

THE DAILY WORKER FIGHTS
For a Workers-Farmers Government
To Organize the Unorganized
Against Imperialist War
For the 40-Hour Week

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MILL BOSS LYNCHERS FLOG ORGANIZER, USE DYNAMITE

The Meaning of the Struggle at Gastonia

Manifesto of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

TO ALL WORKING MEN AND WORKING WOMEN!

Events in Gastonia are moving with the greatest rapidity. Out of the efforts of the workers to organize trade unions came the bosses' most brutal attacks upon the workers and their organizations and the charges of murder against sixteen strikers and their leaders whose only crime was to have defended themselves and their organization against the attacks of the thugs and the police. From an economic struggle, from the defense of these sixteen workers on trial, there has developed a tremendous struggle of class against class.

Gastonia has become the signal for the whole working class of the United States to mobilize not only on behalf of a section of the workers in North Carolina but on its own behalf against the offensive of the capitalists.

With equal rapidity, the mill owners' government in Gastonia has thrown off the mask of "democracy" and has come out with open Fascist violence. The speed of these developments proves the intensifying character of the class struggle in the United States at the present time.

The heroic struggle of the textile workers of Gastonia for the past six months marked the ascending wave of resistance of the workers, not only in the newly industrialized South, but also of the workers of the whole United States, especially of the unorganized, semi-skilled and unskilled workers against the increasing exploitation of the bosses. Through a program of rationalization, speed-up, wage-cuts, unemployment, etc., the bosses try to overcome the ever-sharpening contradiction between the expanding productive powers of American imperialism and the shrinking markets.

At the same time the sharpening inner and outer contradictions of capitalism drive on to a series of imperialist wars. As the imperialists intensify every day their feverish war preparations, they seek by every means to break and destroy the working class resistance so that "their rear" may be secure when they enter upon a new world slaughter.

II. THE TERROR AT GASTONIA.

After the declaration of a mistrial and the glimpse it revealed of the mass sympathy for the Gastonia defendants, the terror broke out against full force. On Monday September 9, a band of 500 mill owners and their thugs in 100 automobiles terrorized the textile town of North Carolina and sought to torture or kill all the union organizers. The next day, several of the victims of the all but successful lynching were able to identify some dozen of the capitalist mob leaders, including Carpenter, the attorney for the prosecution, and Bulwinkle, a leader of the mill owners. On Monday, the Governor of North Carolina, a mill owner himself, actually charged this same Carpenter to "inquire" into the outrage of which he has been formally accused. On Thursday, two of the victims of the outrage and six other mill workers were arrested without warrant and charged with sedition and attempt to overthrow the government of North Carolina—with a half dozen shotguns. On Saturday, September 14, the workers thronging to a mass trade union meeting in Gastonia, were forced back by detachments of automobiles full of gunmen who pursued one truckload and fired upon the passengers with deadly effect. Ella May Wiggins, a woman textile worker and organizer, mother of five children, they killed outright.

The murderers of Ella May Wiggins have been released so that they can rejoin the armed fascist thugs who have now broken up into smaller groups going from house to house and terrorizing the mill workers.

On the night after the funeral of May Wiggins the Fascist bands kidnapped and tortured Leo Tessner, local union organizer, and dynamited the union property. Not only does the government not take any serious measures against these armed thugs; but they participate in organizing these fascist bands.

The workers must not be fooled by some of the gestures of "fairness" of the bosses government. This is due to their fear of the masses, and is an attempt to demobilize the workers for a renewed attack against them. Fred Deal and the fifteen other workers will only be released by the mass pressure of the workers.

III. RADICALIZATION OF THE SOUTH.

Carolina is the symbol of the growing struggles and resistance of the masses to capitalist rationalization and violence. The resistance of the textile workers in Gastonia to the stretch-out system, the speed-up and meet inhuman exploitation is taking place in a period of the development of capitalism when all the fundamental contradictions of capitalism are becoming sharpened, when more and more the bourgeoisie is unable to overcome these contradictions through the still more ruthless exploitation of the workers at home, through plunder of the colonial peoples and through a new world slaughter. For all these reasons, the bosses and their government try by every means to break the resistance of the workers. Gastonia, symbol of the newly industrialized South, has a working class that is comparatively new—being recruited from the mountaineers. These workers who come into industry are at once confronted with the most brutal rationalization and attack which they rebel. The attack against the workers in Gastonia is so fierce because, in the present period of capitalist development, the bosses' government has become more and more concentrated and controlled by the trustified capital and in the face of the growing resistance of the workers which characterizes the present period, it acting more and more openly as an instrument for the suppression of every movement of the workers directed against the rule of the capitalists. The attack against the workers in Gastonia is so fierce because of the effectiveness of the militant National Textile Workers' Union, affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League, because of the effective leadership and consequent growth of the influence of the Communist Party. The bosses' terror is so sharp because the organization of Negro workers together with white workers on the basis of complete equality by the National Textile Workers' Union and the Communist Party brings the unity of the Negro and white workers in the South which is a growing menace to the rule of the capitalists. Similarly, the women and young workers who are a very large section of industry today and are playing an increasing role in rationalization and mechanized industry, are being organized by the Trade Union Unity League, and the National Textile Workers' Union. The American Federation of Labor, which is nothing more but an organization of the most highly skilled workers and whose efforts are directed against organizing the bulk of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers, never attempted to organize the Negro workers and the young workers. The struggle in Gastonia is so sharp today also because of the policy of the National Textile Workers' Union of organizing all the workers of the industry into powerful industrial unions.

Finally, the capitalist terror in Gastonia is so sharp because Gastonia gives the lie to the capitalist propaganda of a "docile, cheap, 100 per cent labor" in the South. These workers, natives of the old stock who have been advertised as "docile," "contented," "free" and "unchangeable" have demonstrated that the workers of the South, the native American workers, are not docile but militant, not contented but rebellious, fast learning that they are not free but enslaved, not unchangeable but changing rapidly into conscious proletarians carrying on a heroic struggle against their exploiters. Gastonia has given the lie to boss propaganda about "Communism" being only effective among the foreign born workers. Gastonia has demonstrated that the influence and leadership of the Communist Party grows with the class struggle and is more and more embracing the most exploited workers, be they foreign or native, Negro or white.

The sham union called the United Textile Workers has betrayed the workers in Elizabethton and Marion. These workers are learning day by day from their brothers in Gastonia, and it is to stop the

growth of the organization of the textile workers of the South into the National Textile Workers' Union that the bosses are directing their attacks against the workers in Gastonia.

The textile conference held in September at which tens of thousands of textile workers were represented, the coming conference of October 12 at Charlotte at which workers from all important states and centers in the textile industry will be represented and the action that the workers will decide upon in the drive to organize the hundreds of thousands of textile workers in the South, these are the reasons for the open fascist terror in Gastonia. It is an effort to stem the rising tide of struggle of the textile workers of the South: It is an attempt to stop the spread of this movement to other industries in the South: It is the fear that this movement if not stopped will become national in character.

IV. RISING TIDE OF STRUGGLE.

Gastonia is the sector of the working class front where the struggle is now the sharpest and where it has reached a high phase of political struggle. The workers are engaged in a struggle not only against the mill bosses, but also against the government which has exposed itself as a naked class government.

But the Gastonia events are but part of a situation which is becoming more and more national in character, embracing ever larger sections of the most exploited workers. The heroic struggle of the New Orleans carmen, the strikes of the textile workers in more than a score of cities in North Carolina, South Carolina, the Elizabethton strike, the beginnings in the auto industry—where the belt system is sapping the blood of the workers—as witnessed by the recent strike in the Murray Plant in Detroit, the movement among the miners in West Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois, the strike of 4,000 miners in the anthracite, the increasing number of spontaneous and partial strikes in the basic trustified industries, the recent strikes in the food and shoe industries, the creation of shop committees in some of the largest plants in the country—all this is part of the radicalization of the masses, all this displays the rising tide of struggle of the masses against the economic offensive of the bosses. The enemies of the workers, from Hoover down to the renegade Lovestone, who talk about American "prosperity" are talking about the prosperity of the bosses. The workers of the United States are living under conditions of increasing impoverishment and severest exploitation.

The successful convention of the Trade Union Unity League at Cleveland, August 31, the establishment of a new center coordinating the struggles of the workers in all industries, the mass mobilization of over 100,000 workers on International Red Day (August 1) in the struggle against imperialism war and for the defense of the Soviet Union shows the increasing tempo of this radicalization process.

Gastonia is a symbol of the rising tide of the resistance of the masses of the workers of the United States.

These struggles of the workers of the United States, this mood of the masses is part of the revolutionary struggle of the working masses on an international scale. Just as American imperialism which is playing an increasingly important role in world politics, is involved more and more with becoming part of the general crisis of world capitalism, so the rising tide of the mass resistance of the workers of the United States is part of the new rising tide of struggle of the toilers of the world as shown by the enormous strikes in India, the strikes in Germany, France, Great Britain, the strikes of the tobacco workers of Bulgaria, the strikes in Poland, the May Day events in Germany, the International Demonstration on Red Day.

Simultaneously the present period is marked by growing resistance of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against their imperialist oppressors as shown by the recent events in India and Egypt, the Arab revolt in Palestine and the growing anti-imperialist movement in Latin America.

The war preparations of American imperialism are part of the growing danger of imperialist war, principally between the United States and Great Britain; while the main danger is that of the combined attack of the imperialists of the world against the Soviet Union in which the imperialists of the world correctly see their deadly enemy and the inspiration of the workers of the world. The recent Hague Conference, the trip of MacDonald to the United States, the so-called "investigation" of the big navy lobbyists—all of these, far from being steps to peace are actually part of the war preparations.

Faced with the growing resistance of the workers to exploitation and war, the capitalists the world over are dropping the mask of "bourgeois democracy" and are instituting a fascist rule of terror against the workers and their organizations. In this the so-called "socialists," who have become openly social-fascists, are everywhere assisting the capitalists, and in a number of countries (England, Germany) have been charged with carrying through the demobilization of the workers, and the destruction of their organizations.

Throughout the whole United States and not only in Gastonia the capitalist class meets every strike, every movement to organize the unorganized, every propaganda of resistance, of turning the resistance into a proletarian offensive, with the most brutal and bloody repression. In New Orleans, against the striking carmen; in Marion and Elizabethton, state troops are used against the revolting textile workers; in Kansas, scores are arrested and the Communist Party declared illegal; in Detroit, Boston, Pittsburgh, scores are arrested and hundreds strangled by the organized thugs of the bosses' government; in Chicago, 26 workers are held on the charge of sedition because of their meeting of solidarity with the Gastonia strikers. In New York, in only three days in September, nearly 100 workers are arrested. Workers are arrested merely for distributing handbills near the factories. Everywhere, the terror of the bosses and their government is used against the workers. Where the struggle of the workers is rising, the most ruthless and repressive measures of fascist terror are used. The registration of workers in the shops controlled by the Independent Shoe Workers' Union, a militant industrial union, the attempt to deport nine workers active among the Paterson Dye workers—all this is part of the national campaign of terror of the employers in answer to the growing resistance of the masses of workers against capitalist rationalization. It is no accident that 300 workers were arrested August 1 for demonstrating against imperialism war and for the defense of the Soviet Union and dozens of meetings were broken up. The acts of repression and terror of the government combined with the outrages of the bosses' gunmen express the fascistization of the state power.

But by their very acts of terror and repression the capitalists help educate the workers as to the class character of the state and thus help to mobilize them not merely against individual capitalists but as class against class.

The American Federation of Labor officialdom, the so-called socialist party and the "progressive" Musteites, are more and more in alliance with the bosses and the bosses' government. Everywhere they enter the struggle in order to demoralize and betray the workers. They act openly as the agents of the employers (New Orleans, Marion, etc.). They single out the militant workers for the attention of the police and the fascist thugs. Sometimes, as in the case of Musteites, they use radical phrases in order to gain the confidence of the workers and so betray them when the bosses and their government cannot win by direct attack. They are the agents of the employers in the labor movement. They are the American brothers of the MacDonalds in England who shoot down workers and peasants in India, Egypt and Palestine. They are the American brothers of the German social-democrat, Zoergel, who shot down militant workers of Berlin on May First.

FIVE-POWER MEET CALLED FOR JAN. THEN RESCINDED

London Denies Sending Call; Hostility of French Develops

Hostile Encirclement Italy Told Must Take Subordinate Place

Prime Minister MacDonald notified the ambassadors of France, Italy and Japan yesterday, capital press services report from London, that the Five-power conference on armaments would be held in London in the third week of January. It was understood that the United States is sending a similar invitation. As soon as the reaction of France and Italy was known, the British foreign office calmly denied the invitation. "It is too soon to invite France and Italy," it said. The French press is highly skeptical of the whole plan, and French naval experts and political leaders are worried at what they see as an encirclement campaign against France.

Fight For Three Points.

The Journal de Debats Tuesday carried a leading article saying: "But what interests us is that we should not have to pay the costs of the combination reported between United States and Britain. That is to say that we should not have to pay for it with the loss of our independence."

"There are three things which we cannot renounce. First, we wish to keep our submarine fleet which we believe is strictly necessary for the defense of our shores; and our colonial empire. Second, we must assure the protection of our colonial routes, otherwise our colonial empire will disappear. Third, we cannot forget that our needs must be calculated after account has been taken of the fact that France has debts in two widely separated seas."

Refuse Italy Parity.

"In consequence we cannot subscribe to naval parity with any other European Continental power such as would result in our Mediterranean fleet being in a position of inferiority in that sea. Without assurances that on these three points our program will be respected we cannot appear at the naval conference."

The naval spokesman of the French delegation to the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva is quoted as saying: "It is a naval parity conference, not a naval reduction conference." This man and other French naval experts are sarcastic over the disappearance of the famous "yardstick" for measuring cruiser strength supposed to be

The workers of the United States must realize that only in the struggle against their combined enemies,—the bosses, the government and their agents in the ranks of the workers,—will they be victorious in their struggle.

V. MOBILIZE FOR STRUGGLE!

Only the mass mobilization of the workers of the country can defeat the growing terror of the employers and their government. To withstand this general capitalist onslaught, a real mass mobilization of the workers is needed. Such a mobilization must proceed by building a united front below on the basis of steady energetic work inside the shops and factories. Only the mobilization of the workers throughout the country can defeat the fascist terror in Gastonia, can save the sixteen heroic Gastonia fighters from the electric chair and check the offensive of the bosses which is now being directed against the working class of the United States.

The working class of the United States under the leadership of the Communist Party takes up the challenge of the American capitalist class.

The campaign to organize the unorganized into powerful industrial unions affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League must be the answer to the attempts of the bosses to stop the organization of the unorganized millions. Workers everywhere must form shop committees, and organize into unions. Special efforts must be directed towards the organization of the Negro workers on the basis of full equality in the same unions with the white workers. Special attention must be paid to the organization of the women workers and young workers.

The program of rationalization of the bosses must be answered by a real struggle for the seven-hour day, for unemployment insurance, against capitalist rationalization, for higher wages and for the right to organize.

The economic offensive of the bosses must be answered with a struggle against every attempt to reduce the standards of the workers, the going over to the offensive of the workers.

The Trade Union Unity Convention showed the mood of the masses. Workers everywhere, transform this mood of struggle into real effective organization in the shops, mills and mines. Stand solid in united ranks against the capitalist offensive.

Support the Conference of textile workers in Charlotte on October 12. Support the National Textile Workers Union in its efforts to organize the millions of exploited textile workers.

Miners, steel workers, needle workers, auto workers! Workers in all industries! Build your unions! Organize and affiliate to the Trade Union Unity League.

Fight for the existence of the workers' organizations, for the right of the workers to organize and to defend themselves and their organiza-

KINGS MOUNTAIN NATIONAL TEXTILE UNION ORGANIZER KIDNAPPED FROM BED; IS TORTURED, NEARLY KILLED

Mass Rallies Protesting Vicious Attacks Upon N. T. W. Organizers to be Held Throughout Steel Regions

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Sept. 18.—The fascist gangs of the mill barons have added another hideous crime to their bloody record. The latest victim of the mill owners is Leo Tessner. Tessner is the 24-year-old Kings Mountain organizer of the National Textile Workers' Union. At one o'clock this morning he was kidnapped from his home there, taken at the point of guns into the woods of South Carolina and viciously beaten with clubs.

A half hour before Tessner was captured, the speakers' stand, from which union leaders spoke every Saturday night to great crowds of mill workers, was dynamited, presumably by the same millmen's posse.

His body a mass of wounds and lacerations, in words forced through a throat made sore by vicious choking, in a hoarse whisper, Tessner haltingly recounted how he had been kidnapped by thugs who claimed to have a warrant for his arrest, dragged away, and flogged.

"I was in bed. About one o'clock, three men pounded on the door," he said. My wife went to the door and they told her they were officers and had a warrant for my arrest. They knocked her down, and rushed in. I demanded that they show me a warrant. They said, 'Get up, you damned bastard.' They pulled me out of bed, blackjacked me and forced me to their car in my underwear.

I tried to holler, and they choked and smothered me," he continued. "They put a gun to my head and told me that if I yelled, they would kill me. They were from Gastonia," the organizer said, declaring that he will be able to identify his assailants.

"They said, 'We're going to clean out this goddam union.' They drove for about an hour and stopped at the end of the bridge. It was a lonely place on a dirt road. They took me into the woods and knocked me down. Then they took clubs and beat me.

"Get a Rope."
"One of them looked up a tree and said, 'There's a good limb to hang him from, get a rope.' They couldn't find a rope, and one said, 'Let's hang him with the inner tube.' Another said, 'We can't do that.' So they beat me again and, cursing me, told me to hit it for the woods and never come back to Kings Mountain, or we'll kill you like Ella May.

"As I ran into the woods, they fired at me. I hid for 20 minutes, then went up the road a quarter of a mile to the home of E. L. Smith, a farmer, who gave me overalls, and went with me to the scene of the beating," he said.

"I was in Buffalo Creek section of South Carolina. Then I went to another house, got shoes, and telephoned the rural chief of police at Blacksburg, who refused to come out. I telephoned the sheriff at Gaffney and he took me to Blacksburg where I caught a ride with two Negroes on a truck to Charlotte. The union got a doctor and took care of me."

FORWARD! RESIST BOSSES' TERROR

Engdahl Says at Grave of Ella Wiggins

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Sept. 17.—We have buried our dead. The name of Ella May Wiggins is inscribed today on the illustrious roll of world labor's martyrs. With these words, J. Louis Engdahl, national secretary of the International Labor Defense, spoke today at the grave of Ella May Wiggins. He continued:

The oppressed of all capitalist lands and liberated labor in the first workers republic today know of her heroic sacrifice and are inspired by her courageous example to greater efforts for the liberation of their class. Workers of the Soviet Union, of Great Britain and India, of France and China, of Germany and Mexico, of South America and Africa, today stand shoulder to shoulder with the mill workers of Gastonia county with all North Carolina and American labor beside the

(Continued on Page Two)

7 BIG MEETS TO PROTEST TERROR

Toilers Here to Throng Demonstrations

Great mass mobilization in eight meetings for struggle of the New York workers against the persecutions against the murder of Ella May Wiggins are being organized by the New York district of the Communist Party together with the Joint Defense Committee for Friday night throughout New York, and in Central Opera House. The meetings will take place at the following sections of the city: Manhattan: 10th St. and 2nd Ave., 110th St. and Fifth Ave., Needa

(Continued on Page Two)

Build Up the United Front of the Working Class.

Disarm the Fascist thugs of the mill bosses! Workers everywhere, hold mass demonstrations, factory gate meetings, in protest against the reign of terror in Gastonia and the growing terror against the workers and their organizations everywhere. Prepare for a strike of protest and sympathy for the heroic fighters in Gastonia who are fighting your battles. Only the organized strength of the workers will defeat the bosses' offensive.

Organize united front conferences of representatives of the shops, mills, mines and trade unions and all workers organizations. Elect these conferences action committees against the offensive of the bosses.

Support the defense of the Gastonia victims. Wrest them from the electric chair prepared by the bosses! Build the International Labor Defense and the Workers International Relief!

The Communist Party which is leading the struggle of the American masses against the bosses and the capitalist government calls upon all workers to rally behind it in the struggle. Convert the offensive of the bosses into an offensive against the bosses. Fight against the murderous attacks of the bosses' fascist thugs! Fight against the bosses' police, the bosses' "justice" and the government,—instruments of the bosses in their attacks against the workers!

Join the Communist Party in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system and for the establishment of a workers' government. All revolutionary workers! Become members of the Communist Party of the United States, sections of the Communist International—the leader of the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses the world over.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF U. S. A.
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

PARTY LIFE

STATEMENT BY COMRADE MARKOFF.

Lovestone and his followers in their latest document prove quite conclusively that complete degeneration has developed in their ranks, that from Party splitters they have graduated, within a short period, into full fledged agent provocateurs of the capitalist forces in the U.S.

The document, "The Truth About the Raid on the Party Headquarters," is an attempt to demoralize the membership, to discredit certain comrades within the Party, to undermine the prestige of the Party. But it is my sincere belief that the blow they intended to direct against the Party will result in the complete unmasking of the counter-revolutionary tactics of the Lovestone group.

Since my name is involved as signatory to a statement enclosed in the document, I wish to make the following declaration:

On Thursday morning, September 5, I received a telephone call from Nemser asking me to meet him at twelve noon, that he has information of vital importance to the Party. I came at the appointed time and place, found Nemser, Anna Thompson, Ellen Lee and Dungee waiting. Nemser then told me the following: that through Dungee he was informed that a Negro, by the name of Jackson, who has been expelled from the Party some months ago, has informed Dungee that he, Jackson, knows where the documents stolen from the Party headquarters, during the raid, are kept; that Dungee, who is a friend of Jackson, brought Nemser and Jackson together the day before; that Jackson told Nemser he is employed in the intelligence department of the government as a draftsman making hydrographic maps; that this department is in the same office where various documents picked up in raids are examined, checked, decoded, etc.; that he, Jackson, is in a position to read these documents. He claimed that several days before, on or about August 30, several packages were brought in, with the name of the Communist Party on them; that he became interested and found an opportunity to look through some of them. He said he found cables from the C.I., letters to the Party from district organizers, a check book, membership lists, etc., that he then decided to warn some of his friends who are connected with the Lovestone group, such as Dungee and others, and promised to bring proof of his story the following day. Nemser went to meet Jackson, and all of us went to a restaurant, where Jackson, in my presence, repeated the story told to me by Nemser. He also produced some cables and four or five other documents as proof. He promised to bring more material the next day.

Friday, September 6, the same group met and Jackson produced a few more documents, letters, notes, etc. All the documents produced here the date of August 20, 22, and 23, evidently things that came in to the National Office a day or two before the raid. He referred to Comrade — several times, and every time displayed a personal animosity against him, saying, "I will beat up that fellow before I leave New York." To Nemser's request for more documents he replied that he cannot take any more chances for fear of losing his job, and finally gave us to understand that for a monetary consideration, he was willing to steal some of the documents from the office, and turn them over to Nemser.

When we left Jackson, Nemser suggested that we present a statement of all the facts to the Party. It was understood that this statement should be absolutely confidential, that it was only for the Party, for the purpose of further investigation. The following day, Nemser, Thompson, and myself met and the statement was given to me. While I was suspicious of the manner in which Nemser and Thompson presented the whole thing, at the same time wishing to get to the bottom of this affair, I signed the statement together with Nemser.

It is now perfectly clear:

(1) That the entire affair, the meetings of Nemser, Jackson and the rest, was staged by Lovestone and his followers in order to cover up their own guilt in the raid.

(2) That Jackson did not get the documents from the Department of Justice, but obtained them from an individual directly connected with the raid.

(3) That Jackson, although possibly a government stool pigeon, was in this case hired by Lovestone to act his role.

(4) That the insinuations made by Jackson regarding Comrade — working for the Department of Justice are fabrications and lies invented for the purpose of discrediting this comrade; that Lovestone utilized the personal grudge of Jackson against the comrade for the purpose of throwing the suspicion on him and thus attempt to clear himself.

(5) That the Lovestone clique deliberately planned to use me, as a good standing member in the Party, to cover their own deeds.

Here I wish to state that I committed an unpardonable error in allowing myself to be carried away with the idea that Nemser and Thompson were interested in helping the Party. I permitted my former friendship for Nemser and Thompson when they were in the Party, to obscure the fact that I was dealing now not with members of the Party, but with enemies of the Party, with agents of Lovestone and the bourgeoisie. Because of my former close association with Nemser, Thompson and Dungee in the work of the Harlem section, in dealing with them now, it did not occur to me to be on my guard against them. I declare that I committed a very serious mistake in meeting with the renegades without consulting the Party, in permitting my signature to appear on any document together with an expelled member of the Party.

The serious error committed by me points out the danger of continuing friendly relations with those expelled from the Party and whom the C.I. and our Party correctly characterized as enemies of the Party. Not only must we break with them politically but personally as well. Personal friendship is impossible between politically conscious class enemies. I further declare that my actions in connection with this Lovestone plot deserves severe criticism even tho my intention was to aid the Party. It should prove to every Party member the necessity of following the guidance of our Party and the C.I. in all activities. We must not relinquish for one moment the fight against the Right Danger and against the renegades and all enemies of our Party.

(Signed) ABRAHAM MARKOFF.

The Development of Communism in the United States

By CHARLES E. RUTHENBERG.

(From "The Liberator" February, 1923)

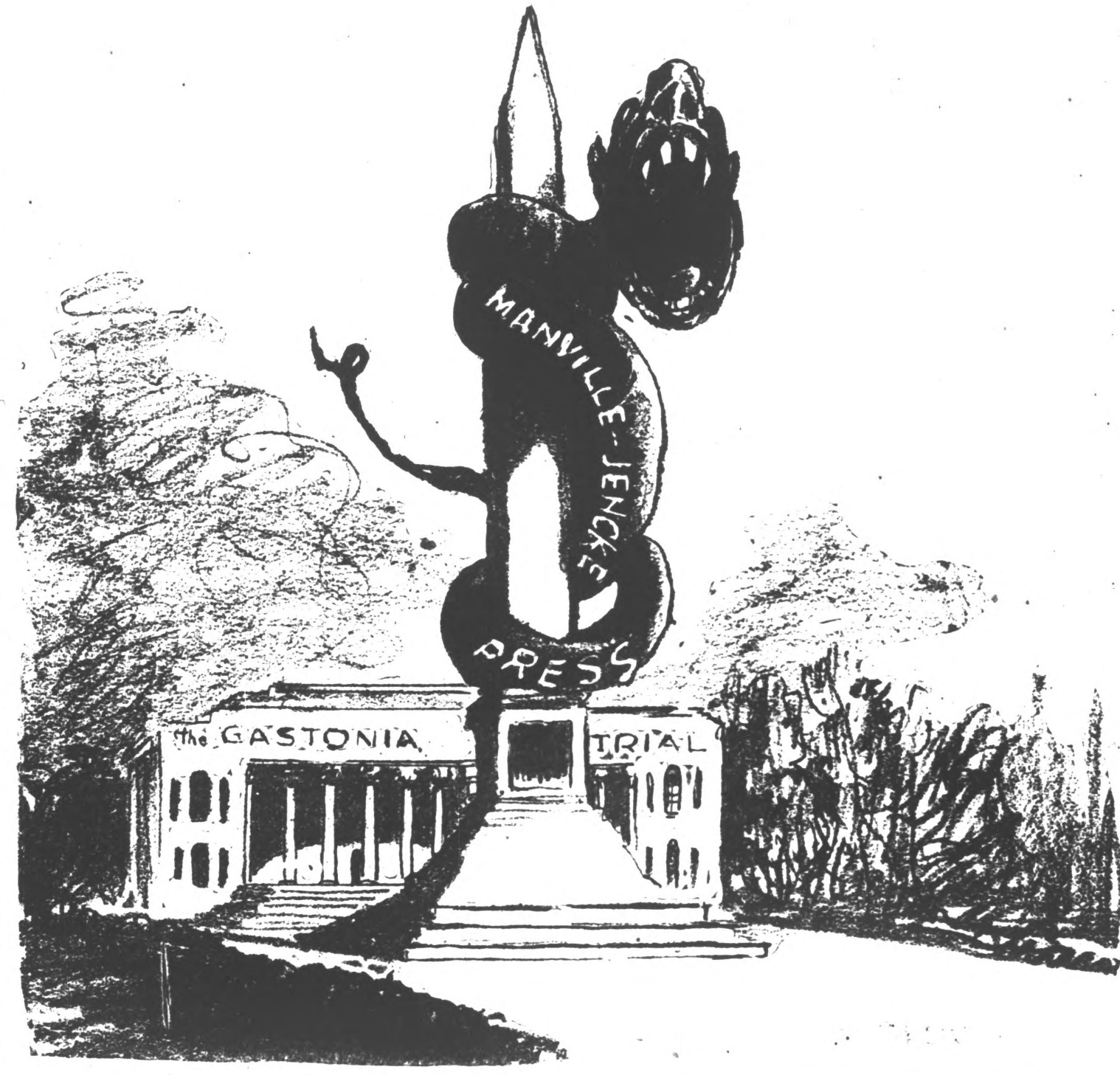
A little over three years ago the world "Soviets" and "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" appeared for the first time in the program of a political party in this country, when the Communist Party of America was born in Chicago, in September, 1919. For three years the ideas which these words stand for have been taboo so far as open expression in the program of a political party is concerned. They came to life in the open again in the program adopted by the second convention of the Workers' Party of America, held in New York, December, 1922. While the Chicago convention of 1919 and the New York convention of 1922 wrote the same ideas into the programs adopted, there is a great difference in the movement behind these ideas.

The Communist Party of 1919 came to life on a wave of enthusiasm inspired by the Russian Revolution. It was a spontaneous outburst in this country of the forces generated by the first proletarian revolution. The 1919 convention was satisfied to make its declaration of Communist faith. It did that with fervor and enthusiasm, but the practical application of the Communist principles of the life of the American workers was not undertaken.

In the three years that have passed since the open Communist convention in 1919, the Communist movement in this country has undergone a transformation. It is no longer a spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm. It has not lost its enthusiasm, but it has learned during the three years to direct this enthusiasm into the task of creating support for the communist principles among the working masses of this country. While it again publicly announces its faith that the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat are the instruments through which the proletarian revolution will achieve its ends in this country as well as elsewhere in the world, it does not expect to convert the workers to a belief in the Soviets by merely holding up the example of European experiences. It proposes to teach the necessity of Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to the workers through their own experiences in their struggles against the capitalists; and its campaigns and programs of action are therefore based upon the actualities of the life of the workers in the United States.

THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOSS CLASS—

By Fred Ellis



The Communist Party, U. S. A.

By L. CANDELA.

Before and during the world war the political Party of the American workers was the socialist party. There were in it three distinct tendencies; the right wing, the left wing, and the centre, which was also formed of social-democratic elements, who were in control of the Party in spite of the fact that the majority of the membership was in favor of the revolutionary, left wing.

The Russian Revolution has given a great impulse to the left wing movement, but the bureaucratic and reactionary tactics of the social-reformist leaders prevented the left wing from taking over the direction of the Party. In the election of the National Executive Committee held by a referendum vote, the left wing candidates received an overwhelming majority of the votes, but the social-reformists in control, refused to turn the Party over to the newly elected committee. This was not enough; soon after the war, they expelled from the Party State Federations of Michigan and Ohio, the left wing members of New York, Boston, Chicago, Buffalo and other cities. Although the social-reformists, due to their reactionary acts, prevented the revolutionary wing from taking control of the Party, they could not prevent its development. The new revolutions and the great mass movements in other countries, the new success of the Russian Revolution, brought new enthusiasm to the American working masses. On May 1, 1919, in spite of police intimidations, great demonstrations, to which the masses responded splendidly, were held in cities like Cleveland, Detroit, New York, Chicago, Boston, where the left wing members were in control.

The invitation to join the Third International had given still more impetus to the left wing of the socialist party, and on September 1, 2, 3, 1919, together with the revolutionary groups of the S. L. P. and I. W. W., formed officially the Communist Movement, with a total membership of about 50,000.

Since the foundation of this young movement, the social-reformists attacked it most viciously. The lack of connection with the European comrades had greatly obstructed the ideological clarification which could have reduced to the minimum, at least, its infantile faults. Anyhow, the Communist movement was founded and although divided into two Parties, on superficial issues, it was considered by American capitalism as a menace to its privileges and it planned a raging attack on the Communist movement in order to destroy it.

This made attack started on the night of December 31, 1919, and on January 1, 2, 1920; a violent wave of bourgeois terror broke loose against the Communist movement. Simultaneously all the Communist locals were raided by the police and

all the comrades therein arrested. Many comrades were also arrested at their homes. In the meantime, the capitalist press, on the basis of lies and the most fantastic news, was vomiting poison and inciting to lynching and violence against the Communists. The reactionary leaders of the socialist party formed part and parcel with the capitalists and aided in denouncing the Communist to the police and appealing to the sentiment of the hesitant elements, to desert the Communist movement and return to the socialist sheepfold in which they were told to be safe from imprisonment and deportation.

The numbers of comrades arrested were about 10,000, most of them were deported to their native countries, others were thrown into dark American penitentiaries for short and long periods of time. The bourgeoisie thought of raising a dyke before the advancing Communist movement, but it soon had to realize the futility of its made act, because only three months later the Communist Party, still divided in two parts, had reconstructed illegally its central apparatus, and established its contact with many important groups of the periphery.

such a decision. Something unexpected happened. The Convention was raided by the police force shortly before it adjourned. Many comrades succeeded in escaping, others were arrested together with the Party leader, Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg.

The Michigan trial resulted in a great blow to the state reaction and instead of being a trial against the Communists, it seemed that capitalism was on trial. The Communist Party, guided by the deceased Comrade Ruthenberg, had been able to take advantage of this trial to unmask the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie reaction, to propagate its principles and to extend its influence among the American toilers.

The Michigan trial thus hastened the legislation of the Party and only a few months later the W. A. of A. was officially pronounced the only Communist Party in the United States. At the Fourth National Convention (August, 1925), the W. P. was named the Workers' (Communist) Party and its name has been definitely changed by the Sixth National Convention (March, 1929), to Communist Party of the U. S. A.

The history of the Communist Party since 1923 has been the history of the workers movement in this country. Under the guidance of the C. I. our Party has been in the years of 1923-24 an extraordinary factor in the movement tending toward the formation of a Labor Party. The most energetic and aggressive struggles of the workers in the last six years were led by the Communist Party. Today our Party is recognized as the stalwart leader of the workers in this country. The steel, automobile, building trades, textile workers, miners, etc., are turning to the Communist Party for leadership in their struggles against the infamous conditions created by capitalist rationalization. While the bureaucrats of the union and the yellow socialist party have put themselves openly at service of American imperialism, the Communist Party remains the only defender of the working class interests.

The Party, due to the low ideological level of its members, has also committed many errors. It is not enough to proclaim one's self a Communist and carry a membership card in the pocket. To be a Communist, in reality, one must be able to understand the problems of the revolutionary class struggle, must be able to understand the teachings of Marx and Lenin and on this basis and by lessons gained through experience on the battle field of the class struggle, to analyze the objective situations, and adopt the proper tactics. It took 15 years of revolutionary struggle and experience, before the Russian Bolshevik Party could reach the honorableness of its ranks. Our Party has been organized in a period of revolutionary enthusiasm and fervor by elements coming from the social-

ist party, I. W. W., anarchists and trade-unionists. It accumulated in its ranks the baggage of all these old ideological traditions, to which must be added those of the language comrades coming from the labor movements of their original countries. The revolutionary enthusiasm had put together all those forces, but their revolutionary homogeneity could be reached only through a long process of ideological clarification and experience of the new Leninistic methods of struggle. Great steps towards this direction have been made in the course of time, opportunistic elements (Lore, Aske, Salutzky Cannon, Lovestone) were expelled from the Party. One of the greatest steps towards Bolshevization has been made by the Party with the reorganization of its ranks from territorial and language branches into shop units. But even this problem has been a process (not yet definitely accomplished) connected with the general process of Leninistic ideological clarification.

In recapitulating we can say: Until 1923 our Party was divided in two and sometimes three groups and had many infantile faults. From 1923 to 1927 the Party has made great steps toward its bolshevik maturity, but its specific activity has been mostly conducted on a propagandistic field due also to the objective conditions of the American Labor Movement in that period. From 1927 until today it has more actively participated in mass-movements; from a propagandistic Party it has made great steps towards becoming a mass Party of the workers. The factionalistic struggle within its ranks, without a basic political difference has been one of the greatest faults of our Party. Behind the factions there were hidden many undesirable elements from which the Party was impotent to free itself. Due to the factionalistic situation, the Party could not conduct an effective struggle against Trotskyism, social-reformist influences and the right danger within its own ranks. The Party could not prepare its forces for the struggle of the workers, which are ripening within the third post-war period. Among our comrades has been developed an individualism conflicting with the Leninistic principles of discipline. The address of the Communist International, May 15, of this year has given a death blow to factionalism. The Party is now following the Ways and Means Committee of the line of the C.I. Address. There are still in its ranks remnants of old factionalism. Many comrades do not yet understand what democratic centralization, Leninist discipline, centralization of the members and other fundamental questions really mean. There are still passive members. There is still a lack of self-Bolshevik activity. Among the members of the Party units many are affected with khovism; the right danger is still a very great menace but the basis and line to correct

I SAW IT MYSELF

by HENRI BARBUSSE
Translated by Brian Rhys

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AND WE WERE CELEBRATING PEACE.

Samuel Schwartzbard, an ex-soldier and a naturalized Frenchman, returns to his native town in the Ukraine, which is under the control of the Ataman Petliura, and heads for the Jewish quarter where the sabbath is being celebrated.

BEFORE him stands the Schenkman's little house, and the window is ablaze with light. But not a sound can be heard. Surprising silence reigns. Samuel draws nearer. How is this? The door wide open! In the hall, a broken table, overturned chairs. The living-room: a big bed, and lying in it, someone with head exposed on the pillow. Strange, this dark head with its red beard and twisted smile! One nearer look: it is battered in, slashed, black with blood—a beast of some kind, one would say, wet and glistening with bright drips in the light of the electric lamp, and the bright splashes of blood are also conspicuous on the sheets. This is the father of the family. In one corner, a big round lump, oozing blood, covered in crimson rag—the mother, Mrs. Schenkman, hacked and pierced with sword thrusts. There, on the ground, the headless bodies of two children little Moich and his sister; their heads have rolled under the bed.

And in the brightly-lit houses close by—Blackman's, Averbruch's, Semelman's, Kretchak's—and in all the rest down the street, the same scene over again.

Under the electric light of the lamps which had lit up of their own accord, nothing but dead bodies—five, ten, fifteen, twenty or more at a time—slit up, pierced through, twisted into strange death agonies; children and babies lying on the hearth, some decapitated others with heads cracked open like eggs on the mantel-piece. Ever mantelpiece bore traces and fragments of children's brains and ear trails.

THE streets were thick with corpses like stretches of ground on a battlefield. A few, recognizable when one bent over them, seemed to be struggling and imploring mercy still. Against one corner was the body of a girl, head propped up against the wall, stayed there in an upright position; with her bloody hands she was holding up her dress, showing her loins and thighs, gashed by a slashing sword or axe. "Pull up your dress, we're going to whip you," they had said and the soldiers had laid on as hard as they could with scourges of steel.

A great many bodies were neatly laid on top of one another, children, girls and young men had been forced to lie down at full length on top of their relations and then, with one thrust, nailed to earth with sword and cutlass, as their bodies lay in tiers.

Samuel Schwartzbard, pale, staring with a drunkard's eyes, was from house to house. Under the crude light the whole Jewish quarter lay in death. There was one house where he saw movements behind the curtain but when he staggered up to the door, figures hastily stepped over bodies and broken chairs and fled: this household had been murdered too but had been entered by thieves. Wherever he went, all was dead, or nearly all. An appalling silence and a fresh slaughter-house smell reigned throughout the ghastly quarter. Blood still dripped from the wounds, and the pools could be seen slowly spreading. When the young man instinctively drew down the clothes torn aside to disclose a jagged pit in the stomach of a little girl—her face was adorably—his hand told him that the body was still quite warm.

It wasn't very difficult to see what had happened: this was the work that the Cossacks of Semensenko and Petliura had been doing between the hours of two and five—the work of those smart troops which had marched so grandly past, bands playing, before and after. In every lighted interior death lay, but there were some houses in entire darkness. In these, there were still signs of life. Survivors had run to earth there. As a sign of mourning, and through fear an sense of decency and shame, they had put out the lights and stayed where they were.

SAMUEL felt his way into one of these houses, among these shadows of misery and grief; some were groaning without pause, some drinking their tears, some trembling like trees, some had even forgotten how to cry. At last they became dimly visible, like fountain and landmarks. And from their lips came low-voiced complaints, interspersed with pitiable shuddering maledictions, telling of things such as these:

This they had done, and this: a father tortured and disemboweled in the midst of his family, forcibly gathered round to watch the sight, then his wife and daughters and little girls brutally assaulted, all heawn down and shattered; all with great dispatch, without loss of time, by numbers.

(To be Continued)

Aim of the Communist Party

By CHARLES E. RUTHENBERG.
(From "The Farmer-Labor United Front," 1925)

What is the aim of a Communist Party? For what purpose is organized? When we answer these questions we will lay down the principles which must guide us in all our work. As a Communist Party we are fighting to bring about in the United States the proletarian revolution, establish a Soviet government and the dictatorship of the proletariat. That aim is the reason for our existence and our policies must lead us to the achievement of that aim. If they lead us in that direction then they are correct Communist policy.

Lenin said, in one of his articles, that the conditions for a proletarian revolution were: First, that the capitalist class could no longer rule, the second, that there must be a will to power on the part of the working class.

The inability of the capitalists to rule is not something which grows out only of the work of our party; but this condition came into existence as a result of the development of inner economic forces of the capitalist system. The task of our Party as a Communist Party is to create the second condition for the proletarian revolution; that is, the will to power on the part of the working class. In order that such a will to power may exist we must win the support of the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution. How can this be done? This is the problem which faces us as a Communist Party.

These faults are laid down by the Address of the C.I., which has already proven its correctness and will help to raise the political level of the membership. For the enemies of our movement and, especially parishes of the social democracy the faults of our Party are signs of decay. They are glad and speculate when we point out these faults. Thereby the satellites of social democracy can hide their true color of counter-revolutionists and betrayers of the proletariat. We, however, need not be afraid of them. By pointing out our faults, it means that our Party is healthy and can stand constructive criticism and correct its faults. The same cannot be said of the socialist party which is basically counter-revolutionary and can only correct its faults by eliminating itself. The Communist Party in its tenth