Fascism and to the serious concessions made to the spirit of "national Bolshevism" by the German

2. The Working Class and the "Revolutionary Upsurge"

At the X Plenum Molotov declared dutionary situation lutionary upsurge.

How is the XI Plenum able to "prove" this assertion which seems so contrary to the facts: in the last few years it was precisely the counter-revolutionary forces of Fascism that made such inroads among the toilers while the Communist movement lost in strength and influence? Thru obvious distortion of facts ("intensification of strike struggle and unemployed novement"), thru pure inventions ("development of the revolutionary peasants movement"), thru outright fiction ("growth of a number of Communist paries") which are contradicted by the official statements themselves. Hardly adequate proof! That the "revolutionary upsurge" is

ours fabrication is indicated in the resoution itself when it refers more than once to the "offensive" of the capitalists and to the "resistance" and "defensive" of the workers. Gone are the "offensive battles" of two years ago when every litthe strike in every part of the world was a great "offensive action of the proletar-iat." The working class which is on the "defensive" (or even on the "counter-offensive") and which at the same time finds itself in a "deep revolutionary upsurge" is in a somewhat contradicory position! When it comes to the concrete analy-

sis of the situation in different countries the XI Plenum is again peculiarly "cautious"-the cantion of diplomacy and evasion. We rend that in certain countries (Germany, Poland) there are "being reated the conditions for the growth of the pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis. Note the implications and reservations! Not the "revolutionary crisis" es growing (at the X Plenum it was al endy here!) not even its "pre-requiquisites", but the "conditions for the growth of the pre-requisites", and even chese "conditions" are not yet here but are only being "created". Such diplomatic evasion only characterize the futile

attempt to crawl out of the swamp of the third period phantasies without ever admitting that you have fallen into it! This is the "new turn" strategy in action. (Continued in the next issue) Lack of space compells us to post-

pone to the next issue the concluding instalment of "What About the Marine Union" and the next article in the series "Rationalization and the

The Economic Week

1 HE general decline in industrial activities is continuing. Steel output has fallen to 44%. Car-loadings dropped to a new low for the present crisis. Electric power output continues its downward trend. The decline in automobile production is more than seasonal. The "blue chip" stocks are still falling, with the U. S. Steel be-

low par. As we indicated some time ago, failures in the real estate market are breaking out on a most serious scale with the nationally-known real estate and investing firm, the American Bond and Mortgage Company of Chicago, just having crashed.

Credit rates are continuing to decline. The leading commercial banks

have just cut their interest rates on thrift deposists. For nine consecutive weeks prices have been falling in a new downward course. The failure of the London Wheat Conference and the Geneva Conference to achieve an improvement in international relations has been reflected sharply on the Paris-Berlin-London stock markets.

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THE "FATHERLY TENDERNESS" OF THE POPE

new encyclical letter has just issued from the "inspired" and "infallible" hand of Pope Pius XI on the "social and labor" question. It appears on the 40th anniversary of the anti-Socialist anti-labor blast of his predecessor, Leo XIII, which proved so impotent to stem the then rapidly rising tide of Socialism. The new encyclical, like its predecessor, reveals nakedly the pro-capitalist, pro-private property character of the Papacy and the bitterly anti-working class nature of the Pope's alleged "fatherly tenderness for the laboring classes."

The new encyclical, the Pope declares in an advance summary, "reaffirms the Catholic doctrine concerning the right of private property." (From the dim distance comes an ironic echo of the words ascribed to the Carpenter whose representiative the Pope professes to be: "Sell all thou hast and give to the poor . . . Woe unto you that are rich: for ye have received your consulation; woe unto you that are full; for ye shall hunger . . . Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you . . . And all that believed were together and had all things in common . . . for as many as were possessors of lands or of houses sold them and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostle's feet . . . a distribution was made unto every man as he had

The echo of this fierce class hatred towards the rich and this aspiration for equalitarian collectivism that was the essence of the early Christianity of the oppressed Roman slaves, dies away, and we hear the voice of the Roman Pontiff declaiming over the Vatican radio:

"Collectivism is an equally pernicious error Capital can not do without labor nor labor without capital , , . All opposition between the classes must cease and harmonious collaboration must be established. . . .

With rare demagogy, the capitalist press of the world, Protestant and Catholic alike, proclaims that the Pope has made a plea on behalf of labor. But the Pope's words speak for themselves-the plea to the worker is to behave himself, to be "good", to love his enemy, the master class, to be resigned, humble, to "improve his condition within the limits . . . of the legitimate requirements of the honest workmen", to "collaborate harmoniously" with his master, to believe that the working class cannot get along without the parasite upon its back, to surrender the struggle against unemployment and war and capitalism, to stay down on his knees before God and Master, to keep his eyes on the skies while his pocket is picked, and to chant with the Encyclical: "The pickpocket can't get along without his victim; the victim can't get along without the pickpocket . . . harmonious collaboration between the classes."

His "Holiness" distributes this deadening narcotic, this "opium of the people" to his faithful flock in grand style. The Church which burned at the stake so many men of science, dispenses its drugs over the four corners of the earth with the aid of the latest inventions of the science it has tried so hard to throttle. Now it uses the latest inventions as weapons against the social use of all inventions. Today the battle of science must be fought above all on the battlefield of social science and here the Pope proclaims: "The differences in social conditions in the human family, which were widely decreed by the Creator, must not and cannot ever be abolished . . . " The Pope and his "Creator" are on the side of the eternal existence of poverty and starvation and unemployment and war and the brutal exploitation of man by man. Believe in me, says the Pope, and believe in god, who is Mannmon, and in Capitalism that is eternal,

Yet there is a note of uneasiness in the Pope's encyclical. He is reviewing the "progress" made by 40 years of winged words of the anti-socialist encyclical of his predecessor Leo XIII. The "infallible" has not proved so infallible! Forty years dustrial unions. ago he set out to slay with his "inspired" words the still weak but slowly gathering hosts of Socialism. Today they rule over one-sixth of the surface of the earth! Pope Pius seeks to take comfort in the fact that today there are parties calling themselves "Socialist" that fight not for Socialism but against Socialism, "Socialism too." says the Encyclical, "has undergone a profound modification since the days of Leo XIII. It has split into two divisions. The first, which draws all the logical consequences from the principles of Socialism, has taken the name of Communism and it is well known that its teachings can in no wise be reconciled with the doctrines of the church." (You know a thing or two, Mr. Popel)

"The other which continues to be known as 'Socialism' in many points has approached . . . close to Catholic Socialist principles, . . . " Yes, the Pope is right, the parties called Socialist have become bulwarks of capitalism like the Church, and if there is still antagonism, it is like the rivalry between Catholicism and Protestantism, a rivalry as to who and how to serve capitalism best.

But the wing "which draws all the logical consequences from the principles of Socialism which has taken the name of Communism" rules over one-sixth of the surface of the earth. And its armies are growing. Its banner is the hope of humanity.....Its principles contain the solution of the fearful problems of unemployment, exploitation and war. Tomorrow it will be sweeping ignorance and supersition, starvation and robbery off the other live-sexths of the earth, smashing the social inequalities which the Pope declares eternal and building a world where there will be no place for rich and poor, for prince and pauper, for Pope and drugdispenser, for master and slave. The Pope sees the encoming hosts, he hears the tramping feet, he senses the unconquerable advance of the proletarian revolution. "Strong as the Church is in Gud's infallible promises", ends his Summary, "the Church does not fear for herself, but she fears for many of her sons". . . The Pope is whistling to keep his courage up! On the next fortieth anniversary no Pius and no Leo will launch a new bull or a new encyclical against advancing hosts. There will be no capitalism to defend. Their job will be finished. The people will have no further use for their ancient drug.

New Workers Camp

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Two Years of the New Trade Union Line

The Road to Isolation

by Ben Gitlow

The Cleveland convention which cannot avoid them either in ostrich like changed the name of the Trade Union fashion by burying one's head in the Educational League to the Trade Union sand, or blaming the poor execution of Unity League was a historical event of the line by lower trade union functionfar-reaching consequence to the Commun- aries. Browder, Foster, Bedacht, Hathar ist movement of the United States. The way, Dunne, Bittlemen, Johnstone, with Cleveland convention was held in Sept Stalin, Molotov and Losovsky to boot Cleveland convention was held in Sept-ember 1929 almost two years ago. The new trade union line of the Communist Party was then and there put into effect. The work in the reactionary unions was bringing with it all the fruits of such abandoned. The T.U.U.L. was launched policy. as a Communist trade union center. The several hundred Party members who were brought to Cleveland as delegates, who represented neither trade unions or masses, were the basis for the claim that the convention was a mass convention and that the movement it launched a mass

The Communist Party leadership glorified the event. They said a new era in the trade union movement was forth-coming, that the T. U. U. L., following the new trade union line, would lead the workers out of the mire of the "socialorganizations (their characterization of the existing trade unions) into the free atmosphere of the new revolution ary industrial unions affiliated with the U. U. L. These, they reiterated, would become the dominating and all embracing trade unions.

The Main Features of the New Line Let us examine the main features of the new trade union line from which the American working class was to ex

pect such marvelous results. 1. The A. F. of L. and independent unions were "social-fascist" unions, anti-working class organizations which must be destroyed. Hence all work inside of the existing unions was either to be abandoned or, if continued, must be of a destructive not constructive char-

2. A left wing in the trade unions was no longer compatible with the burning needs of the present situation which was estimated as revolutionary, in which there was going on a widespread radicalization of the masses. Hence the T. U.E.L. the center of the left wing, was petered out. liquidated, along with the left wing it-

3. The tactic of the united front, on immediate every day issues, was given up-All who were not yet ready to accept the Communist position in the labor movement from class-conscious left wingers to the arch-reactionaries like Matthew Woll-were branded as "socialfascists", as enemics of the working

4. The policy of trade union unity was abandoned and in its place was substitoted the policy of splitting organizations and launching new "revolutionary in-

5. A policy of dual unionism embody ing the worst features of De Leonist se tarianism was adopted and the T.U.U.L. put up a dual trade union center.

6. The new line narrowed down the new trade union movement to a Communist Party appendage. The program of the T.U.U.L. was based upon the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the organizations subjected to the mechanical manipulations of the Communist Party officialdom, while the leadership was restricted mainly to the mean

bers of the Communist Party.
7. The every day struggle for better onditions was looked. tempt. Instead, general abstract revolutionary objectives were put forward as the aim of all strike strategy, attempted organization drives and trade union ac-

8. The fratricidal war caused by the Comintern Address in the Communist Farty was taken up in the new unions converting them into virtual units of the All capable experienced trade union leaders who differed with the new line were summarily removed and many expelled from their organizations.

Then And Now

The imposition of the new trade union line characterized above was a sharp and decisive break with the old trade union line of the Party. Communist International had to recognize that the old trade union line which prevailed during less favorable conditions, at a time of so-called prosperity and high wages, brought results. It stat ed in 1928 that the American Party was able to initiate and lead fierce class struggles and as a result was on the road of He used the most foul means for this becoming a mass party. We had tex-tile strikes (Passaic, New Bedford, Gascloak makers, dress makers), coal miners strikes, and other inovements. A big the administration at the meetings of left wing was being developed in the local union. One cutter, Max Lesser, trade unions. Big issues like amalgamation and the 40-hour week were being brought to the fore in the labor movement and the organization of the unor-ganized was actually taking place.

Now with an economic crisis, wide mass unemployment, wagercuts, intensified exploitation, a wide, growing discontent among the masses, what has the new in the eyes of Philip Orlofsky have been trade union line accomplished? What has it to show in the way of accomplish

What we predicted would happen, has ly by Philip Orlofsky. There is no check happened. We raised the alarm two years up or control over the manner in which We said the new trade union line would not work and could not work. We said it would isolate the Communists from the trade union masses, that on the trade union field it would lead not only to iso lings of the unemployed or if they conlation but also to demoralization, defeats

and chaos.
The flowery phrases of the new trade union line have withered away before the stern reality of time, the compelling facts of history standing out in bold relief as an object lesson to all Comhe could help it! munists and to all thinking workers.

The Balance Sheet

strike, the situation in the metal and can not make the new line work. It is a wrong line leading to defeat and disaster. It is leftism with a vengeance

1. The new unions, the all-embracing 'revolutionary industrial unions" of the T.U.U.L., (miners, marine, textile, needle metal, food, shoe and leather, printing etc.) have all combined less than 15,000 members. This startling fact is admitted by the Polotical Committee of the Party in an official statement published in the Daily Worker.

2. The left wing has been definitely liquidated.

3. The few strike movements under Communist and T.U.U.L. leadership have ended in defeats. Illinois miners, Lawrence and Southern textile strikes, shoc workers strikes in New York, and the dressmakers strike in New York are the outstanding debacles of the new trade union line. 4. Organization of the unorganized has

ceased altogether. The Communists have lost strike leadership and all strike movements taking place against wage-cuts, speed-up, for organization of the unorganized are under A. F. of L. or independent trade union leadership.

6. No movement for the unemployed has been developed in the trade unions.

7. Developing left movements were fought as "social-fascist" manifestations and the opportunity for developing a left plete decisive break with the new line wing was lost; thus the Illinois miners revolt and the anthracite outlaw strikes are the outstanding examples sectarian, adventurist, dual unionist and of a suicidal sectarian attitude to left developments in the labor movement.

8. The unemployment campaign of the T.U.U.L. started with the March 6th demonstrations, has dwindled down and

The R. I. L. U. Speaks!

Why add to the dismal picture? The Red International of Labor Unions in Moscow to which the T.U.U.L. is affiliated, could no longer shut its eyes to the devastation wrought by the new line. This is clear from its resolution on the T. U. U. L. published in the Daily Worker of May 18, 1931.

"Nevertheless, the revolutionary unions and the T. U. U. L. have been declining in numbers, and have lost considerable positions in the ranks of the working class during recent months, as a direct consequence of a their work (Philadelphia marine workindifference to A. F. L. workers mili-struggle against the reactionary trade tancy in Reading, the Illinois miners union burocracy and capitalism.

shoe industries, etc.) Black enough! Let us proceed!

The resolution states further:

"The fundamental weakness of the T. U. U. L. is the fact, that at a time so favorable for revolutionary work, it is still failing to organize the workers in struggle for their daily demands and needs. As a result, it has found itself to a considerable extent detached from the wide masses be cause it has been unable to establish itself as the leader of the daily strug-

This bears out precisely what we have ilways charged. The resolution goes on: "As a result of these mistakes, the

cord an increase of membership and influence after strikes, and numerous strikes take place without the participation and over the head of the revolutionary unions. For pointing this out vituperation and

intern; it is very instructive:

"A very weak spot in the work of the T. U. U. I., is the organization of oppositions in the reformist union - a branch of work which has al most completely disappeared."

These proofs of the effects of the new trade union line cannot be denied. Even Losovsky and the Profintern are forced to recognize them and deal with them.

The Way Out

The way out is for the Party members and left wingers to recognize that a com is necessary. Such a break can only come with a frank recognition that the line is

The Party members must fight against the wrong line and demand why those who were capable of forseeing its results and had the courage to fight the new trade union line two years ago were ex-

pelled from the Party.

The Profintern resolution, however suggests no fundamental change. proposes maneuvers about "united fronts' and work in the reactionary unions that create illusions but no fundamental change in line. It adheres to a "socialfascist" interpretation of the trade unions. Its refusal for all united front action with leftward developing movements in the A. F. of L. and independent unions is characteristic. Its insistence on building up "revolutionary unions" as laid down by the congress of the Profintern con

tinues the disastrous line.
All Communisits and left wing forces must unite and light for a return to a number of defects and mistakes in trade union policy that will unite the trade union progressive and militant ers' strike, the extreme weakening of forces, build the left wing, organize the the textile organization in the South, unorganized and make possible effective

RANK AND FILE REVOLT IN A. C. W.

The Struggle of the Unemployed in Local 4

Cutters Local Big 4 of the Amalgam- ployers at the expense of union conditions ated Clothing Workers of America is the and the welfare of the workers. scene today of a bitter internal struggle between the rank and file, especially the unemployed workers, and one of the most notoriously corrupt and vicious trade union administrations, the administration of Philip Orlofsky, the business manager of the Local.

The fight in Local 4 flared up as the result of the spontaneous action of the unemployed cutters. Fully one-third of the entire union membership is out o work. Unable to bear these conditions. sistent demands at their union meetings and thru mass meetings of their own that something be done for the unemployed. Nothing however was done,

Philip Orlofsky took steps to terrorize and crush this movement of the unem-ployed. So far he has failed to do so. purpose. Charges of "dual unionism and threats of violence have been made tonia), needle trades strikes (furriers, against the unemployed and others who have dared to raise any opposition to the administration at the meetings of an old member in the union, has already been suspended from the organization on trumped up charges. Besides such outrageous decisions, suspensions, expulsions, etc., the Orlofsky administration is using the unemployment relief fund of the local union for its own clique purposes. Workers who do not appear favorably deprived of relief while his cronies and hangers on have been paid out hundreds employed workers are demanding the of dollars. The fund is administered sole-ly by Philip Orlofsky. There is no check he administers this fund, Recently Philip Orlofsky has been calling unemployed workers into his office and has been telling them openly that if they attend meettinue to oppose him in the local union they will not get one cent of unemploy ment relief. At a union meeting recently, he also stated that as far as he was concerned anyone who did not support him in the local union would not get a job if

The protests of the unemployed have the backing of the workers who are employed in the industry because the regime The following is the black, dismal ball of Philip Orlofsky is also responsible for ance sheet of the past two years. One the most corrupt relations with the em-

A committee of unemployed cutters recently visited Sidney Hillman, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, for the purpose of presenting to him the situation in Local 4. They demonded that he step in and change the conditions which prevail there. This committee also demanded that the decision of the last three conventions of the Amalgamated for a 40-hour week with 44-hours pay be immediately enthe unemployed members of Local 4 forced as a measure to bring some real banded together and began to make in relief to the unemployed. Sidney Hillman in his interview with this committee stated that is was impossible to put forward the 40-hour week proposal now, that they could have a 40-hour week if they agreed to accept 40-hours pay. As far as the 36-hour week proposal to provide four hours work for the unemployed that could be established only by accepting the standards of production which would mean the speed-up and piece-work in the cutting rooms. As far as matters pertaining to the officials of the Local 4 are concerned, he only made vague "promises." So far he has done absolutely nothing.

The unemployed workers are demanding the abolition of a system of temp orary cards which makes practically every worker only a temporary worker in the industry who can be discharged by the boss if he desires to do so or temoved from the job by the union business manager if he does not like the position of the workers in the local union. The unabolition of the 10% assessment for the unemployed relief and in its place, the establishment of a system whereby the employed cutters work four hours less a day in order to provide four hours work for the unemployed. Also the unemployed are demanding the strict carrying out of the provisions of the local union for equal distribution of work. They also de mand, as a measure to provide work for the unemployed cutters, the replacement by union cutters of the manufacturers who work at the tables. The movement of the unemployed cutters in Local 4 has been gaining such momentum and has gained such wide support among the employed cutters that its presents a distinct threat to the dominance of the Czar Orlofsky and his administration over the affairs of the local union

This movement is bound to become



MEMOIRS OF A TERRORIST, by Boris Savinkov. Translated by Joseph Shaplen, with a forword and epilogue. Albert and Charles Boni, New York,

The Memoirs of A Terrorist recounts the intensely interesting adventures of the Terrorist Brigade of the Party of Socialists Revolutionists for the period of 1902-1909 and of Boris Savinkov, one of its outstanding leaders. It is an absorbing narrative but quite apart from its value as a story it is well worth reading if only many of the outstanding terrorists of the week you should get matried on if Czarist times turned into "Whites" and you're marriageably disposed. At 12 to learn how it came about that so counter-revolutionaries under the Soviets. The very same Savinkov, who was the moving spirit in the assassinations of Grand Duke Sergius and von Plehve, supplied the wretched Dora Kaplan with the pistol to shoot Lenin!

We must not underestimate the limit-less self-sacrifice of the picked bands of terrorists who threw desperate fear intorevolutionary unions can rarely red the hearts of ferocious despots nor their profound devotion to what they looked upon as the freedom of the Russian peo-ple. But their unquestioned personal heroism cannot hide their political hollowness. These people had no firm political ideas the Terrorist Brigade included the most abuse were herled against us. But let us heterogeneous elements—from very mild proceed with the resolution of the Prof. bourgeois radicals at one extreme to out. right anarchists at the other. What held them together was not their fundamenta political agreement so much as their unshakable faith in the paramount efficacy] of terror in the emancipation of the Rus-i sian people. How many times does Savinkov emphasize that "we must concentrate all our forces on terror; only thus can we win." Kaliayev, the beau ideal of the terrorists, spoke from the very bottom of his heart when he said:

"Can a Socialist-Revolutionist work peacefully? A Socialist-Revolutionis without a bomb is no longer a Socialist-Revolutionist."

In Paris Savinkov was mildly surprised to find that one of his closest associates in the Terrorist Brigade was only a bourgeois radical in his politics; but, after all, comments Savinkov, "we terrorists cannot quarrel over the question of socialization of plants and factories!"

How striking is the contrast between the terrorists of the Socialists/Revolutionists and those of the Populist movement a generation before! Cone is th fresh simplicity and popular vigor of the earlier terrorists, gone their profound inner connection with the masses. The ter rorists around Savinkov were men who spoke in the name of the "people", but had no real faith in the masses for whom they had an unconscious contempt, "I had little faith in the revolutionary spirit of the masses", confesses Savinkov of his attitude during the great days of 1905. The enthusiasm of the latter-day terrorists rose and fell in precisely inverse relation to the revolutionary spirit of the masses and thus they demonstrated their lack of sympathy with the people.

The S. R. terrorists were bourgeois revolutionists thru and thru, in their political ideas and in their fighting methods. As long as the Russian Revolution was radical bourgeois terrorists could find a place in it, altho in their own peculiar formed into a proletarian revolution, the

One of the most gripping chapters of these memoirs is the part describing the exposure of the spy-provocator Avez who had, for over a decade, been the acknowledged leader of the Terrorist Brigade. Even today with all the evidence before us, with Stolypin's later admission of Avez's connection with the police, it who himself led or participated in, cer- by robbing them of most of their protainly knew about, a score of assasinations duct. Then further reduces the market stretching over a period of many years by firing workers. Then meets the rethe story of Avez's exposure with great vigor and dramatic force.

The foreword and epilogue by Joseph Shaplen are unspeakable, .

part of a general movement themout the entire organization against, the intolerable, miserable conditions which prevail today in the mens clothing industry. The use of gangster methods, threats of viol. And on Wednesday General MacArthur ence, discrimination in payment of re- announced that the United States has lief and throwing of workers out of jobs prepared the instant mobilization of an will not help the Orlofsky administration or the other administrations in the Analgamated to stifle and crush the impending mass revolt in the organization.

The Crushed to Earth Now that war is preparing on the Soviet Union it's fair gunning to revive the somewhat faded lie-crop of 1917-21. Edgar Sisson, agent of the late unlamented Woodrow Wilson, and phrase-wizard, author of the German-spy and nationalization-of-women documents issued as gospel by the U. S. government, has revived some of the lies of the "Committee of Public (Mis) information" of which he was chairman, in his book "One Hundred Red Days" published by Yale University. A lie in the right direction, tho crushed to earth will rise again.

CORRECT CLOTHES

SOCOLOFF & FLAMM

Clothing Company, Inc. For Men and Young Men 101-103 Stancon St., cor. Ludlow St.

New York City.



Broadcasting Culture

Civilization--a noble There's radio for instance. Tune in or WMCA and you can hear Rubbi Gold's golden voice assuring you that he personally sticks his beard into every batch of dough for Goodman's matzons At 10:45 A. M. Princess Wahletka will tell you what your name ought to be if you want to succeed in life, what number is your astral index and what day of o'clock Evangeline Day, the astrologer will tell you what the stars want you and Napoleon, who had the same horoscope, to do. That's science! At 1:15 P. M. there's Rajah Raboid, the Indian fakit (spell it either way) from Delancey St. in the Southern tip of the Indian peninsula. If you lost your pocket-book, he looks into a crystal ball and tells you lie saw a dark man of medium height with a beard pick it up. At 8:15 P. M. (WABC) there's the "Old Gold" character Reader: "You are strong, energetic and forceful but you have depths of tenderness that few suspect. Napoleon was like that. Your number is eight. His number was eight You should get a new job on the eigth. Get married on the eightly. But keep kissable every day with "Old Golds"! offers Dolores the star-gazer and WMSG Theda Sevarg.

For this, man left the trees, toiled upward from the cave man, invented fire, ripped metals from the bowels of the earth, smelted with flame and soun tenuous wire, explored the secrets of the planet, developed the art of speech, made the machine, invented number, searched the stars, fashioned crystals, recorded history, chained himself to mass production, snatched the spark from the clouds. chained the lightening, tamed the ether. Star-gazing, fortune-telling, your proper soul-number, Goodman's matzohs, art, science, capitalist culture!

The American Standard of Living The Department of Labor reports that

Massachusetts textile mills are paying women as low as \$3 and \$4 a week for full-time work. Yet the textile industry has a tremendously high protective tariff "to protect high wages and the American standard of living!"

Our Growing Deficit

It should greatly comfort the jobless to know that altho the government spent not one penny for their relief, it piled up a deficit this year which is greater than the total annual expenditure prior to 1917. America is never content to be on top. With the biggest deficit in the world, our slogan is still: "Bigger and better deficits, and not one cent for the unemployed."

The "Faith" That Moves Mountains

In feudal times whole villages were viped out because the king wanted a hunting forest. On March 15 a railroad line and all the villages along it were abandoned because the line ran across passing thru its bourgeois phase, these a part of the Pocantico Hills estate of his majesty John D. the First. He spent \$700,000 to buy the village of East View, way. But as soon as the revolution dut-grew its bourgeois phase and was trans- al College, \$2,000,000 to buy a new right of way and climinate the stations of Porelation of the S. R. terrorists to it also cantico Hills, Tower Hills, Tarrytown underwent a profund change; they ber Heights and Old East View, How many came its bitter enemies, they went so far unemployed and their starving families as to unite with the dark forces of the old could be kept in health and comfort by order against the tising power of the workers and farmers. The revolution had trains a day should not hoot within earpassed beyond them. . . . they could not shot of his precious ears when he happens to be on his Pocantico estate!

Solving The Farm Crisis

With millions starving thruout the world the United States Farm Board can think of no better "solution" than to insist that American farmers cut their wheat acreage by 20%. In the Soviet Union they increase the acreage year by of Avez's connection with the police, it year and urge more and more and more. is hard for us to believe that this man Capitalism brings inisery to the masses duced market by destroying "surpluses." In the Soviet Union the more you produce the more you get. In the capitalist world, the more you produce the less you get. Capitalism's only remedy for misery

Preaching and Practice

On Monday the press was ringing with President Hoover's demand for European reduction of armament. On Tuesday the air was thick with a \$3,000,000 air raid. army of 4,000,000 men with complete equipment on the outbreak of war, and a reserve of 11,000,000 more. The disarmament (talk) goes mercily on.

A Timely Warting

The National Industrial Conference Board from its well-appointed offices at 247 Park Avenue has issued a timely

"In endeavoring to relieve hardship caused by unemployment, care must be exercised to prevent advantage being taken of this situation by many who have no desire to find work, and also to prevent the dulling of the desire to work by too long and too satisfactory support without working." Words fail me!

Non-Smokers, Attention!

It seems that these days you can't get throat-ease, sweet breath or keep yourself kissable, without smoking.

This Flat Old Earth

Wilbur Glenn Voliva, prophet of Zion City, having circumnavigated the globe, is still sure that the earth is flat. Certainly this country is flatter than it has been for years.

-B. D. W.