

JUDGE SEEKS CLASS VENGEANCE IN GASTONIA TRIAL

Sedition Warrants for 27 Communist Leaders in Chicago in Attempt to Break Party

Dist. Organizer Hathaway And 4 Others Arrested; Released on \$3,000 Bail

Court Rules Communist Membership Sufficient Grounds for Charge of Sedition

Attempt to Illegalize Party; Bosses Fearing Propaganda Among Miners, Factory Workers

CHICAGO, Ill., Oct. 16.—Chicago courts are making a serious attempt to jail all leaders of the Communist Party. Warrants charging sedition have been issued against District Organizer Hathaway, Nels Kjar, Zinich, Herman, Murphy and 22 other leading Communists and militant labor organizers.

The court has officially ruled that mere membership in the Communist Party is sufficient grounds for the sedition indictment.

MOVE TO ILLEGALIZE PARTY.

Hathaway, in a statement today, brands this attack as an attempt to drive the Communist Party out of legal existence, and one in which a conviction in Chicago will be followed up by similar action in other parts of the country.

The four mentioned above were arrested at the Communist Party headquarters Monday night, and held 24 hours in jail, then released on \$3,000 bonds each.

It is obvious that the bosses here realize that the present situation in the coal mining fields of Illinois, where over 50,000 miners are being rapidly awakened by the falling out and orgy of truth telling against each other, of the Lewis and Fishwick cliques, has opened the way for active militant unionism, with the Communist organizers taking an active part.

The unrest spreading through the steel worker population south of Chicago and in near-by Gary, the interest shown by the Chicago packing house workers in the Communist Party, and in revolutionary labor unionism, has frightened the masters of industry here.

Their attempt to smother this agitation and rising tide of militant action has been to issue a general order to capture and jail those they believe to be the chief exponents of anti-capitalist theory and tactics in Chicago, the leaders of the Communist movement.

The arrested workers in Chicago think they will not succeed. But there is grave danger of a general drive to destroy the legality of the Communist Party, and of all revolutionary labor organization.

"We are replying with an offensive on all fronts," states the Communist Party district office in Chicago. "We are going to keep on organizing, and we expect the support of the working class."

STRIKE GOES ON AT MARION MILL

UTW Misleaders Fail to Drive Workers Back

MARION, N. C., Oct. 16.—Only 140 men take the place of a working force of over 900 in the Marion Manufacturing Co. textile mills here. The rest are striking against the blacklist imposed upon them by the officials of the United Textile Workers' Union, and against the massacre perpetrated here two weeks ago, in which six strikers were killed by five State Sheriff Adkins' deputies.

All efforts of the U. T. W. officials, which began on the day of the massacre, to "compromise" the strike and drive the men back to their slavery have so far been unsuccessful.

Meanwhile, the eviction of strikers from company houses is proceeding slowly. The company, worried over the mass resentment that is apparent, hesitates to throw out in the streets the relatives of the men it has murdered. It is making offers of truck service and financial assistance to those who will voluntarily leave, and will serve the eviction orders a little later, when the newspapers stop talking so much about the details of the killing.

Sheriff Adkins and seven of his deputies will never stand trial at all for the massacre. Judge Harding, first appointed by governor Gardner of North Carolina to handle the Gastonia case, and aid side for a

MACDONALD AT AFL MEET WARNS AGAINST REVOLT

Empire's Agent Tells Rival War Mongers To Be Peaceful

Green Warns of Reds

Marion Strikers Tell Wasters They Hunger

TORONTO, Canada, Oct. 16.—Ramsay MacDonald addressed the American Federation of Labor Convention here today. His advisers finally have decided that the first brutal and realistic decision to ignore the official labor warmongers of American imperialism is a mistake, however natural it might be, and that English workers would be better fooled if Ramsay said a few words.

So John L. Lewis, international president of the United Mine Workers of America, who was one of the chief war-criers during the world conflict, and whose policy of forcing American miners to scab on the British general strike and mine strike helped materially to crush those militant efforts, was given a job of leading the rabid betrayer of British workers, onto the stage in the convention hall today.

Hypocritical Speech.
Ramsay spoke against war. Coming as one imperialist to the chief benighted of his rival imperialist, the address was full of apparently unconscious humor. Ramsay cautioned them while fighting war, to do it "by the ballot box, and not by revolution." Even the fat boys, well schooled in running a bluff, had to smile at this warning.

They could heartily agree, however, with the horrified care with which the prime minister of Great Britain skirted these dangerous grounds. None of this "turn the imperialist war into a civil war against capitalism for them." And none of it for Ramsay MacDonald, who loves his king, and his capitalism, and does their bidding. On this, even rival imperialist agents get together.

But. Build the Empire.
MacDonald repeated some of the regular pacifist phrases about the evils of war to the A. F. L. delegates, then went to a meeting of the Men's Club, a Canadian patriots organization, where he threw off the mask and talked frankly about strengthening the bonds of the Empire, to defend it against "inner and outer enemies" and first of all, the patriotic duty of Canadians to buy British products—implied, instead of U. S. products.

MacDonald's daughter, Isabel, made a brief appearance, with a perfunctory greeting from women's organization of Britain to the A. F. L.

The convention today passed the usual resolution against conscription, a resolution which all present know is to be laid aside in times of "national danger."

Preaches Against Militants.
President Green preached from the pulpit of Yorkminster Baptist church Sunday, against Communism. He outlined his idea of the function of trade unionism as a means of enabling the employe to gain for himself an audience with his employer.

An appeal from the Marion strikers has appeared at the A. F. L. convention, in which they interrupt the flow of oratory about millions for organization against the National Textile Workers Union, by reminding the well fed delegates who are squandering hundreds of thousands of workers' money "expenses" that strikers in Marion still lack "salt pork, flour, clothes, protection for evicted families, and competent legal protection."

French "Deny" Secret Naval Pact; and How!

PARIS, Oct. 16.—The French foreign office denies that France, Italy and Japan would attempt to reach a secret agreement on submarines "before entering" the five-power naval conference. The "before" is worth noting. But even this is ambiguous as the "denial" states: "Undoubtedly the French embassies will discuss the French viewpoint at Rome and Tokio before the conference adjourns."

Read This! See Bosses' Press Lies on 'News'

Stalin's Nerve Collapse Just Dope for Workers

Readers of the Daily Worker are invited to notice the two following news dispatches, both received yesterday through the United Press service, the first one as follows:

"BERLIN, Oct. 16 (UP).—Unconfirmed reports received today from Riga said today that Josef V. Stalin, the Soviet dictator, is seriously ill as the result of a nervous breakdown. Stalin is now in a private sanitarium at the town of Gorki, 30 miles from Moscow, the reports said, and his physicians have ordered him to take two months of complete rest. The unconfirmed advices reported that wild rumors concerning Stalin's conditions were being circulated in Moscow."

Just how little reliable are capitalist papers which feverishly seize on every rumor thought by them to serve some purpose against the Soviet Union, readers of the Daily Worker are asked to compare the above dispatch with the following, which was received later:

"MOSCOW, Oct. 16 (UP).—Josef V. Stalin, Secretary General of the Communist Party, returned to his office today after a two months' vacation at the Caucasian summer resort of Sochi."

Readers will note the subtle insertion in the first dispatch of anti-Soviet propaganda: the use of the term "Soviet dictator," the "wild rumors," and the 100 per cent lying nature of the whole dispatch originating at Riga, the border center of the United States spy service for Washington's "intelligence" spies within the Soviet Union. Attention is called to this incident merely to illustrate the tonality in the Communist press can workers find the truth about the Soviet Union or any other phase or factor of the class struggle.

Wicks Assails Strike Terror

Tammany police brutality against the striking gasoline truck drivers was assailed in a vigorous statement issued yesterday by H. M. Wicks, Communist candidate for president of the board of aldermen, from Communist campaign headquarters, 26-28 Union Square.

"The attack of Tammany police and Standard Oil thugs against the striking gasoline truck drivers," the statement says, "again emphasizes the real role of the city government as a strike-breaking and scab-herding agency."

"The New York Times, which supports Walker and Tammany Hall in this campaign frankly states that Police Commissioner Whalen has doubled the forces of policemen for strikebreaking purposes, so that now 1,600 are on so-called 'strike duty' or one policeman for every two strikers, his, in addition to the army of gangsters that has the full protection of Tammany Hall, and who are engaged in strikebreaking practically every working day of the year and are used to stuff and steel ballot boxes on Election Day, make up a force far larger than the actual number of strikers."

"It was no accident that Police Commissioner Whalen recently asked for an additional 3,000 policemen" (Continued on Page Two)

ILD Calls for Workers' Mass Action for Gaston Prisoners

Issues Official Statement on Judge Barnhill's Rulings

The International Labor Defense has contended time and again that the leaders of the Gastonia textile strike were on trial, not for murder, but for their attempts to organize the southern textile workers.

The International Labor Defense also contended that it is folly on the part of the workers to expect a fair trial from a capitalist court and a capitalist judge. The latest ruling of Judge Barnhill, presiding at the trial of the seven textile leaders in

ILLINOIS MINERS PREPARING THEIR OWN CONVENTION

Fishwick Has Officers of 9 Subdistricts; Lewis Has Two

Miners Are For NMU

Both Gangs of Fakers Appear at Toronto

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Oct. 16.—While the National Miners Union proceeds with its plans for a mass convention and the rank and file coal miners continue to join this militant union in larger numbers, the Fishwick administration boasts that its henchmen in the offices of nine of the eleven sub-districts of the union have voted approval of the split with the international office of the United Mine Workers of America and supported the temporary injunction obtained by Fishwick restraining the Lewis appointees now in Springfield from "being or pretending to be provisional district administration of the U. M. W. A. in Illinois."

The Fishwick clique at the same time admits that the officials of Peoria sub-district and Franklin county sub-district are with Lewis.

Officials Belong to Machine.
None of these sub-district officials are elected by the miners. The miners are not in the U. M. W. A., and are merely subjected to an involuntary dues payment, the check off, through collusion between Lewis, or Fishwick, and the coal companies, with which both groups have made wage cutting contracts.

Follow Their Master.
The sub-district officials in Franklin county were appointed by Lewis some time ago, and allowed to take office by the district administration. The president there is John T. Jones, a Lewis hireling, appointed now to be the provisional secretary of Illinois district.

In Peoria, Joseph Goett, president, was picked by Lewis as provisional vice president of District 12 (Illinois).

Miners Own Union.

The National Miners Union convention will probably be in southern Illinois, district officials of the union stated today. They pointed out that this will be the miners' real chance to have something to say about their own future, which both Lewis and Fishwick regard as merely "dues-paying cattle" for their respective graft funds.

The U. M. U. is campaigning for all miners to refuse to pay dues to either Lewis or Fishwick, for a sharp fight on the looting check-off system, and a mass denunciation of the U. M. W. A. fraud, and mass entry into the N. M. U. for a struggle all along the line against the coal operators for division of labor among the miners without discrimination against those belonging to the militant union, and to compel the operators to care for the men they have forced into unemployment through introduction of coal cutting and loading machinery; and by speed-up tactics.

Split Before TORONTO, Oct. 16.—

The Lewis-Fishwick split, which tears the U. M. W. A. through the middle, is being deepened by the convention here, which is being held in the form. Lewis, who is convention delegate, as always, is telling the capitalist press all the things he is going to do to Fishwick and his

FOUGHT FOR STRIKERS' RIGHT TO SELF DEFENSE; POLICE FIRED FIRST AFTER DELIBERATELY PLANNING A MASSACRE

Labor Jury Statement Points Out Mill Owners' Prosecution, Judge Combined to Prejudice Jury; Make Open Attack on Workers

Prosecution's Argument Starts Today; Last Defense Witness Shows Pictures Proving Impossibility of Shots Being Fired from Hall

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Oct. 16.—The state finished its rebuttal testimony today, putting on, as a last melodramatic trick to influence the jury the weeping daughter and widow of Aderholt. They testified that Aderholt's last words were: "I can't live; I don't know why they shot me; I tried to keep the peace." It is common knowledge in Gastonia that Aderholt's real last words were: "Don't prosecute anybody for this, I was where I had no business to be." However, neither the doctor nor the preacher who heard this statement would testify to it for the defense. The judge ruled against the objection of the defense that the closing arguments would be limited to six hours for each side, with four speakers for each. The defense motion for non-suit was overruled by Barnhill, and he stated the case would go to the jury Friday.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Oct. 16.—The defense has rested its case in the trial of seven Gastonia strikers and organizers whom the mill owners and their state are trying to send to prison for 30-year sentences.

Sufficient evidence has been given by defense witnesses to prove overwhelmingly that the members of the National Textile Workers Union who are on trial for "murder" were entirely justified in defending their lives and the lives of their wives and children and fellow members of the union, as well as their headquarters and homes from the murderous attacks of the police and mill thugs on June 7.

It has been shown beyond a shadow of doubt that the police fired first, that the attack was deliberately planned by Gilbert, Roach and other policemen in conspiracy with the Lorey mill bosses' "Committee of 100" who were determined to prevent the spreading of the strike at the Lorey mill, determined to smash the union and get rid of its leaders.

Defendants Lives Endangered.
One after another of the defense witnesses have testified that the strikers were viciously attacked throughout the duration of the strike by police and the mercenaries of the Manville-Jenckes company.

Jute Workers of Virginia Must Have Daily Worker!

Must Also Be Rushed to Harbor Workers of New Orleans

Virginia, one of the chief bases of American war-time industry, is also one of the important southern textile manufacturing centers.

Mill workers in Virginia, too, as well as North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee, have heard of the Daily Worker, and in many textile centers in Virginia are calling for this paper.

This letter from a worker in the Atlantic Jute Mills, in Norfolk, Speaks for itself, in so far as showing the necessity of rushing the Daily Worker at once to the scores of thousands of unorganized mill workers of the South.

"Norfolk is a textile center, having especially the burlap and jute factories. Negro workers are the worst treated in the jute industry, and are the greatest number.
"Pay is from 18 to 30 cents an hour, sometimes a little more.
"We are working as long as 15 hours a day.
"Please print this in the Daily, and send me copies to pass along.
"I saw other letters from workers in this part of Virginia in the Daily Worker, and I thought the Daily Worker is the best way of letting

BANKS MERGER FOR COMING WAR.

NEW YORK, Oct. 16.—Plans for merger of the Continental Bank and Trust Company and the Fidelity Trust Company went forward today with the announcement of directors of both organizations that they had approved the plans.

TAKING A TIP FROM WALL ST. MEXICO CITY, Oct. 16.—

Discussion of the proposed law which would bar foreigners from practicing the professions in Mexico continued in the senate today.

gang, just as soon as the Fishwick injunction is vacated. His charges of graft and fraud in Illinois by the Fishwick crowd are detailed and enthusiastic.

On the other hand, Fishwick, president of District 12 (Illinois) and Walter Nesbit, District 12 secretary, have wired William Green, president of the A. F. L., and John Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, and an A. F. L. delegate, hurling back the charge of graft, and offering to resign peacefully if an investigation of Lewis' books by competent auditors does not show enormous swindles.

Know Each Other.
Each of these groups of misleaders knows a lot about the other, as from 1926 until the formation of the National Miners' Union they were working hand in hand against the left wing membership of the U. M. W. A. co-operating in stealing votes and selling out the strike of 1927-28.

There is apparently little likelihood of the A. F. L. convention or the A. F. L. officials taking any public action on the split.

BULLETIN.

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Defendants Lives Endangered.
One after another of the defense witnesses have testified that the strikers were viciously attacked throughout the duration of the strike by police and the mercenaries of the Manville-Jenckes company.

They have related how threats had been made continually by Gilbert, Roach and others of the textile bosses' gunmen in and out of uniform, to "come down some night and clean out your goddam Russian agitators."

These seven on trial and all other active union members had been threatened with death. They had been brutally beaten on picket lines. Their first headquarters had been destroyed by forces of "law and order," co-operating with mill hirelings, city, county, and state authorities had joined with the bosses, black hundreds and the strikers had learned that they could not expect protection from them, and therefore were forced to organize their own armed guards.

The defense has rested its case. If the judge had jury were impartial, there would be no possible doubt that the verdict would be "not guilty," but with the aid of Judge Barnhill, the mill owners through their prosecution lawyers have been able to place before the jury of conservative fundamentalist farmers everything that will inflame their prejudices.

If Fred Beal, Louis McLaughlin, William McGinnis, George Carter, Joseph Harrison, K. Y. Henderson, and Clarence Miller go to a living death in the penitentiary, it will be because they are militant revolutionaries of the working class, bold revolutionaries on political, religious, economic and racial problems, startlingly new to this jury and opposite to everything they have been taught to believe by all the institutions of capitalist society.

The schools, churches, newspapers and government have held up the defendants as enemies of society, and the prosecution has inflamed their prejudices with the consent of the judge. The only hope is that there may be among the jurors some few poor farmers who have suffered from the same capitalist exploitation as the defendants, and who are intelligent enough to recognize the

WHITE TERROR IN MANCHURIA

Soviet Citizens Killed, Tortured and Starved

(Wireless by Imprecory)
HARBAROVSK, U. S. S. R., Oct. 16.—Reports from Harbin report the 138 Soviet citizens were sentenced to death by the Chinese courts and one Chinese soldier also doomed to die, these being among the workers seized when the Chinese raided the Soviet consulate at Harbin in July and seized the Chinese Eastern Railway. Many others are sentenced to long prison terms.

The Japanese owned paper, the "Manchurian Daily News," publishes photos of the mutilated corpses of Soviet citizens.

Reports on the situation of the Soviet citizens on hunger strike at the Sumpai camp where 2,900 are held imprisoned without charges, depict frightful conditions.

The receiving of foodstuffs or correspondence has been prohibited. The German consul sent three lorry loads of food, but the food was confiscated and the lorry drivers arrested. A second lot was sent, but also seized. Dysentery is raging among the prisoners, who are even compelled to give up having relatives visit them, because Chinese citizens fence them off at such distances as makes visits a mockery.

Meanwhile, the Chinese allow agents to exploit the anxiety of friends and relatives of the prisoners approaching them with offers to secure delivery of food parcels to prisoners at prices prohibitive to workers.

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

US OFFICIALS ARE PAID BY TRUSTS TO "FIX" TARIFF

Big Interests Dictate Rates

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15. — The most significant features of the Senate investigation of lobbies now going on here are the incidental revelations of the close connection of big business interests with the Tariff Commission and other branches of the government. Minor points investigated by the Senate committee are of little importance to the workers in comparison with things which the Senate accepts as "matters of course."

William K. Burgess, a member of the Tariff Commission from 1921 to 1925, admitted that he has been a representative of the pottery interests since 1894. As a member of the Tariff Commission, which has tremendous power in fixing rates on raw materials, Burgess has not confined his activities to the pottery trust. According to his own statements, he receives \$7,500 a year from the U. S. Pottery Association, \$2,400 from the electrical industry and \$1,500 from the woolen industry.

The senators appeared to be far less concerned with the fact that Burgess received money from various interests while a member of the Tariff Commission than the association of Frederick L. Koch, another "pottery expert," with the director of the largest Japanese pottery importing concern. Burgess had objected to Koch on the grounds that he was not sufficiently favorable to American manufacturers in setting tariff rates.

These revelations are especially significant at the present time, when the new tariff bill is before the Senate for consideration. It is estimated that the new tariff bill will practically double the prices of many commodities. Various interests, with their supporters in the senate, are fighting for more special advantages and for the highest possible tariff rate.

FIVE OVERCOME BY GAS.
HAVERHILL, Mass., Oct. 16. — Mrs. Josephine Henry, a mother and her four children were taken to Gale Hospital after being overcome by illuminating gas today.

'Communists Do Not Fear to Carry Fight to South': Hall



Otto Hall



Fanny Austin

"In the trial of the seven Gastonia strikers, the prosecution of the mill bosses demanded that the jury send the defendants to living deaths in prison cells because one of them spoke on the same platform with me when I was in the South. But William Z. Foster, speaking at the Charlotte conference of the National Textile Workers' Union, gave the southern bosses the answer, once and for all. 'We are for full social, political and economic equality for the Negro, and we mean that in the fullest sense of the term.'"

Thus spoke Otto Hall, candidate for Comptroller on the Communist Party ticket, who will be one of the speakers at the election rally to be held in St. Lukes Hall, 125 W. 130th St., under the auspices of the Harlem section of the Communist Party this Friday night, Oct. 18.

The Communist Party, Hall said, does not hesitate to bring its fight into the heart of the South, where race prejudices are most deeply rooted, and the flames of race-hatred is fanned by the capitalist class. While the democratic and republican parties stand responsible for lynching, Jim-Crowism and race discrimination, Hall said, and while the socialist party does not dare to enter the South on a program of struggle for the interests of the Negro workers, because it is nothing but a third party of the bosses, the Communist Party carries on a relentless battle for full social, racial and political equality for black and white workers.

USE CITY TRUCKS TO SCAB ON TANK TRUCK STRIKERS

Garage, Station Toilers For 100 PC Struggle

(Continued from Page One)
gasoline. Thus Tammany Hall brings its strike-breaking program out into the open, the T. U. U. L. declares, having failed to break the spirit of the men with the terrorism of gangsters and the police, some 2,000 of whom are at present on duty in the strike zone.

Station Workers' Demands.
The filling station workers' demands are for a 48-hour week, time and a half for overtime, 20 per cent increase for those earning \$25 a week or less, 15 per cent for those making \$40 or under.

In addition to these, more than 15,000 garage workers will go on strike if the demands of the truckmen are not met by Saturday. Herman Cohen, president of the Garage Workers' Union, stated last night. Mechanics, auto polishers, service men and all other garage employees will be involved.

Pressure of rank and file union members forced Cohen to make this announcement following the issuance of an insular "ultimatum" by Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co., which "orders" the strikers to return to work by Thursday night, on penalty of losing their jobs for good. Peter Prouty, month-piece for Standard Oil, Warner-Quinlan and the other oil trusts against which the truckmen are struggling, flatly refuses to recognize the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs. The oil barons will deal with the strikers only as individuals, he said yesterday, and in refusing offers of state "mediation" declared that there is "nothing to mediate."

Boss Trick Plots.
During the day Prouty sent out agents in cars to tell the strikers grouped around the struck plants that the "strike is over" and urge the men to "go back to work." This crude bait earned the Standard henchmen nothing but colorful ridicule. James Dawson, business agent of the Gas and Fuel Drivers' Local 563 later instructed the strikers not to return until they "heard from Dawson."

The Trade Union Unity League, commenting on his bureaucratic and typically A. F. L. order, states that it indicates Dawson's intention to "settle" the strike without submitting the sell-out agreement to a rank and file vote. Restlessness and suspicion of their "leaders" is already infecting the truckmen, as not a single meeting has been held by the union fakers since the struggle began over a week ago and no reports on the situation have been given out. Resentment is growing because of the A. F. L. policy of keeping the men in the dark.

Tul Meet.
The T. U. U. L. held a strike meeting at N. 9th and Berry Sts. at noon yesterday which was well attended. George Owens, Henry Sazar and John Di Santo, organizers for the new fighting trade union center, addressed the truckmen on the necessity of taking the struggle out of the hands of the A. F. L. officialdom, demanding an accounting from the strike "leaders," spreading the fight to waterfront and the railroad terminals and effecting a complete tie-up of fuel deliveries here. They also stressed the importance of organizing workers' defense corps to combat the gorilla and police terror.

The speeches were received with approval, as were the T. U. U. L. leaflets and Daily Workers distributed after the meeting. Knowing that the Daily is the only newspaper fighting in their interests, the first question of those who know the T. U. U. L. organizers by sight is: "Hey! Got some more of those papers?" Many of the workers take several copies of the Daily to hand out to fellow-strikers. The T. U. U. L. says. The League plans to hold noon meetings daily in the strike area.

That New York workers are solidly behind the strikers is evident on every hand. The drivers of the Rockwood Chocolate Co. have walked out in support of them. The Cooperative Restaurant, a left wing cafeteria located at 26 Union Square, has refused to receive consignments from the Austin-Nichols Co., makers of Sunbeam Food, because the 300 drivers of the company have joined the oil truckmen, and because it sympathizes with the struggle of the latter 100 per cent.

Sporadic attacks on strikers throughout the city again marked the strike yesterday, along with a gradual lessening of the city's fuel supply. Michael Donella, president of the Amalgamated Taxi Owners' Association, said that "to deny that there is a shortage is foolish." The Standard Oil claims that its deliveries are 80 per cent of normal, while the strikers put the figure at 50 per cent, but Donella asserted that even the latter is "an exaggeration."

Two more independent distributors were signed up by the Teamsters' Union officials, bringing the total of all oil concerns that have capitulated to the demands of the strikers up to 10. Here again the strike "leaders" are steamrolling the wishes of the rank and file, in preparation for a complete betrayal, as the truckmen have been insisting on a collective agreement.

Three gunmen have been "arrested" by the Tammany police for carrying revolvers in a hasty move to cover up the Tammany-underworld-republican strike-breaking alliance. As it is well known to the strikers that Merrick Nittley, republican leader of the 14th assembly district, has personally organized the mob of gunmen at the Pratt Branch, that Tammany's 14th district headquarters is the hang out of many gangsters, and that gorillas have been using cars belonging to the district leaders, the "arrest" fool nobody but the politicians themselves.

Strikers claim that Nittley has been offered \$50,000 by the Standard Oil bosses to break the strike. Sixty strikebreakers, employed by the Standard Oil in Brooklyn, who have been getting \$15 a day for scabbery, have gone on strike for \$20, where the original workers were paid only \$8. They attacked a squad of a dozen policemen and tried to fire a garage, but were gently put down by the police.

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ILD Issues Gaston Statement

(Continued from Page One)
National Textile Workers Union in the South and is a direct appeal to the bosses' "Black Hundred" to prepare a lynching campaign against the workers who are fighting for the union and against slave conditions. This ruling means that the seven leaders now on trial are being railroaded to long terms of imprisonment, because several of them are Communists.

Judge Barnhill also ruled that a native to North Carolina who dared to advocate race equality would be impeached as a witness. He threw the challenge before the 12,000,000 Negro workers of America, and to the white workers who believe in race equality, that the bosses would not permit the union of these two great sections of the working class.

The mass pressure of the workers of this country and the world over compelled the bosses to throw off their mask, and come out in the open. Now the final scene to railroad to living death the workers who dared to strike for better conditions, to defend themselves from boss attacks, will be enacted unless workers the land over make immediate thunderous protest.

Workers throughout America and the world must instantly raise the greatest protest against the latest move of Judge Barnhill and the boss-atorneys. It means that all bars are down to railroad the seven strikers to the penitentiary for thirty years. It means that any workers in the future who goes on strike will also be in danger of living death in a capitalist prison.

It means that the bosses are trying to throw behind the bars the movement against the 72 hour week, against the \$10 and \$12 week average against child labor, against speed-up.

Masses of workers everywhere must immediately hold protest meetings and proclaim their protest from East to West, from North to South, against this deliberate attempt to send seven militant workers to a living death for fighting for better conditions.

Sacco and Vanzetti went to the electric chair for their opinions two years ago. Today, seven militant strikers may go to prison for thirty years, in living tombs, because of their ideas and because they dared to assail capitalist profits, by organizing the workers of the South into militant unions, and because they dared to defend themselves from the murderous attacks of the boss-controlled police and gangsters.

WORKERS AND FRIENDS! Double your energies to secure the unconditional release of the seven textile leaders now on trial in Charlotte. Only you can compel the bosses' courts to free these defendants.

In answer to Judge Barnhill's ruling, double your energies in the campaign to raise the necessary funds for the defense of the Gastonia strikers.

Wire protests to the Charlotte court! Demand the immediate release of the seven defendants! Get your union and your fraternal organizations to act! Get your fellow workers in the shops to act!

Down with the oppression of the Negro workers. White and Negro workers must fight shoulder to shoulder for better conditions!

Build the International Labor Defense and the Workers International Relief!

Demand the immediate, unconditional freedom of the seven textile leaders!

900 Workers of Big Woolen Mills Laid Off in Shut Down
BOSTON, Oct. 16.—Officials of the American Woolen Company today confirmed reports that they had ordered the closing of their mills in Webster, Yantic, Conn., and Utica, N. Y. About 900 workers are affected.

PHILA. Labor Defense Plans Big Campaign
PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 16.—The Philadelphia local of the International Labor Defense, at its monthly conference decided to conduct a vigorous drive for mass membership. Many new branches are planned. The sale of Labor Defenders has risen to 3,000 copies in Philadelphia.

GOAT MEAT BOSSES CONFER.
WASHINGTON, Oct. 16.—Secretary of Agriculture Hyde announced today he has invited more than 1,200 meat packers and wholesalers to attend a trade practice conference at the Drake Hotel, Chicago, on Oct. 22.

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WICKS ASSAILS TAMMANY'S OIL STRIKE TERROR

Candidate Plays City's Strikebreaking Role

(Continued from Page One)
to be added to the New York force. This is an anticipation of the growing militant struggles of the workers arising from growing rationalization and increasing onslaughts by the employers upon the living standards of the workers everywhere, and their increasing readiness to meet these attacks.

Wicks declared that it is "noteworthy also that the Negro strikers have been signed out for the most brutal attacks by both police and gangsters." This terrorism was intensified against them, the Communist candidate pointed out especially after the demonstration of working-class solidarity when, on Monday morning, over 100 white and Negro workers walked out at Kent Ave. and N. Tenth St., Brooklyn.

Continuing the statement said: "For months Tammany has been waging a campaign of wholesale arrests, violence and terrorism against our candidates and speakers in Negro Harlem because they want to prevent the Negroes from hearing the facts about the class issues in the campaign."

"The oil strikers are learning, as other workers have learned in previous struggles, that the capitalist parties are agencies for suppression against the working class. In New York this lesson has been learned by the needle, food, shoe and other workers. The car strikers of New Orleans also have reason to know this well, and the courageous struggle of the Southern textile workers indicates that they are growing increasingly aware of the role of the capitalist state."

"Workers of New York, fight against your class enemies, the big and small parties of capital—Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties."

"Fight under the banner of class against class!"
"Vote as you strike! Vote for and join the Communist Party of the United States!"

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NEW CHICAGO STADIUM
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Collect money for tractors to present to the Soviet Union through the flyers
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Chicago Reception Committee for the Soviet Flyers
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WORKERS CALENDAR

NOTICE
Notice in this calendar cannot be run for more than three weeks before the event or affair is scheduled to be held. This is due to lack of space.

CANADA

Montreal Labor Defense.
Friday evening, October 18, the Montreal City Central Committee of the Canadian Labor Defense will hold a conference of labor organizations at 67 Rachel St. at 8 p. m. All interested persons should bring a list of names of labor organizations, etc., and be ready to meet at once at P. W. Gierhart, 774 St. Louis St., Montreal, or Secretary A. E. Smith, 105 Bow St., Toronto.

ILLINOIS

Chicago Red Festival and Dance.
A red festival and dance will be given by section 4 of the Communist Party at 8 p. m. at the Grand Fraternal Hall, 1623 Arch St. for the benefit of the District Workers School.

Chicago Gastonia Conference.
The Chicago Gastonia conference will be held Sunday, Oct. 27, at 125 W. Capitol Building, Room 102.

Chicago Daily Workers.
All Chicago Daily Worker and literature agents are called to a special meeting Friday, Oct. 18, at 8 p. m. in room back of book store, 2021 W. Division St. Notify Hammersmark if unable to come.

Chicago Scandinavian Branch.
The Chicago Scandinavian Workers Club will hold a banquet Saturday, Oct. 19, and Oct. 27, at Southside Viking Hall, 614 St. and Emerald Ave.

MARYLAND

On Friday, October 18, M. J. Ojgin, of the Communist Party, will speak at a mass meeting to explain the significance of the recent events in Palestine. This meeting will be held under the auspices of the Jewish Section of the Communist Party, Baltimore Section.

On Sunday, October 20, Juliet S. Poynts will speak at a mass meeting for the defense of the Gastonia strikers and to protest against the mob violence which has been unopposed against the textile workers of the South by the mill owners.

Fraternal and sympathetic organizations are asked to note these dates and keep them open.

MISSOURI

St. Louis Youth-Pioneer Affair.
An affair will be given by the St. Louis Youth Communist League and Young Pioneers on October 20 at the Labor Lyceum. The Pioneers are preparing an unusual play which was never yet shown in the United States. All tickets for the Pioneers are invited. Refreshments will be served. Proceeds will be used to build the above new organization.

Kansas City YCL Picnic.
The YCL of Kansas City, Mo., district picnic will be postponed from Oct. 20 and 21 to be held Oct. 19 and 20, 1929, at Kansas City, Mo.

OHIO

Cleveland Halloween Party.
Halloween basket party at district office Saturday, Oct. 19, 8 p. m. Free admission.

Cleveland District Picnic.
An international picnic and concert will be held by the Cleveland "Friends of the Soviet Union" to celebrate the achievements of the Moscow to New York flyers. The picnic will be held at Germania Hall, 901 St. Clair Ave., Saturday, Oct. 19, 8 p. m.

MICHIGAN

Detroit Program For Gastonia.
On October 17, 8 p. m. Concert and dance for Gastonia given by Women's Branch I.L.D. at Kinder Theater, Detroit.

Sunday, Oct. 20, 2 p. m. Grand concert for Gastonia Relief given by WIR at Finnish Hall, 14th and McGraw.

Sunday, Oct. 20, 8 p. m. Dance and entertainment for Gastonia, given by Northern Progressive Ladies' Society at Carpenters Hall, 415 Arch St.

Sunday, Oct. 27, 1 p. m. City-wide Joint I.L.D. WIR Conference For Relief of Gastonia at I.L.D. Hall, 478 Woodward Ave.

Sunday, Oct. 27, 4 p. m. Gastonia Protest Demonstration in Cadillac Square.

Tuesday, Nov. 12, 8 p. m. Movie ("A Trip to the Soviet Union" and "Gastonia") given by WIR in Dance-Entertainment Auditorium, Woodward near Forest.

Y.C.L. Grand Rapids Affair.
The Young Communist League of Grand Rapids, Mich., is running a Masquerade Halloween Dance Thursday, October 31, at the S. and D. Hall, 1057 Hamilton, N. W. The affair begins at 8 p. m. and the admission is only 25c. There will be a Negro orchestra and other interesting features. All workers and sympathetic organizations are urged to support this dance.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia WIR Benefit.
WIR benefit afternoon, Oct. 19, at Hedgerow Theatre, Rose Valley, Pa. Play will be "Sweeney," a comedy of the Russian civil war. Tickets can be bought at 39 N. 19th St., 1124 Spring Garden St., 217 S. 6th St., 2500 N. 32d St., and 1000 North 43rd St.

Phila. Workers Forum.
M. J. Ojgin lectures on the Palestine Events at the Workers Forum. Sunday, October 27, at Grand Fraternal Hall, 1623 Arch St. Start promptly at 8:30 p. m. Admission free.

Pittsburgh Welcomes Children's Delegation.
A mass meeting to welcome the return of the Children's Delegation to the Soviet Union will be held Friday, October 25, at 895 James St., at 7:30 p. m. DeLoe Morelli, Young Pioneer member of the delegation and daughter of a Pennsylvania coal miner, will speak.

Phila. Interracial Youth Dance.
Philadelphia Interracial Youth Dance given by Young Communist League will be held Friday, Nov. 1, at 8 p. m. at the Cathedral Negro Masonic Temple, Pittsburgh St., between 15th and 16th.

Phila. Party For Daily.
Spectator party for Daily Worker Saturday evening, Nov. 2, at 1205 Tasker St. Arranged by Unit I-A.

Scranton Dance For Gastonia.
A dance and entertainment will be held in the Workmen's Circle Hall, 908 Lockawanna Ave., Scranton, Saturday evening, Oct. 26, under the auspices of the Scranton Gastonia Defense Conference.

Scranton Gastonia Meet.
Scranton workers will hold a mass meet for the coal miners and textile workers at Workmen's Circle Hall, Friday, Oct. 18, at 7:30 p. m. under the auspices of the Provisional Youth Gastonia Defense Committee of the I. L. D. Mac Harris, organizer who returned from Gastonia, and others will speak.

Phila. I. L. D. Executive.
Gastonia Defense and Relief Committee will meet on Thursday evening, Oct. 17, at 8:30 p. m. at the I.L.D. headquarters, 1124 Spring Garden St.

Juliet Stuart Poynts in Philadelphia.
A meeting of all I.L.D. functionaries and active members of the I.L.D. will be held on Monday evening, Oct. 21, to begin at 8:15 p. m. to be held at the Grand Fraternal Hall, 1623 Arch St. Juliet S. Poynts will attend, and take up some of the campaigns, both locally and nationally.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee C. P. YCL Dance.
Dance and entertainment by Communist Party and Young Communist League Saturday, Oct. 19, at 8:30 p. m. at Workers Center, 367 6th St., 8th.

"The Communist Party," continued Hall, "exposes the capitalist myth of white superiority and the bugaboo of 'Negro domination' by which the employing class seeks to divide the black and white workers in order more easily to oppress and degrade them both."

Besides Hall the other speakers will be William W. Weinstein, majority candidate, Richard B. Moore, candidate for Congress in the 21st District, and Fanny Austin, candidate for alderman in the 21st District. The latter, who is a day domestic worker, is the first Negro woman to be nominated for public office in New York City. She has been extremely active in efforts to organize the miserably exploited day workers who are the victims of all forms of discrimination at the hands of their white employers.

"The Communist Party," Fanny Austin said yesterday at the office of the Communist Election Campaign Committee, "is the only party which has a fundamental economic, political and social program for the working class and is the only party which is truly the defender of the interests of the masses of bitterly exploited Negro workers."

Richard B. Moore, candidate for Congress in the 21st District, is known to thousands of workers in Negro Harlem not only because of his activities as president of the American Negro Labor Congress, but also as president and a leading spirit in the Harlem Tenants' League, which has taken a leading role in organizing the Negro tenants against the high rents, firetraps, slums and unsanitary tenements.

Moore, in his speech on Friday, will deal especially with discrimination and economic tyrannization of the Negro workers; he will discuss the activities of the three capitalist parties, show the betrayal of the socialist party and of the liberal intellectuals like Du Bois, Pickens and James Weldon Johnson.

In Negro Harlem thousands of families still live in old tenements condemned as unsanitary a quarter of a century ago. Many of these are in long stand disrepair, endangering the health and lives of the tenants. Rents are so exorbitant that they often consume 25 per cent or more of the workers' income. The landlords and real estate dealers' associates are keeping 100,000 apartments vacant rather than reduce the rents. The workers' earnings are cut off by unemployment, sickness, and during strikes the workers are faced with evictions.

At the meeting on Friday night the speakers will discuss this issue and state the Communist position.

FOIL FRAMEUP ON 2 SHOE WORKERS

Another framed charge against two members of the Independent Shoe Workers was foiled at the Gates Ave. court, Brooklyn, yesterday.

Union organizer S. Lipka and shop committee chairman Guardia, held in \$1,000 bail when charges of "malicious mischief" were preferred against them last week by the Elbee Shoe Company, 449 Trogtman St., Brooklyn, were dismissed through lack of evidence.

Their arrest followed their fight against the shop management when, in violation of the union agreement, it attempted to employ non-union workers two weeks ago.

The violation was inspired by the letter sent by the State Department of Labor through Commissioner Charles W. Wood, in which shops were warned to break agreements with the Independent because it was a "Communist union," whose president was "Frederick Biedenkapp, an enemy of the United States form of government."

The Elbee workers are still picketing the shops in defiance of Tammany police brutality.

Picketing is still being maintained at the Septurn, 33 Marcy Ave., and the Resined, 330 Melrose St. Two other shops who also sought to act on the Wood letter.

Two pickets who, besen up and arrested at the Septurn shops were tried on disorderly conduct charge at the Bridge Plaza magistrate's court, Brooklyn, last night. Results of the trial were not available as this edition of the Daily Worker went to press.

LONDON (By Mail).—Eleven miners were injured, two of them seriously, in an explosion at the Rising Sun Pit, Wallend.

CLASS PEACE AIM OF MITTEN'S SON

Estate to Further Railroad "Plan"

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Oct. 16.—"It is my intention to erect out of the estate thus coming into my hands a continuing trust to be known as the Mitten foundation to further the cause of cooperation between capital and labor, pursuant to the policies developed by him in his lifetime."

Thus Dr. A. A. Mitten, son of the late creator of the notorious "Mitten plan," again stressed his support of his father's cause of non-unionization in commenting on the estate left in his care yesterday. How that cause helped more productive exploitation of workers on the local street railway system is indicated by the value of the Mitten fortune—\$2,000,000 in personal and \$60,000 in real estate.

The Economic and Political Situation in the United States and the Tasks of the Communist Party

Thesis Adopted by the Central Executive Committee Plenum, October 6-8

The Daily Worker publishes today the last half of this important document begun in yesterday's paper.

SECTION V.

SOCIAL REFORMISM AND FASCISM

13. With the development of the domination of finance capital, the fierce rationalization process, the growing imperialist aggressions of American capitalism and the radicalization of the masses, has gone the concentration of state power, the growing tendency towards state capitalism, the concentration of state power and the growing tendency towards fascism. The present period is marked by a concentrated attack against the militant labor movement and, in the first place, against the Communist Party, the more open and direct use of the state power in order to crush the rising resistance of the working class to put through the rationalization schemes and to prepare the conditions for plunging the working class into the next imperialist war, particularly against the Soviet Union. This period is characterized by the open use of troops against strikers (Elizabethton, Marion), by the shooting of workers (Gastonia, Marion, New Orleans) and by fascist attacks engineered by the state in collaboration with the bosses and labor bureaucracy, the establishment of a secret spy system (New York), the use of gangsters and thugs in collaboration with the state, labor bureaucracy and employers' organizations (New York, Gastonia), the increasing use of the underworld enormously swollen through the Volstead act, the virtual denial of the right of strike through the ever-increasing use of the injunction backed up by police terror and a series of mass arrests, the limitation of the right of assemblage and free speech, the terroristic methods of the state against striking workers, the reorganization of the bourgeois legal system through the Baumes laws, giving dictatorial powers to the judges and destroying "democratic" liberties, the Department of Labor registration of foreign born workers, the increased attacks upon Negro workers, the persistent and increasing persecution of the Communist Party, with the tendency to drive it into illegality, all indicate the increase of fascist tendencies, increase in the open brutality of the state in the class struggle and imparting an ever increasing political character to the struggles of the workers.

With the sharpening contradictions of American capitalism goes the increasing political activity of the petty-bourgeoisie. This expresses itself by the fight around the tariff bill, by the tendency of a revival of the political activity of the Progressive Bloc, by the tendency to the formation of a third petty bourgeois party (the Dewey group). These movements are reactionary in character; they are more and more developing in the direction of fascism, and seek to gain support from the toiling masses in order to steer them away from a real fight against capitalism, and into the channels of fascism.

The deepening agrarian crisis as yet finds its main channel of political expression in the "progressives" of the Farm Bloc (Norris, Frazier, Shipstead, Brookhart, etc.), with their program of tariff protection for agricultural products and subsidized export of surplus production, measures calculated to deepen the contradictions in agriculture and consequent class differentiation, as well as to strengthen the grip of finance capital upon the market and thence upon agricultural production. The "progressivism" of the Farm Bloc, with its denial of class struggle on the farm with its subordination to the essential program of finance capital, has become one of the accepted and established agencies of the rule of Wall Street. It is no longer an expression of the growing consciousness of the toiling agrarian masses, not even a partial and confused expression, but is one of the means of diverting and suppressing this growing consciousness and will to struggle. The Party, through its press and sympathetic organizations, must carry on among the agricultural population, especially the poor and middle farmers, the sharpest campaign against and exposure of the reactionary role of these "progressives" of the Farm Bloc. The existing farmers' organizations such as Farmers' Union, Farm Bureaus, Grange, etc., which play a similar role, and which serve not the interests of the poor farmers and agricultural wage workers, but those of finance capital, certain small business interests, and the rich farmers, must especially be exposed, their influence over the toiling masses broken, and the poor farmers and agricultural workers mobilized for political struggle in alliance with the revolutionary working class.

The socialist party has become more and more an open agent of imperialism and is exhibiting features of social fascism. In the needle trades it has allied itself with the state and gangsters and employers' organizations, to destroy militant organizations. The endorsement of the Young Plan by the spokesman of the socialist party likewise shows its open imperialist role. Its support of the rationalization drive, company unionism, closer alliance with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, state and underworld, the endorsement of Norman Thomas as candidate for city mayor (New York) by the bourgeois Citizens Union and the petty bourgeois Dewey group is an expression of the fact that the socialist party has become definitely a third bourgeois party and that the capitalist class is seeking the development of this "last reserve of the bourgeoisie" as an instrument in the struggle against the revolutionary class forces led by the Communist Party.

14. The American Federation of Labor is a pernicious social reformist organization which in the present period has become more and more an open tool of American imperialism, an agitator and organizer for the imperialist war plans, piece-maker for the mobilization against the Soviet Union, champion of rationalization. The apparatus of the trade union bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor has merged more and more with the state apparatus and the employers' organizations and has taken on a social fascist character, shown by its strikebreaking role in New Orleans, in Elizabethton, in Marion, in the needle trades and in every strike movement in the United States. It is the direct agency for frustrating the developing strike movement of the workers, for company unionizing the trade unions, for imposing imperialist domination over the colonial and semi-colonial peoples (Pan-American Federation of Labor, Hemispherical autonomy) for carrying through the tariff laws with its increased burdens upon the working class. With the growth of American imperialism on a world scale, the American Federation of Labor exercises more and more the role of converting the trade unions into open instruments of imperialism, for suppressing the class struggle unions and crushing the rising tide of resistance of the working class. It has become the model of the reformists of all countries. Its close alliance with the openly fascist organizations, with thugs and gangsters, and with the police only shows the social imperialist and social fascist role of the labor bureaucracy. The process of rationalization, the robbing of the skill of the workers, in narrowing the base of the labor aristocracy upon which the A. F. of L. rests and its power becomes ever more closely linked with the bosses and the state machinery of the capitalist class.

With the exposure of the treacherous role of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy before the masses and the growing consciousness of the masses in regard to the social imperialist role of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and under conditions of the radicalization and growing struggle of the masses, efforts are being made to deceive the masses through the formation of "left" social reformist groups carrying on the policy of the A. F. of L. under the cover of "progressive" phrases. The Conference for Progressive Action (Musteites) is an attempt on the part of the social reformists under cover of left phrases to bring together the reformist elements under the banner of the rising tide of militant proletarian struggle. The treachery of the Musteites in the Paterson silk strike, in Marion, N. C., etc., shows openly the social reformist character of this movement. The fact that it operates under the mask of left phrases is intended to bolster up the influence of the outright social reformist elements (A. F. of L. and socialist party) over the leftward moving masses despite the increased support to the A. F. of L. by the capitalists and state machinery and thereby stem the movement of the masses to the left. It thus shows its most dangerous reformist character and expresses the greatest danger to the working class which must be fought with increasing vigor. Every act of treachery must be fully exposed. Any proposals of united fronts with these elements must be mercilessly combated.

SECTION VI.

THE RIGHT DANGER—THE MAIN DANGER.

15. In all Communist Parties, the chief danger in the third period is that of Right wing opportunism—the corruption of the revolutionary policy of the proletarian class party by the injection of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, policies and methods, paralyzing the revolutionary fight of the proletarian party. The Right dan-

ger in the Communist Party of the United States finds in the objective conditions of the country fertile ground for virulent growth. The tremendous economic resources of the American bourgeoisie makes possible the corruption of the upper strata of the working class, labor aristocracy, relatively highly paid skilled workers forming the basis of the American Federation of Labor. This corruption takes place not only thru the separation of certain categories of workers from their class, by higher wages and other privileges, but also thru "welfare" schemes, company unions, "labor" banks, "B and O Plans," and many other forms. The relatively high standard of life in comparison with European countries facilitated the spread of petty bourgeois illusions among the American workers. Other historical causes are the lack of the tradition of a class party of the proletariat, the presence in the working class of declassed immigrants, peasants and petty bourgeois, who became proletarianized only upon entering American industry.

The Communist Party of the United States is surrounded by the heaviest pressure of such corruption in the working class, by the most subtle forms of bourgeois influence; and also there is little in its own historical development to fortify the Party against such influences—little that could produce that Bolsheviki firmness in class ideology and instinct which is necessary to an unswerving Leninist line. Other causes for the existence of Right tendencies in the Party are its feeble roots in the factories; insufficiently industrial proletarian social composition; the existence of old Social Democratic traditions in the leading cadres of the Party. These petty bourgeois influences powerfully affect the Communist Party and one of the manifestations of the opportunist influences upon our Party has been unprincipled factionalism, which has retarded the Party's growth during the past six years. Notwithstanding the repented interventions of the Communist International the unprincipled factionalism continued and even flared up with renewed intensity and the Right opportunist errors were continued and aggravated. After the Sixth World Congress there began to be developed a crystallization of Right errors and tendencies in the American Party into an open opportunist political line directed against the C.I. The theory of American exceptionalism, which found its clearest exponents in Pepper and Lovestone, was the basis of the mistakes of the former majority and of the most important mistakes of the former minority. Such a theory could lead only to the open road toward social patriotism and outright bourgeois patriotism. That "our country" is "excepted" from the general crisis of capitalism, that "our own" bourgeoisie is in an "exceptional" position favorable to meeting the demands of "its" proletariat (preventing a fundamental radicalization of the working class and preserving the social-imperialist A. F. of L. as the "main stream" of the labor movement).

On the ground of this opportunist line based upon the theory of exceptionalism and of the primacy of the external contradictions, a struggle developed against the Communist International starting with an open fight against the organizational proposals of the C.I. to the Sixth National Convention of the Party. This Convention, due to the unprincipled course of the leaders of both factions, did not fulfill the tasks before it.

16. In this situation the Communist International was compelled to intervene to put an end to the factional struggle and to correct the line of the Party. This Plenum of the Central Committee declares the Address of the Communist International to the membership of the Party was fully justified and that its correctness has been confirmed by the course of the events in the Party. The Plenum of our Party asserts, that the renegade group of Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe and Co., have by their actions confirmed all that was said in the Address of the Communist International of their Right wing opportunist line; their petty bourgeois political line; their attempt to split the Communist Party, and to lead it out of the Communist International and into the swamp of social-reformism.

17. The evolution of the Lovestone group shows that today they stand clearly upon the platform of the international Right; their clear-cut opportunist position is defined by their advocacy of the theory of American exceptionalism; their opportunist estimation of the third period as marking the definitive economic and political stabilization of capitalism; by their theory of the primacy of the external contradictions, which means a conception of the softening of the inner contradictions and of the class struggle and against the conception of the radicalization of the working class which in practice has expressed itself in their counter-revolutionary intervention against the Party's call to strike on International Red Day, their liberal-bourgeois slogans in regard to the Gastonia defense, their underestimation of the war danger against the Soviet Union, their opportunist attitude toward the Socialist Party; their denial of the fascistization process in social reformism, their opportunist conception of the Labor Party slogan based upon a united front with Social Democratic leaders; the thermidorian theory of "degeneration" of the Communist International; their defense of and collaboration with the International Right Wing (the renegade article published in Brandler's methods of American petty bourgeois political line); the struggle with the Party office, the vicious slanders and collaboration with self-confessed spy elements in aiming to demoralize the Party; carrying forward the organizational work toward splitting the Party and building an anti-proletarian party, tool of American social-imperialism. All these demonstrate with what true American speed the Lovestone group has moved toward the bourgeois side of the barricades. The expulsion of such opportunist elements is an absolute condition for cleansing the Party of corrupting and disintegrating forces. The Communist Party has grown stronger since the expulsion and because of the expulsion of the renegade group of opportunist leaders and their petty-bourgeois and intellectual followers. The effect of the Address of the Communist International has been to increase the fighting capacity of the Party and to give impetus to the drawing in of new proletarian forces.

18. The struggle against opportunism must be conducted against the conciliators and against conciliationism. Conciliationism is the formal acceptance of the international line, combined with failure to carry out in practice, i. e., practical opposition. This may take many forms. It takes an extreme form when there is direct resistance to effective execution, "interpretations" of the international line in such a way as to destroy its meaning or conceal its difference from incorrect lines, etc. This is in effect conscious sabotage. But it may take more subtle forms when the process is less conscious or even unconscious, when there is simply lack of conviction or enthusiasm in carrying out the line, when acceptance has been honestly given, but the habits of thought move along old lines, etc. This last form is particularly important, because it can be largely involuntary and unconscious; nevertheless, in its objective effects, it can be as harmful as direct and conscious opposition. It can show itself not merely in incorrect lines, but in vacillation and delay in carrying out the correct line, and failure in consequence to give clear and confident leadership to the workers.

Those conciliators who sought to conceal their opposition to the line of the Communist International rapidly passed over into the camp of the Lovestone group, but conciliationism, which internationally agrees on all fundamental questions with the open opportunists, likewise expresses itself in the American Party in a tendency which while accepting the Address of the Communist International in words fails to grasp the meaning of the political line in the present period and shows itself incapable to carry out this line in practice. A vigorous struggle must be conducted against conciliators and where they fail to fulfill the conditions laid down by the Tenth Plenum they must be unhesitatingly expelled from the ranks of the Party.

19. One of the main tasks of the Party remains the struggle against another form of opportunism at times covered with left phrases—Trotskyism. This task is facilitated by the international political degeneration of Trotskyism (Trotsky's participation in slanderous campaigns against the USSR, thru articles in the bourgeois press in Great Britain and U. S. (Times, Hearst press, etc.) and by the disintegration of the Trotskyites group, particularly in USSR).

In the United States the Trotskyites (Cannonites) have gone over completely to the other side of the barricade (counter-revolutionary Thermidorian attitude on Five Year Plan of Socialist Construction, on Palestine, attitude toward Muste group and new unions, etc.) thus lining themselves in the same camp as the social democrats and Lovestoneites.

20. The struggle against the opportunist renegades, both of the Right and so-called "Left," as well as the conciliators, the expulsions of the Lovestoneites from the ranks of the Party, has meant a healing of the Party, but it would be an error to believe that with the fight against Lovestone and the conciliators the struggle against the Right danger is exhausted; the Right danger is so deeply rooted in the Amer-

ican Party that it would be a perilous illusion to maintain this. The chief manifestations of the Right danger in the Party at the present time are: (1) Underestimation of the character of the third period (underestimation of the growth of inner contradictions, of radicalization of the masses and of the sharpening of the class struggle) expressed in some districts in connection with International Red Day in a fear to put forward the slogan of a strike and of hesitation to hold street demonstrations; and in regard to Gastonia a tendency to represent the Party policy as "too radical," to express pessimism and show signs of a policy of retreat; underestimation of the new forms of struggle and the underestimation on the part of old trade union cadres of the new methods of mass struggle. (2) Underestimation of the Right danger. This tendency expresses itself in a condemnation of Lovestone on grounds of a breach of discipline but in failure to see the opportunist line of Lovestone, also in a hesitation in a matter of cleansing of the Party, failing to realize that in the third period it is necessary to fight the Right danger not only with political measures but with organizational methods as well. (3) Remnants of the theory of exceptionalism expressed in appreciation of the situation in the U. S. A. and even of wrong conceptions in regard to the relationship between the Party and the Communist International; insufficient internationalism. (4) A tendency to lag behind the masses in the everyday struggles of the working class (khvostism); failure of Party organization to assume leading roles in strike struggles and the general tendency of too slow tempo in responding to the struggle of the masses. This is a particularly perilous form of the Right danger in the present period of growing strike struggles, manifesting itself in its worst form in an underestimation of trade union work and a lack of sufficient energy in participation in mass work. (5) Remnants of factionalism, such as a tendency of some comrades to "save" the Party for the former majority by "sacrificing" Lovestone, and a tendency on the part of some comrades to regard the Address as a victory and endorsement of the line of the former minority. (6) Underestimation of social reformism expressing itself in the underestimation of the treacherous role of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy (needle trades) and the particularly dangerous character of Left social reformism (Boston shoe strike).

The Right danger further expresses itself in a whole series of questions, such as opposition to the raising of political slogans in economic strike struggles (Weisbord, Elizabethton strike); underestimation of shop nuclei form of organization and of improving the social composition of the Party; in insufficient Negro, women and youth work; manifestations of a retreat before and even surrender to white chauvinism (workers' jury); also in such errors as that made in the Freiheit on Palestine, expressing the influence of Jewish nationalism; opportunist tendencies in language sections (Finnish, Greek and other sections); in an underestimation of the function of the Daily Worker by looking upon it as a journal of Communist information rather than as the leading political organ of the Party.

SECTION VII.

The Struggle for the Winning of the Majority of the Working Class and the Tasks of the Party.

21. The development of the general features of world crisis and in the United States the coming of an economic crisis, means a more bitter process of rationalization, more open and brutal use of the state power, the closer merging of social democracy and social reformism with the bourgeoisie and its degeneration into social fascism, the slashing of wages, the depression of living standards, the increase of unemployment, deepening the class revolt of the proletariat and favoring its adoption of new revolutionary methods of struggle, the entrance of ever greater masses of the unorganized in the class battles, the development of local battles into general struggles, the ever-increasing politicizing of the struggles, the growing confidence of the workers in the revolutionary trade union movement, and the movement of the masses to the Left.

The increasing radicalization of the masses in the U. S., the Leftward drift of the masses, the oncoming of a new rising tide of the revolutionary labor movement, raises concretely the task of winning the majority of the working class, which means the conquest of the leading role in the labor movement by our Party that has still before it the task of transforming itself in the shortest possible time into a mass Communist Party. The present situation demands the orientation of the Party towards new methods, new forms of struggle, new forms of mass organization, new ways in getting hold of the masses—only by such tactics by making use of all the new forms and methods for the organization of the working class will the Communist Party be able to bring over to their side the majority of the working class and to march at the head in the struggle for power and for proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, the Communist Party must participate in and secure the leadership of every strike, every struggle, every demonstration of the working class; must strive to convert the economic battles of the workers into major political struggles (into struggles of the whole working class against reforms, alliance of capitalist state, employers' organizations and reformists), and carry on a ceaseless politicalizing of the masses, political strike. In this task the Party still shows too slow a tempo and is weighed down by the past and by deviations to the Right.

The task of winning a majority of the working class under the banner of the Party calls for the energetic application of the tactics of the united front from below on the basis of the immediate needs of the workers particularly in connection with the struggle against rationalization (unemployment, speed up, lowering of the standards

of the working class, growing insecurity, etc.) linked up with the political struggles.

The development of new forms of struggles takes on various concrete shapes, viz. the new revolutionary trade unions with the participation of broad unorganized masses, strike committees, workers defense committees, especially in the South, organization of the unemployed, shop committees. This includes the intensification of our work for the organization of revolutionary trade unions and the strengthening of the revolutionary opposition in the old unions co-ordinated and led by the Trade Union Unity League.

The winning of the leading role by the Communist Party of the mass struggles can be achieved only on the basis of the most ruthless struggle against the social reformists of all brands especially the so-called "Left" wing, Musteism and all its variations.

22. The winning of the majority of the working class is impossible without a mass Communist Party rooted in the factories. The securing of the leadership of the mass struggles cannot be achieved with the present small membership which is less than fifty per cent in the basic industries and only fifteen per cent of whom are organized into factory nuclei, the majority of which have only a nominal existence. This basic weakness is further revealed in the fact that in whole sections of decisive industry (chemical, marine, railroad, etc.) the Party has in spite of some recent improvements practically no foothold while in the other important branches (steel, mining, etc.) the membership is very small in comparison with the number of workers in the industry. Similarly, the number of Negro proletarians (2-3% of the membership), the average age of the membership (30-35), the small number of working women (about ten per cent and an addition ten per cent of housewives), etc., further reveal the decisive importance of the necessity of improving the social composition of the Party membership. The number of native-born workers in the Party is still very small in spite of their increasing role in the basic rationalized industries.

Special attention must be paid to colonizing of factories especially in key and war industries. Colonizers must be regarded not as investigators who go from factory to factory for a visit but comrades who are sent into a factory for a longer period of steady and persistent work, to win the confidence of the workers through their activity and leadership in the struggles of the workers.

While care must be taken not to expose the Communists in the factories to the employers and their agents, and the nuclei must function illegally in most cases, this must not be interpreted to mean that there must be any falling off of activity of the factory nuclei or that any excuses along this line for the failure to build or extend the work of the factory nuclei can be tolerated by the Party. The factory nuclei must be known to all workers in the shops through their mass activity, their agitational work and their leadership, though the individual members of the nuclei may and in most cases will be known only to the most militant.

23. The lack of systematic mass activity, the insufficient orientation to the factories and entirely inadequate attention to trade union work further aggravates the lack of preparedness of the Party for its growing tasks. The apparatus of the Party as well as its leading committees still suffer from a lack of capably trained workers able to organize and lead the mass struggles of the workers. There is an insufficient organic connection between the leading committees and the basic Party organizations, a lack of effective political leading of the Party organizations by the leading Party committees.

Despite progress made in the centralization of the language work through the establishment of the Language Department of the C.C., the Party is not yet centralized and many of the language fractions still lag behind in accomplishing the tasks of the Party. The life of the units is still largely devoid of sufficient political content, of systematic organizational work. The fractions in the trade unions and other mass organizations do not sufficiently fulfill their tasks as organizer and leaders of the masses.

In order to effect a decisive change in organization the Party, basing itself on the organization thesis of the C.I., must at once put into effect the concrete measures set forth in the organization thesis of the Sixth Party Convention.

A recruiting campaign for new members shall be opened after the Plenum, as elaborated in the Program of Action.

24. The progress that has been made in eliminating opportunist, non-proletarian and factional elements from the leading committees and apparatus of the Party must be continued and the entire apparatus enlivened by the drawing in and the development of fresh cadres of non-factional proletarian forces, particularly from the basic industries, among them the Negro proletarian. The reinvigoration of the Party apparatus must be systematically undertaken through the holding of conferences in the districts and sections on the basis of a critical review of the work and shortcomings and, particularly, since the Adams Bureau methods of work that still have a big hold on the Party apparatus must be consciously combated. District Plenums shall be revived and shall be held regularly once a month. Written reports of work of the Section and District Committees shall be given periodically and shall be printed in the Party press.

25. The achievement of proletarian self-criticism (not factional criticism or criticism which aims to unfold a platform of faction struggle) must be established and intensified, by methods of reporting and work which allows for a discussion of the problems, the bringing to

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DEFENSE RESTS IN GASTON CASE

Fought for Strikers Right to Defense

(Continued from Page One)

class meaning of the trial. These few may recognize that the court, the police and the mill owners are all united in this conspiracy to send workers to prison for their leadership in the struggle for better conditions, that all the witnesses for the state were obviously hirelings of the mill barons, and see through the mass of flimsy perjured contradictory testimony framed up by the state.

This may result in a hung jury, or in a compromise on convictions for secret assault, or manslaughter. For a conviction of secret assault, the unionists may get ten years imprisonment. For manslaughter the penalty may be 20 years, and for murder in the second degree, it is 30 years.

This morning the defense put on the witness stand a photographer and his pictures proving again that it was impossible for the strikers to shoot from knotholes in the union hall. Then the defense rested, and the state put on witnesses for rebuttal. Their testimony will be over this afternoon, and tomorrow the battery of mill owners' lawyers will start their argument to the jury. It is probable that the defense argument to the jury will start Thursday afternoon. Then the state will have a final rebuttal speech, and then the judge will charge the jury. The consensus of opinion is that the verdict will be rendered Saturday.

The Labor Jury, sent by the Trade Union Unity Convention in Cleveland, issued the following statement today:

"The class character of the trial has been clearly demonstrated in the past three days, ever more conclusively. The judge's ruling that if the defendants don't believe in an avenging god they are not credible witnesses and that Communist cannot expect a fair trial under a government which they think should be overthrown, certainly proves that the defendants have not had a fair trial, regardless of what the verdict may be.

"Barnhill said in his charge to the grand jury that opinions of the defendants on political, racial and religious problems should have no place in this trial and would not be permitted to become the issue. Yet he has permitted the state to introduce the defendants' opinions for the sole purpose of prejudicing the jury, on the excuse that these opinions impeach their testimony. This ruling of the judge proves that he is not impartial, but on the contrary, is an official instrument of his class, the capitalist class, against the workers. Barnhill's previous pretense of fairness was for the purpose of creating the illusion that the state is above classes and an instrument of impartial justice. The veil has been stripped from this pretense."

FLAUNT IMPERIALIST BAYONETS

PARIS, Oct. 16.—Veterans of the 26th Division, visiting France for "consecration" of the Belleau Wood Church as a war memorial gave a quiet demonstration of French military strength when they placed a wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier today.

JUTE MILL WORKERS OF VIRGINIA MUST HAVE THE "DAILY WORKER"

(Continued from Page One)

ting the Virginia textile workers know that the way to better conditions is to join the National Union.

Still another illustration of the necessity of workers to send funds at once, in order to rush the Daily Worker to the southern workers, newly awakened to the class struggle.

Militant seamen, members of the Marine Workers League, in New Orleans, the largest southern seaport, have asked that they be supplied bundles of the Daily Worker regularly, for distribution among waterfront workers there.

Previously we published the appeal from one of the betrayed carmen of New Orleans for the Daily Worker.

To answer the many appeals for the Daily Worker, reaching us from every corner of the South, an important duty, entails a huge financial burden.

It is this burden that the militant American workers must take on their shoulders. For it is their answer to their fellow workers in the South.

Individual workers must contribute at once to the "Drive to Rush the Daily Worker."

Working class organizations must adopt a mill village! Each dollar will send 10 copies of the Daily Worker to a mill village, each day for one week.

But hundreds of copies of the Daily must be rushed to each of these mill workers every day.

What is the answer to their appeals for the Daily Worker?

To the Daily Worker, 26 Union Square, New York City.

I want to see the Daily Worker, as the only English language daily paper of the working class, rushed to the southern workers. Therefore I send the enclosed sum for this purpose.

Name
Address
City State
Amount \$

The Economic and Political Situation in the United States and the Tasks of the Communist Party

(Continued from Page Three)

light of all experiences and errors and by the initiative being taken by the leading committees in this regard. The Party must combat any resistance to self criticism based upon the social-democratic fear of exposing our shortcomings before the masses. Bolshevist self-criticism is in itself an instrument of bringing the Party closer to the masses.

The enlivening of the Party units, in addition to the above mentioned improvements, must be achieved by the promotion and stimulation of the taking up of all Party political problems by the factory and street nuclei, through the organization of the discussion of important problems and the Party campaigns. Study groups in the factories, neighborhood classes, individual self study, must be stimulated and the whole ideological and political work of the Party improved. The "Communist" must be converted into a real theoretical expression of the Party. A whole plan must be worked out for widespread reading and study of Marxist literature. The Party schools must concentrate their work in training the Party membership for the leadership in the revolutionary struggle. The Party must give more attention to the publication of pamphlets and literature. Literature distribution in the factories must become part of the Party's everyday efforts. The improvement of the Daily Worker and the entire Party press, the development of a whole network of worker-correspondents, the increase of the circulation of the Daily Worker must be placed before the Party as one of its most serious and urgent tasks.

26. The difficult financial situation in the Party has become a question of serious importance. The financial situation—an inheritance of the factional past with its reckless methods developed as a result of lack of centralization, the lack of proper budgeting or budgetary control, tendency of auxiliary organizations to foist their activities and responsibilities upon Party apparatus, financial expansion without plan or mass basis. The Central Committee and District Committees must take the following measures immediately to improve the situation: Financial commissions to control the financial activities of all organizations and auxiliaries on a planned budgetary basis; drastic economies; increase of income and reduction of expenditures of organizations.

27. The Party must pay particular attention to the overcoming of the present weakness with regards to the fact that American workers in the Party constitute only a small portion of its membership. The special attention to drawing in of American workers, the Americanization of the Party, must not be misinterpreted in a vulgar sense. What it does mean is—to root the Party among the basic sections of the American working class and in the decisive industries and the orientation of the Party toward the concrete economic and political struggles of the American workers.

28. The building of a mass Young Communist League is an integral and indispensable part of building the Communist movement in the U. S. A. Especially in the present period, with the sharpening of the war danger and with the tremendous effect of capitalist rationalization on the working class youth and their growing readiness to struggle, it becomes doubly necessary for the Party to exercise political leadership and concrete guidance to the Young Communist League. The League has made headway in proletarianizing and in drawing new forces into the actual leadership of the League, as well as completely isolating and smashing the Lovestone renegades within its ranks. However, the League as yet made only its first beginning in reorienting its ranks towards mass youth work. The poor social composition of the League, its low ideological level, as well as its organizational weaknesses, will be overcome only through participation in mass work, by changing its methods of work, by adopting "Youth politics," and by concretizing and carrying out the decisions of the Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International.

The Party, starting with the Central Committee, all the way down to the units, must give more organizational and political guidance to the League organizations, in raising the political level of the membership, in helping to build shop nuclei in factories, where there is a Party shop nucleus and no League nucleus, and in towns where there are Party units and no League units. The League must receive utmost cooperation from the Party in the field of anti-militaristic activities, especially within the armed forces. The Party must also give more cooperation to the Young Pioneers.

SECTION VIII.

Achievements and Shortcomings of Party Work.

29. Despite the acute factional struggle which had existed for many years, the strong Right tendencies, the weakened Party apparatus, the Party made the following principal accomplishments:

The Party accepted quickly the Comintern criticism and wholeheartedly supported the line of the Communist International and defeated the attempts of the Lovestoneites to split the Party. The factional walls were broken down. A united fight of the Party against the Right danger was developed. There was a quick political correction of Right errors (Palestine, trade union work, etc.). There was a mobilization of the Party and the masses for the Trade Union Unity Convention, aiding to create it on a mass basis, particularly of the unorganized and unskilled workers with a big representation for women, youth and particularly Negro proletarians. The struggle of Gastonia was developed into a struggle of the entire working class and the Party placed in the foreground as the only force leading the working class, bringing out the political phases of this struggle through correct slogans and tactics.

Further accomplishments were: Mobilization for International Red Day and for the defense of the Soviet Union as well as through the former struggle of the Party against the war danger. The mobilization of over 100,000 workers on International Red Day in demonstrations, militant in spirit and in some places in partial strikes (New York, Pennsylvania); Development of the mass work, increasing participation of the Party in strike struggles, development of the united front tactic from below, development of the I. L. D. and W. I. E. Beginning of the drawing of new forces into the Party cadres. Beginning of the establishment of real Bolshevist self-criticism and proletarian democracy.

The Plenum states as a very important achievement that the Party and its leadership has succeeded in liquidating factionalism, to smash off factional divisions within the Party and to unite the Party on the basis of the C. I. line in the struggle against the Right danger.

In order to continue the work of drawing into the Party leading organs new forces as well as those who were eliminated from this work or from the leading organs of the Party because of the factional fight, the Plenum of the C. C. indicates the necessity of bringing into the C. C. and Political Bureau, as well as into district leadership, new forces and the forces of the former minority who were eliminated or barred from the work in these organs on the ground of the now-liquidated factionalism.

30. At the same time, in the work of the Party and its leadership must be noted the following shortcomings:

Despite the mobilization of the Party for the line of the Communist International, the enlightenment campaign at the beginning was not thorough enough ideologically in the fight against the Right danger, nor was there sufficient discussion and criticism in regard to the application of the general line to the concrete tasks.

The entire Party was not drawn in sufficiently into the daily struggle against the Right danger.

At the beginning, insufficient and not quick enough reaction to the propaganda of Lovestone.

A certain degree of slowness in following up political criticism of Right errors with organizational measures.

Still insufficient development of inner Party democracy and of the development of Bolshevist self-criticism.

Manifestations of bureaucracy and the insufficient activity of the Party organizations in carrying out the tasks of the Party.

Insufficient speed in the drawing in of new forces, non-factional proletarians, into the Party cadres.

On International Red Day, insufficient preparation of the Party and the establishment of insufficient contact with the shops.

In connection with the Trade Union Unity Convention, not deep enough roots established in the shops; insufficient organizational preparation, particularly in districts; and lack of organizational concentration.

Still insufficient development of Negro, women and youth work.

Insufficient support of the struggle of the colonial peoples against American imperialism; insufficient participation in the international struggle of the world proletariat; insufficient work among the colonial workers in the U.S.A., especially Latin Americans.

These and other shortcomings in the Party work must be overcome by increasing the vigor and energy of the application of the line of the

Thesis Adopted by the Central Executive Committee Plenum, October 6-8.

Comintern and by a policy of Bolshevist self-criticism. The Party must not fear the criticism of its shortcomings, knowing as it does that the Lovestoneites, as tools of the bourgeoisie, will sneer at the shortcomings of the Party and will seek to exploit them for their opportunistic factional ends. The open criticism of the shortcomings of the Party is a symptom of the growing strength of the Party. The Party will grow stronger in the correction of its shortcomings and it will help to unify and finally consolidate the Party, many of whose errors, shortcomings and weaknesses have sprung from the factionalism, Right deviations, which have sapped the energy and fighting capacities of the Party.

SECTION IX.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

31. The Party requires the formulation of a Program of Action, in the working out of which the active Party membership shall participate. The chief tasks of the Party in the present period are: (a) A struggle against capitalist rationalization and the capitalist offensive. (b) Struggle against imperialist war, against American imperialism and for the defense of the Soviet Union. (c) Struggle against social reformism and the Right danger within the Party. (d) The building of the Party.

32. The work of organizing the unorganized, primarily the unskilled and semi-skilled, must be looked upon by the Party as one of its principal tasks. The unorganized masses must be organized into the new unions, affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League and at the same time the work of opposition in the old A. F. of L. unions must be intensified and the workers in these organizations won over from a policy of social imperialism to a class policy. The Trade Union Unity League must be built into a real mass organization and developed within the shortest possible time into the central leading organization of all revolutionary trade union forces in the United States. In this work of organizing the unorganized, the increasing role of women and youth workers must be borne in mind. The Negro proletariat plays an increasingly important role in the building of the new unions. Its increasing importance in the ranks of the main bulk of the proletariat makes it necessary that every effort be bent to organize the unorganized Negro proletariat into unions. In this connection, the Party must carry on a merciless struggle against white chauvinism and any attempt towards segregating the Negro workers. Even if some white workers will not join the same union with the Negro workers, the Party must continue organizing the Negro workers together with those white workers who will fight shoulder to shoulder with Negro workers in the same union, while, at the same time, carrying on a campaign of enlightenment to overcome the prejudices of the white workers.

The Party must take up the work of organizing the unorganized in earnest on the basis of the struggle for the everyday needs of the workers. The Party must everywhere stimulate the organization of shop committees and the formation of the unions. This organization must be on the basis of the struggle against capitalist rationalization and its consequences, against the speed-up, against unemployment and the growing insecurity of the workers, for the seven-hour day and six hours for underground workers and those engaged in injurious trades and for social insurance against all efforts to lower their standard of living, the lengthening of the hours of labor, the worsening of their conditions, wage cuts, etc. aiming to convert the defensive battles of the workers into offensive struggles and lead these struggles into channels of political struggles.

The Party fractions in the new unions must strive to convert these unions into real mass organizations through intensification of their struggles against the employers and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the capitalist government. We must guard against these unions becoming mere propaganda organizations but must see to it that they are actually industrial unions, organizing the struggles of the workers on the basis of the everyday needs of the workers.

The Party must now really carry through the decision that every member become a member of a trade union. All Party members in the trade unions must organize into fractions which will function systematically and continuously, thereby assuring the leading role of the Party in the mass organizations. The work in the reformist unions must be intensified and strong sections of the Trade Union Unity League built in these organizations on the basis of constant struggle to win the masses in them for the revolutionary trade unions.

The Party must organize the unemployed and connect up their struggle with the struggle of the employed. The Party must make clear to all workers the meaning of the present structural unemployment resulting from the intensification of the labor process. The Party must organize a vigorous campaign for all forms of social insurance, at the cost of the employer and the state, and for the seven-hour day and the five-day week.

In order to overcome the weaknesses in mobilizing the masses around the Gastonia struggle in bringing home to them the full political meaning of this class fight, the Party must concentrate on the following main tasks:

The Party must with the greatest energy proceed with the building of the National Textile Workers Union, the Trade Union Unity League, the International Labor Defense and the Workers International Relief in the South. All this work is proceeding under the leadership of the Communist Party which must be built. The Party must concentrate in building its organizations in the South during the present struggle and not make the mistake of the past of being the leader of the mass struggles and at the same time failing to crystallize its influence organizationally. Only a mass Communist Party in the South—that is, only the growth of the influence and organization of our Party in the South will be able to organize the masses in the struggle against capitalist rationalization, and convert the struggle from an economic into a political struggle. Our work in the South must be based upon the development of sharp struggles in defense of the workers' everyday demands.

The Party must set up a District organization in the South, publish a weekly paper devoted to the struggles of the South and tying them up organically with the developing struggles of the workers of the country, build its factory and mill nuclei, publish factory papers, etc.

The Party must organize against the terror of the employers by stimulating the organization of MILL DEFENSE COMMITTEES that will mobilize workers to protect themselves and to resist the fascist attacks against the workers. Committees that will defend workers' gatherings and workers' organizations.

The Party must throughout the country organize the widest possible movement around Gastonia, create special actions committees, and carry on the widest agitation for all forms of demonstrations of support for the Gastonia victims.

The position of the liberals, socialists, the Cannonites and Lovestoneites who try to reduce this case to a mere "frame-up" as a sort of miscarriage of "justice" must be exposed and combated. The Party must make clear to the workers that the workers have a right to organize themselves for their defense and in defense of their organizations. This is not a case of miscarriage of "justice." This is one of the countless cases of capitalist justice, capitalist violence against the workers, increasing in the present period of the radicalization of the masses, a typical example of the class role of the capitalist state. Only the mass mobilization of the workers of the country can defeat the terror of the employers and their government. The Party must carry on a struggle against the legalistic illusions resulting from the maneuvers of the bosses and their courts.

34. The Party must immediately apply itself to the task of working out an agrarian program of action, based upon the organization of the agrarian wage workers, and the development of a movement of the poorest, most exploited farmers, on the basis of struggle against capitalism and its agents—the "Progressives." The United Farmers Educational League should be encouraged to develop a more specific program, more clearly define its functions, and redouble and revivify its activities. Special attention must be given to the recruitment of the most advanced elements into the Party, strengthening the basic cadres of our agrarian work.

B. AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

35. The struggle against the danger of imperialist war and especially the imperialist attack on the Soviet Union must be in the center

of the everyday activity of the Party. In this campaign the Party must particularly expose the American Federation, the socialist party and the Musteites as agencies of American imperialism in its war preparations. The Party must expose the pacifist camouflage of the bourgeoisie with its Kellogg Pacts, Young Plans, etc. The Musteites with their left phrases must particularly be exposed as they are the most dangerous elements in the ranks of the labor movement. Similarly the Party must expose before the masses the social imperialist role of the Lovestone and Cannon renegades. The Party must popularize the achievements of the Soviet Union in the building of socialism, and particularly the successes of the Five Year Plan.

The agitation and organization among the armed forces must be systematically carried on. Special attention must be paid to organizing the struggle of the workers in the war industries. The special Thesis of the C. C. on Struggle Against the War Danger must be kept constantly before the Party as the guiding document in this work.

The results of International Red Day have demonstrated the readiness of large sections of the American workers to struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. The results of International Red Day must be studied and the contacts established followed up. Future movements of this character must be carried on with a more intense application of the united front from below.

The Party must intensify the struggle against American imperialism in the colonies and semi-colonies, against imperialist penetration in Latin-America, etc. The Colonial Department must be strengthened and the building of the Anti-Imperialist League considered a major task.

The Party must strengthen its relations with the Communist Parties of Latin-America and the colonies and assist the weaker Communist Parties in every way, and help organize Communist Parties where they do not exist (Philippines). Closer contact must be established with the Communist Parties of Canada, Great Britain and China.

C. THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL REFORMISM AND THE RIGHT DANGER

36. Without a merciless struggle against all brands of social reformism in the working class as well as opportunistic tendencies in the Party, the Party cannot gain the leading role in the labor movement, cannot become a mass Party. The struggle against the Lovestone renegades within the Party must be intensified and all conciliatory tendencies towards them within the Party rooted out. The struggle against social reformism in the labor movement, the weakening of its influence in the ranks of the workers will weaken the right danger in the Party.

The Cannon-Trotskyites have practically completed their development from their ultra left phrases to open opportunism. Travelling by a different route they have come practically to the same conclusions as the openly right wing Lovestone group on all important issues before the working class. The Party must expose the Cannon and Lovestone renegades as part of social reformism, at this time its left-wing.

37. On the question of the Labor Party the Sixth World Congress declared:

"That the Party concentrates on the work in the trade unions, on organizing the unorganized, etc., and in this way lays the basis for the practical realization of the slogan of a broad Labor Party organized from below."

In this statement of policy, the C. I. attacks the opportunist conception of a Labor Party in the United States, which is now becoming the unifying slogan of all the so-called "left" social reformists from the socialist party and Musteites to the Lovestone and Cannon groups. The Labor Party slogan as used by these elements must be understood in the light of the present third period, which intensifies the treacherous role of social reformism, the growing social fascist character of the socialist party, the development of the British Labor Party openly as a tool of imperialism, the treacherous character of the so-called progressive "left social reformists," from the standpoint of the tactic of the united front from below. The Communist Party must combat such opportunist use of the Labor Party slogan. Independent working class political action cannot be realized through the united front with reformist leaders and reformist organizations, but can be established only by the united front from below through the most merciless struggle against the social reformists on the basis of the fight for the everyday demands of the workers, against the capitalist parties and their social reformist henchmen.

Our policy on the Labor Party shall be concretely applied as follows:

(1) The militant putting forward of the Communist Party as the revolutionary Party of the working class.

(2) Development of united front movements with working class organizations on general political issues and the winning of the support of these organizations for Communist Party candidates in election period.

(3) Propaganda for the Labor Party slogan, organized from below, on the basis of a struggle against the social-reformists with the building of broad class revolutionary labor unions or shop committees as a preliminary condition for the formation of such a Labor Party—local or national.

(4) Fight against opportunist proposals of socialist party, Musteites, etc., for the formation of local or national labor parties.

D. BUILDING PARTY ORGANIZATION

38. The present situation makes possible the starting of a real recruiting campaign to enroll thousands of the most militant workers into the ranks of the Communist Party. Hitherto this work has been entirely unsystematic and sporadic, and the tens of thousands of workers who came to our ranks were not kept by the Party because of the bad organizational work of the Party and the factional regime which dominated its internal life. At present the whole objective situation and the genuine efforts of the Party to overcome the shortcomings of its internal life will make possible not only the recruiting of thousands of new workers, but also make it possible for the Party to keep the new members. The recruiting campaign should be prepared by the forthcoming District Plenums, and start with the November 7 celebrations and last for about two months, until the Lenin Memorial.

The center of the recruiting campaign must be organized in the factories with the aim not only of securing new members, but of securing new proletarian members from the basic industries preferably, and with the result that simultaneously the Party will increase its base in the factory nuclei, by the formation of new factory nuclei and the strengthening politically and numerically of the existing factory nuclei.

The recruiting campaign must make special efforts towards the recruiting of Negro proletarians. In connection with this, the whole of the Negro work must be strengthened, new literature on Negro work published, the Negro Departments in the districts and in the Center strengthened, and the whole Party mobilized for the winning of the Negro masses for Communism. Similarly, the Women's Department in the Center must be reorganized and strengthened, and the women's work of the Party put on a sound basis as part of the campaign of recruiting women workers into the Party. The Party must give serious attention to the building of the Young Communist League into a mass organization, as well as to the recruiting of younger proletarians into the ranks of the Party.

In view of the increasing terrorism of the bourgeoisie it becomes a most necessary task to prepare the normal functioning for the Party in the coming inevitable condition of illegality. Henceforward the Party shall create an apparatus for regular and effective anti-militarist work; it shall strengthen and systematize its methods of the Party press and literature distribution in the shops; it shall make all necessary preparations for illegal functioning of the leading organs of the Party.

The Party fractions in the I. L. D., W. I. E., Friends of the Soviet Union, Anti-Imperialist League, must utilize this campaign to draw the most advanced workers in these organizations into the Party, while at the same time increasing the mass base and activities of these organizations.

39. As part of this campaign, we must aim at increasing the circulation of the Daily Worker and the entire Party press. The Daily Worker must be made into a real mass organ connected with the masses in the shops through a whole network of factory correspondents. The Party nuclei must stimulate the organization of factory correspondents. This is one of the best guarantees not only of establishing the contacts of the Daily Worker in the shops, but also of increasing its circulation. The entire Party must be made to realize the important role of the Party central organ and the necessity to convert it into a real mass organ.

(THE END.)

THE CITY OF BREAD

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

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(Continued)

THERE it stood, that strange and amazing mystery, the railroad train. A whole street of izbas standing on wheels, and people looking out from each izba. The izbas were very crowded, mujiks and peasant women clambered over the roofs, pushing and jostling and helping one another up. Sacks and tea kettles and bread wallets of linen flew back and forth. Along the roofs paced a soldier with a gun, calling in a loud voice to women and mujiks:

"Keep off there!"

When he chased them off one roof, they would crowd back onto another. Again the sacks would fly through the air, again a soldier with a gun would shout:

"Keep off there!"

Mishka would have liked to climb up on the roof too with the rest of the crowd, but since it was forbidden, he didn't climb up; you had to know the rules. Serioshka understood nothing, but stared with wide-open eyes, not moving from the spot.

"Why do they chase them off there?"

"It's forbidden—it belongs to the government. Don't you see the soldier with the gun?"

There was a mujik with two sacks who was also completely at a loss. He pushed back his cap, and said thoughtfully:

"Where to climb now?"

He had already been on three roofs, but was everywhere driven off. He rushed to the last car beyond the water tower, surely they would let him on there. Mishka darted after the mujik, dragging Serioshka along.

"Hurry, don't keep hanging behind!"

But Serioshka was completely bewildered.

To the right, new objects; to the left, new objects. At home in their village there were three wires on the telegraph post; here there were eight in two rows. Glass balls hung from them, and they made a whistling noise. Two men went up and down with lamps. Everywhere lay iron bars—crowded together with bolts. Serioshka stumbled over one of them and fell, and an izba without windows bore down on him, its wheels rumbling.

"Out of the way there, boy!"

The mujik with the two sacks clambered up on the roof of the car, and Mishka after him, like a cat.

"Where are you going?"

"To Tashkent with Serioshka."

"Get down quick! This doesn't go to Tashkent."

"Where does it go, uncle?"

"To Siberia, to Siberia! Jump!"

Mishka's heart turned over, his hair stood on end. What Siberia? Where was Siberia? He was up on the roof, but Serioshka was running alongside the wheels.

"Climb up, Serioshka, climb up!"

Serioshka stretched out his arms and tried to catch hold of the car steps, but the car rushed past him.

"Little father!"

Serioshka ran alongside the car, trying with all his might to keep up with it. His breath was short, his head rocked, mist gathered before his eyes.

"You won't catch up!"

Mishka's heart ached with pity for his comrade. He would be lost. He would be afraid to go home himself. And if he, Mishka, jumped off while the train was in motion, he would be smashed into bits.

The car went faster, the roof swayed from side to side, the wheels clattered.

Suddenly Serioshka stumbled and flew head over heels.

"Now, it's the end of him!"

Mishka looked at the station, at Serioshka lying there; he remembered the pact not to leave each other in the lurch. What should he do? He would have to go back from the next station. But suddenly the car began to slow down, then stopped. It must have forgotten something. It jerked forward, then backed up on another track, jerked again, and backed again on another track. Five times it went forward and back, and took them at last into a field behind the station, and stopped. The engine puffed, left the train, and went off on a side track.

The mujik with the two sacks swore.

"The dirty bastard! I thought he was a regular train and would take me to Siberia!"

But Mishka was delighted.

He ran to the station; Serioshka was not there. He ran to the place where Serioshka had fallen; the place was not there. Here it was, or no, maybe it was here. He rushed back and forth, and finally found his comrade crouching near the switchman's hut. Serioshka's head was sunk in his knees, and he was crying.

That made Mishka unhappy.

"Why are you crying?"

"You lost me."

"We will always stay with each other now, and we will ask for the right way, and not take any old train that comes. Wait here while I run to the station and hear what the mujiks are saying. Stay right here and don't move away from this spot."

You couldn't contradict, Mishka was the leader.

SERIOSHKA curled up against the hut and closed his eyes.

"Fool! Why did you have to go along?"

He wanted to eat; he wanted to cry. Mishka would forget him, take the train alone, and go off, and he didn't know the way home by himself. Even if he had known, he couldn't go alone; when he went past the ravine, the thieves would catch him. They killed big mujiks, and would think nothing of making an end to a little boy like himself. One, two—and he would be dead.

At home they would be thinking: when will Serioshka be back? His mother would go from neighbor to neighbor telling them: "Our Serioshka has gone to Tashkent to fetch bread." His grandmother would probably die before he got back. She was a good grandmother too, she never beat Serioshka; and his mother was good too. And what a fine river! All summer long he might have gone swimming—if it hadn't been for the famine.

EVENING creeps up over the station, covering the trees with a black shawl. The globes on the telegraph poles light up, in the hut on the other side of the wall some one is tapping:

"Drrrr! Drrrr!"

And Mishka is not coming back. He'll get into the train and go off by himself.

Again from behind the wall comes the tapping—Drrrr! Drrrr! Serioshka was about to look in at the window, when past the hut came a monster with fiery eyes: it thundered and panted and puffed. From above sparks flew down. Suddenly it came snorting right up to the hut. Steam shot out of one side—straight at Serioshka. Had panic seized him and he fled, leaving behind his little sack and his bare sandals.

(To be Continued)