

Jobless 10 Months, Sends \$5
"I am without any job since April of last year and I am sorry that my contribution cannot be many times this amount (\$5). Will try to send you some more in the near future. Our 'Daily' must go ahead despite everything!"
—H. G. Los Angeles, Cal.
Have YOU done as much for the Daily Worker?

Vol. X, No. 42

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1933

CITY EDITION

Price 3 Cents

Communists Call N. Y. Workers to Anti-Hitler Mass Meeting Sunday

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FORMED BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO SAVE THE DAILY WORKER

Crisis More Severe Now Than Ever, Campaign Must Be Successfully Carried Through

COMRADES:

A point has been reached in the Daily Worker financial drive where the Central Committee of the Communist Party must speak directly and openly to the Party members and to all workers sympathetic to our movement. The Daily Worker drive has now been on for five weeks. The response has not, and if it continues at the present rate, will not solve the problems of our paper.

Until now, about \$8,000 has been raised—\$8,000 out of the needed \$35,000.

This means, comrades, that the crisis of the Daily Worker is even more severe at this moment than it was at the beginning of the drive. It means that the very life of the "Daily" is in danger. We know that many workers and even Party members have not realized the seriousness of the situation with which the Daily Worker is confronted.

Many comrades thought that this was just "another drive." They thought that, well, if the funds are not raised somehow or other the Daily Worker would continue. But unfortunately, comrades, this is not the situation.

This is not just "another drive." The outcome of this drive will determine whether or not we are to have the Daily Worker.

There is no other way by which the publication of the paper can be continued except through the successful conclusion of the present drive for funds, and this drive must be concluded quickly. The need for

funds is urgent. It cannot be postponed while long preparations are made. It must really be a drive that reaches every sympathetic worker in the shortest possible time.

Old debts had piled up to tremendous figures. New deficits mount up daily. The response so far in this drive has but little exceeded the current deficit of the "Daily" of about \$1,200 a week. It is necessary, therefore, that we secure the money at once, to meet the extremely pressing demands of the many creditors of the paper.

WE KNOW that the workers will respond to our appeal if they only know the facts, if they realize the seriousness of this situation. There are many examples in the ten years' history of the Daily Worker when the workers have come to its rescue with many thousands of dollars. We know they will do it again. We have no lack of confidence in the workers.

But now the urgent question is to make the workers realize the seriousness of the position of the "Daily."

The Central Committee of the Party has decided to directly take hold of the campaign for funds. A special emergency committee representing the Central Committee has been appointed. This committee, composed of Comrades Robert Minor, William Weiner and C. A. Hathaway, has been appointed to take direct charge of the drive. This committee must raise the

urgently needed \$35,000.

WE APPEAL to the leading Party comrades, in the first place, to strengthen every phase of their work, to reach the masses of workers with the appeal of the Daily Worker.

We appeal to the individual Party members to immediately raise the need of the "Daily" for funds in their units, trade unions, clubs, fraternal organizations, etc.

We appeal to all workers to personally send in their contributions to collect donations from their friends and neighbors, to arrange house parties in their homes for the benefit of the Daily Worker.

The next week must see a complete change in the situation. The drive must be speeded up. All the energies of the working class must be developed to save their paper. The struggles of the present moment make this necessary. We know the workers will respond.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE DAILY WORKER
ROBERT MINOR
WILLIAM WEINER
C. A. HATHAWAY.

Received yesterday \$ 366.80
Total to date 7,995.03
Send all contributions immediately to the Daily Worker, 50 East 13th Street, New York City.

Hathaway to Speak; Fight Fascist Rule

NEW YORK.—New York workers! Show your solidarity with the German workers united mass fighting front against the fascist government of the bloody assassin Hitler! Fight the Hitler fascist terror! Halt the united mass fighting of the German workers against fascism and capitalism, led by the heroic Communist Party, reads the call of Sections 2 and 4 of the Communist Party rallying all workers to the huge mass meeting on the German situation tomorrow, Sunday, 2 p. m. at the Central Opera House, 67th St. between 2nd and 3rd Aves.

C. A. Hathaway, New York district organizer of the Communist Party, will be the principal speaker. He will analyze the significance of the German events, the role of the Hitler regime, and the Social Democratic leaders, the chief reserve of Fascism, and the rising revolutionary tide of united mass struggle of the social democratic, free trade union and Communist workers against Fascism, hunger, war and capitalism under the leadership of the German Communist Party.

Ben Gold, leader of the fighting Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, now engaged in a sweeping wave of militant strikes, will be chairman. All workers, irrespective of political opinion or affiliation, are urged to come early as the meeting will start promptly at 2:30 p. m.

NEW YORK.—In addition to the main mass meeting at the Central Opera House, there will be three other Anti-Hitler mass meetings tomorrow. One is at Brownsville Workers Center, 1813 Pitkin Ave., at 8 p. m., Amter speaker. Another is at 2 p. m. Sunday, in Union Workers Center, 801 Prospect Ave., Bronx. The third is at 15 E. Third St., at 8 p. m.

LONDON, Feb. 17.—Adolph Hitler, German Chancellor and leader of the bloody bands of Fascism, plans to visit Benito Mussolini, Fascist Premier of Italy, after the German elections March 5. It was learned today. They will secretly discuss the possibility of a European war alliance between Italy, Germany and Hungary.

BERLIN, Feb. 17.—The police suppressed the bourgeois democratic evening newspaper "Tempo" yesterday for 7 days, alleging unfounded alarmism respecting the state of the stock exchange.

The Communist daily "Klassenkampf" of Halle was suppressed together with various other Communist and Socialist dailies, including the organ of the Social Workers Party, "The Communist dailies in the Ruhr," "The Scho" of Essen and "Freiheit" of Dueseldorf, which were suppressed for the whole of February, were, however, allowed to appear again today.

ATTACK 6,000 JOBLESS IN SEATTLE, WN.

Sheriffs, Police Use Fire Hose, Clubs, Revolver Butts

DEMONSTRATORS RALLY

Hunger March on State Capitol, March 1

NEW YORK.—All functionaries of local unemployed councils are called to meet Monday at 2:30 p. m. at Irving Plaza Hall, to work out details for the March 4 demonstration here, and for the participation of house and block committees and other unemployed groups in the preparations for the State Conference on Unemployment, Insurance, and Relief. Certain other organization matters will be taken up. The full bureau of each council and all active members of house and block committees are expected to be present. The meeting is called by the Unemployed Council of Greater New York. The place was originally announced for another hall, but has been changed to Irving Plaza Hall.

SEATTLE, Feb. 17.—A gang of deputy sheriffs, hundreds of city policemen and the fire department made a vicious assault with clubs, blackjacks, revolver butts and streams of water from high-pressure hose upon the more than 6,000 unemployed workers who for two days had occupied the City-County building and drove them into the streets.

When it was seen that it was impossible to stay in the building William Dobbins, president of the Central Federation of Unemployed Citizens' Leagues, announced that headquarters be established in a nearby building. In spite of the violence of the authorities the ranks of the unemployed held solidly and the mass struggle will go on to defeat the hunger drive of the bosses and their political lackeys.

Dobbins is the newly elected president of the Central Federation, taking the place of Phil Pearl, who resigned, along with Hulet M. Wells, who also resigned as member of the executive board. These weak-kneed individuals had tried to prevent any effective mass struggles by pursuing a passive policy and of needless negotiations with the authorities, while the masses starved. The rank and file revolt led these people to resign and in place of passivity there is now a definite upsurge of militant action.

The situation in Seattle and surrounding towns is thoroughly aroused. The workers had assembled and occupied the building and threatened to remain until the court authorities granted their demands for relief. Many workers from other parts of the state are still pouring into Seattle. The state legislature and the state indicate that tens of thousands will converge on the capitol, Olympia, on March 1st, to present demands to the state legislature and the governor.

March 4th, inauguration day, when (CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE)

SEVENTH FOLTIS-FISCHER PLACE IS ON STRIKE

NEW YORK.—The Foltis-Fischer strike sweeps on, the latest store to come out being the one at Courtland and Church Sts., yesterday. There are now seven cafeterias of this chain on strike.

All seven places are picketed daily, and the strikers and Food Workers Industrial Union urge all workers to show solidarity.

The strike committee met again Thursday night, and added, on suggestion of the workers, certain new demands. They are for free laundry of the girls' uniforms, eight hours work within nine hours (one hour for meals and rest) for the girls, and sanitary lockers and rest rooms for all workers.

These demands add to the previous demands for: reinstatement of all laid off; flat 25 per cent wage increase; return to work of all over the workers for Foltis-Fischer stock; no discrimination for union membership; recognition of shop committees and ten hour day.

General Strike Nears.
All these demands are proposed to all Foltis-Fischer workers as the basis for discussion, and for a general strike in the whole chain.
The union leaflets also urge further spreading of the strike.
Police attacks continue. F. W. I. U. Organizer Sam Krumburg was arrested yesterday for demanding that police not interfere with the right to picket at Courtland and Church. He was released. Picketing went on. Pete Petro, a picket, was arrested at the 43rd and Sixth Ave. place, charged with "obstructing traffic." The union attorney defends him.

Miami Shooting and the New Drive of Reaction

THE effort which we predicted, yesterday, to make use of the assassination attempt at Miami as the basis for a savage reactionary drive against the working class, has already begun.

The latest information fully confirms that the man accused of the attempted murder has never had anything to do with the revolutionary labor movement, but is among the most orthodox of members of the Republican Party, a supporter and follower of none other than Herbert Hoover.

Zangara not only was registered in the election lists of Hackensack, N. J., as a member of the Republican Party, but in the fall of 1931 he was also registered at an election in Los Angeles as a Republican who had become a naturalized citizen at Paterson, N. J. It has also been admitted by the police and capitalist press that in 1931 Zangara voted at Hackensack, N. J., as a Republican in the Republican primaries.

But the capitalist prostitute press does not hesitate, for all that, to publish scare headlines about "red fired at Roosevelt," and "Roosevelt death planned by reds." This sort of prostitute journalism and lying, circulating in tens of millions of copies of the gutter press, is intended to saturate the minds of the working class with the supposedly ineradicable association of political assassination with the revolutionary movement, as the method by which revolution is supposed to be accomplished. Of course, if the capitalist press could succeed in establishing in the mind of the working class that such is the method of revolution—then the energies which must be given to the building up of a revolutionary mass movement, the winning of the majority of the working class, supported by the decisive masses of the population for the liberation of the American people from Wall Street dictatorship, would be diverted and frittered away in morbid and essentially petty-bourgeois non-revolutionary dreams and futile gestures.

The effort to establish such policies in the minds of the masses, as the policies of "revolution" and of the "reds," is consistently pursued by the police and the capitalist press. When it appears screamingly inconsistent, as in the case of the alleged assassination attempt by the Republican Zangara, the gutter press attempts to explain away the inconsistency with such nonsense as the following:

"But Zangara admitted, if he had thought about it at all he probably would have espoused the red cause even though he insisted he was not affiliated with any radical or anarchist organization, and that he planned the killing by himself!"

BUT the ugly teeth of reaction are shown in a whole series of actions that are now beginning.

1. Efforts to revive the Dies Bill for the deportation of foreign born workers, which had already passed the House of Representatives, but had been held up in the Senate because of a flood of protests against this savage fascist project, has been undertaken. The unpeppable Hamilton Fish and other reactionists are now foaming at the mouth in the effort to put through this bill before the end of the lame duck congress. A bill against which Vice-President Curtis has admitted he has received a tremendous flood of protests from all over the country.

2. The House Committee has reported out, by a vote of 9 to 4, the Eslick Bill—by which heavy penalties as high as \$10,000 fines and ten year sentences in prison, would be dealt out to any worker—native or foreign born holding revolutionary political opinions, or advocating the rejection of the Wall Street form of capitalist dictatorship.

It is for the purpose of helping to put over such reactionary measures, in connection, as we said yesterday, with the drive for cutting wages in American industry and defeating the movement for Unemployment In-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE)

CITY EVENTS

WEINSTOCK SPEAKS; PRES. GREEN CHALLENGED
Louis Weinstock, national secretary and Rob Robbins, secretary of the New York A.F.L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief, speak at symposium on A.F.L. Insurance Scheme as against Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill. Green, Sullivan, and Senators Byrne and Mastick are challenged to appear and defend their position. Today, at 2 p. m., at Stuyvesant High School, 15th Street and First Avenue.

MINOR ON TECHNOCRACY AT WORKERS SCHOOL FORUM
Robert Minor, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, will speak on Technocracy, Fascism and Revolution, at Workers School Forum, 35 East 12th Street, second floor, Sunday, at 8 p. m. General admission, 25 cents. Workers school students, 20 cents with student card.

CONFERENCES ON PLANS TO SAVE DAILY WORKER
District Office of Communist Party urges workers' organizations not yet electing delegates to Daily Worker Conferences to send their secretaries. Conference of all Brooklyn organizations tomorrow at 10:30 a. m. at Manhattan Lyceum. All Manhattan organizations, 7:30 p. m. Monday. Bronx organizations, 7:30 p. m., Tuesday, at 801 Prospect Avenue.

Weinstein Case To Jury Monday; Fill Bronx Courtroom!

Defense Blasts Hired Liar Used by the Prosecution

NEW YORK.—The fate of Sam Weinstein, militant strike leader and ex-serviceman framed on charges of second degree assault and manslaughter, goes into the hands of the jury Monday morning after the defense and the workers present that the witnesses for the police and bosses did not identify Sam Weinstein as the man who committed the attack which they try to pin on Weinstein, that Weinstein was in Brooklyn when the assault occurred, and that Weinstein was being railroaded to jail because of his militant leadership of the strike against the Muskin Manufacturing Co.

In a fiery and dramatic summation, Joseph Brodsky, International Labor Defense Attorney, proved to the court and the workers present that the witnesses for the police and bosses did not identify Sam Weinstein as the man who committed the attack which they try to pin on Weinstein, that Weinstein was in Brooklyn when the assault occurred, and that Weinstein was being railroaded to jail because of his militant leadership of the strike against the Muskin Manufacturing Co.

Brodsky shattered the testimony of Harry Weisglass, scab in the Muskin strike, who together with his wife were attacked at 6:30 a. m. last July 19th, his wife dying a short time later. "Weisglass feels somebody should

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE)

PAINTERS WIN 2 MORE STRIKES

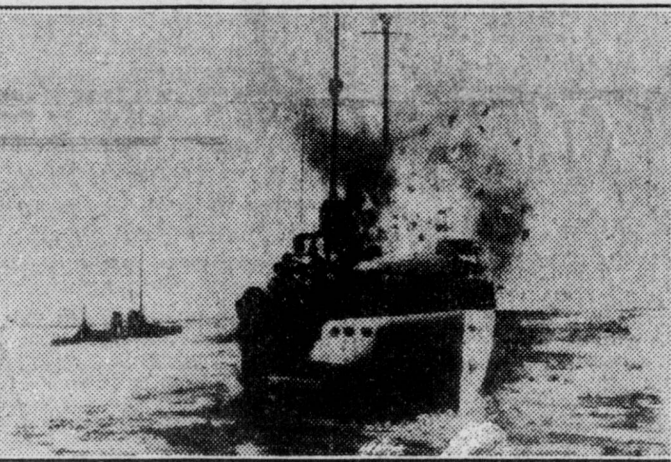
Alteration Union Gives Fact on Disputed Job

NEW YORK.—Local 2 and Local 4 of the Alteration Painters led short strikes against Phil Forman of Brownsville and Wunch of Manhattan, and have just won two more strikes. The bosses agree to all demands, including recognition of the shop committee.

Bronx local of the Alteration Painters calls attention of all painters to the fact that the job at 1465 Townsend Ave. is done by a boss, Steinberg and Freichstag, who has settled with the Alteration Painters. Attempts of the Brotherhood officials to claim this as their job and to persuade Brotherhood members to attack members of the Alteration Painters are attempts to mislead the Brotherhood members. The fact that previously a contractor signed with the Brotherhood had this job and then gave it up, does not alter the situation.

An Offer of Solidarity
The Alteration Painters repeats to the Brotherhood workers who were on the job previously that they can work on the job if they want to, and will not be forced to join the Alteration Painters. A shop committee will be elected consisting of Brotherhood and Alteration Painters Union members, working for Steinberg and Freichstag. The Alteration Painters is not interested in driving Brotherhood men out of work, but in maintaining conditions on the job.

Murder of Seamen by Dutch Imperialists



Radio Picture Showing Aerial Bombing of Native and European Seamen of the Dutch warship "De Zeven Provinciën" as Dutch Government tries to drown in blood the struggles of the seamen against a wage cut of ten per cent for European seamen and 17 per cent for native seamen. Twenty-two men were killed and scores badly wounded by the bombing. The government is now threatening to murder the remaining mutineers through court martial. This picture was telephoned by new process from Batavia, Java, Amsterdam, then re-telephoned to London when it was transmitted by radio to New York.

Demonstrate Today at 11 A. M. to Save the Dutch Sailors!

NEW YORK.—All demonstrate today at 11 a. m. before the Dutch consulate at 17 Battery Place to save the lives of over a hundred Javanese and Dutch sailors of the cruiser De Zeven Provinciën. These seamen revolted against the oppression of imperialist officers and intolerable treatment and put up a gallant struggle until a score of them were killed by attack from the air, against which they had no defense. They may be court-martialed and executed.

The Anti-Imperialist League has received back a registered letter to the Dutch consul, announcing that a delegation would see him from the demonstration. The consul shied away from the letter and refused to receive it when he saw the return address. But the committee will go in.

Besides the Anti-Imperialist League, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League are prominent in rallying support for the endangered Dutch sailors.

Radio City Ballet Girls Block Wage Cut

NEW YORK.—The Radio City Music Hall cut the salary of thirty ballet girls \$5 each, Wednesday. They refused to go on with the performance and rehearsals, and forced the management to withdraw the wage cut.

In the same theatre forty Roxettes, dancers, received a \$10 wage cut and made no united protest. The wage cut stood.

The company advertises they take in \$171,000 weekly and have expenses of \$100,000, a profit big enough to pay wages.

Defend American Shoe Strikers from Raids and Terror Attempts

NEW YORK.—The Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union calls all to help picket and to support the strike at American Shoe Co., 178 Livingston St., Brooklyn.

The bosses have agents in the ranks of the strikers trying to create confusion, and also are applying direct terror. Thursday four detectives raided the strike headquarters.

Production in the shop is crippled and with mass support the strike can be won. All picket Monday morning at 6:30. The strike is near Boro Hall subway station.

The Italian department of the union invites all Italian speaking or otherwise, to an affair tonight at 6:30 p. m. at 31 Second Street, Manhattan. The Italian dramatic club will give a play, Admission 25 cents, for strike support.

"U.S. Ripe for Fascism" Hitler Agent Here Boasts

Only "The Damn Communists" Interfere With Program of New York's Brown House Gang

NEW YORK.—Trouble is brewing at 309 East 92nd Street—headquarters of the German Fascists.

One can feel it in the atmosphere of the headquarters. The hum of activity is pregnant with the terrorism for which Hitler stands. Fascist zeals rush in and out, tending to their business so briskly it is impossible to catch their words, to observe their actions carefully. Rarely does anyone speak aloud. Conversation is carried on almost entirely in whispers. A stranger who enters the headquarters is viewed with great suspicion until he convinces everyone that he's "a friend."

"Ought Not To Ask"
Even a capitalist press reporter—whom I pretended to be so as to gain admission—is not entirely free to go about and do as he chooses, while within the headquarters. I was under constant surveillance. I received blunt stares in answer to my pertinent questions. At the best I would be told, after asking something particularly embarrassing that I "ought to know better than to ask such questions." On interviewing some of the Hitlerites standing in front of the headquarters as though on guard, I was informed that I "had better not make 'unhealthy' inquiries. Only when I asked harmless questions, just as a capitalist reporter does, did I get any answers."

In fact, I was deluged with verbal propaganda. The Hitlerites were generous enough with that. I was expected to believe that Hitler was a twentieth century Messiah, that all Jews should be wiped off the face of the earth, that Hitler was not responsible for the terrorization of German workers, that Fascism would bring the United States out of the crisis.

Would Fascize U. S.
In charge was Paul Manger, who fanatically declared that he believed "in everything that Hitler believes in," especially "loyalty to all things German." He minced no words so far as that was concerned. And he was quick to inform me that he had taken out first American naturalization papers; he had every right to

While the New York headquarters are not as impressive as that in Berlin both have much in common. A black swastika and the cabalistic lettering N. S. D. A. P., symbols of the Hitler movement, are boldly painted on the door and windows. Inside are more swastikas and black eagles. Pictures of Hitler, with his Charlie Chaplin mustache, are pasted all over the walls. Bundles of propaganda lie around. The stilted, officious manners of Manger and the other Fascists suggest Hitler's lackeys. Apparently no expense has been spared to fit it out, though where the money came from Manger hesitated to tell me.

Demonstrate Sunday against these Fascist plots! All at Central Opera House, 2:30 p. m.

BELGIAN CABINET OUT
BRUSSELS, Belgium, Feb. 15.—The Government of Premier De Broqueville resigned today.

WHAT'S ON- IMPORTANT NOTE: In view of the critical financial situation in the Daily Worker, organizations are urged to ask to enclose money, at the rate of one cent a word per insertion, with announcements.

Saturday (Manhattan)

OFFICE WORKERS Union hold its Fifth Annual Dance tonight at New Harbor Casino, 100 West 116th St. Popular Negro jazz band, entertainment and refreshments. Admission at door 25c. In advance 15c.

New Group Forms to Aid Workers School

NEW YORK.—A group of workers and students met last Saturday afternoon at the Workers School to form an organization that will unite with the Workers School to insure the continued existence of the school and also help expand the scope of its present work.

BREAK OFF FUR NEGOTIATIONS

NEW YORK.—Negotiations between the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union fur department and the large Fur Manufacturers Association have broken off on three main points. They are: unemployment insurance paid for by the employers, which the union demands; equal division of work, which the union demands, and an "impartial chairman" which the bosses demand.

USE MIAMI CASE AS EXCUSE FOR ANTI-LABOR DRIVE

Wall St. Gov't Tries to Rush Thru Vicious Dies, Eslick Bills

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17.—The Wall Street hunger government has started a new drive against the working class on the basis of the attack by a demoted man on a group surrounding President-elect Roosevelt at Miami, Wednesday evening. Although the newspapers are forced reluctantly to admit that the would-be assassin had never had any connection with any revolutionary working class movements and could not in any way be identified with "red" activities, the house and senate yesterday witnessed a continuous barrage of slanders and provocations against the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party.

LABOR UNION MEETINGS

OFFICE WORKERS: Fifth Annual Dance of Office Workers Union, this Saturday, Feb. 18, at New Harbor Casino, 100 W. 116th St. Entertainment, refreshments. Admission 25 cents in advance, 40 cents at door.

NEEDLE SHOP DELEGATES: Special meeting of all shop delegates of all trades in the Shop Delegate Council of the N.I.W.U., Saturday at 1 p.m. at Webster Hall, 11th St. and Fourth Ave. Reports on strikes and conferences with large Association of Fur Manufacturers.

BENEFIT OF MARINE WORKERS VOICE: Marine Workers Industrial Union and International Seaman's Club invite all to a dance tonight at 140 Broad St., for the benefit of the Marine Workers' Voice, organ of the M.W.I.U. Good music, singing and dancing and yarns by sailors from the seven seas. Any downtown subway or elevated train to South Ferry (Whitehall St.) and walk two blocks to corner of Broad and South Sts.

SHOE WORKERS: Italian Department of Shoes and Leather Workers Industrial Union holds a rally, concert and party for all shoe workers, irrespective of nationality, today at 6:30 p.m. at 21 Second Ave.

SERGEI RADAMSKY well-known Tenor will be heard on the Radio Station WINS ON SUNDAY MORNING at 10:30 in a Program of Soviet Songs also Short Talk on Soviet Musicians

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS

VEGETARIAN WORKERS CLUB AND DINING ROOM 218 E. 14th Street Will donate 25% of proceeds from Dining Room on Feb. 17, 18 and 19 for the Daily Worker.

DR. JULIUS LITTINSKY 107 Bristol Street (bet. Pitkin & Sutter Aves.) Bklyn. PHONE: DICKENS 2-3012 Office Hours: 8-10 A.M., 1-2, 6-8 P.M.

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Co-op. Colony Tailors 2700 BRONX PARK EAST 75c Cleaning & Pressing 25c Pressing Men's Suits Refined \$2.75 Ladies' Coats \$3.75

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Good Food Served Right Farragut Cafeteria 326 Seventh Av., at 28th St.

AMUSEMENTS

Starting Tomorrow (Sunday) Upton Sinclair's Famous Story "JIMMIE HIGGINS" MOST DARING REVOLUTIONARY PICTURE EVER FILMED PRODUCED IN THE U.S.S.R. BY UKRAINFILM "Be Sure and Attend Wherever It Is Shown"—DAILY WORKER TODAY LAST TIMES PUDOVKIN'S FILM MASTERPIECE "LIFE IS BEAUTIFUL" The Worker's ACME THEATRE 15c 9 A.M. to 1 P.M. 11th STREET & UNION SQUARE Continuous from 9 a.m.—Last Show 10:30 p.m. Midnite Show Sat.

ELMER RICE'S WE, THE PEOPLE A NEW PLAY IN TWENTY SCENES EMPIRE, B'way & 40 St. Tel. EE 2-2670 Eves. 8:40 Sharp. Mats. Mon. & Sat., 2:30

Philharmonic - Symphony WALTER, Conductor BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC This Sunday Afternoon at 3:00 Brahms' Centenary Celebration Program Soloist: FERENC ZIMBALIST, Violinist Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eves., Feb. 23, 8:15 Friday Afternoon, Feb. 24, at 2:30 Soloist: SIGRID OENIGIN, Contralto JEANETTE WRELAND, Soprano and Chorus of Schola Cantorum of N. Y. ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

THE THEATRE GUILD Presents BIOGRAPHY comedy by S. N. FERRISMAN GUILD THEATRE, 520 St. West of B'way Eves. 8:20. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

EKO JEFFERSON with S. NOW "SILVER DOLLAR" with Edward G. Robinson & Bebe Daniels Added "HE LEARNED ABOUT WOMEN" Feature with STUART ERWIN OFFICIAL WORLD WAR FILM

MARY BOLAND in Irving Berlin's Revue Success of All Time! FACETHE MUSIC comedy by S. N. FERRISMAN 44TH ST. THEATRE, W. of Broadway Matinee Monday and Saturday, 2:30

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TONIGHT AT 8 P. M. SPAGHETTI PARTY and DANCE at Pen and Hammer Club 114 West 21st Street AUSPICES: SECTION 2, UNIT 18 Admission including dinner 25 Cents ALL PROCEEDS FOR THE DAILY WORKER

DAILY WORKER BANQUET Ending the Financial Drive Sunday, March 19th MANHATTAN LYCEUM, 66 East 4th Street ORGANIZATIONS ARE REQUESTED TO SEND DELEGATIONS

OFFICE WORKERS UNION FIFTH ANNUAL Tonight DANCE New Harlem Casino, 100 West 116th Street Negro Jazz Band — Entertainment Admission (with ticket) 35c; (at door) 40c.

Your Comrades Jailed by the Bosses Call On You to Fight for Their Release! WILL YOU ANSWER THEIR CALL? Come to the New York District, International Labor Defense

GIANT DEFENSE BAZAAR STARTS THIS WEDNESDAY at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th St. Continues on February 23, 24, 25 and 26 FUNDS WILL GO TO DEFENSE OF CLASS WAR PRISONERS Music Dancing Movies Drama Bargains

WORKERS SCHOOL FORUM ROBERT MINOR of the Central Committee, Communist Party will speak on "Technocracy, Fascism and Revolution" Sunday Night, Feb. 19, at 8 o'clock 35 East 12th Street, Second Floor ADMISSION 25c QUESTIONS DISCUSSION Students of Workers' School Admission 25 Cents Plus Student Card

OUTSTANDING CONCERT TONIGHT AT 8 Labor Temple 12th Street and Second Avenue Speaker: BEN GOLD Splendid Program Arranged by Dressmakers Defense Committee ADMISSION 35c

Agit-Prop Valentine Party Revolutionary Plays, Poems and Songs and the Harlem Proletarian Jazz-Band TONIGHT at WORKERS LABORATORY THEATRE of W. I. R., 45 East 15th Street Admission 25c Refreshments

FIRST INITIATION and CONCERT of W. I. R. Pioneer Troop of Brownsville Sunday, Feb. 19, at 3 P.M. at 1815 PITKIN AVENUE, BROOKLYN EUGENE NEGRO—WORKERS LABORATORY THEATRE—W. I. R. BAND—MOVING PICTURE—CHORTS ADMISSION 25c Children Only 10c

HIKE of Followers of Nature to Silver Lake State Park Meet at South Ferry 10:30 a.m. sharp.

SPECIAL MEETING of Peoples Committee Against Discrimination in Harlem Hospital, Feb. 22nd, at Lafayette Hall, 165 West 131st St., at 8 p.m. Public invited. Admission free.

MASS MEETING on German Situation. Speaker: Harry M. Wicks of Daily Worker Staff. Union Workers Center, 801 Prospect Ave. 8 p.m. Arranged by Section 5, C.P.

LECTURE on "Will War Bring Back Prosperity," by Al Schalk tonight at 8 p.m. at Pelham Bay Workers Club, 2128 Couger Ave., near Lydie Ave. Admission free.

PANCAKE PARTY given by Nat Turner Branch, 480 E. 17th St., at 8 p.m. Subject: "Higher Phases of Struggle for Scottsboro Boys." Speaker: Charles Alexander.

SYMPOSIUM—Expose on Misery Among Working Class Children this afternoon at 2:30 p.m. at Elmers Hall, 284 East 170th St. Admission 25c. Subject: "Wages, Wages, Wages." Speaker: Irving H. Wagonknecht, Carl Winter, Dr. Paul Litzner, Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, Chairman. Dr. H. Watkins, Secretary. Bronx Medical Aid Unit of W.I.R., 146 Fifth Ave. Chalk talk by J. R. C.

DANCE-ENTERTAINMENT at Harlem Prog. Youth Club, 1338 Madison Ave. tonight at 8 p.m. Admission 25c. Subject: "The Daily Worker in the foreground of the Daily Worker in the foreground of the Daily Worker."

PANCAKE PARTY and Entertainment to-night at 8 p.m. at East Flatbush Schule, 1152 Lenox Ave. Admission 15 cents. Auspices Unit 2, Section 3, C.P.

FIRST SOVIET INITIATION of W.I.R. Pioneer Troop in Brownsville at Grand Concert today at 8 p.m. at 1813 Pitkin Ave. Fine program. Admission 25c; children 5c.

LECTURE on "What is the Future of the American Youth?" Speaker: Irving H. Wagonknecht, Dist. Org. Young Communist League, 508 Cleveland St., East N. Y., Brooklyn. Admission 15c. With announcement 10c.

LECTURE by I. Jacobson on "World Crisis and International Political Situation," tonight at 8 p.m. at Williamsburgh Workers Club, 43 Manhattan Ave.

LECTURE on "End of Capitalist Stabilization," at 2709 Mermaid Ave. Speaker: Comrade Taft. Auspices Women's Council 5.

LECTURE on "The Changing Family Life in Soviet Union and U. S. at 464 Bristol St. Speaker: Lattinsky. Auspices Women's Council 5.

FAREWELL PARTY for Comrade Stirlis going to Soviet Union at 1109 45th St., Brooklyn. Arranged by Women's Council 25.

Monday LAST MEETING of I.L.D. Bazaar Committee Monday, Feb. 20th at 8 p.m. at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. Fourth St. Important. All delegates come.

LECTURE by Max Bedacht, Monday, Feb. 20th in Auditorium, Bronx Cooperative, 2700 Bronx Park East, 8:30 p.m. Subject: Situation in Germany and Prospects. Admission 15 cents.

ROOM FOR RENT—or share apartment (girl). Apply 395 E. 18th St. Apt. 25, any evening.

UNFURNISHED ROOM or SMALL APARTMENT wanted. Steam heat, 14th St. area. See or phone Magli, Daily Worker.

TO BOARD—man with boy (9), with a small family. Inquire Saturday, 2 to 6 P. M., or Sunday to 2 P. M., 1172 Vyse Ave. Apt. 15.

ROOM for rent—2 room apartment. 2709 Mermaid Ave. Speaker: Comrade Taft. Auspices Women's Council 5.

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BALL ROOM AND MEETING ROOM WITH STAGE Capacity 100 — SATURDAYS 8:30-9:00 SEE COMRADE GROSS AT EARL Bronx Workers Center 569 PROSPECT AVENUE

AVALON Cafeteria 110 KINGS HIGHWAY OPEN D AND NIGHT DEWEY 9-0512 "RENDEZVOUS"

SOKAL CAETERIA—1689 Pitkin Avenue PITKIN " —1781 Pitkin Avenue GLOBE " — 457 Sutter Avenue will strive to give the workers of Brownsville and East New York the finest of foods at the most reasonable prices.

We Ask Your Continued Patronage To Brownsville Workers! The PARKWAY CAFETERIA 1638 PITKIN AVENUE (NEAR BRISTOL STREET) Continues as usual serving the same high-grade foods at unusually low prices. WE APPRECIATE YOUR PATRONAGE Lowest of Prices Best of Foods

MEETING of Nature Friends to Haxton Woods, Meet East 180th St. station, Lexington Ave. subway, 8:30 a.m. Fare 70 cents. Leader: Ruth Matthews.

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FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS!

Resolution of the 16th Central Committee Plenum--From the Seventh to Eighth Convention of C. P. U. S. A.

The Eighth Convention of the Party sums up three and a half years of the application to conditions of class struggle in the United States of the line of the Communist International laid down by the Sixth World Congress. The period between the 6th and 7th conventions of our Party had been a period of struggle for the line of the Sixth World Congress in the C.P.U.S.A. This prolonged and stubborn struggle for the line of the Sixth World Congress (recognition of the third period of post-war crisis of capitalism; which has brought the relative capitalist stabilization and the present moment of transition to a new round of wars and revolutions; the necessity to transform the Communist Party into a mass party of the American workers capable of "preparing the working class and the exploited masses, in the course of economic and political struggles, for the impending fight for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat") was part of the international struggle for cleansing the various Communist Parties of the Communist International of the right and "left" opportunist ideology and the degenerate elements who were its bearers, which arose in the period of relative capitalist stabilization.

The Sixth World Congress, held in July, 1928, at the height of capitalist "prosperity" when production in the main capitalist countries had risen above pre-war levels, was able clearly to foresee the development of the economic crisis, developing the analysis already made by Stalin at the 15th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (December, 1927) in which he had declared that:

"Out of the partial stabilization of capitalism there grows a still acuter crisis—the growing crisis destroys the stabilization—these are the dialectics of the development of capitalism in the present historical moment."

The Leninist decisions of the Sixth World Congress, orientating the sections of the Communist International toward higher and sharper forms of struggle and leadership of the masses against the imperialist bourgeoisie, brought an inevitable clash with the rotten Trotskyist elements and with the open opportunists still remaining within all of the Communist Parties. The inevitable exposure and expulsion of the counter-revolutionary group of Trotskyists (Cannon and his lieutenants) in the United States resulted in the strengthening of the Party and was a necessary precondition to the defeat and isolation of the open opportunists.

The American exponents of the right wing opposition brought forward a particularly crude example of the right wing position in their theories of American exceptionalism and of the Hooverian age corresponding to the Victorian age of British imperialism. The struggle against this opportunist theory came to a head in the Address of the Communist International to the C.P.U.S.A. (May, 1929) in which the general line was concretized for the United States in the following remarkable paragraph:

"With a distinctness unprecedented in history, American capitalism is exhibiting now the effects of the inexorable laws of capitalist development, the laws of decline and downfall of capitalist society. The general crisis of capitalism is growing more rapidly than it may seem at first glance. The crisis will shake also the foundations of American imperialism."

The necessity and the sharpness of the struggle in the Party can best be understood in light of the remarks of Comrade Stalin in his speech of May 6, 1929:

"I think the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America. And when a revolutionary crisis develops in America that will be the beginning of the Communist Party as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared, of assuming leadership of the impending class struggle in America."

The acceptance by the C.P.U.S.A. of the Address of the C.I., and the entrance of the Party into wide mass struggles in the winter of 1929-30 (nation-wide unemployment demonstrations March 6, 1930), followed by the 7th Convention of the Party which took place one year after the Address (June, 1930), finally marked the liquidation of the long-standing factional era in the Party, consolidated the Party on the line of the Sixth World Congress, brought the Party on to the road toward bolshevization, to the first steps in preparing it for the independent leadership of mass struggles.

As a result of the application of this line by the Party, the unemployed movement developed from a mere beginning, characterized chiefly by agitational efforts and half-spontaneous street demonstrations around general demands, into an organized movement nationwide in character.

This period also marked serious beginnings of independent leadership of strike struggles by the red unions (miners, textile, automobile, etc.); the decline in our position in the reformist unions, which accompanied the advent of the red unions, gave way to the first successes in renewing and extending the work in the reformist unions on the basis of the policy of independent leadership in struggles.

The work among the Negro masses in this period passed from the field of sectarian propaganda to the field of actual struggle, with the inauguration and leadership by the Party of a mass struggle against the oppression of the Negro people (Scottsboro, Tallapoosa); the drawing of Negro masses into the struggles of the working class for economic demands (miners' strike, unemployed, Negro farmers); the period being characterized by the deepening and further clarifying of the Party's political line on the Negro question.

The Party work among the farmers has passed to the higher plane of active participation and leadership in the struggles of the farmers, in the initiation of a whole series of local struggles which have in some cases spread to wide mass movements and have formed the beginnings of contact with the revolutionary workers' movement; and the carrying through of the Farmers National Relief Conference, which opened a new period of the agrarian movement.

Nevertheless, despite these successful beginnings, the Party is still hampered in the development of its mass work by the persistence of deep-rooted sectarian tendencies which are not yet eliminated.

II.

Deepening of the Crisis and the Offensive of the Bourgeoisie; Conditions of the Working Class

"The sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism is proceeding with enormous strides which are carrying this crisis to a new stage. . . ." (12th Plenum Thesis.)

In the United States there is a continuous decline in all economic activity, production levels, despite seasonal movements, showing a steady downward trend. The agrarian crisis continues to develop bringing in its wake a stream of foreclosures and evictions of the farmers from their lands. Foreign trade has declined to 1913 levels and is still moving downward. There is a deepening of the financial crisis accompanied by a rapid increase in bankruptcies, the failure of hundreds of banks with the wholesale artificial raising of prices of commodities to astronomical figures, billions of government funds (R.F.C.—Dawson) being thrown away, Pomeroy million dollars, etc.), accomplished by means of deep-going credit inflation and the beginnings of currency inflation—a policy of the nationalization of the losses resulting from the crisis. A deep-going government financial crisis includes the almost complete bankruptcy of numerous cities (Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, New York) and the failure of the various states and the federal government to balance their budget.

At the same time the activity of the masses themselves, undergoing a deep revolutionizing process in resisting the efforts of the bourgeoisie to place the burden of the crisis upon the toiling masses—this revolutionary upsurge of the masses itself becomes the most important active force in the ending of capitalist stabilization.

"The fierce struggle the imperialists are waging for markets and colonies, the tariff wars and the race for armaments have already led to the immediate danger of an imperialist world war." (12th Plenum Thesis.)

We are already witnessing the first battles in the impending world war in all of which the United States is playing a leading role. "The agglomeration of antagonisms in the Pacific form the chief hot-bed for breeding a new imperialist war." The United States is today engaged in war in China in the form of its support of the Nanking government which tries in vain to crush the Chinese Red Army and overthrow the power of the Chinese Soviets; at the same time the United States imperialists are "striving to provoke war between Japan and the Soviet Union in order that, by weakening both Japan and the U.S.S.R. it may strengthen its own position in the Pacific." In Latin America, where the main antagonism in the imperialist camp—between Great Britain and the United States—are being fought out, American imperialism is playing an active role.

Within the United States the sharpest offensive is being waged against the toiling masses through wage-cuts in all industries and part-time work, which have together forced the earnings of the masses down to 38 per cent of pre-crisis levels, while dividends still stand at 160 per cent as compared with 1926. Unemployment has increased until now sixteen millions are totally unemployed. Part-time work as a result of Hoover's Stagger Plan and the share-the-work movement has become almost universal, with less than 15 per cent of the workers having full time jobs. The recent period has seen a general cutting in relief payments by the cities, a falling off in charity collections and charity relief, and a failure of the states and federal government to supply funds to meet the increasing needs of the masses for four years of most severe crisis. All of these factors are bringing about a tendency toward equalization of misery among the masses, narrowing the economic basis for the formerly powerful labor aristocracy.

There is now an absence of factors which would indicate an improvement in the situation; the perspectives are clearly for a further deep-

ening of the crisis, for a sharpening of all the class antagonisms, and for a sharpening of all the world imperialist contradictions in which American imperialism is most deeply enmeshed. This leads to the maturing of the conditions for broad mass struggles against hunger and against the war policies of the American bourgeoisie.

The end of capitalist stabilization has to be judged, not alone from the unprecedented absolute decline in capitalist production, but also by the change in the relation of forces as between capitalism and the socialist world. The struggle is determined by this relation of forces.

The Soviet Union, which has completely established itself in the positions of socialism through the successful completion of the first Five-Year Plan, and which is advancing through the second Five-Year Plan to the establishment of a classless society, has already attained an extremely high relative importance for the revolutionary proletarian state in juxtaposition with the capitalist states. The enormous building of socialist industry and the collectivization of agriculture has brought that economic independence, which guarantees the continued economic advance of the Soviet Union under all world conditions. The influence of the U.S.S.R., with the toiling masses of the capitalist countries and of the colonial world, as the basis and stronghold of the world socialist revolution, has greatly increased.

The unprecedented advance of the revolutionary stronghold of world revolution is one of the most decisive forces in relation to the end of capitalist stabilization.

III.

Increasing Will of the Masses to Struggle and Beginnings of Revolutionary Upsurge

The increasing, unbearable misery and the disillusionment which grows with the deepening of the crisis and which becomes more conscious with every action of the Communist Party among the masses of workers, farmers, ex-servicemen and the masses, is pushing the masses forward to ever sharper class battles of the employed and unemployed workers, to sharper and unprecedented forms of struggle by the Negro masses of the Black Belt and of the white farmers of the Middle West, new and unheard of militancy of mixed elements of workers, ruined farmers and bankrupt petty bourgeoisie in the ex-servicemen's movement, as well as ferment and even clashes with the police on the part of the students and intellectuals.

The growth of the strike movement has spread beyond its former main ground in the coal fields and in light and medium industry, and has reached the point of beginning preliminary fights in the steel and metal industries (Warren, Crucible Steel, Ford plant of New Jersey, Briggs auto of Detroit, etc.) which inevitably are the forerunners of a gigantic struggle in the basic steel and metal plants of the United States; new strata of workers including women and youth have entered into the strike movements (High Point, Binghamton, Colorado, Trenton, South River, etc.); there is a growth of strikes of workers organized in reformist unions (Illinois miners, building trades, etc.); a large number of successful strikes in light industry (fur, painters, del. workers, etc.) which are led by the red unions. The strikes of the miners continued throughout this period in the forefront of the strike movement with struggles in practically every mining field, are marked by a new rise of militancy, the development of new fighting forms, growing unity of the employed and unemployed and the rise of new worker cadres in the struggles.

The struggles for social insurance and unemployment relief have sharpened and widened out to more nearly nationwide breadth. Fights for immediate relief and against evictions have been successful in securing relief and stopping the cutting down of relief to large sections of the unemployed (Chicago, St. Louis, New York, Birmingham). In preventing evictions (Detroit, Norfolk, etc.). The national hunger marches of 1931 and 1932 were tremendous demonstrations which showed the growth of the movement and its support, by increasing numbers of employed, although the relative weakness of this support remains a grave danger. The members of reformist unemployed organizations ("Citizens Leagues," "Workers' Committees on Unemployment," etc.) have, despite the wishes of their leaders, drawn into united front actions with the unemployed in the fight for concrete demands (Chicago, etc.). The fight for unemployment relief and social insurance has now begun to win the support of considerable sections of A.F.L. workers (endorsement of Unemployment Relief Bill by 800 locals of A.F.L., Cincinnati Conference, endorsement of hunger march by A.F.L. locals, and by P.M.A.).

Partial struggles are increasing inside of factories despite the system of espionage and terrorization, despite mass unemployment and despite the absence of any but the barest beginnings of organization. In a number of cases, especially in lighter industries, partial struggles have been successfully developed into strikes.

The growing resistance of the masses in the form of the opposition movement within the A.F.L. and other reformist unions, directed also against the bureaucracy, is expressed in strikes over the demands of the bureaucrats and in the participation of the A.F.L. workers and locals in the fight for unemployment insurance and relief, in the ousting of bureaucrats and their replacement by Communists and other revolutionary workers in a large number of locals.

A NEW page of history, sharply expressing the deep agrarian crisis interwoven with the general economic crisis, has suddenly appeared in the rapidly developing struggles of the farmers, over the heads of opportunist leaders of farm organizations, in militant direct mass action against the evictions, foreclosures and high taxes, against the low monopoly prices paid for their products—a wide mass movement which is objectively revolutionary. The extremely militant struggles of Negro small farmers, tenants, share croppers and small land-holding farmers in the South against legal expropriation of their crops, implements, live stock and land, evoking at the same time the beginnings of solidarity of the poor white farmers of the South with the Negro tenants and share croppers, is a guarantee of the universal breadth and depth of this objectively revolutionary struggle of farmers, of the revolutionary nature of the national liberation struggle of the Black Belt, and of the interconnection of these movements with the revolutionary upsurge of the working class. The successful united front Farmers National Relief Conference showed a beginning of consciousness of the poor farmers (Negro and white) that only through mass struggles independent of capitalist parties can they defend their interests and that their alliance with the proletariat is a pre-condition for successful struggle.

The smoldering volcano of national liberation struggle that underlies the capitalist system as a result of the brutal mass enslavement of the Negro people was, as though "accidentally," exposed by the vigorous mass response of the Negro masses to the Scottsboro campaign—a campaign which immediately gave birth to a nationwide wave of mass resistance to the increasingly lynch terror, as well as to a sudden movement of mass participation of Negro workers in the general struggles of the working class (miners' strikes, unemployed movements in Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Birmingham, etc.) and an unprecedented participation of the masses in hunger marches and anti-eviction struggles. The revolutionary ferment among the Negro poor farmers, first coming to light at Camp Hill, Alabama, has continued in Tallapoosa County, is spreading to surrounding territories, evoking support by impoverished white farmers, and is already securing material successes against legal expropriation of debts. The enthusiastic support of a considerable mass of Negroes to the Communist election struggle was more truly indicated in the mass struggles around the election issues than by the actual vote counted, because of wholesale disfranchisement. The increased participation of Negro toilers in the general struggles of the masses has brought fresh and militant fighting spirit into these battles and has raised the entire struggle to a higher level.

ARGELY inspired by the activities of the unemployed councils in the 1931 hunger march, and also stimulated even by the miscarried effort of Father Cox to transform the "marching" phenomenon into a fascist movement, an objectively revolutionary wave of activity swept through the ranks of the ex-servicemen, taking the form of the historic Bonus March to Washington. The catastrophic nature of the economic crisis and its potentiality for sudden explosions as the forerunners of revolutionary development, was shown in a startling light in the surrounding of the government buildings by 25,000 American war veterans; the action of the Hoover government in firing upon these veterans opened a new page of revolutionary history for the American masses.

The growing mass radicalization is expressed in an increasingly higher form by the greater readiness of large sections of the toiling masses for militant participation in struggles and demonstrations against imperialist wars; it is expressed further in the increasing inroads of revolutionary views of struggle against war as against petty bourgeois pacifism among the intelligentia and students.

The drawing of substantial sections of students and intellectuals into the struggles of the proletariat against the growing misery, has stimulated a movement against reaction in the cultural institutions.

The radicalization of the masses, and the bringing of this radicalization to a higher plane of consciousness, is shown in the enormously increased sympathy and support for the Soviet Union, not alone in the working class, but gripping ever larger sections of intellectuals and professional elements.

Evidence of deep-going radicalization is shown further in the more

constant struggle of native and foreign born workers against deportations and the fight of large sections of white workers for Negro rights.

The growth of revolutionization of the masses is partly indicated in the increase of the Communist vote in the last elections (according to official figures more than double despite wholesale fraud and vote stealing by illusions more than double) and even exposed by the capitalists themselves in New York (in four election districts, six-sevenths of the C. P. vote was stolen), New Jersey, Pennsylvania, etc., and despite the wholesale disfranchisement of Negro voters, young workers and foreign born, and especially the wholesale disfranchisement of great masses of unemployed through the poll tax and through the denial of the right to vote to those receiving unemployment relief (Pennsylvania, Maine)—precisely among those masses of workers most greatly influenced and benefited by the Hoover government by the arch-demagogue Roosevelt (who held out promises of unemployment and farm "relief"), indicates a discontent and desire for change on the part of the masses, the fact that the revolutionary upsurge was not reflected in a conscious vote against capitalism reflects not only the fact that the masses are still weighed down by illusions and prejudices, but also the weakness of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, its present continued sectarian isolation, which is accentuated by the persistence of "left" opportunist underestimation of revolutionary mass election campaigns and the failure to see the inseparability of these campaigns from the action of the masses in struggle for everyday economic needs.

IV.

Bourgeois Dictatorship, Demagogy and Developing Fascism

The capitalist dictatorship of the United States attempts to meet its growing difficulties of deeper economic crisis and growing resistance of the toiling masses, both by means of resort to demagogy and a definite movement toward the fascistization of the state. Behind the smokescreen of demagogy the capitalist dictatorship is seeking to compensate for its narrowing and weakening hold upon the support of the masses through a process of "simplification" of the state machine, concentration of power in the higher organs, integration of the state apparatus with the personnel of monopoly capital, de facto "national concentration" of Republican and Democratic leading groups to handle the main questions of the day, the reconstruction of the military apparatus and its redistribution through the coal mining and industrial centers of the population to meet the possibilities of "civil disturbances," the quiet disbanding of Negro regiments and the continuation of recruiting of Negro soldiers as "unreliable," increase of military and police appropriations in the midst of economy campaigns directed mainly against social expenditures.

As organized agencies among the masses of this effort to strengthen the narrowing base of bourgeois class rule there have sprung up such organizations as the Khaki Shirts (Waters), Black Shirts (in the South), Blue Shirts (Father Cox), as well as the revival of the older organizations (Ku Klux Klan, American Legion, etc.), all making particular appeals to backward groups of American masses but with extreme difficulty in holding these masses after organizing them; under the extreme pressure of poverty and misery not only individual members, but even whole local organizations of Khaki Shirts, Blue Shirts and the American Legion join with the workers in unemployed or bonus demonstrations under the leadership of the Communists.

The sharply increasing activity of the masses is calling forth attempts of the bourgeoisie by extra-legal violence, by lynching, by "frame up" trials covered with legal form, etc., and at the same time by new methods of utilizing and supporting (through the press and by new police assistance) the social-fascist (Socialist Party) political party, the national reformist leaders (N.A.A.C.P., similar groups in Hawaii, the Philippines, etc.) and even spurious groups of renegade "Communists," to strengthen the widening gap between itself and the masses. Evoked as a bourgeois reaction against the great popularity of the success of the Five Year Plan in the Soviet Union, as well as a reaction to the generally growing radicalization of the masses, is a sharply increasing growth of fascist ideology stimulated among intellectual circles, with a revival of the most reactionary forms of idealism and religion, curiously interwoven with a cult of "dictatorship," "strong man," and bourgeois cynicism in regard to the forms of bourgeois "democracy." The "evils of capitalism" are to be "cured" by projects of "planned economy" (Hoover Committee on Social Trends), "Buy American" (Hearst), a "new deal" for the "forgotten man" (Roosevelt), and by the new seven-day wonder of bourgeois demagogy, "Technocracy," which proposes to remedy the evils of capitalism by means of a dictatorship of "technical men" and by substituting for the "price system" a "new" means of exchange based on units of mechanical energy.

V.

Role of Social Fascism

Social fascism is in the present period, the main social support of the capitalist dictatorship in the U.S.A. as in all capitalist countries. A certain division of labor is made between the Socialist Party, the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of the Railroad Brotherhoods and the "left" social-fascist Muskettes. A particular role in the division of labor is assigned to the new sects of spurious "Communists" (renegades) whose services to the capitalist press are highly appreciated, furnishing the "factual" basis for regular stories of Communist division reaction among workers which are spread by the Communist press in the movement. The N.A.A.C.P. leadership, in close fraternity with both the Socialist Party bureaucracy and the Lovestone renegades, plays the most disgraceful part in aiding the American white bourgeoisie in legal and extra-legal suppression and murder directed against the struggles of the Negro masses (the "Suffetes" also playing a similar but smaller role). The various social-fascist sects (Socialist Labor Party, Proletarian Party, etc.) perform their own roles in blocking the passage of the proletarian masses from the camp of unconscious support of capitalism to the path of revolutionary action. Social-fascism prepares the way for open fascist reaction among workers who are faced with the need to struggle against the capitalist offensive; social-fascism hinders their struggles in order to benefit them, employs "labor" and "socialist" phrases in order to confuse the minds of the workers and to prevent their turning to revolutionary methods of struggle under revolutionary leadership; above all, social-fascism tries to break the resistance of the workers to the developing imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union.

But social-fascism today, at the end of capitalist stabilization, when every struggle for the elementary needs of the masses brings these masses into conflict with the very foundations of existence of capitalism, is compelled more and more flagrantly to appear before the workers as the life necessities agency of the employers. The everyday struggle for the life necessities of the working class plays an ever bigger role and becomes decisive in the fight to undermine the Socialist Party and trade union bureaucracy.

The A.F.L. which, even during the period of "prosperity" had declined in numbers, has lost a large section of its membership during the present period of the crisis. The A.F.L. bureaucracy is now attempting through "left" manoeuvres, to disrupt the growing unity and to divert the struggles of the masses, is making itself the best assistant of the capitalists in their offensive against the living standards of the workers at home and in their imperialist foreign policy. The latest convention of the A.F.L. represented such a "left" manoeuvre on a grand scale, with such demagogic gestures as the proposals for the 30-hour week without reduction in pay and for unemployment insurance on a state basis to be paid by the employers. Intended only to disrupt the strike movement, to help the introduction of the "Stagger Plan" and to make inevitable the most drastic cuts in wages, as well as to stop the growing movement for federal unemployment insurance, these proposals of the A.F.L. bureaucracy are really the same schemes put forward by the Democratic Party and Gerard Swope, leaving out of consideration the whole mass of the present sixteen million unemployed and allowing only for a very limited form of so-called "insurance" on a paternalistic basis through the various capitalist enterprises. William Green speaks against "the dole" (unemployment insurance) and supports the Black Bill (legalization of Hoover's Stagger Plan and Taggart's share-the-work plan).

The Socialist Party and the Muskettes fully support the A.F.L. bureaucracy against the masses. To cover the "left" manoeuvre of the A.F.L. bureaucracy, the Socialist Party leaders already speak of "the revolution in the A. F. L." and attempt to present the whole strike-breaking program of the A.F.L. bureaucracy as a militant program of struggle for the masses. The Muskettes, though feigning to be an "opposition" within the A.F.L., are everywhere attempting to strengthen the hold of the A.F.L. bureaucrats upon the masses; they even build "new unions" in the effort to block the masses from freeing themselves from the reformist influence. The Muskettes attempted to block the leftward movement of the masses toward the Communist Party in the past election through their slogan "For a Labor Party," and came to the rescue of the Socialist Party bureaucracy by calling, upon the masses to support "one of the 'working class parties'" while at the same time making the most vicious attack against the Communist Party and aiding the Thomas campaign.

In Europe the crisis and the revolutionary upsurge under the conditions of the leadership of the Communist Party have already resulted in this general truth mechanically to the United States. Here we still wit-

ness a growing influence of the Socialist Party, while at the same time the A.F.L., which is denying in membership, is more and more taking up social-fascist phrasology in its attempt to fulfill its role in the interests of the bourgeoisie. This does not mean the inevitable growth of social-fascism in the United States, and especially must we conduct a sharp struggle against all tendencies to look upon the going over of masses from the open capitalist parties to social-fascism as a step in revolutionization of the masses. The narrower economic basis of the labor aristocracy creates a favorable objective situation for the speedy liquidation of the influence of social-fascism, and the winning of the masses to the Communist Party. At the same time, we must guard against the underestimation of the danger of social-fascism, as shown in the tendency to belittle the S. P. electoral vote in November.

In this situation it is more than ever the strategic necessity of the Communist Party to direct the main front against social-fascism, with the aim to isolate the social-fascist bureaucracy from the masses and to lead these masses into struggle against the capitalist class. The present objective situation, the narrowing of the base of the hitherto privileged and bribed sections of the working class, furnishes a favorable basis for the weakening of the influence of social-reformists, their isolation, and the winning of the working class to the support of the Communist Party. The decisive question here is the subjective factor, the role and activity of the Communist Party. The instruments for accomplishing this aim are the application of the tactics of the united front from below to draw the great masses of workers of the social-fascist parties and trade unions into common action with the revolutionary workers for their immediate everyday needs under the leadership of the Communist Party, together with the ruthless exposure of the social-fascist bureaucracy, always sharply distinguishing between this bureaucracy and the mass of the workers and even the lower "actives" of the Socialist Party and the reformist unions.

It is in the struggle for everyday, partial demands in the first place for the most elementary economic needs of the workers—and through the raising of such struggle to higher planes—that the isolation of the social-fascist bureaucracy can be accomplished.

VI.

Role of the Party in Mass Struggles and Lessons from These Struggles

The examination of the most important experiences of the Party in organizing and leading mass struggles must be made in the light of the fundamental tasks of the Party as laid down in the resolutions of the 14th Central Committee Plenum and in the 12th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which are briefly summarized as follows: (1) to direct the basic strategic blows against the danger of social-fascism, to win the masses away from it, to isolate it from the masses; (2) to win over the majority of the proletarian workers and poor farmers, to train them in a series of fights and to convert them into our political army; (3) to organize our Party into a mass party on the basis of bolshevik inner party democracy, founded on iron discipline, into a revolutionary staff of this political army; (4) to enlarge, strengthen and renew our Party general staff.

Although in a number of cases the resistance of the masses to the capitalist offensive was inspired and organized by the Party (unemployed struggles, miners' strikes, Colorado beet workers, needle trades, growth of opposition in reformist unions, the Bonus March, fight against Negro national oppression and for Negro rights, the farmers' fights against evictions, etc.) the increasing mass resistance is still predominantly spontaneous. The Party has not succeeded in leading the majority of the workers whose standards of living are vitally attacked nor even those great masses of strategically placed proletarians under the sharpest and most flagrant attacks which reduce them to mass starvation (steel workers, auto workers, railroad workers, etc.) into any sort of resistance, excepting relatively small struggles (Flint, Michigan; Warren, Ohio), and only lately in the more serious auto workers strike movement.

The chief cause of the insufficient development of economic struggles is the still unsteady application of the line of independent leadership of economic struggles, on the basis of the united front from below, in the underestimation of partial struggles, in the weak contacts with the masses in the factories and among the unemployed, in the weakening of the positions in the reformist trade unions, in the inability to expose the manoeuvres of the reformist trade union bureaucrats, in the capitulation to the reformist trade union bureaucrats openly or concealed by "left" phrases.

Confusion about and underestimation of the fight for immediate partial demands, together with un-Leninist conceptions and practices in the field of building the united front and fractions within the reformist unions, as well as employed councils (e.g., floating of proletarian demagogues, sectarian distrust of new proletarian cadres, materialist conceptions of the united front, fear to approach workers under reformist leadership) have characterized and heavily damaged the Party's mass work.

A fatalist "leftist" attitude of hopelessness in regard to the capacity of the workers under Party leadership actually to wrest out of the hands of the bourgeoisie immediate material concessions has greatly retarded the mass work, the growth of influence of the Party and the independent leadership of struggles. In those cases where we succeeded in winning even small fractions of material demands for the workers (unemployed, some unions in light industry), the movement advanced organizationally and led to broader struggles, even despite our failure to sufficiently popularize such victories. In other cases, where we did not even win the slightest material gains but nevertheless succeeded in leading the workers to a consistent, determined struggle for their everyday material needs, the confidence of the workers in such cases was retained by the red unions. It is not always possible to present the workers with a picture of "victory" and with "sure" material gains from a struggle; but it is absolutely necessary that struggles under the revolutionary leadership must demonstrate to the workers that it is possible under this leadership at least at times to win material concessions and that always the most serious and consistent struggle is made for these material needs of everyday life.

The chief cause of our failure to succeed in transforming themselves into mass organizations, an imperative task which was emphasized by the 7th Convention and again at the XIV C.C. Plenum, despite the fact that these unions have led some of the most important struggles (mining, textile). In a number of cases the red unions have even for a time lost their former position (East Ohio) because of the persistence of the most inexcusable opportunist errors, e.g., refusal to lead struggles, neglect and even contempt for proletarian democracy, blindness to the enormous possibilities and need of drawing in new cadres from the ranks of the workers, and the resultant inability to consolidate the prestige of the unions and unemployed councils into actual organization. The most dangerous "left" opportunism is exhibited in a lack of understanding that the red unions must function for the working class, not alone in highly dramatic moments of struggle, but also for small necessities, including the "pettiest" services of information, legal advice, defense against petty personal persecutions, etc.

The Party has in theory, and to some extent in practice, decisively rejected the rank opportunist theory (developed by the Trotskyist and open right opportunist renegades) that it is "impossible to win strikes during the economic crisis and mass unemployment." A number of victories in basic industries (needle, fur, doll workers, etc.) have been added in America to the world experience (Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia) which shows that in this moment of deepening radicalization, the moment of transition to a new round of revolutionary struggles, it is not only possible to win economic struggles, but that such victories are increasingly frequent and of rising importance.

In the strikes of the miners, textile workers and needle (fur) workers conducted by the revolutionary unions, experience has shown in America as elsewhere:

"...that the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organizations have achieved successes in the leadership of economic struggles of the proletariat in those cases when they have CONSISTENTLY applied the tactics of the united front from below at all stages of the struggle, when they have PROMPTLY put forward demands and slogans of the strike intelligible to the MASSES, when they have organized them on the basis of broad proletarian democracy, drawn all sections of the fighting workers into the leadership of the strike, and when they have DECISIVELY EXPOSED the manoeuvres of the reformist trade union bureaucrats and the "confiding" conciliatory attitude towards them."

Where the red unions have shown insufficient leadership of strike struggles and even the loss of leadership of developing strike movements, this has been due to a lack of perspective for struggle, an ignorance of the mood of the masses because a lack of contact with the masses, the reformist unions and a very serious underestimation of the importance of independent leadership. This was shown in the Eastern Ohio miners strike and in the recent situation arising out of the wage-cut in the Ford Plant at Detroit (lack of perspective for struggle through ignorance of the mood of the masses), and in the Southern Illinois coal fields (failure to orientate on the basis of independent leadership).

A LIGHT attitude towards preparations for struggles (strikes, unemployment and bonus demonstrations and marches) has seriously injured both the effectiveness of struggles and the consolidation of ground gained in struggle. This lightness is expressed both in the dangerous tendency to minimize strike preparations (a long-standing weakness which has seriously undermined the position of the Party with the masses and also in an opportunist tendency to offer an existing lack of preparation as an excuse for hesitation, vacillation and reluctance boldly to take the leadership of the developing spontaneous strikes and other mass movements

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which face the Party and the red unions more and more in this period of sudden explosive incidents which are the forerunners of decisive revolutionary developments of the masses.

The united front tactic from below becomes the center and overwhelmingly the main form of action of the mass struggles of the Communist Party in this period when the central task is to win the majority of the working class which is now under the domination of social fascist agents of the bourgeoisie.

The mass influence of the social fascists has declined. For that very reason their maneuvers have become more energetic and varied leading the strikes with the aim of throttling them, in some cases even demonstrating a general strike, sham fight against fascism, for peace, in defense of the U.S.S.R., etc. In these maneuvers particular zeal is displayed by the 'left' social-democratic group, who simultaneously carry on a frenzied campaign of slander against the Communist Party and the U.S.S.R. Only by taking fully into account the variety of the forms of the policy and maneuvers of the social fascists in all their conferences will the Communist Party be able to expose and isolate the social fascists. Only by directing the main blows against social democracy, this social mainstay of the bourgeoisie—will it be possible to strike at and defeat the chief class enemy of the proletariat—the bourgeoisie. And only by strict differentiation between social-democratic leaders and workers will the Communist Party be able, by means of the united front from below, to break down the wall which often separates them from the social-democratic workers.

The sectarian isolation of the Party, and the narrow 'left' distortions of the conception of the united front, as well as the open right opportunist conception (A. Lovestone, Cannon) of the united front in the form of capitulation to the social fascist bureaucracy, has placed tremendous obstacles in the path of the development of struggles. In the case of the fur workers, through the correct application of the united front tactic, the red union was able to rally the masses of the workers into struggle over the heads of the bureaucrats, and as a consequence succeeded in uniting the workers in the red trade union. But despite some recent improvement in the application of united front tactics in strike and unemployed struggles, there remains a serious weakness through a sectarian approach (or even the fear to approach at all) to workers organized under reformist leadership; at Lawrence and Paterson the red trade unions completely isolated themselves from the workers under reformist influence and were unable to effect the unity of the workers, the so-called united front consisting of the red trade union themselves. At the same time there are tendencies toward 'unity at any price' agreements with social fascist leaders in some of the local miners' strikes in Pittsburgh, and toward outstanding bureaucrats in New York Painters' Union on the theory of the 'lesser evil', and some manifestations of semi-conciliatory policy toward these elements (Southern Illinois). While the Lovestone renegades support the right wing bureaucrats in war against the workers in the needle trades and the Cannon-Trotzkyites support the reactionary and Musette leadership of betrayal in the P. M. A., the red trade unions have not sufficiently countered these treacherous elements by a consistent and bold bolshevik approach to the masses through the united front from below. Because of an underestimation of the development of partial struggles as a means to develop the mass struggle against the capitalist offensive, we have failed to establish the unity of the workers, in the first place inside the factories, for struggle for immediate demands.

A narrow sectarian conception of the united front ('united front only on the basis of the revolutionary program') has rendered the application of this most important form of mass activity null and void in many fields of struggle, despite the successes which have invariably resulted whenever even partly correct methods of united front have been applied.

Objectively this 'left' error amounts to an opportunist capitulation to the interests of the masses. The united front is a form of action and not a form of words; not a proclamation of principles but an action of heterogeneous masses under revolutionary leadership for concrete demands which, at an early stage, are not by any means 'revolutionary' but which draw the masses into struggle and into the process of revolutionization in the course of this struggle. It is the most important form of the tactics by which the C. P. U. S. A. must lead non-reformist masses, reformist workers, workers who express allegiance to capitalist parties, A. F. of L. workers and the most backward Christian workers, as well as small farmers, clerks and ruined petty-bourgeois elements, into struggle against the state of finance-capital which in the present moment necessarily seeks a way out of the economic crisis by these attacks upon the standards of living of these masses.

WORK in the reformist unions suffered for a period from an almost complete desertion of this highly important revolutionary task, through gross misinterpretations that this task is in contradiction to the task of building the red trade unions and undertaking independent leadership of struggles. During the past year partial correction and some progress has begun, with election victories in a number of local unions, endorsement of the unemployed insurance movement by 800 locals, and the Cincinnati Conference, etc. But such beginnings of a correction do not by any means correspond with the rapid development of radicalization in the reformist unions, their revolt against the bureaucracy and their mood for struggle, so that a number of important and extremely sharp strike struggles are led by reformists while the party plays a minor role in some of the best organized and most militant unions, such as the Illinois miners, building trades, etc.). In many cases, comrades at work in the reformist unions are too much steeped in legalism to be able to develop the strike struggles and to give them independent leadership. Insufficient grasp of the problem of trade union unity and failure to expose the reformists as the splitters of the trade unions (especially among the miners) has severely hampered the progress of the united front. The task of exposure is especially important as against the 'left' maneuvers of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, the increased activity of the Socialist Party bureaucracy in support of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the ground gained in the strategically important Illinois field by the 'left' Musette bureaucracy which protects the A. F. of L. bureaucracy with left and demagogic phrases and even with the building of 'new' unions (P.M.A.) in order to keep the masses chained to reformism.

In the organized unemployment movement more than elsewhere there has been an uninterrupted progress (even to overcoming seasonal 'lumps'), the sporadic nature of the work has been considerably corrected. In 1932 the unemployed workers were able in militant struggles to win material results for the unemployed masses not only on a small scale, but in big battles (Cook County, Ill. \$40,000,000; St. Louis, Birmingham). Even in this field the tempo of growth is all too slow.

The overcoming of the worst forms of sectarianism and the consequent developing (even though slowly) of the united front from below with the masses of workers organized by the reformists has already shown the possibility of winning the masses away from the treacherous influence of the reformists (struggle against 50 per cent cut in relief in Chicago against 'Borders'). The successful carrying through of the 'Hunger' March was a most important victory which helped to stimulate and strengthen the local struggles while at the same time raising the whole struggle to a higher plane and leading it more directly against the capitalist state.

The struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, despite grave weaknesses and glaring errors, has been advanced to the point of some considerable successes in bringing masses into actual struggle (demonstration before the Japanese Consulate, Chicago; picket demonstration at Japanese Embassy, Washington; demonstrations in New York, Seattle and San Francisco against specific shipments of munitions; partly satisfactory participation in Amsterdam Congress; successful students' conference against war; raising struggle against imperialism; and for defense of the U.S.S.R. among new strata of the toiling populations, e.g. Washington farmers' conference, Cincinnati A.F.L. rank and file conference; beginnings of building an F.S.U. and issuance of a special monthly organ; some systematic work begun in some sections of military forces; some attempts to turn the veterans' movement into channels of struggle against war). However the struggle is hampered by a great and dangerous underestimation of the danger of war and intervention, expressed at times in the theory that sharpening of imperialist contradictions automatically reduces the danger of war against the Soviet Union, and at times expressed in concessions to pacifist ideas concerning the 'peace' and 'non-aggression' pacts.

SERIOUS neglect of struggle against the imperialist war now raging in Latin America, instigated by U. S. and British imperialism, and failure to support the revolutionary movements of those countries, is only now beginning to be corrected.

The chief weaknesses in the struggle against war, arising out of insufficient rounding of the Party in Marxist-Leninist teachings as well as insufficient connection with the masses, is to be found in the sporadic and unsustained character of our work, and failure to penetrate the everyday activities of the trade unions, unemployed councils, etc., with the living issues of the struggle against war in vital connection with the struggle for the everyday needs of the workers. The most glaring example of weaknesses is in the extremely meagre accomplishments in the struggle against the shipment of munitions.

In the action of the Bonus March, our Party did not at first with full clarity perceive the objectively revolutionary character of the movement as a whole and in spite of the petty bourgeois and reactionary, pacifist and military patriotic expressions of this heterogeneous movement of the unemployed workers, ruined farmers and bankrupt petty business-men who composed the Bonus March. It was for this reason that the Party (1) after having initiated the movement, shrank from supporting and stimulating it with all its power as a mass movement, and sought at first to restrict this movement to one of 'mass delegations'; and (2) at the most critical moment resolved to draw 'class lines' within the movement, thus artificially to single out and separate the conscious revolutionary elements, while being unwilling to approach the more backward ranks as a whole. Instead of developing this movement, which developed spontaneously despite the erroneous standpoint of the Party drawing into it more and more strata of veterans, the Politburo adopted at first the position of limiting the movement organizationally. Instead of organizing and leading the struggles of the veterans, the Daily Worker placed the Party as the 'best friend' of the veterans, and a capitulatory atti-

tude was shown by the error made by the Daily Worker of advising the veterans to 'return home as soon as Congress adjourns.'

The doctrinaire and sectarian weaknesses have not yet been completely eliminated and were largely responsible for the meagerness of the activity toward developing the second Bonus Action initiated by the W.E. S.L. in the Cleveland Bonus Conference. It is responsible for the failure to build a broad united front movement of veterans who are willing to struggle for the bonus and has continued our isolation from the rank and file of the American Legion, the V.F.W., etc.

EXTREMELY grave errors were committed by the Party when the robber attack of the Japanese imperialist armies in Manchuria placed the question of war before the American Party in a sharper and more real form than ever before. Although the Party responded to this demand for leadership with considerable success and boldness, the line of the Party suffered from certain distortions and uncertainty, by the failure to place sharply enough in the forefront of this struggle the fight against American imperialism. While the Party correctly perceived that the contradictions between rival imperialisms must be utilized to the utmost by the revolutionary party, yet an inexcusably incorrect application of the correct principle was made in adopting for a period a conciliatory attitude toward the speculations of bourgeois correspondents about a possible 'alliance' between the U. S. and U.S.S.R. against Japan (Daily Worker, April 12), and by failure to distinguish between the correct Leninist utilization of antagonisms by a proletariat in possession of State power, and the different forms such utilization by Communist Parties in capitalist countries must take (mechanical application of the problem in U. S. quotations from Lenin referring to problems of Soviet power at the 14th Plenum). The incorrect application of the utilization of the contradictions between the imperialist powers tended to weaken our struggle against American imperialism. The campaign suffered further from a certain narrowing down of the mass movement because the Party mistakenly adopted as Party slogans those which were not the slogans of the conscious vanguard of the proletarian masses, but rather the slogans which express the unripe-revolutionary moods of the masses that are only now growing toward revolutionary consciousness, slogans to which the Party must give conditional support but not full support in its own name. ('Expel the Japanese imperialist representatives,' etc.). This tendency of the Party to replace the masses by the Party itself is not unconnected with its sectarian background.

After the sharp correction of these errors of the Party in the struggle against war, the Party tended dangerously to make the further and more serious 'error' of 'avoiding errors' through a tendency to decreased activity and over-cautiousness.

VII.

Work Among the Negro Masses

The correct program of the Party on the Negro question and the development and leadership in the struggles for Negro rights (Scottsboro, election campaign, unemployed struggles, North and South, beginnings of organization among Negro share-croppers) has brought the Party increasingly forward before the broad masses of Negroes as the leader of their struggle for national liberation. These activities taking place on the background of the crisis and deepening discontent of the Negro masses have brought the Negro question sharply to the fore as a question of major importance in the political life of the country as a whole. The actual significance of the Negro liberation movement as a powerful factor in the sharpening of the crisis of American imperialism has been tremendously increased.

While the Party has been able to get the attention and interest of large masses in its program on the Negro question, this is not resulting sufficiently in mobilization for struggles to carry this program through according to the objective possibilities. This is due to the following main weaknesses:

a). The failure to conduct energetic, sustained and consistent local struggles in defense of the everyday economic and political demands of the Negro masses.

b). Hesitation and timidity in the application of the united front tactic (Scottsboro, election, etc.) Mistakes in the application of the united front (failure to put forward at all times our independent line and maintain at all times a critical attitude towards the Negro reformists).

c). Insufficient struggle against and concrete exposure of the Negro reformists.

d). Lack of a real political struggle against white chauvinism among the masses and its reflection in the Party, due largely to a still existing uncertainty with regard to the national revolutionary character of the Negro question, which is at the bottom of many of the weaknesses of the whole work of the Party among the Negro masses.

In the work of the red trade unions, and in the work among the unemployed councils, the lack of clarity on the Negro question is expressed by the leadership of a number of the unions in the failure to understand the necessity to put forward special demands for the Negro masses (right to all jobs, equal pay for equal work, admission of the Negro to the reformist unions, fight against discrimination of the Negroes in layoffs, giving of relief, against high rents, etc.).

The events of December 19 in Tallapoosa County, in which the attempt to appropriate the live stock of the Negro farmers led to armed resistance by the share-croppers, shows clearly that at the present time the Negro question in the South constitutes one of the most sensitive sectors in the home front of American imperialism—a point where revolutionary explosions are most imminent. 'Every act of national oppression calls forth resistance on the part of the masses of the population, and the tendency of every act of resistance on the part of the oppressed peoples is the national uprising.' This situation clearly indicates that while strengthening and developing the work among the Negro masses in the North, the center of gravity of the Party's work among the Negro masses must be in the South. This requires the full unfolding of the Communist program, especially in relation to the agrarian revolution and self-determination.

VIII.

Work Among the Farmers

The agrarian crisis and the wholesale expropriation of the farmers proceeding therefrom is already giving rise to a whole series of mass struggles of an objectively revolutionary character (farmers strike movement, Pennsylvania anti-eviction fights, North and South Dakota resistance to forced sales, Tallapoosa County struggle, etc.) Through the progressive clarification of the Party's agrarian question that has been proceeding since the 7th Convention, the Party was prepared to participate effectively in this rising movement. The Party unhesitatingly participated in the farmers' strike movement, on the basis of the unity of farmers and workers for joint struggle against monopoly-capital, against high prices in the city and low prices to the farmers. The Party raised the question of a struggle against evictions and through the leadership of the movement led by the U.F.L. stimulated such struggles in many farming communities. The Party was able to initiate and develop a broad farmers national relief conference and through this to unify and politicize the farmers' struggles on a national scale; to bring together Negro and white farmers for joint struggle; to expose not only the false promises of the agrarian bloc of Republican and Democratic parties and especially the Roosevelt allotment schemes, but also the leadership of the established farmers organizations as mere attachments to the old parties. This conference also was able to develop to a higher stage the work begun in the localities of bringing the farmers in closer alliance to the workers' movement. The great weakness of the agrarian work is still that it is largely detached from the everyday work of the district and section organizations, especially of those districts which are centers of industry and that completely neglect a large surrounding farming population. This was reflected in the insufficient development of the election campaign among the farmers. Work among the agrarian masses—among the white and Negro farmers, must not remain the work of certain special districts or of selected comrades. It must become the work of the entire Party.

IX.

Penetration of the Shops

Backwardness of the Party in penetration of the shops, i.e., building the basic units of the Party within the factories, conducting real work of organizing and leading the struggles of the workers inside of the factories, and the concentration of this process upon well selected large establishments of basic industry—this alarming weakness of the Party has persisted throughout our Party life, but its continuation cannot be tolerated in the present moment of rapid development toward higher forms of decisive struggle, without disastrous results to the Party and to the working class. The 8th Convention of the Party must win the entire membership both ideologically and in practice to look upon this fundamental task as the main lever for the winning of the majority of the working class. This will require the overcoming of the most deep-rooted weaknesses which have placed the Party during the period since the 7th Convention, in a position of having lost ground in shop work for the most part, with only small gains in the face of unprecedented opportunities.

A decided step in advance toward the serious beginning of systematic penetration of the factories was shown in the two shop conferences held December 31-January 1. But a large part of the service of these shop conferences consisted in precisely showing up of the appalling weaknesses and the nature of these weaknesses.

The penetration of large chemical plants, insulation factories, etc., prerequisites for serious struggle against war, has remained a resolution on paper. The penetration of the steel mills, while resulting in splendid success on a relatively small scale, where even the slightest serious work has been done (Warren, O.), has hardly gone beyond the slightest beginnings. In the machine industry, with small exceptions (Detroit, New Jersey) very little has been accomplished, while in the railroad industry the beginning has been negligible and in coal mining distinct losses have been suffered. In light industries some progress is to be noted in needle and textile.

The concentration program has only been applied in a most formal and mechanical manner in most cases, hampered by bureaucratic methods

in those places where concentration formally occurred; scores of comrades sent from the outside, but the actual training of Communists and sympathetic workers already working inside was in most cases not seriously undertaken.

THE increased activity of the workers in the shops, therefore, must be attributed in a large degree to spontaneous causes and not as yet to our organized guidance and initiative. Our work has mainly been limited to small and medium sized plants and light industry. During 1932, when the strongest incentive was given to the Party through the 14th Plenum Resolution, we failed to lead any strikes in the large factories and plants in the concentration districts, with the exception of the Warren steel strike and the Detroit auto workers' strikes.

The fundamental causes of weakness are, first, the neglect of the concentration problem, and then habitual isolation of Party members in the factories from intimate association, from 'mixing' with non-Communist and reformist workers, and consequent lack of sensitiveness to the daily and hourly frictions and issues growing up in the factories; therefore a failure to take up the most elementary and petty grievances, to expose concretely the employers and social-fascist leaders, to develop partial struggles towards strikes and higher forms of struggle with systematic agitation and organization, learning the workers' own ideas as to their needs and concretizing these through our shop papers. The failure of district and section committees as well as the central committee to give systematic guidance to comrades working in factory nuclei and trade union groups, the failure of these leading organs of the Party to help develop new cadres within the factories and to solve the many and infinite problems in the factory regarding methods of work and the safeguarding of our units from company spies, has greatly retarded the growth of our factory units. Even where units are established it partly accounts for their failure to become leaders of the workers in the given factory.

Our shop papers and leaflets have until now been weak through their failure concretely to seize upon the burning issues in the shops and to link these issues with the general political situation and position of the working class as a whole as a result of the economic crisis and the offensive of the capitalist class generally (with notable exceptions, Trenton Doll strike, etc.).

IN our penetration of the factories a genuine bolshevik understanding of the tactics of the united front becomes imperative, and weaknesses of such an understanding arise out of the traditional isolation and sectarianism of the Party, are inseparable from the failure of the Party thus far to root itself in the factories. A necessity is to unite all workers organized and unorganized, white and Negro, native and foreign born, women and youth, on specific concrete issues arising out of the daily life of the shops, taking up specific grievances of each group to win it over to struggle; this objectively revolutionary task is too often sacrificed to abstract issues, formal 'revolutionary programs', third-rate issues (religion, etc.) which the workers as a whole do not feel to be expressions of their own grievances. To attain this unity it is necessary to destroy or weaken the influence of the social-fascist and company union agents of the employers inside the factories and also those influences exercised upon the workers from the outside.

The hesitation and sectarian timidity about proposing concrete measures for uniting the members of reformist organizations together with the revolutionary and unorganized workers for joint struggles against specific grievances on the basis of the united front from below, and without mechanically placing the joining of revolutionary organizations as conditions for unity, is a handicap without the overcoming of which it would be impossible for the Party to penetrate the basic industries of the country, and equally impossible to build the revolutionary trade unions. The establishment of the most comradely relations with the rank and file workers of social-fascist organizations is not opposed to, but on the contrary, is the other half of the same action as the merciless exposure of the social-fascist leaders—necessary to win these workers from their influence to struggles and to the revolutionary unions and Party leadership.

WITHIN the factories the abstract nature of our work has resulted in an almost complete overlooking of the necessity to take up all grievances arising out of the oppression of national groups, i.e., Negro workers, Mexican workers, Philippine, Japanese, Chinese and other foreign born workers. The Party groups must specifically organize women workers fighting against violation of factory laws, against insults and persecution by foremen, for equal pay for equal work, special rest periods, etc., and must win the organized support of these struggles by the men workers; calling special meetings and delegate conferences periodically to discuss grievances and work out the demands arising out of the discussions of the workers themselves.

Every shop nucleus of the Party is responsible for the most systematic and tireless efforts, in cooperation with the Y.C.L. to establish nuclei of the Y.C.L. within the same factory, while special attention must be paid to the demands of the young workers in the factory.

The unemployment struggle must be carried into the basic masses of employed workers through systematic agitation in the factories for the demands of the unemployed and of part time workers for unemployment relief and for social insurance. Within the factory the Party units must take the initiative in organizing struggle against mass dismissals, and for compensation when such dismissals take place. Of great importance is struggle against over time work, for a union wage scale with compensation for waiting time (steel mills, etc.), against forced contributions to fake insurance schemes and community funds, against eviction from company houses of workers formerly employed by the company, for elementary demands of the unemployed, i.e., water, heating, free coal, etc., thus uniting the employed and unemployed in partial struggles.

The training of the smallest groups and even of individual comrades to be able skillfully to carry on bolshevik work inside the factories in heavy and trusted industry must be regarded not only as a task of a few comrades but as a task of all the leading and experienced comrades and those who cannot undertake patiently this work cannot be considered worthy of leadership in the Communist Party. District and section bureaus must frequently hold meetings with comrades working in concentration factories, or in any other factories, and together examine the work and develop through personal and political guidance, new and fresh cadres, while all our training schools must particularly devote special courses to factory work.

X.

Bolshevization of the Party

The problem of Bolshevization of the Party, i.e., the problem of strengthening and qualifying the Party to take over the leadership of great mass movements, to lead the working class and exploited masses in the course of economic and political struggles, to the impending fight for power for the dictatorship of the proletariat—is placed sharply before the Eighth Convention of the Party by the end of capitalist stabilization.

The problem of Bolshevization can be solved only by ruthless struggle on two fronts: against open opportunism, the right danger, the main danger, and against opportunism covered by 'left' phrases. The chief common basis for both the main right danger and 'leftism' is the sectarianism and isolation of our Party from the masses in spite of the response of these masses to revolutionary struggles.

That this sectarianism appears at this time as the chief obstacle of the Party is not accidental. The unprecedented violence of the economic crisis which has dislocated whole sections of the population, throwing millions of the working class, farmers and ex-soldiers of mixed class composition into direct mass activity—has suddenly placed before the C.P.U.S.A. unprecedented demands for leadership of masses never before fore by our Party, 'old American' Kentucky miners, impoverished Iowa farmers, ex-soldiers of only partly working class character, Alabama Negroes, share-croppers, farm laborers and small landowners, etc., in mass actions of a size and character never before undertaken by our Party.

OUR relatively small Party, which is just emerging in the course of these same struggles from its original character as a Party composed mainly of immigrant workers isolated from the native masses and consequently of extremely sectarian ideology and party life—experienced a severe strain of its organizational and political capacities as a result of these new demands for leadership. The narrow sectarianism, carried over into this moment of rapidly rising mass struggles, inevitably becomes the chief source of hesitation and vacillation in the face of these mass struggles and as the unprecedented demands for leadership of masses never before fore by our Party, 'old American' Kentucky miners, impoverished Iowa farmers, ex-soldiers of only partly working class character, Alabama Negroes, share-croppers, farm laborers and small landowners, etc., in mass actions of a size and character never before undertaken by our Party.

The problem of bolshevization cannot be solved alone by ideological means; the bolshevization of the Party includes first of all the rooting of the Party deep into the great masses of the proletariat in the workshops, mills, mines and factories of the basic industries of the country. It is absolutely essential in this moment of transition to a new round of wars between capitalist states and of revolutions, to penetrate with the actual basic organizations of the Party the large steel plants, mines, railroad shops, etc., and to draw into its ranks the vast numbers of new native American as well as foreign-born workers who are rising in the course of the present increasing struggles and the multiplication of its cadres with worker 'actives' drawn from the mass struggle itself.

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The Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States declares the most relentless warfare against sectarianism in the Party and in the mass organizations (in the first place in the trade unions) which alone can give the Party the necessary rapid advance towards bolshevization which is the imperative demand of this moment and of the end of capitalist stabilization and of unprecedented calls upon our revolutionary Party to lead great struggles of the American masses.

XI.

Problems of Party Growth

While the political influence of the Party is steadily increasing and a considerable number of workers are joining the Party, the actual growth continues at an extremely slow pace. The Seventh Convention recorded an approximate registered membership of 15,000, with an actual dues payment of 8,200. Since then 36,000 joined the Party. The influx of new elements into the Party during the past two years emphasizes the powerful attraction of the Party to large masses of toilers. Today there are an actual 19,000 members in the Party, while the year 1932 showed an average dues payment of 15,000. For seven years the membership of the Party did not exceed 10,000 dues paying members. This is the first definite increase to be recorded in the membership since 1924. But at the same time, the constant tremendous turnover sharply exposes the inability of the Party to maintain its full gains. This situation is a grave tendency towards the fact that even older members are constantly leaving the Party (3,000 of those who were members prior to 1930 are in the Party today). Furthermore, 80 per cent of the new recruits during the last period come from the ranks of the unemployed, while there exists an almost complete stagnation in the growth of the membership in the shop nuclei. Today, only 4 per cent of the membership is employed in industrial enterprises.

While at the Seventh Convention we had approximately 200 Negro members, at least 10 per cent of the membership are Negro workers today, with almost half of this number in Chicago. A definite but in most Districts insufficient improvement can therefore be recorded in the winning of Negroes for the Party. However, the proportion of fluctuation of Negroes is much greater than among other sections recruited into the Party.

The conception of the 'special recruiting drives' replacing the daily systematic building of the Party in the course of the mass activity, is one of the main factors causing the fluctuation of the recruiting drives in the past were completely divorced from the mass work of the Party, limited to internal directives on how to carry through the recruiting drive, with no mass appeal to the workers to join the Party. The bureaucratic setting of quotas by the center and district without a concrete analysis of the particular situation resulted in insufficient recruitment from the factories, trade unions and other mass organizations. An improvement in the methods and planned regulation of recruitment would curtail to a large extent the present fluctuation. But this alone will not solve the problem.

A fundamental change in the activity of our Party units is the key to overcoming the very serious fluctuation. The directives of the 14th Plenum Resolution that 'nine-tenths of all the work of the lower organizations must be concentrated directly on the work among the masses, and not, as at present, in countless inner meetings,' still holds good today. To fulfill this task, the Party units must be basically transformed from narrow inner circles into live political bodies, alert and sensitive to the needs of the workers, discussing their grievances and how the unit can initiate, develop and lead the struggles of the workers around these grievances. This necessitates, furthermore, the broad application of inner democracy in our Party units, involving the entire membership in the collective working out of the tasks and laying the basis for the individual responsibility in carrying out the work of the present mechanical and arbitrary assignment of work which stifles the initiative of the units. The prevailing situation in many organizations in the Party whereby the higher committees appoint the leadership of the lower organs, is to be replaced by the democratic elections of the leadership.

THE units are involved in performing many intricate and diverse tasks which in reality are tasks of the various mass organizations around the Party. To shift the burden from the unit membership of these activities requires the proper mobilization of the non-Party workers in the mass organizations around their specific tasks. The Party members in the organizations should be the driving force in the activation of these non-Party masses. Thus, the units cannot underestimate the very important work 'conducted by these comrades and should help to properly guide their work and coordinate it with the unit activities.

The Party is faced sharply with the problem of raising the political level and understanding of only of the new members but of the entire membership, since 80 per cent of those in the Party today have come in during the last two years. This necessitates aside from the political education of the entire membership, a careful distribution of work in the units, comradely supervision and guidance to the new members by the higher committees, developing these new members step by step into conscious revolutionists. There exists the erroneous conception that the new members are full-fledged Communists as soon as they enter the Party. This expresses itself in over-burdening the new members with too many tasks, leading them away from their former environment, contacts and organization in which they were active. When such members drop out of the Party this does not result in a serious examination on the part of the units of the causes which lead to members dropping out, but in condemnations of those workers as 'no good elements.' The Party units should carefully follow up all workers who have left the Party and win them back by exterminating the causes which have driven these workers from our ranks.

Eight years after the historic decision of the Comintern to transfer the organizational base of the Party to the shops, after innumerable decisions and documents of our own Party on this question, we can register only slight beginnings in the carrying out of this most important task. The fact that scores of shop nuclei were built up during this period and have now entirely disappeared is not only due to the lay-offs and shutdowns in factories but in the main to the lack of day to day guidance of the higher committees to the existing shop units. This failure of the leadership to supervise the work of the shop units, to aid them in developing proper conspiratorial methods of work, has resulted in premature and unnecessary exposures of the individual members and whole organizations, or complete passivity of many shop units.

Our street units have been involved in important actions primarily around section, district and national campaigns. The units have developed many struggles in the neighborhoods around the grievances of the unemployed, but we have not succeeded to rally large masses around these issues but in the neighborhoods and particularly for broader political issues. The Party organizations have not yet become the recognized leaders of the toiling masses in the neighborhoods and towns. Furthermore, our street units have not been instrumental through careful supervision of the work of individual members in the shop and through concentration on important factories, to root the Party in the shop. These weaknesses in the units can be overcome by our Party only if (a) a stable leadership is developed in each unit instead of constantly shifting and removing leadership functions; (b) if the higher committees will give major attention through systematic contact and supervision of the Party unit initiative of the lower organizations; (c) by surrounding the Party unit with a wide strata of non-Party actives who should be systematically drawn into the activities in the neighborhood and shop.

The Leninist conception of Party cadres: 'The Communist Organizer, Party worker, must not be similar to a social democratic 'responsible' functionary and official, the Communist Organizer must lead and work among the masses in the factory, in the shop, in the mine.' (15th Plenum of the E. C. C. I.), has not as yet permeated our Party. With the result that little attention is given to the development of new forces that have arisen in the recent struggles (miners, textiles, veterans' march, unemployed struggles, etc.), who have intimate contact with the masses and are known by them.

Since the Seventh Convention the Party cadres have not been sufficiently enlarged by the drawing in of new proletarian elements. Thus the leadership in the districts, while participating more or less in the local struggles, did not arise and grow out of these struggles but in most cases consist of outside forces. At the same time, the leadership of the sections and districts are not connected with the decisive sections of the proletariat, but are composed in the main of full time functionaries who have been divorced from the masses of workers in factories in which they were employed in the past. The C. C. which today consists primarily of functionaries faces the task at the coming convention of drawing in fresh proletarian forces from the factories.

XII.

The Most Urgent Tasks of the Party

The immediate tasks of the Party as formulated in the resolutions of the 14th CG Plenum and of the 12th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., gave the direction for the Party's work in the whole next period. None of these tasks have yet been accomplished, and in most of them only the barest beginnings have as yet been made.

The chief obstacle in the way of unfolding a correct mass policy

(Continued on Page Six)

GREEN'S ROMANIA ARMY KILL 7, WOUND 16 HEROIC STRIKERS

Fight U. S. Bosses; Workers Aroused Throughout the Land

BUCHAREST, Feb. 17.—Seven last night arrested 100 Communist workers at Ploesti, following complaints of officials of the Romana Americana, Standard Oil subsidiary...

KILL 7, Wound 16 BUCHAREST, Feb. 17.—Seven strikers were killed and 16 mortally wounded yesterday when the Romanians Government hurled its troops...

Rain of Machine-Gun Bullets The attack on the strikers was begun with a rain of machine gun bullets, the troops raking the buildings with machine guns...

The wives and children of the barricaded workers, supported by thousands of workers unemployed, poured toward the scene of the battle from all sections of the city...

Fight to Release Prisoners The survivors of the 4,000 strikers were arrested and transported in heavily guarded motor trucks to the central prison...

An emergency meeting of the Cabinet has been called to consider further, brutal repressive measures to quell the growing unrest. The king this morning was in secret conference with General Ujka...

Meanwhile the revelation of the misuse of government funds by King Carol for the support of his paramour, Mme. Lupescu, is adding to the excitement. It has been brought out in the Senate that a sum of 20 million lei intended for the Romanian air force had been used by Carol to purchase the Palace Mamaia for his paramour...

The government, which has declared martial law over large parts of Romania in an attempt to crush the strike struggles of the workers, is now pushing plans for a military dictatorship.

Fight on U. S. Bosses The present strike struggles were precipitated by a wage cut by the Romano-Americana Oil Company, a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company...

ILL SHOWING AIDS 'DAILY' BROOKLYN, N. Y.—A showing of the Daily Worker film, "The Struggle for Bread" at the Bridge Plaza Theatre, 265 Broadway, on Tuesday evening, resulted in the collection of \$20 for the "Daily" fund...

'NFL WOMENS' DAY MARCH 8th 4 WOMEN IN SHOP COLLAPSE AT JOB Improper Ventilation Causes Accident

JERSEY CITY, N. J., Feb. 17.—While throughout the country women workers and working class housewives are preparing to celebrate International Women's Day March 8 as a day of struggle for bettering the conditions of the working women, an accident occurred here yesterday which reveals sharply the terrible conditions to which tens of thousands of women workers are forced to earn their miserable wages...

Edgar women working for the Bayview Pans Co., 297 Ocean Ave., collapsed because of lack of oxygen (proper ventilation) in the factory. The collapse of the four workers strongly affected the 45 other workers and three other women became hysterical. The protests of the workers caused the boss to open the windows, relieving the stifling condition in the shop. The four unconscious workers, Mrs. Frances Martone, Anna Testa, Anna Rapp, and Anna Cinemo, were revived by inhalator treatment.

GREEN'S BUROCRATS EXPEL WEINSTEIN, 8 OTHERS FROM A. F. L. ONLY 20 PER CENT OF THE 'DAILY' DRIVE QUOTA RAISED IN FIRST MONTH

Connecticut Noses Ahead of Boston, Which Drops to Fourth Place in Ratings; Collections Still Far from Sufficient!

Donations from Monday to Thursday inclusive were \$971.51, a drop of over \$100 from the previous half-week's total. And this fall would have been far greater if Thursday's donations had not risen somewhat above the previous days' average.

New York still leads all districts in per centage of its quota achieved, with 38 per cent. But here it must be stated that New York's increase over the last tabulation is very small, only 3.1 per cent. New York doated only \$368.39, as compared with the previous half-weeks \$730.32. In other words, contributions from the New York District declined by one-half!

Buffalo, with 25.1 per cent, is in second place, although Connecticut is creeping up on it, with 24.8. As it stands, Connecticut succeeded in forging ahead of Boston, which dropped to fourth place, with 22.6 per cent of its quota achieved.

Pittsburgh's 20.5 per cent keeps it in fifth place in the ratings. Altogether, only 20 per cent of the entire national quota has been achieved after more than one month of the financial drive. Seven districts have not yet contributed even ten per cent of their quotas after four weeks. These districts are Minnesota, Kansas City, the Dakotas, Seattle, the Carolinas, Ala.-Fla., and Colorado. These dis-

Lip-Service

Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party, is here shown reading a Karl Marx in order to steal a few revolutionary phrases to tell the workers with. The Socialist Party every day of the year betrays the scientific teachings of Marx. The Daily Worker exposes the "socialist" betrayals and leads the workers on the path to freedom pointed out by Marx and Lenin. Support the Daily Worker!

tricks, as well as all the others, should take immediate steps to boost their totals within the next two weeks. In order to do this, however, activity must be intensified IMMEDIATELY. Use every method for raising and collecting funds that has been suggested in the pages of the Daily Worker since the drive began. And rush all collections without delay to the Daily Worker!

Lewis to Be in Milwaukee District George Brink, Daily Worker representative in District 18 (Milwaukee) informs that preparations are being made through the Milwaukee district for L. Lewis's visit on behalf of the Daily Worker. Lewis will speak and confer with workers in Milwaukee, West Allis, Racine, Kenosha and Madison. He will be in Milwaukee on Thursday, Feb. 23, where he will meet with the section Daily Worker agents at 921 West Walnut St. at 2 p.m. Later in the evening, at 7:30, Lewis will attend a conference of the District Daily Worker Committee at the same address.

Table with columns: District, Total to date, Record in past half week, Quota, Percentage of quota. Lists districts from 1-Boston to 1-W.O., N.Y. City.

W. A. Smith 1.00, A. M. APLA 3.10, F. Grass 1.00, New Brighton Labor 2.00, Socialist Club 2.00, TOTAL \$9.10

BIG REVOLUTIONARY VOTE IN BELFAST Tom Geehan, the leader of the Belfast unemployed workers, who put up such heroic resistance to the authorities' attacks recently that big concessions were granted after a strike of relief workers, polled a huge vote in the Ulster capital's municipal election.

Here's How to Raise Funds for the "Daily"; Rush Aid! 1. Arrange house parties, small and large affairs, and take up collections. 2. Circulate door-to-door collection lists wherever you go. If you run out of lists, write the Daily Worker for more.

(This is the first time the New York District has been beaten in the day's contributions. All the other districts fell below \$10, and the contribution of \$155.06 from the International Workers Order enabled the donations to hit the mark that they did.)

As usual, a number of districts failed to send in a cent. These districts were Buffalo, Detroit, Minnesota (nothing for five days!), Kansas City, the Dakotas, California, North and South Carolina, Milwaukee and Colorado.

Table with columns: District, Total to date, Record in past half week, Quota, Percentage of quota. Lists districts from 1-Boston to 1-W.O., N.Y. City.

Chicago, Ill. 10.00, TOTAL \$155.06, Ttl to date \$775.35

Rent Strike Won, Tenants Send \$5 for 'Daily' Fund NEW YORK.—Coming to the aid of the Daily Worker, which was the only paper that published news of and supported their rent strike, the tenants of 228 Barrett Street, Brooklyn, have sent the following letter to the "Daily":

"Dear Comrades: We, the tenants of 228 Barrett Street appreciate the interest you have taken in our behalf, publishing news of the daily struggles of our victorious rent strike. As a result of this strike we gained a reduction of rent, recognition of the house committee and no evictions of unemployed tenants.

"We are therefore forwarding the sum of \$5, collected at the party held in the house to celebrate the victory. Similar amounts have been collected and will be distributed to the Unemployed Council and the Freiheit."

The letter is signed by the members of the House Committee, Tobin, Davis, Vogel, Willet and Levine, chairman.

JOBLESS COUNCIL SECY HITS WAR PLAN FOR YOUTH NEW YORK, Feb. 17.—"The action of the U. S. Senate," declares a statement issued by I. Amter, National Secretary of the Unemployed Councils, in appropriating \$20,000,000 for militarizing the homeless youth, is most significant, and shows the dangerous situation in which the workers are, particularly with respect to war.

Another big group being involved in the mass struggle against hunger are the thousands of home workers who are forced with the loss of their life savings which is represented in these homes.

All the unemployed are under attack as is indicated by the threats of relief cuts sponsored by the Association of Commerce, the County Commissioners and Joseph L. Moss of the Public Welfare. These people are held directly responsible for these conditions. The refusal of the relief stations to deal with committees of workers has caused the unemployed committee to turn much of their activities to the county commissioners, bankers, aldermen and those who are responsible for the policy of the relief station management. It is to these "higher-ups" that the committees are making demands and complaints.

Chicago Militant Advance CHICAGO, Feb. 17.—The indignation of Chicago workers against the attacks of the capitalist class and politicians is expressing itself in almost daily demonstrations and struggles that are assuming more and more of a mass character involving considerable sections of the starving population. There is no doubt that the thousands of home workers is alarmed at the prospect of March 4th, inauguration day, which will combine into one mighty demonstration all those who are active in the local struggles.

Among the most militant fighters are the single workers who in revolt against the county commissioners and the relief commission's denial of relief to single workers, the taking back of the four dollars work relief and the forcing of these workers back into the vile flop-houses. There is also a host of new applicants who are denied any relief at all.

Fighting to Hold Homes. Another big group being involved in the mass struggle against hunger are the thousands of home workers who are forced with the loss of their life savings which is represented in these homes.

All the unemployed are under attack as is indicated by the threats of relief cuts sponsored by the Association of Commerce, the County Commissioners and Joseph L. Moss of the Public Welfare. These people are held directly responsible for these conditions.

The refusal of the relief stations to deal with committees of workers has caused the unemployed committee to turn much of their activities to the county commissioners, bankers, aldermen and those who are responsible for the policy of the relief station management. It is to these "higher-ups" that the committees are making demands and complaints.

Many Local Demonstrations. Yesterday a committee of unemployed workers, led by Commissioner Kavanaugh of 312 So. Ashland and got him out of bed to hear their grievances. On February 20th the Home Owners' Committee of Unemployed Councils is calling upon the home owners of the Industrial Union as a "stakeholder" to come to Judge Fischer's court on the ninth floor of the county building at 9:30 a.m. to protest against the forced sales, foreclosures and evictions they face. On the same day workers who receive relief from the Chase Park relief station are called upon by the workers' candidates, Warren Lamson of the forty-sixth ward and Nicholas Blatter of the forty-fifth ward to march upon the relief station and demand better relief. On February 24 the single workers will demonstrate at the office of Commissioner Charles H. Weber in his home. Weber is the commissioner who demanded that all single unemployed workers be fingerprinted and placed in camps under police supervision. Other demonstrations are being called by workers at various relief stations and at community homes for February 27th and 28th.

Prepare United Front Meet. Preparations are going ahead for the United Front conference of February 26th. All workers' organizations of Cook county are requested to send delegates to the conference at 204 West North Avenue at 10:00 a.m. on that date. The Unemployed Councils of Cook county will propose to the conference that the present intolerable relief conditions be crushed with a monster hunger march to the loop.

Steel Workers Mass Meeting. FARRELL, Pa., Feb. 17.—Eight hundred unemployed steel workers in a mass meeting at Masbury, Ohio, at the Addison School Auditorium, unanimously approved sending a delegation of 30 unemployed to the Trumbull county hunger march which will take place March 3rd. Frank Borich was the main speaker and dealt with the plight of the starving men, women and children and the necessity of mass action to force immediate relief.

Miami Shooting and New Drive of Reaction (Editorial, Continued from Page 1)

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE) surance, that such measures are being pushed forward.

In other words, it is for the purpose of depriving the American laboring people of the last shreds of democratic rights. It is for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the working class and farmers down to the level of serfs. It is for the purpose of compelling more than 16,000,000 unemployed workers literally to starve their way through to a hoped for end of the economic crisis, and to accomplish the wholesale expropriation of millions of farmers of their land and their entire life's labor for the benefit of the farm loan bankers and insurance companies. These are the real reasons why such measures are being so rapidly pushed at this time. And to close the eyes of the masses of workers and farmers to this foul plan, the capitalist gutter press is screaming these lies to convince the masses of the insane lies that what the Communist Party is calling them to do is to commit futile, stupid, trivial and senseless bloody crimes against individual representatives of the capitalist class!

It is necessary to defeat the drives against the workers and farmers which are being taken up under cover of the incident at Miami!

It is necessary to raise in every trade union, in every American Federation of Labor organization as well as in every revolutionary trade union, in every Socialist Party local (in spite of the treachery of the Socialist Party leaders) in every mass organization, benefit society, etc., of the working class, and in every organization of rank and file working farmers—the question of the growing fascist reaction which is especially stimulated now. It is necessary to introduce the fight for and carry through the resolutions against the Eslick Bill and against the Dies Bill.

The revolutionary program and tactics, which is raised by the cloud of lies around the Miami incident, has to do not only with matters of ultimate struggle, but also of the immediate struggle for bread today!

Again we repeat that every conscious worker and farmer must make it his business to give his greatest strength and energy to the mobilization in every city and town and village on March 4th to place before the Federal and local governments the immediate demands of the masses against starvation!

All out for March 4th! Down with growing fascist reaction! Defeat the Dies and Eslick Bills!

BRUTAL ATTACK ON 6,000 JOBLESS (CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Wall Street puts its new hunger president, Roosevelt, in the white house will witness demonstrations of workers and farmers all over the state.

Chicago Militant Advance CHICAGO, Feb. 17.—The indignation of Chicago workers against the attacks of the capitalist class and politicians is expressing itself in almost daily demonstrations and struggles that are assuming more and more of a mass character involving considerable sections of the starving population. There is no doubt that the thousands of home workers is alarmed at the prospect of March 4th, inauguration day, which will combine into one mighty demonstration all those who are active in the local struggles.

Among the most militant fighters are the single workers who in revolt against the county commissioners and the relief commission's denial of relief to single workers, the taking back of the four dollars work relief and the forcing of these workers back into the vile flop-houses. There is also a host of new applicants who are denied any relief at all.

Fighting to Hold Homes. Another big group being involved in the mass struggle against hunger are the thousands of home workers who are forced with the loss of their life savings which is represented in these homes.

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Expelled by Green TRY TO DISRUPT MOVE FOR REAL JOBLESS AID

Weinstock Fought Pay Cuts in the Black Bill



Louis Weinstock, secretary of the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance, expelled from the Painters Union by the bureaucrats under Green's orders for defending the interests of the members. (See story on page 3).

L. I. D. lawyers showed up the type of witnesses the prosecution used to convict Weinstock, proved the integrity of the witnesses for the defense and in describing the character of each one told of "Rose" who had testified in the framed strikeleaders' behalf. He said, speaking to the jury and the workers, "Then you saw the girl. Out of work for two years like 16,000,000 other unemployed. She might have become a night club hostess. She was not; She threw her lot with the Workers International Relief fund. He spoke, as well as those now under charges, took no part whatever, at the trial.

Expose Officials The Mock Trial was held in response to the requests of rank and file members of numerous locals, and practically all of the District Council officials themselves participated in the trial.

Louis Weinstock acted as prosecutor, and brought numerous charges against the District Council and the General Executive Board officials. The Council officials failed to answer the charges brought by Weinstock, thus in defiance of the rules, members while spending huge sums on so-called organizers. But the charges were unanimously upheld by some of 500 parties present at the trial.

Indications of the present attack on the progressive section of the Brotherhood among the thousands of jobless were to be found first in the maneuvers of the General Executive Board to postpone the painters convention scheduled for the month of September this year, and again in the speech of Pres. Green in Washington.

Purpose of Expulsions The expulsions are aimed to disrupt the rank and file movement in the A. F. of L. for unemployment insurance.

This rank and file movement was ended by the passage of the 1930 local unions throughout the country, and forced the officials of the A. F. of L. to reverse its previous obdurate attitude and to adopt a plank in favor of unemployment insurance.

Fought Pay Cuts On January 10th, 1933 the rank and file members of the Unemployment Insurance and Relief sent its Secretary, Weinstock, with the approval of his local union, to Washington to attend the hearings of the so-called 30 hour Black Bill, where he proposed the inclusion of a minimum wage provision to the bill and no further reduction in pay for the workers.

For this stand he was viciously attacked by President Green who together with the A. F. of L. Executive endorsed pay cutting the Black Bill.

F. of L. locals throughout the country should immediately send in protests against the expulsions of the militant workers.

Meetings were immediately arranged by the Council in front of the houses which belonged to the Shapros. The streets were soon filled with workers, who defeated the plan of evicting a sick tenant.

PATERSON, N. J. Daily Worker CELEBRATION & DANCE TONIGHT New Worker Center 222 Paterson Street Admission 30 Cents

RUSSIAN ART SHOP PEASANTS' HANDICRAFTS 100 East 14th St., N. Y. C. (Importers from U.S.S.R. (Russia)) Tea, Candy, Cigarettes, Stamps, Toys, Shawls, Novelties, Woodcarving, Lacquered Ware, Phone Algonquin 4-6004

HOUSE TO HOUSE COLLECTION IN NEWARK AND VICINITY For the Benefit of the Daily Worker Comrades will call for boxes at the following stations: 99 VAN BUREN STREET 7 CHARLTON STREET 385 SPRINGFIELD AVE. 347 SPRINGFIELD AVE. SATURDAY AND SUNDAY February 18th, and 19th

PASSAIC, N. J. Daily Worker CELEBRATION & DANCE TONIGHT at 8 P. M. 25 Dayton Avenue

LITTLE THEA. 567 Broad St. Newark, N.J. Attention comrades of Newark! Now Playing 'Kameradschaft' OR 'Comradeship' (All English Titles) The First Workers' Picture from Europe AN EPIC OF LABOR

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION World Tourists, INC. 175 Fifth Ave., New York City Tel. ALg. 4-8556-7-8

Soviet Land Tours can also be purchased at any of our branch offices: 14 Harrison Ave., Boston, Mass. 6 No. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. 1308 Broadway, Detroit, Mich. 808 Engineers Bldg., Cleveland, O. 408 Columbia Bldg., Washington, D.C. 629 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Fight Against Hunger and the Revolutionary Way Out!

(Continued from Page Four)

remains the strong sectarian tendencies in the work of the Party. This sectarianism is still strongly expressed in all phases of the Party's work. It is the breeding ground of right opportunist lack of faith in the masses, of lagging behind and avoidance of the tasks of leadership of the mass struggles. At the same time, it feeds leftist deviations which cover their opportunist content by revolutionary phrases. The struggle against sectarianism is a precondition for successfully concentrating the Party on the problems of organizing and leading the masses in struggle for their immediate needs; for challenging and defeating the influence of social fascism among the masses on the basis of concrete every day issues; for establishing the hegemony of the revolutionary workers over the rising struggles of non-proletarian oppressed masses, and cementing a firm alliance with them; for deepening the bolshevization of the Party, the grounding of the daily work of the membership in a constantly firmer understanding of the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin; for developing and broadening firm bolshevik cadres steered in the actual struggles, and developing bold bolshevik initiative in all sections of the Party.

The struggle for the everyday economic and political needs of the workers is more than ever the central point for the development of all mass work. The resistance to wage cuts, mass dismissals, the stagger system, and worsening of conditions of labor must be based upon systematic and skillful penetration of the shops with Party nuclei, committees of action, and trade union groups. The struggle for unemployment relief, against evictions, against high rents, for unemployment insurance, must be firmly grounded in the organization of a constantly growing network of neighborhood house and block committees, committees of action and unemployed councils. The united struggle of employed and unemployed must be developed on the basis of these daily issues in the direction of a broad united movement for unemployment insurance, for a minimum wage and shorter hours, to include a general strike movement of the employed with especially the part time workers for the joint demands. The building of the revolutionary trade union movement based upon the work in the factories must give a firm mass foundation to the red unions, simultaneously with most energetic and determined building of the revolutionary oppositions in all reformist unions.

The struggle for workers' rights and against political reaction must be more systematically developed on a constantly broadening mass basis. The broadest masses will be involved in such struggles when they arise out of the struggle for the immediate economic needs (Chicago, Cleveland, Birmingham). Without neglecting the fullest utilization of all formal legal rights, this struggle must be more and more based upon mass mobilization for the direct exercise of these rights in practice, especially the rights of assemblage, strike, etc. Resistance to the growing police oppression must more and more subordinate the purely legal aspects of defense to the necessity of supporting actions of the masses. The menace of growing fascist and gangster organizations directed against the workers must be met with a systematic development of workers' defense corps.

The struggle against imperialist war must be concretely and intimately bound up with the struggle for the daily economic and political needs of the workers, thereby defeating the social fascist and pacifist demagogues. The energetic agitation for the Leninist slogans of "Defeat our own imperialism" and "transformation of imperialist war into civil war" must be carried on upon the basis of the concrete events of the day in direct relation to resistance to the capitalist offensive at home and the struggle against starvation. The defense of the Soviet Union must be more concretely brought to the masses on the basis of the widest popularization of the achievements of socialist construction, which show to the American workers the road to the revolutionary solution of the crisis in the United States. New organizational forms and methods must be found for the crystallization of the existing widespread mood of resistance to imperialist war among workers, farmers, students, intellectuals, and other middle class elements.

The struggle for equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt must be concretized in mass struggles for specific demands and around specific issues. The cases of the Scottsboro boys, of Angelo Herndon in Atlanta, of the Atlanta Six, etc., must become a vehicle for a broad mass movement of white and Negro which simultaneously develops the local struggle in every locality against Jim-crowism, segregation and all forms of discrimination. The trade unions and unemployed councils must really become the chief instruments of struggle for the daily needs of the Negroes, cementing in practice the unity of white and Negro and laying a firm foundation for the liquidation of the influence of white chauvinist ideology. The rising struggle of the Negro share croppers in the Black Belt already requires major emphasis on the South in our Negro work. Special forces must be trained in the industrial cities to establish close connections with the impoverished farmers in the surrounding territories. Mutual supporting actions of farmers and workers must be organized on every possible occasion.

The coming municipal and state elections must be systematically utilized by the Party for raising a local struggle to a higher political level. The Party must mobilize the broadest possible participation of workers and exploited masses in these elections around the program of struggle for immediate needs. Not a single local election must be allowed to pass without organized Communist participation. In the penetration of new territories and especially in the hundreds of small industrial towns, the Party must not hesitate to put forward on its ticket outstanding non-Party militant fighters; and wherever necessary to obtain the broadest mass participation and to isolate the reformist leaders, to participate in the elections in the form of workers' tickets within which the Communist Party participates under its own name.

New forms of revolutionary parliamentary action must be systematically developed by sending elected workers' delegations into all public hearings organized by governmental and semi-governmental bodies in connection with any question affecting the life of the masses.

The improvement of the Daily Worker as a mass paper and the extension of its circulation must become a task of the entire Party involving also large numbers of non-Party workers. The directives of the 14th Plenum for a rapid change and improvement in the contents of the Daily Worker, which have only partly been carried out, must be applied with all seriousness and persistence.

The various mass organizations (workers' clubs, language organizations, cultural, literary and dramatic societies, workers' choruses, etc.) to meet the special needs of the most various groups of workers must be systematically encouraged and given the widest freedom and initiative within their special fields, at the same time, drawing them closer to support of and participation in the general class struggles. Old habits that still persist in some sections of mechanical guardianship and direction over such organizations must be drastically eliminated. The same holds good for such general mass organizations as the International Labor Defense, Workers International Relief, Friends of the Soviet Union, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, etc. Each of these organizations must have its own independent life, of they are to function effectively as broad non-Party organizations. Especially must active non-Party workers be drawn into leading positions in all these organizations. The narrow conception of such mass organizations as "auxiliaries" of the Communist Party must be thoroughly eliminated. The participation of Communists in such organizations must be made the means not of narrowing them down to a Party basis, but on the contrary, of broadening them out to include tens and hundreds of thousands of workers on the basis of their interest and participation in the special activities of the particular organization, without obligating them in any way to the Communist Party except in agreement to Communist participation in the general work.

The Party is faced with enormously increased responsibilities in this period of the end of capitalist stabilization, at the moment of transition to a new round of wars and revolutions. It can only meet these responsibilities and utilize the increasingly favorable conditions, if it seriously carries through the essential change in its work required for the carrying out of its chief immediate tasks. "This task is to overcome the isolation of the Party from the decisive masses of the American proletariat, to come before the masses as their vanguard in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and against the imperialist war, and to firmly root itself in the decisive industries by means of solid personal contacts with the workers."

Women Who Work in the United States

Reviewed by MAUDE WHITE

WAGES as low as \$1.65 for two weeks work, paid to women workers in Pennsylvania; 16 cents for 15 hours work in Connecticut; 2 cents a day for girls in New York State; women working hours at a time for nothing at all on the bosses' pretense they are "in training."

And while thousands of women are working overtime or putting in a long night shift, jobless women are sleeping out on the city dumps called Hoovervilles for the starvation president. Girls are driven to sell their bodies for a meal. At least 3,000,000 women are out of work—looking for jobs and cannot find them. Thousands, unable to obtain relief, are feeding themselves from the garbage pails.

Such facts as these are revealed in the pamphlet, Women Who Work, by Grace Hutchins, in the special edition now ready for International Women's Day. Workers will find it easy to read. It is a mine of information on every aspect of industrial work affecting girls and women. A special section on the war industries describes briefly the role women will be expected to play in the next imperialist war which is going on now in China and South America.

In the section on Negro women it is pointed out that the 2,000,000 Negro women at work are especially oppressed. "They are exploited by the capitalist class more than any other group of workers. They do the dirtiest jobs at the lowest pay and are bargained off against white women workers in the general drive for the reduction of wages. A greater proportion of Negro mothers must go out to work for a living, even while the children are still babies, because the husbands' earnings are so small that they cannot possibly support the family. . . . Wages of Negro women are practically always lower than the wages of white women." A Negro stockyard worker is quoted as saying:

"I don't talk much, because when I get thinking about the oppression of my race, I only want to fight. We're not only fighting for bread. We're fighting for social equality for all."

In the special edition for International Women's Day, March 8, a page is devoted to an explanation of the day and its significance. Workers and organizers will find this pamphlet can be used by the thousand in their work of organizing workers, and should order copies (at 5 cents a copy, discounts of 25 per cent to 35 per cent when ordered by the hundred) from Workers' Library Publishers, Box 148, Station D, New York City.

Letters from Our Readers

SUGGESTS EXPOSE OF THE FEDERATION BANK

New York, N. Y. Editor of Daily Worker:—Dear Sir: I read your news item relative to the Amalgamated Bank with interest and a great deal of satisfaction.

But while you are at it defending the rights of those exploited clerks, why not tackle that Tammany Hall rube institute known as The Federation Bank & Trust Co., of which Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor is a prominent Director and closes his eyes to the fact, that all the clerks, I am one, are non-union.

We belonged to the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' "Union," before this much advertised so-called labor bank collapsed. But since we have been re-opened with a Tammany Hall lawyer as the president, and a Mr. Shanahan as the whip over the office staff, conditions have become unbearable and we have no union.

Salaries are abominably low, hours long and tedious. No justice or fair play given us workers. No overtime, no extras and this institute has the backing of organized labor.

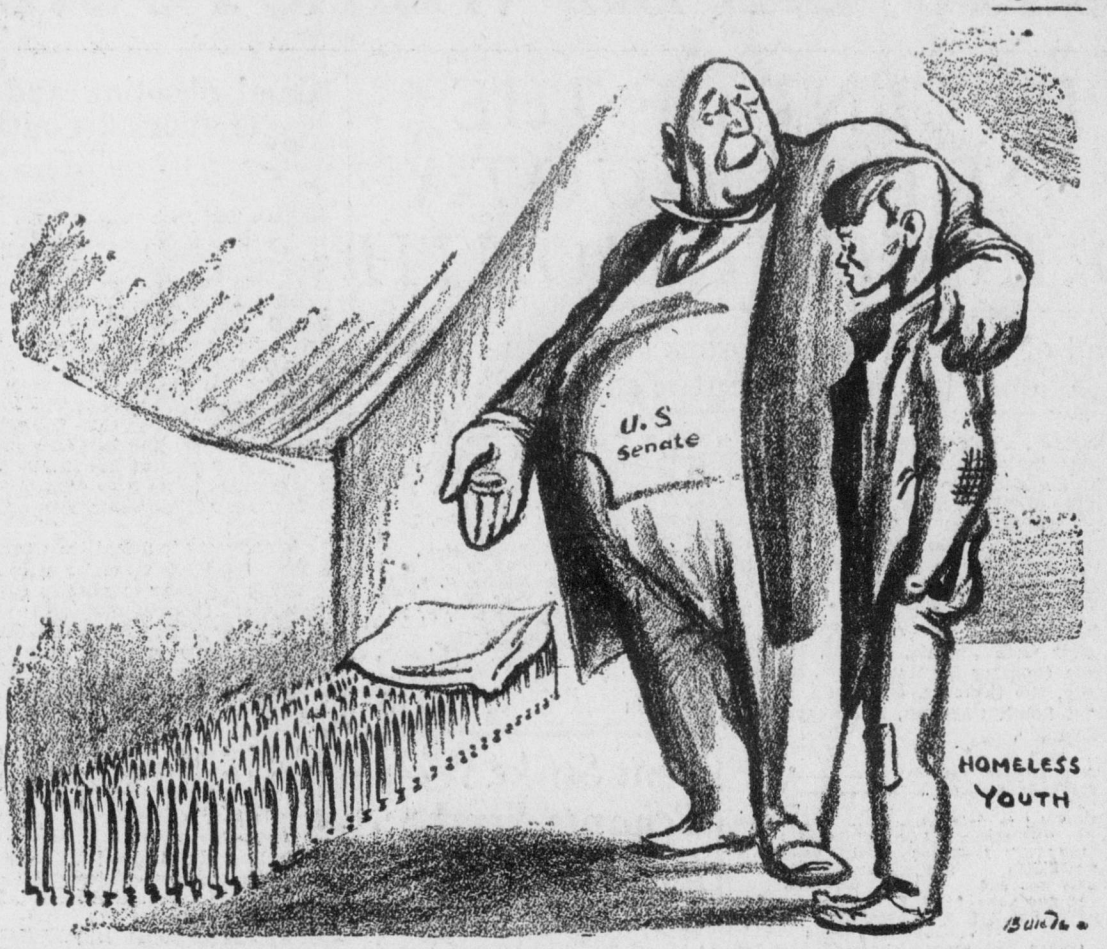
Here is another chance for the Office Workers Union to get busy and organize us.

Sorry I dare not sign my name, I would be immediately discharged and blacklisted in every bank.—G.

READER WANTS STILL MORE SELF-CRITICISM

New York, N. Y. Editor of Daily Worker:—Dear Comrade: Why doesn't the "Daily" use more Bolshevik self-criticism in its articles. This seems to be forgotten. All articles seem to deal with successful demonstrations and mobilizations. I have never seen a headline reading "Fickett line around X shop fails to materialize," or during this summer when the Y. C. L. and Party in the Bronx were mobilized for picket duty at Bronxdale pool only a few showed up, why wasn't there a headline reading: "Communists fail to show their solidarity with Negro young workers." For the above the "Daily" should have written the facts, the reason for failure of a successful mobilization and the correct method to be carried out in making successful demonstrations. Why not have a few articles on the front page criticizing severely and sharply until it cuts to the bone, attacking some speakers who do not show up to meetings on time? Comradely.—B.F.

"HERE, MY SON, A NICE SOFT BED OF BAYONETS FOR YOU TO LIE IN!" By Burck



International Notes

By ROBERT HAMILTON

JUSTICE IN BRITAIN. "Neither defendant is charged before me with any offence, nor is it necessary to prove that they have been guilty of any offence. I have merely got to say whether or not there has been proved a condition of things which makes it reasonably probable that the defendants in this case may be guilty of conduct which is calculated to provoke a breach of the peace and will in all probability do so."

This was the statement of the magistrate (Sir Charles Biron) in sentencing Tom Mann, 76-year old British Communist leader, and Emrhys Llewellyn, leader of the unemployed movement, to prison under the provisions of a 700-year old law dating from the reign of Edward III. "Reasonably probable... may be guilty... calculated to provoke... will in all probability do so."

SPLENDID TRADE UNION WORK IN GERMANY.

The revolutionary opposition won a brilliant victory in the Wittgenberg local of the German Municipal Workers' Union. In this historic town, birthplace of the Reformation begun by Martin Luther, the Communists elected the entire slate of union officers.

The whole executive committee of the Duisburg local of the Carpenters' Union is now Communist. After successful conclusion of the strike in the Neumann Textile Mills in Rummelsburg, 52 new members joined the Red Trade Union Opposition.

204 STRIKES IN GERMANY IN DECEMBER 1932.

Strikes can be waged and won even in a depression, as is shown by the statistical summary of labor disputes for December 1932 in Germany. Strikes were declared in 204 factories, 62 of which were wholly successful, 9 ended with a partial victory, while only 15 were lost. Of the remainder 114 are still on with the outcome unknown, and 4 were short protest strikes. This shows that strikes won were more than four times the number lost. STRIKES CAN BE WAGED AND WON IN A CRISIS!

GERMAN SOCIALISTS VOTE FOR MONARCHIST.

City elections were recently held in many Central German cities. In the ensuing election of city councils officers such as president and vice-president the Socialists (who had a majority together with the Communists in many cities, with the Communists the larger group of the two) made a pact with the Steel Helmet and Nationalist councilmen, voting for their candidates rather than having Communist town officials. This was done in Marseburg, Hohenmosen, Teuchern, and Bitterfeld.

COMMUNIST VICTORY IN BIG SHIPYARD.

The Communists won a striking victory in the ship council elections just held in the biggest shipyard in Hamburg, Bionh and Voss, the builders of the Majestic and the new liner Europa. The unity slate polled 995 votes, gaining 7 delegates, the reformists got 775 votes and 5 delegates, while the combined Steel Helmet and Nazi slate polled 164 votes and seated only one delegate. Two years ago, in 1931, the reformists topped the poll with 9 delegates to 8 for the red opposition. Today the Communists have a clear majority in the shop council.

THE UNITED FRONT OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS. Hitler is Chancellor of Germany—the German Socialist Party cries to high heaven for a "united front" of all working class parties to combat Hitler. Of course, their kind

ON THE WORK OF THE "YOUNG PIONEERS"

Philadelphia, Pa.

Editor of Daily Worker, Dear Comrade:—

At a recent meeting of the Young Pioneers of America, I noticed the following mistakes that can easily be corrected:

- 1.—Agenda too complicated for children.
- 2.—Inefficient troop leader.

What do I mean by a "too complicated agenda." First it seems to me that few of us realize that children are children and not merely adults in miniature. If this were true there would be no need of a special children's organization.

SOVIET PROLETARIAT FOR THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS

Telegraph-Union, a capitalist owned news agency, reports that in several factories in the Soviet Union, including Moscow and Leningrad, meetings were held to discuss the police murder of nine workers in Dresden, resolutions were adopted pledging unwavering solidarity with the German working class and its leader, the Communist Party of Germany, and protesting against the Dresden bath of blood.

This by way of answer to the renegades who claim that the Soviet Union's proletariat is no longer interested in the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries.

HALLE, Germany, Jan. 23 (by mail).—Heinze, Communist alder-

man, was elected President of the Board of Aldermen of the town of Muecheln at the recent meeting of the Board. All the other officers elected are also Communists.

More of the same! The Socialist Chief of Police of Hamburg, Schoenfelder, prohibited the Communist Party demonstration against the Hitler-Papen dictatorship planned for February 1st. This is the way the Socialist leaders are fighting Hitler!

The few Socialist government officials not yet thrown out by Papen are licking the government's boots to keep their jobs. Socialists again in the role of reaction's lackeys.

NAZIS

The Berlin "Vorwaerts" is very much annoyed at the unceasing admission of a German Steel Helmet leader that the organization of "voluntary labor service" involves a united front from the socialists to the Hitlerites including all the bourgeois parties.

HAMMER AND SICKLE FLYING OVER GERMAN TOWN

HALLE, Jan. 24.—The town council of Oldisleben, a small town near Heildrungen, elected two members of the Communist Party as chairman and vice-chairman of the Council. Almost all the committee posts are also held by Communists. A number of motions were adopted by the council to the effect that: 1.—The police is excluded from sessions of the town council. 2.—A red flag with hammer and sickle is to fly from the town hall. 3.—Steps are to be taken to ensure the supply of wood and bread and reduction in the water tax for unemployed on public relief. 4.—The council immediately demands of the state government that the slaughtering tax be abolished.

BREAK-UP OF HITLERITE STORM TROOPERS. The inner demoralization of Hitler's storm troop detachments on the very eve of Hitler's accession to the

ESCAPE from the GALLOWS

By FELIX KOHN

The appointment of the "sergeant" was no less important than the appointment of the "captain." While the "captain" had to deal only with the prison officials, the "sergeant" had to handle the "privates" under his command, and the soldiers on duty. It was his duty to see that all the formalities were observed. In this respect the role of the captain was much easier, as he had to deal with the prison Warden, whose rank was lower than his, whereas the men in the convoy who came to take the prisoners away rank no higher than the guards and sentinels. Furthermore, the "captain" would not have anything to do with the prisoners, but the convoy would, and they would have to treat them in the same way as they would be treated by real guards. All this the "sergeant" had to see to.

Both "Anna" and I knew a man suited for this job. It was Comrade "Marcel."

He was a cool-headed, staunch, steady, resourceful man, a class-conscious revolutionary Marxist who had proved his level-headedness many a time in moments of danger. He was quite suitable for this responsible part so fraught with danger to himself and the others.

SUMMONED by us, he listened without interruption to all we had to say, then made some pertinent enquiries about everything that did not seem to him quite clear in our plan. Then, without any further preamble, he assented with a simple "All right."

The very same day, we discussed with him whom to select as convoy men, sent for them and arranged everything. The attitude of the workers was typically proletarian.

"There's rescue work to be done. All right, of course you can depend on me."

Only "Baldy," ever bubbling over with enthusiasm, declared before he left: "One thing is understood, however, comrades. After we kidnap them, I, in going with them inside

over the city. Both on our way and in "Anna's" flat, we checked in detail what had already been done, and what still remained to be done, and worked out in detail the order in which the kidnapping of the prisoners was to be performed.

Our passport bureau was already working on the document that was to give the full names of all prisoners, and was to bear the signature of the Chief of Police. We were to get it the next day. The only thing that held it up was the file number and the date of dispatch, which had to be written with the same ink and in the same handwriting as the signature of the Chief of Police. The military about the document file numbers had already been made at the prison and no delay was expected on this score. The document was to be delivered by "Von Bubberg," while I was to call up the warden, as already mentioned. Upon receipt of such an order from the Chief of Police, the warden would hardly think of verifying its authenticity, as the telephone message was to inform him that a written order was to be handed to him personally by a gendarme captain.

All this was finally settled. The uniforms and the arms were ordered and were to be delivered the following day to the same flat from which our detachment of "policemen" were to march to the prison.

POLICEMEN FOR CONVOY We preferred to have policemen instead of soldiers for the convoy for the following reasons. Policemen were not expected to show real military snap and a police uniform was much easier to make. We knew of several cases where prisoners sentenced to death were conveyed by policemen from the prison to the Citadel, because the gendarmes were overworked trying to rope in more human material for the gallows. The fact that our men would find it easier to impersonate policemen than gendarmes also influenced our decision.

The question of suitable quarters was also another hard nut to crack. The attention of all the inhabitants, not only of the adjacent flats, but of the fact that district would certainly be drawn to any

flat from which ten policemen in charge of a gendarme would rally forth. Notwithstanding the frequency of searches and arrests then being made in every quarter of the town, they still created a certain sensation on the spot, which would have been extremely dangerous both for ourselves and for our cause. For even if the authorities should take care to conceal from the population of Warsaw the disappearance of ten prisoners sentenced to death, it would be impossible to hush up the exploit for any length of time, and as soon as the news of their having been kidnapped by revolutionaries posing as policemen has become known, it would be an easy matter to put two and two together and to connect these affairs with the ten policemen previously seen leaving the prison.

In this flat, the secret police would be given a clue sufficiently strong to permit them to replace the rescued ten by ten other comrades who would be offered up to the insatiable Moloch—police and military terrorism.

THEREFORE the question of the flat now began to loom big, though we never thought of it in the beginning; the success of this most hazardous undertaking largely depended upon its correct solution.

We succeeded in solving this difficult problem, thanks to the very measures of public safety adopted by the police in connection with the prevailing martial law. These measures unexpectedly came to our rescue. The authorities ordered all houses with exits leading to two different streets to close one and allow only one gate to be used day or night.

"We must get a flat in one of those houses with two exits" was "Anna's" prompt suggestion.

I did not immediately catch on to what she had in her mind.

"We will let them out through the gate that is supposed to remain locked. We can have a key made to our hearts' content, and then we can take right away."

"She knew of such a flat on the first floor somewhere on Jerusalem Street. The entrance was close by the gate."

"And what about the house-owners?"

"They are on our side, quite reliable people. I will attend to it early tomorrow morning, and I will bring a locksmith with me."

(TO BE CONTINUED)



"I witnessed a drill parade that no doubt was unique."

the van, want to be the first to tell them that we are setting them free."

Everybody laughed at his boyishness, but his proposal received the approval of the rest.

WE rushed the preparations day and night. We almost became obsessed with it as the plan progressed.

I communicated with our military organization, which immediately sent an officer-instructor, who was to train the captain and the future convoy men in the shortest time. They were to be taught everything necessary in the military line, and this instructor was to go over the uniforms carefully and attend to all the small details in connection with their duty. We knew of many cases of failure that could be attributed to a minor irregularity in the uniform, and therefore we used every precaution to be on the safe side.

I gave the instructor a pass to a flat where all his pupils were to meet. The same evening I went there to see whether everything was in order and how everything was getting on. I witnessed a drill parade that no doubt was unique.

DRILL PARADE

The instructor and all the men assigned for instruction had all taken their shoes off—some of them were even barefoot—so as not to make a noise as they executed right-turn and left-turn, marched in single file, fell in line, formed squads, etc. Deep silence reigned in the dimly lit room, broken only now and then by half-whispered words of command.

My appearance interrupted the drill for several minutes. The instructor was so carried away by his role, that he commanded: "Attention!" when apprised of my presence.

But he immediately came back to earth and amidst the general laughter of the men, corrected himself:

"No, no! Stand at ease!"

"Anna," too, was impatient to learn how they were getting on, and she called in. The officer reassured us:

"They are picking it up wonderfully. I am perfectly amazed."

So this phase of the matter seemed to be all right.

WE went away. I took "Anna's" arm, and we directed our steps to her flat, looking in no way different from scores of loving couples that we met on our way home. We aroused no suspicion among the soldiers, police and gendarme detachments which were scattered all