



NEW YORK MASSES RALLY FOR SOUTHERN WORKERS

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

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

The Bessemer City conference of the National Textile Workers Union held on July 28, the sweeping support aroused for the coming Charlotte conference to be held Oct. 12, 13, the increasing determination of the masses of mill workers to fight the oppression of the mill bosses and their government, the growing popularity of the demands for the abolition of the stretch-out, for the 8-hour day, 100 per cent union organization, strike straight at the most intensive robbery of the masses, and because rationalization is both a cause of and preparation for a new imperialist war, the working class can advance, can increase and consolidate its power only by bitter struggle.

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

Our Party meets now a counter-offensive organized by a capitalist class that has suffered a defeat before the eyes of millions of workers here and throughout the world. We must and will answer the counter-offensive with a new offensive. We must popularize the strike struggle as a weapon for use in fighting for the political demands of the masses as well as for the economic demands. Coming strike struggles must raise political demands in direct connection with the issues in the mills and factories. The coming Charlotte Conference must put forward a broad political program of demands as well as those dealing with the textile industry. The Trade Union Unity League Convention to be held in Charlotte will likewise serve as an effective instrument in raising the political level of the whole struggle in the South.

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

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

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

The political victory is ours. Not all the black hundreds of the mill owners, not all the hundreds of columns of lies in the press of imperialism will ever be able to mend these rents or to dislodge our Party from the place it has gained in the ranks of the Southern working class. Build our Party in the South. Build our press in the South. Build mill committees in every mill. Build the National Textile Workers Union shop committees throughout basic industry. Build Workers Defense Committees. Disarm the Black Hundreds. Fight for the right to workers' self-defense—for the right to strike, to organize. Maintain the rights of free speech and free assemblage. Smash the murder campaign against militant workers. Prepare strike struggles as political weapons.

BOLSHEVIK CONDUCT TOWARD RENEGADES
A Bolshevik can under no circumstances permit personal friendships to interfere with his revolutionary tasks in behalf of the working class. The struggle of the working class is not based upon individual friendships but upon the irreconcilable fight of class against class. This question of the persistence of personal friendships and associations is of particular importance for our Party today when, in the sharpened class conflict, unstable elements develop an opportunist line against the Communist Party line and go over to the camp of the enemy as outright renegades. Only a few days ago the Party had a lesson on this question of personal friendships, when a Party member signed a document that was afterwards used for a most vicious campaign of slander against the Party.

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

Loyal Party members should reject with scorn any attempt of a renegade to enter into any sort of political relations with him. Such an attempt is an insult because it shows that the renegades question in their own minds the Party loyalty of those whom they approach. When one becomes a renegade, and hence an enemy of the working class, he becomes at the same time the personal enemy of every Communist. No fraternization with the Lovestoneites or any other renegades! Only a relentless, unyielding struggle against the right wing renegades and enemies of the working class.

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attempt of the mill barons to prevent the organization of these miserably exploited textile slaves. We must give our wholehearted support in the mass collection days."

W. Z. Foster, W. W. Weinstein, J. Stachel, R. Minor, and other well known working class leaders will man the New York mass Gastonia

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

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

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

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

Mill Fascists Break Into Union Organizer's Home

He Escapes Unhurt

Patrol Street Hunting Unionists

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

At the meeting last night, Hugo Oehler, southern organizer of the

VIENNA EXPECTS FASCIST ATTACK

Socialists Betraying; Communists Fight

English press correspondents in Vienna report that the population of the city is rapidly realizing that the danger of a Heimewehr (fascist) seizure of power is very great.

The demand published by the Heimewehr leaders yesterday states "the time is short" during which they can be mobilized by changes in the Austrian national constitution they have suggested. They refer in threatening terms to four marches upon Vienna, from four different strategic points about the city; this attack to take place Sept. 29.

There is no doubt that the Heimewehr means business, that Monsignor Seipel, for long the clerical premier, theoretically opposed to fascism, is now that he is out of office and is a leader of Heimewehr, showing his true colors, and means as his proclamation says: "To make a clean sweep and hand the rudder of state into new hands."

Communist Call Action. The attitude of the Communist Party is clear. It calls on the workers to trust no one but themselves, to follow the lead of their Communist Party, and fight. The need is not only to smash the fascist movement, but to put a workers' government in the place of the present national council, which is obviously playing into the hands of the Heimewehr by officially considering the transformation of the constitution into a fascist form, and by proposing through its press to move the council sessions to Graz, a fascist stronghold.

Full Freiheit Chorus of 350 Voices at Celebration Friday

10th Anniversary Rally Will Demonstrate N.Y. Workers Support of Party, Says Grecht

Central Opera House will resound with revolutionary songs of struggle and achievement on Friday night, September 27, when the full chorus of the Freiheit Singing Society, 350 voices, will join in the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Communist Party arranged by the New York District. The participation of this workers' chorus, known throughout the country wherever militants gather, will contribute towards making the anniversary rally a memorable event in the life of New York workers.

Already news of the celebration,

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

Wells, Dunne, Melvin Denounce Capitalist Press Slanders That There Are Workers in Murder Lynch Gangs; Bosses and Thugs

Weinstone, Poyntz, Hall, Wagenknecht, Communist Candidates in Municipal Election, Score Bosses' and Government Terror

"The organized, disciplined fascist army in North Carolina, led against the National Textile Workers' Union by state and county officials as well as the mill bosses, led particularly by Major Dolley of the state militia, Solicitor Carpenter of Gastonia and Major Bulwinkle, Manville-Jenckes attorney—leaders in the attempt to electrocute the 16 workers going on trial again in Charlotte—is running into a political defeat," stated Ben Wells, organizer of the National Textile Workers' Union.

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

WORKERS UNDERSTOOD.

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

T. U. U. L. MEET THIS AFTERNOON

To Take Up Problems of Local Movement

The Metropolitan Area Trade Union Unity Conference will be held at 1 p. m. today at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th St.

William F. Dunne, editor of Labor Unity, who arrived yesterday from Gastonia, N. C., will report on the struggle of the Southern textile workers, also the tasks of the Workers' International Relief, and the International Labor Defense.

H. Sazer, chairman of the New York Delegation to the Cleveland Trade Union Unity Conference will report on the work of the conference and its application to activities in the metropolitan area. John Schmies assistant secretary, T. U. U. L., will report on the program and constitution adopted at the Cleveland meet, while Otto Hall will take up the tasks of the Negro workers.

Report on Women. Other reports will be by Rose Wortis on the women's work and Harry Yaris on the problems of the youth.

The conference will act on the question of the organization of local industrial groups of the T. U. U. L.; organization of the Workers' Defense Corps and plans for the reception of the Soviet Fliers.

The reports will be followed by a general discussion by the delegates.

Workers Ready.

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

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

Jim Reid, president of the National Textile Workers Union was chairman at the main meeting at Central Opera House last night. In the center of the stage, before at least 3,000 workers crowding all floor space and in the galleries,

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NATION-WIDE FASCIST CLIQUE.

Sheriff Limeberger swore in as deputies the worst kind of thugs, mill owners, superintendents, along with the "Patriotic Sons of America," members of the enlarged "Committee of 100." The "Patriotic Sons" is a nation-wide black hundred and labor-hating group, at the service of employers. They were armed with rifles to shoot down any worker or organizer that might present himself at the meeting place.

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

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

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

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Double your efforts and double the funds to meet the tremendous increases in expenses caused by the mistrial!

Support the mass collection days, Sept. 21 and 22!

ANSWER BARRY'S LIES WITH AID

Mass Collections Held Tomorrow and Sunday

Gastonia County is a Garden of Eden. The death of Ella May Wiggins is whitewashed; the nightly lynch-rides of the black hundreds and their union victims are "patriotic acts against Moscow"; the stretch-out system is O. K.; the workers in Loray Mill are "happy, healthy and contented."

So Robert Barry, correspondent for the New York Evening World writes, with a lying, blind pen, presenting all the hypocrisy, the bloody, false attitude of the mill-owners in pretty phrases.

He is deceiving nobody. The workers in the textile mills know their lot is not the industrial heaven that the capitalist press writes of.

They know what twelve hours of stretch-out means, they know what it means to be terrorized, with gangsters whirring by in their bosses' automobiles to murder workers in order to smash the National Textile Workers Union.

Robert Barry writes of Major Bulwinkle with respect, Major Bulwinkle, bloody instigator of mobs to kill men—Major Bulwinkle, recognized by Ben Wells, who was almost flogged to death, as leader of the mill owners' posse.

How can Barry reconcile the fact that North Carolina had an increase of 50 per cent in pellagra the past year, with the statement he makes that the workers appear well-fed and happy?

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

While the storm of international protest mounts against the terror at Gastonia, with millions of workers in Germany, Latin America, Mexico, England and Russia sending cables of solidarity to the Gastonia defendants, whose trial begins in Charlotte, September 30, workers jurors went mad. The postponement means added expense to the defense of tens of thousands of dollars to pay lawyers, house defense witnesses, legal expenses, publicity, etc. Unless thousands of dollars are raised for greater and more intensive defense work, the sixteen workers stand in danger of death, either by the electric chair or by lynching. The Food Clerks Industrial Union, local 17, of the Amalgamated Food workers has issued the following statement to its members: "We must recall our own struggle against our boss chain store owners for the organization of our union that we too we subject to brutal police violence, the violence of the gangsters employed by the "socialist" trade union bureaucracy and the United Hebrew Trades to express our complete solidarity with the Gastonia strikers fighting against brutal fascist terror, the murder of strike leaders, kidnapping and the attempt of the mill barons to prevent the organization of these miserably exploited textile slaves. We must give our wholehearted support in the mass collection days."

WELLS TELLS OF GASTON TERROR AT BIG MEET

Workers Defy It; Will Build Their Union

(Continued from Page One)

standing in the aisles, was a large rayon portrait by Fred Ellis of Ella May Wiggins, slain by gunmen of the mill bosses.

The first two to appear on the platform, before the meeting started but after the hall was filled, were Wells and Sophie Melvin, the crowd leaped to its feet, sang the international and the Solidarity.

A telegram was read from the 13 in the county jail in Charlotte, waiting trial before the bosses' courts of North Carolina, with the electric chair being prepared for them. The message greeted the New York workers, and ended: "We are in the fight until complete victory and the emancipation of the whole working class."

A resolution roundly denouncing the mill bosses' terror in the South, from the militia bayoneting, tent colony raids, lynch mobs to the legal process in the Charlotte courts, was read and adopted unanimously. The audience pledged themselves to work ceaselessly and carry the message to their fellow workers, to build a gigantic drive for relief and defense funds, and to defend the right of self-defense for the southern mill strikers.

A wire stating what action was taken was sent to the worker prisoners in the South.

Among the speakers were, in addition to William F. Dunne, Wells and Melvin, Communist candidates in the New York Municipal elections: William W. Weinstein, running for Mayor; Otto Hall, Negro worker, for controller, and Juliette Stuart Poyntz, for president of Bx. Alfred Wagenknecht, director of the Joint Workers International Relief and International Labor Defense drive was a speaker.

"Because the mill owners and their agents," William F. Dunne, Southern representative of the Communist Party stated, "were exposed at the trial in Charlotte as those who are attempting to murder the 13 defendants in the Gastonia trial, the mill owners have started a campaign of terror against the National Textile Workers Union and the Communist Party."

"The union and the Communist Party are playing a dominant role in leading the textile workers against the black hundreds, who are attempting to intimidate the workers. The mill owners press its publishing column after column of lies in which they state that the mill workers are not supporting the union campaign."

"Negro and White Join. This is not true, as the workers, Negro and white, are rallying to the banner of the union. The Negro workers have never before seen anything like it and are supporting wholeheartedly the campaign of the union and Communist Party."

"No workers are to be found in the gangs that have been attacking the union organizers. These black hundreds consist of high salaries mill officials, doctors, lawyers and foremen."

Weinstein said: "The new attack upon the headquarters of the National Textile Workers' Union, and the marked violence of the mill owners and their thugs and paid agents against the workers in Gastonia, indicates that the textile workers are confronted with fascist violence such as has been unheard of before in the history of labor struggles. The capitalist class is resorting to fascist violence as the only means with which to break down the growing resistance of the working class to the enslaving plans of the boss class of the South."

"The arrest of more than a hundred workers in the last few days in New York City, the forceful breaking up of Communist meetings

Red Guard Coupons for Daily Freiheit Bazaar Going Fast

Workers Urged to Wait for Haircut Until Affair Opens; Barber Shop Novel Feature

While the booths with the greatest selection of clothing, hats, shirts, furniture, dresses, food stuffs, etc., are being prepared for the enormous Bazaar of the Daily Worker and Morning Freiheit at Madison Square Garden, Red Guard Coupons are being intensively sold throughout the country. The workers are readily buying these coupons and thus demonstrating that they are ready to defend the two militant Communist papers against all attacks of their enemies.

All over the United States workers are joining the ranks of the "Red Press Guards" and are taking books of coupons into their shops. Every militant worker must make sure to enroll and to enroll his fellow workers in the shop or in the organization.

Greetings from trade unions, fraternal organizations and individual comrades are coming in steadily, and the Bazaar Journal, which has been an important feature every year, from present indications will this year again be "talk of the crowd." Organizations that have not yet sent in their greetings must hasten to send them in by the end of next week.

The novel feature of the bazaar—the barber shop—is being organized jointly by the workers of the Workers Center and Bronx Coop. Colony barber shops. Wait with your hair cut, and see how the barbers cut hair for the Daily Worker and Freiheit.

by the police in Brownsville and Harlem are indicative of the same brutality and fascist terror. From the capitalist state the workers can expect nothing but violence and murder. If they are to continue their struggles, to develop their fighting front and win in the struggle against rationalization, speed-up, low wages, long hours, and the fight against the danger of a new imperialist war, the workers must defend themselves and their organizations. They must form a broad united front drawing in workers of all shops and establishing their own Workers Defense Committees.

"The struggle in Gastonia has entered into a highly political phase. The workers of Gastonia, the workers of New York, the workers of the entire country, in order to win their fights for better economic conditions and to throw off the heavy burdens which capitalism is imposing upon them, must fight the capitalist government, against the capitalist political parties, the democratic, republican and socialist, L. bureaucrats and the social fascists that the agents of the employers, and rally behind the Communist Party that is the valiant champion of the interests of the working class."

Mass action, the organization of the workers of the factories in tens and hundreds of thousands will be the force that will free the Gastonia victims. Fight against the Walker, La Guardia and Thomases, agents of the capitalist government! Support the Communist Party and its candidates in the coming election campaign as the only Party of the working class.

Sophie Melvin, when she rose to speak, was hailed by another tremendous outburst of applause, the audience then singing the International. She told of the burial of Ella May Wiggins, murdered by the stool pigeons and gunmen of the Manville-Jenckes and other mill bosses, and of the release on low bonds of the murderers, such of them as were arrested at all.

Otto Hall, Negro organizer, pointed out that the race question, important in the South, is a bosses' trick, an artificial problem raised by the employers, for the sole purpose of keeping the workers divided and unable to properly make their demands and their power felt by the master class.

garian workers against the Hungarian fascist government, also for the defense of the Gastonia textile workers.

Hungarian Workers to Hold Meet Today

A mass meeting today at one o'clock at 108 E. 14th St., under the auspices of the Hungarian Bureau, Communist Party, will protest the anti-Soviet campaign of the Hungarian-American fascists.

In a statement issued yesterday the Bureau points out that the Hungarian capitalist press is trying to incite the workers in favor of war against the Soviet Union. It is claiming that there are 10,000 Hungarian war prisoners in the Soviet Union, a lie invented by the Horthy government.

Freiheit Chorus of 350 Voices at Friday Rally

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erment, as part of the general capitalist offensive against the workers and their militant leadership throughout the country. Tammany strikebreaking police, with their republican cohorts and socialist supporters, united in the fascist attacks upon the only Party which fights the battles of the workers against the capitalist class, are making every attempt to prevent the message of the Communist Party from being heard by the workers of New York.

"Campaign meetings have been broken up in every section of the city, accompanied by the most brutal clubbings and arrests. Communists are barred from street corners at which workers congregate, and from so-called "restricted" territory, as on Seventh and Lenox Aves. in the Negro section of Harlem—restricted only to Communists, because they are becoming recognized by the Negro masses as the only champion of their interests. These acts of terror are directed against the Communist Party because of its growing influence among the working class, because the capitalist class finds it necessary to attempt to crush this firm leader of working class battles in order to carry on unimpeded its imperialist war preparations and achieve its speed-up, wage-slashing, union-smashing rationalization schemes."

"The Communist Party, however, as it enters the second decade of its existence, is undaunted by the fascist attacks of the enemies of the workers, and under its leadership the masses of toilers will be mobilized to organize their resistance and carry on a relentless struggle against the capitalist class and all its agents."

"The Tenth Anniversary celebration and election campaign rally at Central Opera House next Friday will prove a stirring demonstration of the support of the workers of New York for the Communist program and Communist leadership."

garian workers against the Hungarian fascist government, also for the defense of the Gastonia textile workers.

Hungarian Workers to Hold Meet Today

A mass meeting today at one o'clock at 108 E. 14th St., under the auspices of the Hungarian Bureau, Communist Party, will protest the anti-Soviet campaign of the Hungarian-American fascists.

In a statement issued yesterday the Bureau points out that the Hungarian capitalist press is trying to incite the workers in favor of war against the Soviet Union. It is claiming that there are 10,000 Hungarian war prisoners in the Soviet Union, a lie invented by the Horthy government.

The meeting will mobilize Hun-

HOLD BIG RALLY IN CHARLOTTE N. C. LAST NIGHT

Etley Rich Escapes Fascists

(Continued from Page One)

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

Mill Gives Address

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

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

Fascists On Job

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

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

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

George Maurer arrived here yesterday to take charge of the organizational work of the I. L. D. in the Southern field. The Defense plans to extend its organizational work throughout the South and to include a greater number of industries. The workers here look to the Labor Defense as the shield of the workers from the present terrorism and constant legal persecution, and are eager to join the organization.

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

Fraternal Organizations

Spartacus Film League.
The Spartacus Film League, an amateur, working class motion picture organization, has begun work on a Negro documentary film which will depict the life of the Negro worker in New York. The League is open for membership to all interested in this work. For information write J. Grimm, 26 Park Ave., New York.

Bronx Park Lecture.
Dr. Lieber will open the kindergarten with a lecture on "Parents and Children" in the auditorium of the Bronx Workers Colony, 2700 Bronx Park East, on Saturday, Sept. 21, at 8:30 p. m.

Brighton Beach Party, Shower.
Council 17 of the U.C.W.W. will give a party and shower for the benefit of the Freiheit-Daily Worker Bazaar, Sept. 22, 8:30 p. m., at 227 Brighton Beach Ave. Admission free.

Japanese Workers' Picnic.
The Japanese Workers' Association will give a picnic this Sunday, Sept. 22, at Pelham Bay Park, beginning at 10 a. m. Games, prizes, entertainment, refreshments, etc. Admission free. Meet at 125th St., Lexington Ave. subway to 125th St.; then change to surface car for Pelham Bay Park.

Attention, City Clubs, Inc.
A special conference of all City Clubs, Inc. executive committees will be held at 108 E. 14th St. on Monday, Sept. 23, 7:30 p. m. Important matters are to be taken up.

Harlem Youth Dance.
The Harlem Progressive Youth Club will give a dance on Tuesday evening, Sept. 21. Good jazz band.

Bronx Election Campaign Rally.
An election campaign rally will be held at Longwood and Prospect Aves., the Bronx, on Tuesday, Sept. 24, at 8 p. m. under the auspices of the U.C.W.W.

Latin-American Electoral Ball.
The Spanish Bureau is arranging an election campaign rally and ball for Saturday, Sept. 28, 8:30 p. m., at the Harlem Casino, 116th St. and Lenox Ave. Latin-American dances and songs. Negro jazz band. Leading Communist Party candidates will speak. Admission 75 cents.

All Sections and Units, Note.
The District Agitprop instructs all sections and units to make sure that the five comrades chosen by each section and the three comrades chosen by each unit for special training in the course for Party functionaries at the Workers School are registered during the current week. All members admitted to the Party since April 1, 1929, are required to register for the class in "Fundamentals of Communism." All prospective students of the Workers School are urged to sign up without delay, as registration closes on Sept. 28.

10th Anniversary, Boro Park.
Section 7 will celebrate the 10th anniversary of the C. P. U. S. A., and ratify the Communist candidates of the section at a meeting on Saturday, Sept. 21, 8 p. m., at 48 Bay 23rd St. Musical program, including an opera singer, pianist and violinist; fine entertainment. All members and sympathizers urged to attend. Admission 35 cents.

Unit 2, Section 4.
The regular Tuesday meeting having been called to sign up without delay, the section membership meet, Unit 2, Section 4, will meet Monday, Sept. 23.

the U. C. W. W. Prominent women speakers, including Communist Party candidates, will speak on the Gastonia situation, etc. All councils must have an active committee on hand.

Bronx Gastonia Defense Meet.
All workers' organizations are urged to elect delegates to the Gastonia Defense Conference called by the Bronx I. L. D. and W. I. R. for the evening of Wednesday, Sept. 25, at 1700 Western Road.

Bath Beach Collection Station.
The Bath Beach headquarters for Gastonia Defense boxes, 43 Bay 23rd St., will be open Saturday and Sunday.

Bronx Palestine Lecture.
A lecture on the Arabian uprising in Palestine will be given Wednesday, Sept. 25, 8:30 p. m., at 1721 Weeks Ave., Bronx, under the auspices of Council 24, U. C. W. W.

Williamsburgh Palestine Lecture.
Under the auspices of Williamsburgh Council 4, W. I. R., a lecture on the Arabian uprising in Palestine will be given at 56 Manhattan Ave., Brooklyn, on Tuesday, Sept. 24, at 8:30 p. m.

Section 4, I. L. D. Directors.
All unit I. L. D. directors of Section 4 are instructed to report at 142 E. 103rd St. at 8 sharp tonight for the purpose of reorganizing the I. L. D. work of the section.

German I. L. D. Picnic.
The German I. L. D. Branch 43 will give its picnic, postponed from Sept. 15, tomorrow at Edenwald. Food, drink, entertainment assure everyone a good time. Proceeds go to the Gastonia defense. Directions: Take Boston and Westchester car from 123rd or 130th St. to 125th St., then follow signs to picnic grounds.

Italian Workers Dance.
The Italian Workers Educational Club of Harlem will give an entertainment and dance tonight, at 8 o'clock, at its club rooms, 214 E. 104th St. Big surprise in store.

Communist Activities

As an added attraction to the All-Russian program, "Living Russia or the Man with the Camera" and "When Moscow Laughs" which is being held over for a second week commencing today, the Film Guild Cinema announces the first American presentation of "Jews on Russian Soil" comprising vivid views of agrarian Jews in the Ukraine and Caucasian regions.

On September 28 the Film Guild Cinema will present the American premiere of Knut Hamsun's world-famous novel "Growth of the Soil" filmed in the actual locale of Norway under the direct supervision of the author by an all-Scandinavian cast.

New Feature Added to Russian Program at Film Guild

As an added attraction to the All-Russian program, "Living Russia or the Man with the Camera" and "When Moscow Laughs" which is being held over for a second week commencing today, the Film Guild Cinema announces the first American presentation of "Jews on Russian Soil" comprising vivid views of agrarian Jews in the Ukraine and Caucasian regions.

General Membership Meet, N. Y. District, Communist Party, U.S.

A general membership meeting of the New York district is hereby called by the District Executive Committee, for Tuesday, Sept. 24, 7:30 p. m. at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St.

Capmakers Vote Tonite

The Capmakers Union will elect its new executive board tonight at 8 p. m. at 183 Second Ave. All militant cap workers are urged to be present and vote for the left wing candidates.

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WANT INGERSOLL AS SLAVE DRIVER IN NEEDLE TRADES

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

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

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

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

Metal Workers Meet to Discuss Problems of Industry Sept. 24

The Metal Workers League, organized at the Cleveland Trade Union Unity Convention, has issued a call to metal workers in New York City and vicinity to come to a mass meeting to be held at Irving Plaza Hall, 16th St. and Irving Place, Sept. 24, to discuss the general situation in the metal industry, the bosses' wage cutting and speed-up campaign and the lack of organization.

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- 20085 Workers Funeral March.....Singing
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- The Two Guitars.....(Acc. Solo-Guit) Magnante
- 18276 F The Star of Siberia, Mazur.....Orchestra Przybylski
- 12079 In the Trenches of Manchuria.....Waltz
- 12059 Cuckoo Waltz.....Columbia Quintette
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- 59048 F Wedding of the Winds—Waltz....Russian Novelty Orch.
- Danube Waves—Waltz.....Russian Novelty Orch.
- 70002 Ukrainian Wedding.....Ukrainian Humeniuk Orchestra
- Beautiful Ohio—Waltz with vocal refrain
- Eddie Thomas' Collegians
- 59039 F Love and Spring—Waltz.....International Concert Orch.
- 59048 F Beautiful Spring—Waltz.....Int'l. Concert Orch.
- Three O'Clock in the Morning—Waltz.....International Orch.
- My Isle of Golden Dreams—Waltz.....International Orch.
- 95045 F Dream of Autumn—Waltz.....International Concert Orch.
- 59038 F Gold and Silver—Waltz.....Fisher's Dance Orch.
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CGTU, French Militant Labor Center Congress Puts Down Reformists; Applauds RILU

CHIANG CENSORS DRIVE EVEN OWN PRESS TO WRATH

Worker Press Entirely Illegal in China

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

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

Win the Strike.

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

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

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

Exposed Graft.

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

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

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

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

Workers Disobey.

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

The warning to the employers is, of course, to preserve the appearance of neutrality of the government in industrial disputes. This order, applying to the largest and most important industrial district in China, taken together with the fact that in the two settlements strikes have always been illegal as has strike agitation, reveals to the world the real role of the Kuomintang and all its governmental organs as that of "running-dog" of the imperialists and suppressor of the masses, be they industrial workers or the peasants.

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

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

FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

On the Deviations and Mistakes of Comrade Bukharin

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Socialists' of Germany Fascist Valdemar Refuse Visas to USSR Cabinet Out; Another Worker - Esperantists Just As Bad In Place

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

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

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

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

The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes... This new Communist (Paris-Commune) breaks the modern state power.—Marx.

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MAJORITY FOR REVOLUTIONARY AFFILIATIONS

Minority Movement of Germany Welcomed

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

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

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

Reformist Minority.

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

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

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

The Fifth Congress of the C. G. T. U. is attended by 589 delegates.

AUSTRO FASCISTI DICKER FOR POWER

Fix Up Plans to Take Joint Control

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

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

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

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

Sandino's Wife Hurt in Automobile Crash

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

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

PARTY LIFE

A Further Chapter in the Degeneration of the Lovestonites

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

The following article deals with this phase of the case.

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

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

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

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

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

One-half hour after this private detective had been gotten rid of by a categorical rejection of the offer, the National Office was disturbed by a phone call from Morris Nemser. He informed the Central Committee that this was "the last call," and that, if the Central Committee should refuse immediate action, "they" would act. And "they" did act—by issuing a scurrilous document against the Party.

But that is not all.

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

September 13, 1929.

My Dear —:

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

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

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

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

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

Yours sincerely,

J. J. M.

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

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

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

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

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

We feel that further comment on this letter would be an insult to the intelligence of the Party membership.

This letter is the final link in the chain of evidence which points an accusing finger at Lovestone and his scoundrelly friends, fairly shouting: You are agents of the bourgeoisie who employ even the basest of tricks in an attempt to undermine the morale and to disrupt the forces of the working class and its organizations, and to play in the hands of their class enemies!

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

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

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

It states:

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

"1) Organize meetings of all shop committees, local unions, Local Industrial Leagues, Local General Leagues, etc., to hear full reports from the delegates in attendance at the Trade Union Unity Convention.

"2) At these meetings, active steps must be taken to secure application of the convention decisions and to put the League on a dues-paying membership basis everywhere. Membership books, dues stamps, and application cards will be furnished shortly by the T.U.U.L. National Office.

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

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

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

THE GASTONIA "INVESTIGATORS" BETWEEN INVESTIGATIONS.

By Fred Ellis



The Economic Struggle and the Tasks of the Communist Parties

THESES UPON THE REPORTS BY COMRADES THALMANN AND LOSOVKY

1. CHARACTER OF MODERN CLASS BATTLES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I SAW IT MYSELF HENRI BARBUSSE
Translated by Brian Rhys
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AND WE WERE CELEBRATING PEACE.

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

THE EMBRACE.

"GOOD afternoon."
"Good afternoon, Andreas."
"Come in."
"How strange your voice sounds."
"Come in."
"Very well. Andreas, where's Rita?"
"I don't know. Rita and I are no longer friends."
"What's this? You . . . she . . . the ideal couple, the loving pair, the delight of all eyes . . . ?"
"We no longer love each other."
"You don't mean . . . Tell me, Andreas, is she alive?"
"Oh, yes, she's alive."
"Well, then, tell me . . ."
"It's all through the prisons of Hungary."
"I knew that you had both been in prison. But you weren't there long."
"Not long! Six months. . . ."
"Were you beaten, or hurt . . . ? Why do you turn your head away, Andreas? Ah, I can guess; they disfigured her. Was that it?"
"No. It is not what you think."
"Come, tell me, I beg you."
"Well, in prison, there was a Captain des Pronay and he hated us so that he went mad when he saw us. 'You two,' he said, 'you're lovers, very well . . .'
"You shall be parted. . . ."
"On the contrary. He said, 'We'll have you bound together.'
"Yes, and then?"
"He bound us one to the other, fully dressed, tightly round the waist."
"And then?"

"THEN came days, and nights and days. Do you understand? No, you can't. First of all, we thought we were going to die together, and the clasp of the ropes was sweet to us, with our hearts beating and eyes glazing, each to each. But it was not for death, that we were bound, but for life."
"The more be thanked."
"No, the less."
"That's beyond me."
"Of course it is. Before this happened, I would have said the same. You can't understand what it was like. The moment you opened your eyes, or stopped twisting your neck to turn away a little, that face breathing in your face! There wasn't a hand's breadth between our two faces. At first it was wonderful, having these two pupils before my eyes, magnified as it were, with long throbbing lashes; that mouth, so close, that when I trembled, I bumped it with my own. But, in time, in time . . . then again . . ."
"Andreas, you're blushing."
"Yes, I am too ashamed to recall it. Two bodies clamped to each other, like that. . . ."
"You're hurting my shoulders, Andreas. Your fingers are like talons."
"That's so as you may begin to understand."
"But you moved, you walked about, tied together in this way!"
"Yes, but that's enough. I don't want to give any details."
"Of course, of course, but . . ."
"Enough! Days, nights, weeks, months!"
"But, Andreas, pity alone would . . ."
"Pity is driven out, like all that is sweet, by such things."
"But, Andreas, your companion was no thing . . ."

"THE counterweight, I tell you. We said (that was the first week): 'Never mind, then. I love you, my poor darling, I love you. Don't be afraid of me. We'll forget the past, and all the rest of it.'"
"Then both pity and love were swallowed up little by little in the certainty that we could not forget, in the horror of it all."
"But even so . . ."
"In the filth, in the smell."
"Enough from you, Andreas: no more!"
"And in the horrible satiety of one and the same eternal picture; the knocking together of two faces stamped upon each other—that face, like a hand!"
"At first, the twin monster that we made could not sleep. Our eyes, enlarged and strained, frightened sleep away. Then we slept. But there was the awakening."
"The ropes hurt me to the full extent of her weight, and that weight I gave back in equal measure. The exhaustion of the one was a drag, a load, a scourge on the exhaustion of the other. We struggled, resisted each other. But all that was a trifle. Above all, I repeat . . ."
"No, do not repeat it."
"But I will—above all that coarse contemplation of another body, that relentless communion with its outlines, its life—worse than a post mortem. The breathing, the pulsation, the hideous transparency of that soft-wheeled piece of mechanism which we call our body. The human body is a pitiful thing—more pitiful even than a prisoner's body. . . . You can only dimly see what I mean, just as my poor devil of a brother, who was religious, dimly visualized hell. You can make guesses, but you really know nothing about it at all."
(To be Continued)

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

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