

WELLS SAYS WORKERS DEFY TERROR; UNION GROWS

All Capitalist Press Mobilizes Behind the Mill Barons to Cover Political Defeat

The sharpest and broadest struggle against capitalist rationalization, directly connected with the imperialist war danger, is going on in and around Gastonia, N. C., the center of the cotton spinning section of the textile industry in the South. The National Textile Workers Union through its correct program and militant struggle has won the support of thousands of textile workers who are actually living below the subsistence level as the prevalence of pellagra—that foul disease of malnutrition—shows.

The Bessemer City conference of the National Textile Workers Union held on July 18, the sweeping support aroused for the coming Charlotte conference to be held Oct. 12, 13, the increasing determination of the masses of mill workers to fight the oppression of the mill bosses and their government, the growing popularity of the demands for the abolition of the stretch-out, for the 8-hour day, 100 per cent organization of the textile industry—all were definite political defeats for the mill owners.

Then came the trial of Fred Beal, Louis McLaughlin, Russell Knight, Robert Allen, Clarence Miller and eight other organizers and members of the N. T. W. U. on a charge of first degree murder as a result of the battle at the union headquarters on the night of June 7, in which Chief of Police Aderholt lost his life in leading an armed raid of police and mill thugs against which the workers defended themselves.

The result of the trial up to the time that one of the jurors was driven insane by the strain was another political defeat for the mill owners and their government. Millions of workers learned that the trial was a deliberate effort by the mill owners and their government to electrocute thirteen workers for defending themselves and their union, and their right to organize and strike, against the armed mercenaries of the mill owners. It is now quite well established that the jury—most of them workers—would have returned a verdict of not guilty. The legal offensive of the bosses and their state failed.

Meanwhile the National Textile Workers Union was organizing. The influence of the Communist Party was extending. Our Party was making clear to thousands of Southern workers the role of the government as the "executive committee of the capitalist class."

Fascist terror was substituted for the "legal" murder processes. A price was put on the head of organizers and active members of the National Textile Workers Union. Communist leaders were singled out as special targets of the terror.

The city, county and state government, backed and encouraged by the national government, did two things:

First, it tried to throw a veil of impartiality over the bloody activities of the black hundreds of the mill owners. Second, it gave its aid freely to the thugs of the mill owners. To carry out the first plan it staged fake investigations ostensibly to establish the identity of the leading terrorists, but actually to give them a chance to cover up and whitewash themselves. To carry out the second purpose, it lends to the Manville-Jenckes armed bands the organizational ability and Major Dolly of the state militia. He furnishes the military ability and is the commander-in-chief in the field.

Carpenter, the district attorney, recognized by some of the kidnaped workers and others as one of the leaders of the black hundred band, is given a clean bill of health by Governor Gardner and allowed to conduct the investigation of the murderous activities of himself, of Major Bulwinkle, chief counsel of the Manville-Jenckes Company, and of Major Dolly of the state troops.

Governor Gardner expresses full confidence in Carpenter's impartiality. While the "investigation" is in progress bands of armed thugs are roaming the textile centers of both North and South Carolina, more workers are kidnaped and tortured and Ella May, mill worker and mother of five children, is shot down in cold blood.

Murderous threats against the Communists and all organizers and active members of the union. Then a woman worker is murdered in the name of "impartiality." Once more Governor Gardner is righteously indignant and orders another investigation. While it proceeds another mill worker, a member of the National Textile Workers Union is dragged from his bed, carried into South Carolina and beaten almost to death by mill thugs.

The union of the state and the mill capitalist is complete and clear. The capitalist press rushes to the rescue of the murder campaign. The New York World, the one-time exposé of the Ku Klux Klan, and unofficial organ of the Roman Catholic church, liquidates all religious differences under the pressure of the necessity of protecting capitalist democracy and leaps out in the lead of the campaign to exterminate militant unionism and the Communist Party in the South by armed force.

The World, and the other capitalist sheets, would like to create the impression that the bloody outrages inflicted by armed bands upon Communist and other workers are the expression of popular resentment against and hatred of the Communists. Let this be branded as the foulest lie ever mouthed by the war-mongering press of the United States.

No single worker has taken part in the beastly work of the black hundreds in North and South Carolina. The names of the members of these cowardly bands—who have retreated wherever the workers have been able to offer armed resistance—are known. The names of their leaders are known. There is not a single mill worker in the long list. From Moorehead, superintendent of the Loray mill of the Manville-Jenckes Co., past District Attorney Carpenter, Johnson, Loray mill "physician," and Chief Counsel Bulwinkle to the acknowledged stool pigeon Holway, the members of this armed band are high-salaried mill officials, lawyers, superintendents, doctors, businessmen, etc. Their organizational base is the Patriotic Sons of America—a secret order—their military director is Major Dolly, their masters are the mill barons and Andrew Mellon's power trust, their protectors are the city, county, state and national governments.

There is not a wage-earning mill worker in the whole sadistic crew. The mill workers are the ones who are being murdered, kidnaped and beaten. They support the National Textile Workers Union. They will not take part in the murderous attacks on the members of our Party. In ever larger numbers they are defending the Communist program and our Party.

The mill workers know who their enemies are. They know their enemies are not the Communists but those who persecute the Communists.

The rapid sharpening of the struggle in and around Gastonia is a sign of the sharpening of the class struggle in the whole country and internationally.

It is one more indisputable proof of the correctness of the estimate of the "third period" by the Communist International and of the extremely rapid transition, from struggles centering around daily demands of workers in industry, to struggles in which we face the whole oppressive machinery of the capitalist state. The struggle against

capitalist rationalization in the South has already become a political struggle of the sharpest kind. Hundreds of thousands of workers for the first time see the government of capitalist "democracy" in its actual brutal class role as the enemy of the masses and the protector of all interests of the capitalist class at all costs—costs assessed to the working class in terms of terror and organized murder—in order to prevent a raise in living standards of the masses, to prevent the formation of militant industrial unions, and, openly in this case, to prevent the rise of the Communist Party as the conscious political expression of the masses in basic industry.

Our chief task is to raise to a still higher level the whole struggle which even now, without having as yet reached its highest point, puts forward as necessary demands such sharp class issues as the right of workers to self defense, the organization of Workers Defense Committees, the disarming of the mercenaries of the mill barons.

But by no means must we allow the bosses, their black hundreds and their government to submerge the economic demands out of which the whole struggle arises and which are its basis. We must be able to show clearly, so clearly as to cut like a searchlight thru the poisonous fog of capitalist propaganda (which the whole boss press has been mobilized to produce), that precisely because the N. T. W. U. demands for the abolition of the stretch-out, for the 8-hour day, 100 per cent union organization, strike straight at the most intensive robbery of the masses, and because rationalization is both a cause of and preparation for a new imperialist war, the working class can advance, can increase and consolidate its power only by bitter struggle.

Gastonia gives the lie to the socialists of the Muste group. It gives the lie to the whole leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Gastonia shows the capitalist class and its government in their true relationship—a relationship that can be destroyed only by the overthrow of both and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class led by its revolutionary section—the Communist Party.

Our Party meets now a counter-offensive organized by a capitalist class that has suffered a defeat before the eyes of millions of workers here and throughout the world.

We must and will answer the counter-offensive with a new offensive. We must popularize the strike struggle as a weapon for use in fighting for the political demands of the masses as well as for the economic demands. Coming strike struggles must raise political demands in direct connection with the issues in the mills and factories. The coming Charlotte Conference must put forward a broad political program of demands as well as those dealing with the textile industry. The Trade Union Unity League Convention to be held in Charlotte will likewise serve as an effective instrument in raising the political level of the whole struggle in the South.

The demands of the masses made necessary by the speed-up and stretch-out, by the union-smashing drive of the bosses and their government, by the daily betrayals of the A. F. of L. leadership and their "socialist" allies, must be more surely connected with the struggle against the war danger, and with the political slogans already deeply rooted in, in fact growing out of, the new terrorist counter-offensive of the capitalists. These demands and slogans must be widely popularized. Already the Negro masses have seen our Party in action in sharp struggle in the South for the first time. They have seen our Party challenge openly the whole system of racial and class oppression. The white workers see our Party, as a result of its program and courage, as the section of the workers most bitterly hated by the bosses.

The working class and our Party have sustained losses. Ella May, mill worker, N. T. W. U. member, songstress of working class revolt in the South, has been murdered. Other workers have been tortured. Still more have been jailed. Twenty-three face the electric chair and long prison sentences.

But the process by which the bosses and their government have been able to inflict this damage has disillusioned hundreds of thousands of workers. The screen of capitalist "democracy," the fiction of government impartiality, has been rent and torn. Through the gaps many workers for the first time see capitalism in its repulsive nakedness.

The political victory is ours. Not all the black hundreds of the mill owners, not all the hundreds of columns of lies in the press of imperialism will ever be able to mend these rents or to dislodge our Party from the place it has gained in the ranks of the Southern working class.

- Build our Party in the South.
- Build our press in the South.
- Build mill committees in every mill. Build the National Textile Workers Union shop committees throughout basic industry.
- Build Workers Defense Committees
- Disarm the Black Hundreds.
- Fight for the right to workers' self-defense—for the right to strike, to organize.
- Maintain the rights of free speech and free assemblage.
- Smash the murder campaign against militant workers.
- Prepare strike struggles as political weapons.

BOLSHEVIK CONDUCT TOWARD RENEGADES

A Bolshevik can under no circumstances permit personal friendships to interfere with his revolutionary tasks in behalf of the working class. The struggle of the working class is not based upon individual friendships but upon the irreconcilable fight of class against class.

This question of the persistence of personal friendships and associations is of particular importance for our Party today when, in the sharpened class conflicts, unstable elements develop an opportunistic line against the Communist Party line and go over to the camp of the enemy as outright renegades. Only a few days ago the Party had a lesson on this question of personal friendships, when a Party member signed a document that was afterwards used for a most vicious campaign of slander against the Party.

This experience should serve as a salutary lesson to all comrades and teach them that under no conditions can a Party member fraternize with renegades. No comrade should for one moment politically or personally associate in any way with those who have gone over to the camp of the class enemy. It is typical of the petty bourgeois political cowardism of the Lovestone renegades, typical of their adventurism, which was so categorically denounced by the Communist International, that they should endeavor to utilize past friendships for the purpose of carrying on their nefarious work against the Party.

Loyal Party members should reject with scorn any attempt of a renegade to enter into any sort of political relations with him. Such an attempt is an insult because it shows that the renegades question in their own minds the Party loyalty of those whom they approach.

When one becomes a renegade, and hence an enemy of the working class, he becomes at the same time the personal enemy of every Communist.

No fraternization with the Lovestoneites or any other renegades! Only a relentless, unyielding struggle against the right wing renegades and enemies of the working class.

BIG RALLY HELD AT CHARLOTTE, N. C. LAST NIGHT

Mill Fascists Break Into Union Organizer's Home

He Escapes Unhurt

Parole Street Hunting Unionists

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Sept. 20. — Despite the reign of terror, the National Textile Workers Union held a highly successful meeting in North Charlotte last night. Altho it was inadvisable to distribute leaflets advertising the meeting, there were hundreds of mill workers present. Many of the meetings during this period are semi-secret. Fascist gangs of the mill owners continue their nightly rampages, hunting for organizers and active union members who might be unprotected. Itley Hitch was marked as last night's victim, but eluded the mill gang.

At the meeting last night, Hugo Oehler, southern organizer of the National Textile Workers Union; George Saul of the International Labor Defense; Simon Gorson, for the Youth Section of the union, and Daisy MacDonald, Gastonia mill worker, spoke. The vicious lies appearing in the capitalist press, especially in the New York World by Robert Barry, which are reprinted in the Charlotte Observer and the Gastonia Gazette, which pooh-pooh the black terror and allude to the vicious beatings, the murder of Ella May Wiggins and the bloodthirsty raids as "nocturnal spankings" and pleasant.

Mill Gives Address

Last night several cars filled with bosses' thugs went to the address of McAdenville and got the addresses of Taylor Shytle and Charles Sumney from the superintendent. One of the men nearby, a close friend of Sumney, overheard and sent word that the mill gang was coming after him. Shytle and Sumney were not at home when the cars drew up, ready to kidnap and beat them as Wells and Tessenar were beaten.

Fascist cars whizz through the streets of Gastonia hunting down unionists. The mill owners' lackeys boast to newspapers that there will be at least one beating every night.

Fascists On Job

Yesterday Etley Ritch was marked as the victim. When his wife notified him that the andoril was threatening to throw her out of their home in Gastonia, Rich went there to see what could be done. No sooner did he reach his home when seven cars drove up and the mill gangsters jumped out and pounded on the door.

Ritch was unarmed, so he left immediately through the back door, and as the gang broke into the front door cursing his wife, he disappeared into the woods.

Glady Wallace and Joe Gardner, local unionists, have been subjected to the millmen's threats for several days past in Gastonia, but continue their union tasks, refusing to be intimidated.

George Maurer arrived here yesterday to take charge of the organizational work of the I. L. D. in the Southern field. The Defense plans to extend its organizational work throughout the South and to include

Daily-Freiheit Bazaar Will Be Workers Dep't Store

Unlike the usual run of "bazaars," on sale in the colorful booths, and at a saving of at least one-third. Many trade union groups and fraternal organizations are mobilizing their membership to make by hand, on their own time, the various wares to be offered when the bazaar opens, less than two weeks from today. These workers, determined to prevent the black forces of reaction from crushing their militant press, put their best into their

NATIONAL TEXTILE UNION ORGANIZER WHO WAS KIDNAPPED STATES BOSSES FACE BIG DEFEAT; CHARLOTTE CONFERENCE SOON

Denies Absolutely Capitalist Press Slander That Southern Workers Are in Murder, Lynch Gangs That Killed Ella May and Try to Lynch

Over 100 N. T. W. Locas Have Elected Delegates to Textile Conference and at Least 500 Are Expected; Demand More Pay, Disarm Fascists

"The organized, disciplined fascist army in North Carolina, led against the National Textile Workers Union by state and county officials as well as the mill bosses, led particularly by Major Dolly of the state militia, Solicitor Carpenter of Gastonia and Major Bulwinkle, Manville-Jenckes attorney—leaders in the attempt to electrocute the 16 workers going on trial again in Charlotte—is running into a political defeat," stated Ben Wells, organizer of the National Textile Workers' Union, interviewed by the Daily Worker, when he arrived in New York yesterday. He has recently left his bed after being kidnaped and brutally flogged by mill boss gangsters.

Wells was one of the principal speakers at the great protest and mass meeting at Central Opera House last night, one of a series of ten throughout the Greater New York section, to organize mass movements against the mill boss terror in North Carolina. With Wells, spoke the Communist candidates in New York City, also Bill Dunne and Sophie Melvin, young worker held for trial for murder with the other 15 arrested June 7.

WORKERS UNDERSTOOD.

"The recent increased terror beginning Sept. 7, with the attempt to lynch Saylor, Lell and myself, and the flogging that I got," Wells continued, "opened the eyes of the textile workers of the two Carolinas," and added: "The mill bosses' object in this campaign of terror is to frighten the workers away from the union and to intimidate the organizers so that they will go out of the locality. Contrary to statements in Southern and New York newspapers, this is not a movement against us of workers or of farmers. It is an outright fascist movement of local business men, and mill bosses, hired gunmen, and with the officers of the law in many cases included in the gangs.

TO PUSH FIGHT ON MILL TERROR

Communist Candidates Will Speak

"Organize strikes for Gastonia defense! Combat the fascist violence of the capitalist state! Organize Workers Defense Corps! Form a broad united front in the shops against the boss offensive. Struggle against the parties of the capitalist class by fighting for the Party of the working class!" These will be the central slogans to which thousands of New York workers will respond tonight in protest meetings against Gastonia mill-boss terror in which Ella May Wiggins, active union organizer, was murdered.

William W. Weinstein, Communist Party candidate for Mayor, (Continued on Page Two)

a greater number of industries. The workers here look to the Labor Defense as the shield of the workers from the present terrorism and constant legal persecution, and are eager to join the organization.

Sheriffs "Despair"

In an attempt to cover up their part in the reign of terror, the sheriffs of these counties, with much show of crocodile tears, say that civil authority in these counties are completely broken down. No arrests have resulted from the much heralded and elaborate investigations ordered by the governors of North and South Carolina into the kidnaping and beating of Tessenar and the dynamiting of the union headquarters in Kings Mountain.

"It emphatically has not succeeded. The meeting that was to be held in South Gastonia last Saturday, rallied hundreds of workers to the meeting place in defiance of all the editorial threats of the southern reactionary papers, particularly of the Gastonia Gazette, the Manville-Jenckes home town paper, which stated that "all those present at this meeting will have to meet the consequences."

NATION-WIDE FASCIST CLIQUE.

Sheriff Lineberger swore in as deputies the worst kind of thugs, mill owners, superintendents, along with the "Patriotic Sons of America," members of the enlarged "Committee of

100." The "Patriotic Sons" is a nation-wide black hundred and labor-hating group, at the service of employers. They were armed with rifles to shoot down any worker or organizer that might present himself at the meeting place.

"One truck load of workers from Bessemer City was surrounded by cars and was shot at with intent to kill, and Ella May Wiggins was actually killed, and a young worker, White, was wounded.

"This terror did not stop with the arrest of the seven thugs who are out on only \$1,000 bail each. The fake investigation that is being conducted into the kidnaping and torture of Wells, Saylor and Lell, is showing its true class character by the disqualification of Wells as a witness in his own behalf when he stated he did not believe in God. Nobody arrested for this outrage will be punished for the textile mill control state and courts, and the same is true of the flogging of Tessenar and the whole series of other lynchings attempts.

"The main objective of this organized terror which has been extended to South Carolina is to try and prevent the Charlotte conference of the National Textile Workers' Union, scheduled for October 12 and 13.

Workers Ready.

"During the last few days letters have been coming into the office of the National Textile Workers Union, from different parts of the South commending the N. T. W. U. and their militant stand and asking for organizers.

"A hundred delegates have been elected from mill locals for the Charlotte Conference which promises at least 500 and probably more when the other locals elect. The number of locals is rapidly increasing.

"The point of discussion and decision at the conference will be not only the immediate grievances of the mill workers, but the political rights of the strike, and self de-

HAIL COMMUNIST TRIUMPH SEPT. 27

Mobilization of New York workers under Communist Party leadership, to fight against the fascist terror of the employers and their government, will sound the keynote of the combined celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Communist Party and election campaign rally on Friday night, September 27, at Central Opera House, 67th St. and Third Ave.

The story of ten years of struggle of the American working class, ten

(Continued on Page Two)

Report on Cleveland Conference Will Be Given Here Saturday

A report on the Cleveland Trade Union Unity Conference will be given Saturday at 1 o'clock at Irving Plaza, Irving Place, and 15th St., at the conference of the Metropolitan Area Trade Union Unity Center.

The conference, it was announced (Continued on Page Two)

WORKERS! OUT INTO THE STREETS TODAY AND TOMORROW! COLLECT FOR THE GASTONIA DEFENSE

While the storm of international class struggle against the terror in Gastonia, with millions of workers in Germany, Latin America, Spain, England and Russia sending messages of solidarity to the Gastonia defendants, whose trial begins in Charlotte, September 30, workers

of America will go into the streets today and tomorrow and raise funds to help smash the fascist terrorism and free the 23 strikers. The Manville-Jenckes has utilized every means for their fascist cause during the three weeks postponement of the trial which was suddenly halted because one of the

jurors went mad. The postponement means added expense to the defense of tens of thousands of dollars to pay lawyers, house defense witnesses, legal expenses, publicity, etc.

Unless thousands of dollars are raised for greater and more intensive defense work, the sixteen work-

ers stand in danger of death, either by the electric chair or by lynching.

Many organizations have called on their workers to show their solidarity with the heroic Gastonia textile strikers by participating in the mass collection days Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 21 and 22.

The Food Clerks Industrial Union,

local 17, of the Amalgamated Food workers has issued the following statement to its members: "We must recall our own struggle against our boss chain store owners for the organization of our union that we too were subject to brutal police violence, the violence of the

gangsters employed by the "socialist" trade union bureaucracy and the United Hebrew Trades to express our complete solidarity with the Gastonia strikers fighting against brutal fascist terror, the murder of strike leaders, kidnaping and the attempt of the mill barons to prevent the organization of these miserably exploited textile slaves. We must give our wholehearted support in the mass collection days."

Ben Wells, the organizer for the National Textile Workers Union, flogged by the Manville-Jenckes fascist gang, declared, "All workers must participate to the fullest in the mass collections today and tomorrow. We must smash the fas-

Not only has the bourgeoisie flogged the workers but they have also tried to assassinate the men who are leading these struggles—the proletarian working class—the proletarian Red Army (Communist International)

PROTEST MEET TO PUSH FIGHT ON MILL TERROR

Communist Candidates Will Speak

(Continued from Page One) will show the relation between the Gastonia struggle and the fight of the New York Workers in his speech at the Central Opera House meeting. Other speakers will be Bill Dunne, Sophie Melvin and Ben Wells. "The Gastonia fight is not a local struggle," Weinstein said when interviewed by the Daily Worker yesterday.

New York workers are very definitely concerned with the fight, because in the past few years we have seen growing violence of the capitalist machinery, operating with the socialist bureaucrats, against workers in the needle, food, shoe, and scores of other trades.

"Unless the workers take this struggle against the real enemy—the Walker-Hoover strike-breaking government—against the La Guardia, the Thompson—they cannot mobilize the greatest masses for their fight," he continued.

Increase Police Terror

"On all hands we see the increased capitalist police terror. Peaceful Communist meetings in Brownsville and throughout Manhattan have been broken up. A special bureau of the Whalen police has been established to intimidate New York workers.

"This capitalist terror in New York City is only part of the Gastonia terror. It is our common fight, which demands a common front against our common enemy." Besides the Central Opera House gathering demonstration, other meetings will be held at Whitehall St. and So. Ferry, 114th St. and Lenox Ave., 10th St. and Second Ave., 110th St. and Fifth Ave., Intervale and Wilkins Aves., 50th St. and First Ave., Brooklyn; Grand Street Extension, Williamsburg; Steinway and Jamaica, Astoria; 79th St. and First Ave., Manhattan.

This meeting will also prepare for the mass collection days tomorrow and Sunday throughout New York. The following stations have been named at which collection boxes will be distributed and returned:

Downtown: Workers Center, 27 E. 4th St.; Workers Center, 26 Union Square; Shoe Workers' Union, 51 East Tenth St.; Millinery Workers' Local 43, 4 West 37th St.; Window Cleaners' Local 8, 15 East 2nd St.; Ukrainian Workers' Club, 66 East 4th St.

Harlem: Workers Center, 143 E. 103rd St.; Finnish Workers' Club, 15 West 126th St.; Unity Cooperative, 1800 Seventh Ave.; Hotel Workers Br. A. F. W., 133 West 51st St.; Czech-Slovak Workers' Home, 347 East 72nd St.; Hungarian Workers Home, 350 East 81st St.; Estonian Workers Club, 1787 First Ave.

Bronx: Workers Center, 1330 Wilkins Ave.; United Cooperative, 2700 Bronx Park East; Bakers' Local 164 A. F. W., 3861 Third Ave.

Brooklyn: Scandinavian Workers' Club, I. O. G. T. Hall, 656 5th St.; Lithuanian Workers' Club, 46 Ten Eyck St.; Finnish Workers Club, 764 Fortsch St.

Williamsburg: Workers Center, 56 Manhattan Ave. Bath Beach: Workers Center, 48 Bay 28th St. Brownsville: Workers Center, 154 Watkins St.

FAREN REHEARSALS TODAY

In preparing for the 10th anniversary celebration of the Communist Party, the Freiheit Gezag Faren will have a general rehearsal at 106 E. 14th St. today at 8 o'clock. All members are expected to come without fail.

Mussolini Greet U. S. Boy Scouts — Prospective Fascisti



Photo shows a group of U. S. Boy Scouts, returning after attending the jingoist jamboree in England, and after being greeted by Mussolini, murderer of thousands of Italian workers. Mussolini complimented the scouts on their training to become fascists for use against the workers.

FERRARI GAVE

JUDGE \$25,000

Checks Show Mancuso On Bank's Pay

Cashed checks, endorsed by Francis X. Mancuso, Tammany Hall judge of the court of general sessions in New York, show that he was getting a thousand dollars a month from the swindler Ferrari, though he swore several months ago that he was only nominally chairman of the Ferrari City Trust Co. and "never got a cent from it."

Judge Mancuso, confronted with the evidence, taken from a safety deposit box by George Ziniti, an associate of Ferrari's who had turned state's evidence, confessed yesterday before the King's County grand jury that he got the money, to the total of about \$25,000, during 1927 and 1928. He alleges that it was to pay back a debt.

Tammany Hall appears in the municipal election this Fall, as "agent of the poor people of New York," and "the friend of the workers." But Tammany Judge Mancuso divided the spoil with Ferrari, who stole wage earners' money and loaned much of it to Italian language fascist newspapers in New York.

Report on Cleveland Conference Will Be Given Here Saturday

(Continued from Page One) yesterday, will take the first steps for the affiliation of unions, propaganda groups and shop committees with the Unity Center. Definite organization steps will be proposed in the direction of the organization of T.U.U.L. groups and shop committees as well as plans for an intensive campaign for the organization of the unorganized workers of New York and New Jersey.

The conference will take up the question of mobilizing support for the Gastonia workers, which may even mean a strike in New York to free the 16 workers who go on trial in Charlotte, N. C. on Sept. 30.

The question of workers defense committees will also be taken up. They will protect strikers against the fascist measures of the bosses and the state which is used whenever workers go on strike.

JIM CROW IN HOUSE OF LORD

"I believe I have the right to maintain the integrity of my church as a white church," Rev. William Blackshear said yesterday in defense of his Sunday order barring Negroes from his Brooklyn church.

Build Up the United Front of the Working Class From the Bottom Up—at the Enterprises!

Deserts Lovestone Camp

Harry Fox, who was a leading Party member locally in Newark, New Jersey, and who became the leader of the Lovestone faction there, now announces his break with the Lovestone renegades. His case is still to be acted upon by the District Control Commission. The following is a copy of his letter:

To the C. E. C. Communist Party of U. S. A. 43 East 125th Street, New York City, N. Y.

Dear Comrades: It is now one month since my expulsion from the Party for my support of the activities of the Lovestone splitters in their attack on the Party and the C. I. During this period I have had no connections, either personal or by mail, with Lovestone or any of his adherents. At the same time I have tried to make a critical study of the questions involved and of Lovestone's position of fighting the Party and the C. I.

I have come to the conclusion that Lovestone and his followers represent an anti-Party tendency, which is rendering objective aid to the enemies of the Party—to the enemies of the working class.

In view of this I state that I completely disassociate myself from Lovestone and his adherents. I recognize my mistake and condemn my anti-Party action of carrying on the fight of these renegades within the Party. In particular I condemn the speech I made against the Party of which I have been a loyal member for five years, and in support of Lovestone, at the time of my expulsion.

The action of the Party in expelling me from its ranks for my unpardonable action was correct and I endorse it. At the same time I believe that the Party needs within its ranks every comrade who today is ready to work actively and to fight energetically against all enemies of the Party.

For this reason I hereby appeal to the Central Committee for my reinstatement in the Party. I stand ready to carry out all instructions and decisions of the Party.

Yours for Communism, HARRY FOX.

United Hebrew Trades Scabs in Attempt to Break Butcher Strike

The United Hebrew Trades is continuing its policy of openly acting as an agent of the bosses. When a strike was called two weeks ago in the butcher shop at 308 Courtland Road, Brooklyn, which was an open shop, the right wing union sent in scabs and declared it a "union shop."

When the Food Clerks Industrial Union, Local 7, members started to picket the shop, they were arrested on charges of contempt of court.

When picketing yesterday, A. Goldberg was arrested and held in \$200 bail in the Snyder Ave. court. Other pickets arrested yesterday are out on \$500 bail each and go on trial Sept. 27. All are charged with contempt of court.

The union announced last night that picketing will continue.

Trial of Communists Off Until Thursday; Others Start Today

The trial of the 11 members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League arrested last week at Stone and Pitkin Aves., Brooklyn, was postponed until next Thursday when they were arraigned before Magistrate Radick in the New Jersey Ave. Court yesterday morning. Jacques Buitenkant of the International Labor Defense appeared as attorney.

Seven others arrested about one month ago when police broke up a Communist Party open air meeting at 137th St. and 7th Ave. will go on trial this morning in the 12th Magistrates Court.

WANT INGERSOLL AS SLAVE DRIVER IN NEEDLE TRADES

Bosses and I. L. G. W. Like His Methods

Further betrayal of the needle trades workers is indicated by the announcement yesterday by S. Tenenbaum, president of the Pleaters and Sitchers Association, that Raymond V. Ingersoll, chairman of the Cloak and Suit Commission, will be made chairman of a similar body in the pleating trades.

Ingersoll, appointed as head of the cloak commission by Gov. Roosevelt, is notorious as an enemy of the needle trades workers. As head of the commission he has with the assistance of the scab International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the employers reduced the workers' wages, increased their hours and established an intense speed-up system.

If he is made chairman of a commission in the pleaters and stitchers industry, he will help the I. L. G. W. company union and the employers add further to the misery of the workers.

FASCISTS CAN'T COW WORKERS

Party Workers Mobilize For Signature Drive

Despite fascist and reactionary attempts to prevent the Communist Party from obtaining signatures necessary to place Communist standard bearers on the ballot in the New York municipal elections, workers are rallying to the appeal of the Party in a final effort to complete the signature drive successfully.

The danger, however, is not yet over, warns the Communist Campaign Committee in a statement issued yesterday. "Only two more weeks remain during which signatures may be obtained. These are the critical weeks. The results obtained within the next 14 days will determine whether the candidates of the Communist Party will appear on the ballots on November 5, thus giving the workers an opportunity to demonstrate their support of the Party of the working class," the Committee declares.

"The next two weeks must see a thorough mobilization of all Communists and sympathizers for the final days of the signature campaign. A slackening of effort will endanger the Communist ticket," campaign workers urge.

Headquarters where petitions may be obtained will be open every night, Saturday and Sunday, at the following places: Down town Manhattan, 27 E. 4th St.; Harlem, 143 E. 103rd St., and 235 W. 12th St.; Bronx, 1330 Wilkins Ave., 715 E. 138th St.; Williamsburg, 56 Manhattan Ave.; Brownsville, 1554 Watkins St.; Boro Park, 48 Bay 28th St., Bath Beach.

Capmakers Union Will Elect Saturday Night

All militant and progressive cap makers are urged to attend the meeting of the Capmakers Union, Saturday, at 8 p. m. at 133 Second Ave., when the executive board of the local will be elected. They are urged to vote against the betrayers of the workers and support the mili-

What to Do for the Defense of the 16 Gastonia Prisoners

- 1.—Hold mass protest meetings!
- 2.—Mobilize for the mass collection days, Sept. 21 and 22!
- 3.—Send resolutions of protest and telegrams of greeting to prisoners at Mecklenburg County jail, Charlotte, North Carolina.
- 4.—Build International Labor Defense units!
- 5.—Build Workers International Relief units!
- 6.—Tell your neighbors, shopmates, friends of Gastonia!
- 7.—Build a united front in the shops, factories and mines!
- 8.—No let-up until all the Gastonia prisoners are freed from the danger of lynch-law or legal lynching!

The Gastonia Joint Defense and Relief Campaign Committee, 80 East 11th St., New York City.

Hail Triumph For Communist Party

(Continued from Page One) years of activity of the Communist Party as the leader of the workers in their battles, will be told by Communist Party leaders, standard-bearers in the New York municipal elections, who have been outstanding fighters in the class struggles in the United States.

The rally must be turned into a stirring demonstration by the workers of New York for militant struggle against the boss rationalization program with the demands for the 7-hour day, for unemployment insurance, for higher wages, against the deadly capitalist speed-up, for the right to organize, which are outstanding demands in the program of the Communist Party in the municipal election, the New York district of the Party declares.

Daily-Freiheit Bazaar To Be Workers' Store

(Continued from Page One) handiwork, doing a real "labor of love." As such, their products are above monetary value, yet beside being "bargains" in every sense of the word, they have the added value of serving to maintain the revolutionary press of the workers who buy them.

Bearing this in mind, the sale of tickets must go on with increased tempo. Our motto must be 100,000 workers at the bazaar this year. We can do it. Get a bundle of bazaar tickets and make sure to sell them all. Your fellow workers in the shop will help you. Remember our enemies spare no efforts to crush our press—our united efforts must give them a solid setback.

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CO-OP BRANCH OF WORKERS SCHOOL TO OPEN SEPT. 30

Courses Arranged In Many Subjects

The Fall term of the Cooperative Branch, Workers School, 2700 Bronx Park East, will begin classes the week of Monday, Sept. 30. Registration is now going on in the "Schule," corner Bronx Park East and Britton Street, every evening from 8 to 10.30 p. m.

The Cooperative Branch School is offering courses in English, elementary, intermediate and advanced on Monday and Wednesday evenings. The elementary class will be taught by G. Hannah Landy, the intermediate and advanced classes by Sylvia Daniels.

Class in History. A. Landy will teach a class in American History on Wednesdays, from 9.15 to 10.30 p. m. A course in Fundamentals of the Class Struggle will be taught every Monday by Sonia Ginsberg, from 9.15 to 10.30 p. m.

Other courses to be given are Problems of the Cooperative Movement on Friday from 8 to 9.15 p. m. with N. Kruth as instructor, a class in Elementary Russian with S. Cefkin as instructor, on Thursdays from 8 to 9.15 p. m., a course in Public Speaking on Sunday mornings, from 11.15 to 12.30. An afternoon class will be given on Tuesday from 2.45 to 4.00 p. m. on Problems of Working Class Women.

Jewish Classes. Two classes in Jewish will be given on Friday evenings, one in language and composition and another in Jewish literature. I. Ronch and N. Maisel will teach those classes. A class in Marxism-Leninism will also be taught in the Jewish language by N. Lunin on Tuesdays from 8 to 9.15 p. m.

This marks the opening of the third season of the school at the Cooperative Colony.

ATTENTION, WORKING WOMEN

All women workers are urged to send in stories of their activities, workers correspondence and other items of interest to women workers for the Women's Section of the Daily Worker. Stories must be sent in immediately.

ATTENTION SECTION 3!

By order of the Section Bureau, all members of Section 3 must appear at section headquarters today at 6 p. m. for very important Party business.

Build Up the United Front of the Working Class From the Bottom Up—at the Enterprises!

WORKERS OF DETROIT! Only a Few Days Left Before the CITY-WIDE GASTONIA DEFENSE AND RELIEF CONFERENCE

which will be held Sunday, Sept. 29, at 11 a. m. at T. U. U. L. HALL, 3754 Woodward Ave.

See that all organizations to which you belong have elected delegates to this conference. Get official calls and credentials blanks from District 1, L. D. Office at 3754 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

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WORKERS CALENDAR

PENNSYLVANIA Benefit of Section 3. Madagascar Players will stage "Lullian" on Saturday, Sept. 21, for the benefit of Section 3, District 1, Communist Party of U.S.A. Pioneer Camp Reunion. The third annual reunion of the young Pioneer Camp will be held Sept. 23 at Rosenfeld's Farm, Cheltenham, near Berwyn Park, from noon till evening. Observe Communist Anniversary A mass meeting to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. will be held Sept. 23 at 205 So. Main Street, Wilkes-Barre. Phila. Tag for Gastonia. Stations for workers in the two-day drive for Gastonia defense funds will be held in Philadelphia Sept. 23 and 24. They will be maintained at 1231 N. Franklin St.; 39 N. Tenth St.; 1124 N. Garden St.; 4855 Girard Ave.; 1925 W. Gordon St.; N. W. Corner South and Rittenberg St.; 217 E. Fisher St. and 1295 Tasker St. Phila. L. L. D. Meets. A meeting of the Philadelphia International Labor Defense will be held Sept. 23 at 4055 Girard Ave.	CALIFORNIA Welcome Cleveland Delegates. A mass meeting to welcome the California delegation to the Trade Union Party Convention will be held Sept. 23 at 8 p. m. at California Hall, Polk and Turk St., San Francisco.	MASSACHUSETTS Greet Melvin at Roxbury. Sophie Melvin, Gastonia defendant, will be greeted at a banquet to be held Sept. 21 at New International Hall, Wrentham St., Roxbury, under the auspices of the International Labor Defense.	MISSOURI Observe Communist Anniversary. The Tenth Anniversary of the Communist Party will be held Sept. 22, at 8 p. m. at Hibernian Hall, 3519 Finney Ave., St. Louis, Mo.	INDIANA Communist-Anti-Imperialist Meet. A mass meeting of the Communist Party and the All-America Anti-Imperialist League will be held Sept. 22 at 2 p. m. at Dangeland Auditorium, Woodward near Forest, Detroit, where the Party position on the Palestine uprising will be presented. William Simons, national secretary of the League, Norman Tallentire, district organizer of the Party, Phil Frankford, Y.C.L. district organizer, N. Bakula of Chicago and S. Aless of Cleveland will speak—the latter two in Yiddish. Detroit Anti-Imperialists. A city conference of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League will be held Sept. 22 at the New Trade Union Center, 312 Woodward Ave., where Wm. Simons, national secretary will report.
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CGTU, French Militant Labor Center Congress Puts Down Reformists; Applauds RILU

CHIANG CENSORS DRIVE EVEN OWN PRESS TO WRATH

Worker Press Entirely Illegal in China

SHANGHAI, China (By Mail).—In Soochow, even the reactionary newspaper editors have had to revolt against the arbitrary and tyrannical censorship of the Kuomintang government. Of course the revolutionary and Communist press is entirely illegal.

Officials from the military, police and Kuomintang party offices all came down on the newspapers and gave so many orders for prohibitions and alterations that the newspaper staffs despaired of turning out anything at all, and simply stopped work.

Win the Strike. After a long argument it was agreed that no interference should take place in the future, and the editorial staffs of 11 papers agreed not to tolerate any more censorship "for the time being."

These journals are not in the least degree radical nor opponents of the Kuomintang regime. Nevertheless, in connection with the suppression of all criticism by the Kuomintang this is significant as the first signs of developing tendency among the more liberal-minded sections of the bourgeoisie to oppose the sweeping restrictions imposed on all publications.

This uprising in Sochow has not helped the situation in Shanghai, where the imperialist cooperation with the Nanking dictators in suppressing freedom of press among the Chinese is shown by the fact that while branches of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs are not allowed in the International Settlement the Chinese Government censor has an office right in the very heart of that concession in the district where the Chinese dailies are published. In other parts of the country there is similar suppression. Papers owned even by Kuomintang members themselves are closed down. Thus on July the Tientsin "Yit Ming Pao" was barred from circulating in Chinese territory.

Exposed Graft. Censorship is very thorough. Recently Tsai Tiao-doo, editor of the Shanghai "Lung Pao," was arrested in the French Concession Tsai, who is a well-known journalist, is accused of having printed articles defaming Chiang Kai-shek's wife; T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, and Yang Hu, former Garrison Commander. In reference to the last-mentioned the British-owned "North China Daily News" some time ago printed a series of articles in which he was described at great length as the Tammany Hall grand leader of Shanghai. He was said to owe his power to secret societies composed of the criminal elements, to opium smugglers, etc. A proof-reader is said to have betrayed Tsai to the police.

Shanghai Mayor Bans Strikes; Complaining Labor Don't Obey Him

SHANGHAI, China (By Mail).—The Mayor of the Chinese cities adjoining the settlements has issued an order forbidding strikes of any kind. His order points out that under the Nationalist Government regulations "no strike or suspension of work is allowed to result from any labor dispute between employers and employees. During the period when their disputes are under mediation by the authorities cessation of work initiated either by employees or employers is not tolerated."

He quotes the same decree to the effect that "the employees are not allowed to behave in the following manner: To close or hold the shops or factories in which they work, to destroy or take possession of articles from the shops or factories, or to instigate others to strike."

Workers Disobey. The Mayor complains that the workers have not been obeying these instructions. They have even resorted to the destruction of factory machinery, he declares. He concludes with the warning that "under no circumstances shall labor strikes or suspensions of work by the employers be allowed."

The warning to the employers is, of course, to preserve the appearance of neutrality of the government in industrial disputes.

This order, applying to the largest and most important industrial district in China, taken together with the fact that in the two settlements strikes have always been illegal as has strike agitation, reveals to the world the real role of the Kuomintang and all its governmental organs as that of "running-dog" of the imperialists and suppressor of the masses, by their industrial workers or the peasants.

Taxi Drivers Union Joins the T. U. U. L.

The Taxi Chauffeurs Union at a meeting held at the Labor Temple, 84th St. near Third Ave., voted to affiliate with the Trade Union Unity League, it was announced yesterday.

FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

On the Deviations and Mistakes of Comrade Bukharin

(From the "Pravda" of August 24, 1929.)

The decisions of the E.C.C.I. and of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany published in the last number of "Pravda," the opportunist mistakes of Comrade Bukharin, who up to the April Plenum of the C. C. of the C.P.S.U. was the responsible editor of "Pravda" and one of the leaders of the Comintern, deserve the most serious attention.

The role which Comrade Bukharin has played in the leading work of our Party and of the whole Comintern is sufficiently known. This fact alone compels us to deal in detail with the grave opportunist mistakes which Comrade Bukharin has committed in the course of the last period, in order to make this perfectly clear to the broad masses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as of the whole Comintern.

Already before the last July Plenum of the C. C. Comrade Bukharin perceptibly deviated from the line of the Fifteenth Party Congress. This was the case in fundamental questions of Party policy, such as the relation of the working class to the peasantry, as well as the tempo and the direction of work in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Already at that time we had to face the organized sabotage of the kulak portion of the village in the carrying out of the grain procuring, together with vacillations of various middle peasant sections towards the kulak. Whilst our Party made certain concessions to the middle peasantry (increase of grain prices) it considered it necessary, unwaveringly to continue the measures for the reconstruction of the village in the sense of the decisions of the Fifteenth Party Congress (collective undertakings and Soviet farms), on the basis of a determined attack upon the kulak and of the alliance of the poor and middle peasants with the Party. Comrade Bukharin at that time was inclined to renounce the offensive against the kulak, to relegate into the background the measures for the socialist reconstruction of the village, to reduce the state regulation of trade and to grant the kulak a whole number of fundamental concessions in the direction of a development of capitalist relations in the village.

The Party, on the other hand, sought a way out of the grain difficulties by means of cooperation and collectivization of agriculture (with a simultaneous consolidation of the alliance with the middle peasants).

Comrade Bukharin sought this way out by means of a consolidation of the capitalist upper strata of the village, by means of promoting the production of their undertakings for the market. As a result, for more than a year there existed profound fundamental differences of opinion between the line of our Party and Comrade Bukharin's line. And if these differences of opinion did not come to light already at that time, it was only due to the fact that Comrade Bukharin at that time did not venture to defend consistently and determinedly his mistakes which led to the break with the line of the Party.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern also, Comrade Bukharin made a number of erroneous statements both in his report and in his concluding speech of the first item of the agenda of the Congress ("The International Situation and the Tasks of the Comintern"). When Comrade Bukharin spoke of post-war capitalism entering the third period of the technical reconstruction of capitalism, as the period of the strengthening of the inner organization of capitalism, and in fact as a consolidation of capitalist stabilization. This standpoint was expressed by a whole number of delegates at the Congress (Ewert, Lovestone, Pepper), from which Comrade Bukharin did not consider it necessary to dissociate himself. Further, in analyzing the contradictions of capitalist stabilization Comrade Bukharin stated that the outer contradictions of the capitalist countries are beginning to play the decisive role and not the inner contradictions between capital and proletariat (within the individual countries and on an international scale). Only one conclusion can be drawn from this: A revolutionary situation is only brought about by war and not by an accentuation of the class struggle within the capitalist system along with the growth of the war danger. Such an inference lulled to sleep the revolutionary activity of the Communist Parties and provided the occasion for a demagogic agitation of social democracy, which declared that the Comintern, which desires to win the broad masses of the working class, is taking everything upon the card of war.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern it was clearly seen that Comrade Bukharin did not wish to conduct any fight against those comrades (especially of the German Party) who adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Rights. On the other hand, Comrade Bukharin did not show at the Sixth Congress sufficient determination and consistency in defending to the last his erroneous statements and tendencies. The resolutions of the Sixth Congress (among them being the resolution on the report of Comrade Bukharin on the international situation and the tasks of the Comintern), after they had been discussed in the Plenum and in the commissions of the Congress and also by the individual delegations, gave a decidedly Bolshevik answer to all the fundamental questions of the international Communist movement.

But when it was a question of converting these resolutions into action, when immediately after the Congress the Right and conciliatory elements in the C. P. of Germany organized a genuine revolt against the C. C. and against the line of the Sixth Congress, we did not see Comrade Bukharin in the first ranks of the fighters for this line. Comrade Bukharin preferred to stand diplomatically aside, without uttering or writing a single word in defense of the line of the Sixth Congress which everybody expected of him in view of his position in the Comintern. Nay more, Comrade Bukharin did not by a single word protest against the speculation with his name; that the German conciliators claimed to have his solidarity, those conciliators who had formed a regular bloc with the Rights against the C. C. of the German C. P. and even against the Comintern. Not a single participant in the German inner-Party struggles could doubt after this that Comrade Bukharin is really at one with the German conciliators who are fighting against the line of the Comintern.

Comrade Bukharin found time and opportunity in the Autumn of 1928 to come forward openly against the general line of the C. P. S. U. in his article "Remarks of an Economist," which has acquired an enviable fame. Comrade Bukharin's attacks were chiefly directed against the tempo of our industrialization, as provided for in the Five-Year Plan according to the decisions of the Fifteenth Party Congress. Comrade Bukharin's criticism, which is formally directed against the specialists of the State Planned Economic Commission, is in fact directed against the C. C. of our Party. Through the whole article there runs like a red thread the tendency of slowing down the tempo of our industrialization, of adaptation to the "weak points." The very ambiguous remarks in this article by Comrade Bukharin regarding the degradation of agriculture caused the reader to assume that in our country there is really taking place a degradation of agriculture as a result of the erroneous policy of the Party, as the bourgeois pro-

fessors have been maintaining for a long time. Here again Comrade Bukharin had not sufficient consistency to defend to the very end the standpoint which he had laid down in his article "Remarks of an Economist."

Not quite a year has passed since the publication of this article. The tempo which at that time was provided for our industry by the State Planned Economic Commission has been far surpassed by the Five-Year Plan which has been adopted by the Sixteenth Party Congress and the Fifth Soviet Congress. A number of concrete corrections are already being made in this Five-Year Plan in the direction of a further increase of the tempo. Life has shattered the sinister predictions of the author of "Remarks of an Economist," which remarks were prompted by the disbelief in the forces of the working class and the overestimation of the difficulties of socialist construction, and nothing has remained of the whole capitulation theory of this article.

Although the Party has from the beginning decidedly and unanimously rejected such an attitude, although Comrade Bukharin was not yet determined in Autumn, 1928, to defend this view to the last consequences and it seemed that he would overcome his vacillations, Comrade Bukharin has nevertheless not abandoned his struggle against the general line of the Party.

At the beginning of 1929, on the anniversary of Lenin's death, Comrade Bukharin published in the "Pravda" an article in which he, in a disguised form, resumed his attack on the Central Committee. The article was full of sallies against our leadership, which, allegedly, did not come up to the requirements of the latest science and technique. The reasons for these shortcomings Comrade Bukharin could only see in the "incorrect" policy; in the refusal to slow down the pace of industrialization—contrary to all the scientific interpretations of Comrade Bukharin—; that we were not inclined to make concessions to the kulak; that we were not inclined to stake our card on the capitalist development of the village. Bourgeois "culture," science, in the person of Kondratyevs and his like, long ago pointed out to our country and to the Soviet Power this means of overcoming the difficulties.

Comrade Bukharin adopted a still more direct and clear position in his speech at the Moscow Plenum of the Party and Soviet organizations under the heading: "The Political Legacy of Lenin." His political line (which is now sufficiently clear) of capitulation and concessions to the kulak elements of the country, Comrade Bukharin recommended to the Party as "Lenin's legacy." When on this occasion some comrades referred to Eduard Bernstein, who subjected Marx to a revision under the flag of Marxism, this was not at all a polemical exaggeration. Comrade Bukharin has deserved this comparison. How could one react differently to the attempt of cloaking opportunism and capitulatory tendencies with the banner of Lenin! If one were to judge according to Comrade Bukharin's report, then it would appear that Lenin never taught anything else but "caution" towards the peasantry; that he never mentioned anything of the kulak in his last article (why, therefore, does the Party again and again undertake its attacks on the kulak); that Lenin considered the building up of Communism in the village (Soviet farms and collective undertakings) as an untimely idea and was in favor of carrying out industrialization by means of thriftiness and the simplification of the state apparatus, but by no means by an "overburdening" of the peasantry.

Thus Comrade Bukharin gradually developed a whole system of opportunist views and a whole tactical line fundamentally different from that of the Party. In international questions Comrade Bukharin actually defends the thesis of the increasing strength of capitalist stabilization. There inevitably follows from it the rejection of the whole conception of the Sixth Congress regarding the new revolutionary upsurge; there follows the glossing over of the growing contradictions between the working class and capitalism; there follows the support (for the time being only diplomatically) of the Right and conciliatory tendencies in the Comintern.

With regard to the inner-Russian questions: the slowing down of the pace of industrialization, using as a pretext the weak spots; abandonment of the line of the Fifteenth Party Congress, of the policy of the broad and intensive socialist reconstruction of agriculture; the idea of raising the level of the whole village (on the basis of the individual peasant undertakings) that is to say, the unchaining of the capitalist elements in the village; the theory of peaceful co-existence with the kulak; the peaceful growing of the kulak into socialism; the abandonment of the consistent and determined struggle against bureaucracy in the state apparatus by means of self-criticism, which in practice would mean a conciliatory attitude towards the distortion of the class line in the work of this apparatus and open conciliatory tendencies towards that portion of the bourgeois specialists in the town who are not prepared to settle down to the idea of the Soviet Power. All this together represents capitulation in face of the capitalist elements on all fronts of our socialist construction.

The Right opposition which has arisen in our Party thus found in Comrade Bukharin its theoretician and leader. This opposition has become the center and point of attraction for all Right, conciliatory elements who have separated from Communism or are about to separate from it in the international Communist movement.

After the April Plenum and the Sixteenth Party Conference, which criticized in detail the views of Comrade Bukharin and of his followers in all the fundamental questions of Party policy one could expect that the representatives of the Right Opposition in our Party, although they may perhaps not openly recognize their mistakes, would at least refrain from a further struggle against the Party line, which has been splendidly confirmed by all the experiences of our socialist construction in the course of the last months since the conference. But this was not the case.

This was not the case, before all with regard to Comrade Bukharin. Comrade Bukharin published before the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. an article on "Organized Mismanagement" in which he repeated, developed and deepened his mistakes which were ascertained at the Sixth Plenum and which already at that time brought him very near to the Rights and conciliators. Comrade Bukharin now speaks still more openly than at the Sixth Congress of the growth of the capitalist elements, of the organized state of the capitalist system, of overcoming the anarchist tendency in production and trade, of the mitigation of the inner contradictions. Comrade Bukharin has thereby made a decided step from the Marxist-Leninist estimation of the system of monopolist capitalism to the views of the social democratic decadents of Marxism from the Hilferding school. Needless to say this step encountered unanimous and determined resistance on the part of the representatives of all the sections at the Tenth Plenum. And precisely as an answer to this conception the Tenth Plenum has relieved Comrade Bukharin of his function as member of the Presidium of the E. C.

C. I. and adopted that recently published political resolution on the mistakes of Comrade Bukharin.

The Party is fully conscious of the great merits of Comrade Bukharin who for many years has fought in our ranks side by side with Lenin. The Party highly appreciates the great work which Comrade Bukharin performed in the last years in the leadership of our Party, already after Lenin's death, in the struggle against Trotskyism. But it is impossible for the Party to consider Comrade Bukharin as the infallible guardian of "Lenin's legacy." The Party has not forgotten the great mistakes which Comrade Bukharin committed in the past, his long struggle against Lenin. Comrade Bukharin still conducted this struggle in the years of the imperialist world war, when he vacillated between the semi-anarchist views on the state and the program of the Party on the one hand, and the conciliatory tendencies towards the open centrist elements of the kind of Trotsky and their opportunist conceptions.

For a number of years, during and after the war, Comrade Bukharin defended anti-Leninist Luxemburg opinions regarding the national question, which is of enormous importance in the epoch of imperialism. In the year 1918 Comrade Bukharin stood at the head of the fraction of the Left Communists, who almost brought about a split, and who whilst they themselves were sitting up to their ears in the petty bourgeois bog, accused the Party and Lenin of degeneration. In the year 1919, at the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Bukharin was the first to criticize the Leninist draft of the Party Program. In the year 1920 he wrote the brochure, "The Economy of the Transition Period," which called forth a number of very energetic criticisms from Lenin (this brochure contained various germs of Bukharin's present ideas regarding "organized capitalism.") In the year 1921 Comrade Bukharin entered the ranks of the Trotskyist Opposition to the Leninist C. C. and made a number of quite impermissible concessions to the semi-anarchist-syndicalist ideology of the labor opposition. Finally, at the time of the Third Congress of the Comintern, also in the year 1921, Comrade Bukharin fought against Lenin in the fundamental questions of the tactics of the Comintern.

After Lenin's withdrawal from work, Comrade Bukharin came forward, after the Twelfth Party Congress, in defense of the deviation of the Georgian comrades, who later went over to Trotsky, and in their overwhelming majority have been expelled from the Party together with the whole Trotskyist Opposition. In the year 1925, at the beginning of the struggle against the so-called new Opposition, Comrade Bukharin, who joined the Party in this struggle, committed a number of great opportunist mistakes (the slogan "Enrich yourselves"; the declaration regarding the kulak cooperatives, which, allegedly, along with the concession undertakings, are growing into our socialist system; the observations that it is possible for us to advance to socialism at a "snail's pace") although at that time he admitted some of these mistakes.

However great the services of Comrade Bukharin in the past may be he has not therefore the right to come before the Party in the role of the infallible and only authentic interpreter of Lenin's legacy and as the only guardian of this legacy.

That Comrade Bukharin has become, in the twelfth year of the Soviet Power, the leader of the Right Opposition in our Party; that his present mistakes surpass all the limits of his former mistakes, proves the extent of the danger which threatens our Party from the Right deviation, without the exposure and overcoming of which the successful socialist construction in our country and the further consolidation of the Party is unthinkable. The experience with the former oppositions shows us where the struggle against the Party leads. This experience must serve as a serious warning for Comrade Bukharin.

Whatever position Comrade Bukharin may adopt at present—whether he will have sufficient courage to admit his mistakes, or whether he will develop and deepen them further—our Party possesses sufficient proletarian firmness and determination in order to continue the struggle against the Right deviation, which is disintegrating its ranks and to conduct this struggle to the final victory.

'Socialists' of Germany Refuse Visas to USSR Worker - Esperantists

LEIPSIG, Germany (By Mail).—The social-democratic government of Germany, thru its ambassador to the U. S. S. R., refused visas to all but two of the Soviet delegates to the World Congress of the S. A. T. (Class-Conscious Worker-Esperantists), which was held here from Aug. 4 to 10, with nearly 700 delegates from 28 countries participating. The two workers' republic representatives were "allowed" to attend the congress on the express condition that they "were not to mix in German politics."

Fascist Valdemas Cabinet Out; Another Just As Bad In Place

Kovno, Lithuania, Sept. 20.—The cabinet of Premier Augustinas Valdemas resigned today and former Finance Minister Tubelis was named to form a new government. Reasons for the cabinet resignation were not disclosed.

The Valdemas cabinet is a pure fascist government, seizing control by arms, but the change of ministry does not seem likely to involve any removal of the fascists from power. Inefficiency and graft scandals are believed to be at the back of the resignation.

Our own age, the bourgeois age, is distinguished by this—that it has amplified class antagonisms. More and more, society is splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great and directly opposed classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat.—Marx.

MAJORITY FOR REVOLUTIONARY AFFILIATIONS

Minority Movement of Germany Welcomed

PARIS, France, Sept. 20.—The seventh session of the Fifth Congress of C. G. T. U. (the militant French trade union center) was held yesterday.

The delegate of the Red International of Labor Unions appeared and was welcomed with tremendous enthusiasm. He brought the fraternal greetings of the R. I. L. U. to the congress, and made a great speech on the tasks of the C. G. T. U. in winning the revolutionary masses.

The representative of the German Trade Union Minority Movement spoke and was greeted with great applause.

Reformist Minority. After the R. I. L. U. delegate's speech, discussion continued, in which the right wing minority in the C. G. T. U. were given full opportunity to express their defeatist ideas.

The minority declared capitalism was rapidly stabilizing itself and denied any immediate war danger.

The majority delegates, answering, declared the present struggle in the C. G. T. U. was a re-enactment of the old fight between revolutionists and reformists.

The Fifth Congress of the C. G. T. U. is attended by 689 delegates.

AUSTRO FASCISTI DICKER FOR POWER

Fix Up Plans to Take Joint Control

VIENNA (By Mail).—Through an indiscretion of the fascist press it has become known that the social democrats are negotiating through Dannenberg and the Vienna finance expert Breiter with the Vienna police presidium in order to regulate Vienna police questions.

The negotiations, which have been proceeding for several days, have already progressed so far that it is possible to speak of a general regulation of the outstanding questions. As a result of these negotiations the Vienna police will remain finally under the command of Schober, the police president. These negotiations are in general regarded as a favorable commencement of the general constitutional reform.

The actual meaning of these negotiations is that the social democratic party is at one with the bourgeoisie parties, and thus with fascism, in carrying out the fascist constitutional reforms and thus preparing the way for the fascist dictatorship. With regard to the constitutional reform itself, the left wing democratic press which is closely connected with the social-democracy, and the social democratic evening newspaper, declare that the social democracy has no intention of using its parliamentary strength in order to obstruct parliamentary business.

In this direction also therefore the social democracy will assist the bourgeoisie in carrying out its dictatorship plans. Today a party conference of the S.D.P. took place to deal with a number of political questions, including the question of constitutional reform. Up to the moment there is no report concerning the result of this conference.

Sandino's Wife Hurt in Automobile Crash

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, Sept. 20.—Teresa Villatoro, wife of Augusto Sandino, leader of the Nicaraguan rebels against American imperialism, and Sandino's son were among seven persons seriously injured in an automobile accident near Pempire.

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PARTY LIFE

A Further Chapter in the Degeneration of the Lovestonites

EDITOR'S NOTE—When the renegade Lovestone and his supporters were exposed for burglarizing the national office of the Party, they entered into a conspiracy with a discredited and expelled adventurer and blackmailer, one Jackson, in an effort to make it appear that their burglary was committed by agents of the Department of Justice. In a crude concoction of lies they sought to discredit a loyal comrade of the Party. A thorough investigation of the matter revealed the fact that the man, Jackson, who claimed to have been employed by Department of Justice offices in the Woolworth building, was deliberately lying; that there is no such office at the place designated.

The following article deals with this phase of the case.

The material submitted to the Party in the statement of the Central Control Commission shows up the Lovestonites in their utter political degeneracy. It is evident that the factional methods of the past days have now been carried by Lovestone into the lowest methods of Tammany Hall.

The whole detective story concocted by Lovestone and his worthy ally, Jackson, flows from minds bare of any consideration save one, to injure the Party.

The two worthies are attempting to improve upon their story and to supply corroborating evidence. To leave out not even the slightest touch that "experts" may consider in their deceptive mystery stories, Lovestone and Jackson have treated us to two new chapters.

A few days ago there appeared in the National Office of the Party the head of a private detective agency. For a considerable cash consideration he offered to sell to the Party some information concerning the theft of documents from the National Office. A few questions and reluctant answers proved that the story he offered for sale was identical with the story which the scoundrel Jackson had so freely volunteered to dictate to a Lovestone stenographer.

Investigation brought to light that the detective agency in question was the very same which, about a year and a half ago, sold a forged letter, purported to come from the National Miners' Union, to the "Forward" for use against the Communist Party, and then offered to sell to the Communist Party, for use against the "Forward," proofs that the letter was a forgery.

One-half hour after this private detective had been gotten rid of by a categorical rejection of the offer, the National Office was disturbed by a phone call from Morris Nemeser. He informed the Central Control Commission that this was "the last call," and that, if the Central Control Commission should refuse immediate action, "they" would act. And "they" did act—by issuing a scurrilous document against the Party. But that is not all.

The last chapter of the story came into the National Office on Monday, September 18th, in the form of a letter, postmarked "Washington, D. C.," and addressed to Anna Thompson. The letter contained an inside envelope, addressed to "Mr. — Please forward." And this inside envelope contained the following letter:

September 13, 1929.

My Dear — I want to thank you again for your valuable assistance in connection with the seizure of the Communists' records at Party headquarters last month. Without your cooperation, we would surely have failed.

We have checked up on everything found in the office, from what we have in our possession proves conclusively everything which you have told us during the past months that you have been employed by this office.

I have tried several times during the past two weeks to meet you at our old meeting place in Harlem, but somehow, have failed. That is my reason for not sending you money. I am wondering if Party members are suspecting you.

I understand, had several tilts with the police. Better advise him to go slow until matters die down a bit. You must throw off every evidence of suspicion, hence, you must be careful.

I am taking this chance of reaching you as I remember you once saying that you were interested in this person and that she is reliable. May I ask if you will write me and give an address where I can send your check. I will also send funds for — and X.

Yours sincerely,

J. J. M.

An identical letter, with the same kind of paper, envelopes, postmarks, etc., was received on the same date, addressed also to Anna Thompson, but at another address, where it would come into the hands of Negro comrades—with inside envelope marked the same, "For — Please forward."

It has also been ascertained that one of Lovestone's agents had been in Washington over the previous week end.

We are hesitant, not knowing whether we should laugh at, or pity this most obliging "secret service chief." One of his tools, the worthy Jackson, offers to sell the secrets of the government to the Communist Party. He offers to unmask a most valuable under-cover man of the government in the Communist Party. And Jackson's chief, watchful for the interests of his employer, the United States government, uses the surest methods imaginable to help his treacherous agent. He sends a letter to his valuable under-cover man and addresses the letter to the office of the Communist Party, against which this under-cover man is alleged to be operating. And to make sure that there can be no slip-up, he addresses the letter to an expelled member, Anna Thompson.

All mail, coming to the National Office is opened and then distributed according to its contents. But the "chief" did not know that, of course he did not. In any case, he wrote into the letter everything that Lovestone's man Friday, Jackson, had told Comrade Markoff. In a letter addressed to the National Office of the Party, he obligingly says: (1) We, the D. of J., raided the National Office; (2) — was our instrument in doing this; (3) I meet him regularly in Harlem; (4) I will also send checks for — and X, a couple more of my agents. (5) And all of this is read in very exact Party language.

He only forgot a P. S. urging us to, please believe everything that Jackson told us.

We feel that further comment on this letter would be an insult to the intelligence of the Party membership. This letter is the final link in the chain of evidence which points an accusing finger at Lovestone and his scoundrelly friends, fairly shouting: You are agents of the bourgeoisie who employ even the basest of tricks in an attempt to undermine the morale and to disrupt the forces of the working class and its organizations, and to play in the hands of their class enemies!

CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION.
CHAS. DIRBA, Sec'y. C.C.C.

T. U. U. L. in Program of Action

A program of immediate organization work, to take full advantage of the outpouring of workers' energy and enthusiasm which made the Cleveland convention which organized the Trade Union Unity League, August 31-Sept. 1, has been issued by the Bureau of the National Committee of the League.

The splendid impetus given by the Trade Union Unity Convention must be followed up by a program of active work, along the following general lines:

(1) Organize meetings of all shop committees, local unions, Local Industrial Leagues, Local General Leagues, etc., to hear full reports from the delegates in attendance at the Trade Union Unity Convention. (2) At these meetings, active steps must be taken to secure application of the convention decisions and to set the League on a dues-paying membership basis everywhere. Membership books, dues stamps, and application cards will be furnished directly by the T.U.U.L. National Office.

(3) Steps must also be taken at these meetings to build the T.U.U.L. in every direction, by strengthening and organizing new shop committees, local unions, local T.U.U.L. groups in reformist trade unions, Local Industrial Leagues, Local General Leagues, etc.

(4) The securing of bundle orders and subscriptions—and appointment of agents and correspondents of Labor Unity must be a central point of all these activities.

(5) Every member and sympathizer of the Trade Union Unity League should become thoroughly acquainted with the program and constitution of the Trade Union Unity League, adopted at the Cleveland Convention, in order to understand thoroughly the principles and the new organizational structure of the Trade Union Unity League. Orders should immediately be sent in for these, which are both being printed in pamphlet form—the program selling at 10c and the constitution at 5c per copy. Cash must accompany mail orders.

THE GASTONIA "INVESTIGATORS" BETWEEN INVESTIGATIONS.

By Fred Ellis



The Economic Struggle and the Tasks of the Communist Parties

THESES UPON THE REPORTS BY COMRADES THALMANN AND LOSOVKY

1. CHARACTER OF MODERN CLASS BATTLES.

1. The period since the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions is characterized by an incessant and increasing growth of class contradictions and by a widening of the front of the class struggle. Not a year has passed since these two gatherings, and already the working class of Germany has experienced, apart from a series of great economic battles, the tremendous movement among the proletariat of the Ruhr; Poland has witnessed a powerful general strike of 100,000 workers of Lodz; in France there have been extensive economic conflicts which in recent times spread from district to district (constituting the defeat of 100 strikes per month); Austria experienced for the first time a strike against capitalist rationalization and against the fascization of the factories and works, and in the United States there has been a spontaneous mass strike movement (especially in the Southern States). Of significance are the numerous small strikes in Great Britain since the beginning of 1929, where the depression since the defeat of the working class in 1926 was greatest as far as strikes are concerned, and also the numerous strikes of agricultural laborers throughout Europe (Czechoslovakia, Poland, France), which have assumed an acute political character.

A characteristic feature of the present strikes is also the tremendous growth in the number of small and partial strikes which have their roots in the increased pressure of capitalist rationalization and involve separate factories or even separate workshops. Finally, a peculiarity of the present phase of development lies in the fact that the growing strike wave also involves the colonial and semi-colonial countries (a strike of 140,000 textile workers in Bombay, the General Strike of the workers on the banana plantations of Columbia, the dockers' strikes in the French colonies), and have assumed such dimensions and desperate forms hitherto unknown in these countries. All this implies that the working class is being radicalized at an accelerated rate and that this radicalization assumes an ever wider international character.

2. These peculiarities of the present upward swing of the labor movement are a reflection of the further accentuation of the basic contradictions of the world capitalist economy. The basic contradiction between the increased productive forces and the contracted markets, is growing and becoming sharper. The entire economic policy of the capitalist states is now directed towards the capture of markets for the export of capital, markets for manufactured products and sources of raw material, the intensification of exploitation of the proletariat through the medium of capitalist rationalization. At present every effort of the workers to improve their living conditions is resisted by the entire capitalist class which seeks to stifle the labor movement at its roots. Capitalist rationalization has not only proved incapable of eliminating the contradiction between the productive possibilities and the absorbing capacity of the markets, but on the contrary, this problem stands out now more sharply and has become more insoluble. Rationalization has increased output, but at the same time, has given rise to greater unemployment, profound structural changes in the social composition of the proletariat, a further lowering of the standard of living of the proletariat and the share of wages in the product of labor due to the terrific intensification of labor.

Particularly striking in this respect is the difference between rationalization in the capitalist countries, which falls as a heavy burden upon the shoulders of the working class, and socialist rationalization in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which is a mighty weapon for uprooting the remnants of capitalism in the U. S. S. R. and which ensures the quickest possible rate of raising the material and cultural standard of the Soviet Union.

3. The struggle for the raising of the standard of living of the workers, as a result of the fusion of contemporary trustified capital with the state apparatus, becomes converted into a struggle against the foundations of the capitalist system and against the bourgeois state. Contemporary capitalism has already reached the point when property relations have become absolutely incompatible with the raising of the standard of living of the working class (although in some cases temporary and partial increases in wages are possible), and the working class is confronted now more than ever with the task of combining its daily struggles with the struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. In the new conditions the economic struggle of the proletariat assumes an ever more sharply expressed political character. This does not mean that the question of leadership of partial economic struggles of the proletariat is becoming of less significance than hitherto. It is precisely in this period that the role of the revolutionary trade union movement is primarily that of organization of the struggle for partial demands from the point of view of the prospective struggle for political power. It is in this profound political significance of contemporary economic battles, that the radicalization of the working class now finds its expression.

4. The political character of the present-day economic battles is determined also by the going over of the bourgeoisie in the major capitalist countries to new fascist methods for the suppression of the working class. In the sphere of economic fights this fascization is expressed primarily in the effort to deprive the workers of the right to organize and to strike, thus robbing the economic fights of the proletariat of their legal positions. Among the methods adopted are the institution of compulsory arbitration as well as the open weapon

of terror and of the state machinery of coercion, even to the extent of dissolving the revolutionary trade union and strike committees, dispersing strikers' meetings, wholesale arrests, and the utilization of the military apparatus of the bourgeois state as a strikebreaking force (the agricultural laborers' strike in Czechoslovakia). It is particularly necessary to mention also the direct participation of the reformist trade union apparatus in the crushing of the struggling workers and in the development of factory fascism.

5. The broad masses of workers, for whom the capitalist offensive throughout the world means growing exploitation, increasing exhaustion under hard labor conditions in the present day rationalized capitalist factory, the early discarding of the "worn-out" slaves of capital, growing unemployment, a longer working day, a lower standard of living to the onslaught of capital and are more frequently and more boldly passing over to the counter offensive. The new characteristic of the economic struggle lies in the fact that they are assuming more and more the form of a proletarian offensive. This is true of almost all the economic battles which have taken place in the last half-year, especially the Lodz strike, the Ruhr lockout, and the general textile workers' strike in Bombay.

6. A very significant feature of the present economic battles is the fact that, in spite of the blacklegging role played by the reformist trade union apparatus, to an extent hitherto unknown; in spite of the treachery of the Rights and the undermining efforts of the conciliators; and finally, in spite of the mistakes of the revolutionary trade union fully meant to lead the strikes independently, how in spite even of a number of defeats, the militancy of the proletariat has not diminished. In the Ruhr, for example, though the locked-out workers did not actually gain what they wanted, at the same time, the militancy of the workers has by no means diminished and the experience of that great conflict finitely refuted the theory of the reformists and the Right wing liquidators that all recent battles of the proletariat, even those in which wage demands, etc., were set up, are an exclusively defensive struggles.

7. But the most characteristic feature in the appraisal of the contemporary economic battles bearing witness to an upward surge in the labor movement, is the ever growing activity of the unorganized workers. This is due particularly to the profound structural changes which have taken place in the composition of the working class as a result of rationalization. The number of skilled workers constituting the principal elements of the reformist unions is rapidly declining. During the lockout in the Ruhr, the unorganized workers constituted three-fourths of the participants in the movement. In Lodz, 80,000 textile workers struck, only a little over 4,000 of whom were members of the union. In Bulgaria out of 30,000 tobacco workers on strike there were 95 per cent unorganized. In France over 90 per cent of the workers in general are unorganized. Even in Great Britain where partial movements, the most striking feature is the participation of large numbers of unorganized (the strike in the automobile industry). In India, in Bombay, out of the tremendous strike which involved an overwhelming proportion of unorganized textile workers, a powerful radical union has emerged with 65,000 members, i. e., embracing about 40 per cent of the textile workers of Bombay. Finally, the recent economic battles were strongly characterized by the sharp turn towards the Left and the activity and class firmness of the masses of women workers and the youth, the overwhelming majority of whom are unorganized. It should be particularly noted that vast sections of working women in a number of important industries (textile, machine construction, electric, chemical, food, clothing, silk, and other industries) constitute half and sometimes even a majority of the workers. At the same time they comprise very large sections of unorganized labor.

This activity of the unorganized has expressed the increasingly growing discontent of the masses and has broken through the legal framework of the trade unions, involving the rank and file of the reformist unions in a struggle which is with ever greater frequency being waged not only without, but even against the reformist trade union apparatus.

8. Thus the distinguishing features of the class conflicts since the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, which are an expression of growing elements of a new revolutionary upsurge in the labor movement, are characterized by the following:

- a) A transition from small partial struggles to larger conflicts bearing more of a mass character.
- a) The ever more frequent transition of the workers to the counter offensive.
- c) An ever growing activity of the masses of unorganized.
- d) Breaking through of trade union legalism.
- e) The growing political and revolutionary character of the strikes.
- f) The international character of the movement, involving the colonial countries and Great Britain, which until lately has lagged behind.
- 9. The scope of these new forms of economic struggle is not everywhere the same. In some countries, e. g., in Germany, where as

I SAW IT MYSELF

Translated by Brian Rhys

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AND WE WERE CELEBRATING PEACE.

THE massacres were nothing but a systematic display of anti-Jewish and nationalist savagery. No complaints were made: "Filthy Jews!" they said, and that was enough. Pellura, winking at this wholesale slaughter, countenanced it. The reserves that he made were of the mildest, and post eventum, to please the gallery's ears. He declared that pogroms were necessary to keep up the spirit of his army. To the survivors of one such wholesale slaughtering, he said: "As for the contention that the brute had no personal interest in these pogroms, it must not be forgotten that in almost every case they were followed by plundering and the imposition of heavy fines. The fact is that the Jewish community was decimated and reduced to beggary too. The assassin, in this case, was a thief into the bargain. . . . Such were the tales told that evening, by a few miserable wretches huddled together in the Jewish quarter, in one of the few households that death had left unvisited.

THE EMBRACE.

"GOOD afternoon."

"Good afternoon, Andreas."

"Come in."

"How strange your voice sounds."

"Come in."

"Very well. Andreas, where's Rita?"

"I don't know. Rita and I are no longer friends."

"What's this? You . . . she . . . the ideal couple, the loving pair, the delight of all eyes . . . ?"

"We no longer love each other."

"You don't mean . . . Tell me, Andreas, is she alive?"

"Oh, yes, she's alive."

"Well, then, tell me . . ."

"It's all through the prisons of Hungary."

"I knew that you had both been in prison. But you weren't there long."

"Not long! Six months . . ."

"Were you beaten, or hurt . . . ? Why do you turn your head away, Andreas? Ah, I can guess; they disfigured her. Was that it?"

"No. It is not what you think."

"Come, tell me, I beg you."

"Well, in prison, there was a Captain des Pronay and he hated us so that he went mad when he saw us. 'You two,' he said, 'you're lovers, very well . . .'

"You shall be parted . . ."

"On the contrary. He said, 'We'll have you bound together.'"

"Yes, and then?"

"He bound us one to the other, fully dressed, tightly round the waist."

"And then?"

THEN came days, and nights and days. Do you understand? No, you can't. First of all, we thought we were going to die together, and the clasp of the ropes was sweet to us, with our hearts beating and eyes glazing, each to each. But it was not for death, that we were bound, but for life."

"The more be thanked."

"No, the less."

"That's beyond me."

"Of course it is. Before this happened, I would have said the same. You can't understand what it was like. The moment you opened your eyes, or stopped twisting your neck to turn away a little, that face breathing in your face! There wasn't a hand's breadth between our two faces. At first, it was wonderful, having these two pupils before my eyes, magnified as it were, with long throbbing lashes; that mouth, so close, that when I trembled, I bumped it with my own. But, in time, in time . . . then again . . ."

"Andreas, you're blushing."

"Yes, I am too ashamed to recall it. Two bodies clamped to each other, like that . . ."

"You're hurting my shoulders, Andreas. Your fingers are like talons."

"That's so as you may begin to understand."

"But you moved, you walked about, tied together in this way?"

"Yes, but that's enough. I don't want to give any details."

"Of course, of course, but . . ."

"Enough! Days, nights, weeks, months!"

"But, Andreas, pity alone would . . ."

"Pity is driven out, like all that is sweet, by such things."

"But, Andreas, your companion was no thing . . ."

THE counterweight, I tell you. We said (that was the first week): 'Never mind, then. I love you, my poor darling, I love you. Don't be afraid of me. We'll forget the past, and all the rest of it.'"

"Then both pity and love were swallowed up little by little in the certainty that we could not forget, in the horror of it all."

"But even so . . ."

"In the filth, in the smell."

"Enough from you, Andreas: no more!"

"And in the horrible satiety of one and the same eternal picture: the knocking together of two faces stamped upon each other—that face, like a hand!"

"At first, the twin monster that we made could not sleep. Our eyes, enlarged and strained, frightened sleep away. Then we slept. But there was the awakening."

"The ropes hurt me to the full extent of her weight, and that weight I gave back in equal measure. The exhaustion of the one was a drag, a load, a scourge on the exhaustion of the other. We struggled, resisted each other. But all that was a trifle. Above all, I repeat . . ."

"No, do not repeat it."

"But I will—above all that coarse contemplation of another body, that relentless communion with its outlines, its life—worse than a post mortem. The breathing, the pulsation, the hideous transparency of that soft-wheeled piece of mechanism which we call our body. The human body is a pitiful thing—more pitiful even than a prisoner's body. . . . You can only dimly see what I mean, just as my poor devil of a brother, who was religious, dimly visualized hell. You can make guesses, but you really know nothing about it at all."

(To be Continued)

a result of a number of circumstances we find the classic expression of the contradictions of contemporary capitalist stabilization, these new forms have found their most glaring expression. In other countries, e. g., Great Britain, where the working class is first recovering from the defeat of the general strike and the miners lockout of 1926, and where the process of capitalist rationalization is still in its initial stage (as compared with Germany and the United States), there is only a prelude to the approaching period of stormy mass conflicts. The advent of the Labor Party to power will inevitably lead to the accentuation and sharpening of these conflicts, since the labor government will to an ever larger extent disclose its nature as an agency for the enforcement of capitalist rationalization and a direct tool for the intensification of the exploitation of the working class, and will thus destroy the reformist illusions of the masses. Finally, what is entirely new in the history of the international labor movement, is the mass strike movement in India, where all these new forms have found perhaps their sharpest expression. The sharp class differentiation during the strike in the banana plantations of Columbia is also significant, where the entire military and governmental machine was set in motion, and where the bourgeoisie acted in a united front.

10. The struggle between the Communist and revolutionary trade union vanguard on the one hand, and the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy on the other, is no longer being waged exclusively within the unions, but is involving all the workers in general. This struggle is primarily a struggle for leadership over the masses in the strikes. In accordance with this, new, more favorable conditions have arisen for the Communist and revolutionary trade union vanguard (especially since the May Day demonstrations in Germany) to win the majority of the working class. Hence the tremendous importance of the problem of the unorganized. Hence the new tactics in the election of factory councils. Hence the decisive importance of independent leadership of strikes on the part of the Communist revolutionary trade union vanguard without and against the reformist trade union apparatus. Hence the ruthless struggle against opportunistic trade union legalism in our own ranks and the tactics of the united front from below.

(To be Continued)