

BEN WELLS WILL ADDRESS WOMEN'S COMMUNIST ELECTION RALLY AT IRVING PLAZA TONIGHT

Ben Wells, who was nearly lynched near Gastonia as a result of his activity among the cotton mill workers of the South will be one of the speakers at the women's Communist rally to be held tonight at Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Pl., the Women's Department of the Party announced last night.

At the same time the leading women candidates of the Party will put forward the Communist pro-

gram of class struggle. These speakers include Fanny Austin, candidate for Alderman in the 21st district, who will emphasize the issues facing the Negro workers in particular; Lena Chernanko, candidate in the 23rd Assembly district, Brooklyn; also a representative of the United Council of Workingclass Women.

Wortis, one of the leaders of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is running in the same district as S. A. de Witt, the socialist

candidate who recently received the endorsement of the Citizens' Union, whose leading spirits are corporation lawyers and open-shop manufacturers.

"In the South," Wells said yesterday when he visited the Communist election headquarters at 28 Union Square, "half the workers employed in the hell-holes that are called mills are women and children. Because these workers dared to revolt against the 60-70 hour week, the \$8-\$10 weekly wage, the un-

derable stretch-out system, they were met with the most vicious and cruel attacks, not only by the mill owners, but also their henchmen, the political agents of the mill barons, by the state government.

"One brave fighter, Ella May, a leader of the textile workers, and another of five young children, was wantonly murdered—agents of the mill bosses emptied a revolver into the mill worker's heart. Now seven other mill workers, charged with murder, face long prison terms in Southern prisons. Despite the hypocritical cant about 'Southern chivalry' women workers are the victims of the same grinding exploitation as men."

The women speakers tonight will point out that the capitalist parties, democratic, republican and socialist—are for the rationalization and speed-up program which go hand in hand with the preparations for a new imperialist war, a war to destroy the Soviet Union; they will show how women workers, especial-

ly, are affected by the attacks of the bosses and the bosses' government.

Commenting on preparations for the meeting, Olga Gold, head of the Women's Department of the New York District of the Communist Party said:

"Women workers especially are effected by the attacks of the bosses' government. Of the 11 million women employed in the United States, only two per cent are organized. Of the hundreds of thousands of women toiling in the factories in New York, only a handful are organized. Women workers in New York City are paid one quarter and one half less wages than men for the same work, slaving for the miserable sum of \$10 to \$14 weekly. Even the 48-hour state law for women workers has been abolished and the bosses can now demand the 51 and 52 hour week in every shop."

Rebecca Grecht, Communist campaign manager, asserted that she anticipated a record attendance at the meeting tonight, and said: "In New York City Tammany Hall and the Republican Party are the open advocates of fascist terror against men and women workers who fight for better conditions. Their police have arrested thousands of cafeteria, needle and shoe strikers for the sole crime of picketing. The socialist Party is only the third party of the bosses. An increasing number of working women are beginning to understand that only the Communist Party fights for their interests."

Daily Worker



FINAL CITY EDITION

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

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JUDGE SEEKS CLASS VENGEANCE IN GASTONIA TRIAL

Spread the Oil Truckmen's Strike! Communist Party Charges City Cov't with Scabbing

Urges Rank and File Strike Committees to Win Their Struggle

Calls Upon Food Truckmen, Garagemen, Dock Men to Join with Oil Men

"Organize Under Lead of Trade Union Unity League," Communist Statement Urges

"Spread the strike!" "One fight—one front!" "Form rank and file committees!" These are the outstanding slogans of a statement on the struggle of the 3,000 gasoline truck strikers issued by the Communist Party yesterday as the class-collaborationist "leaders" of the truckmen continued desperate attempts to squelch the insistent demands of more than 50,000 workers, including filling station employes, garage workers and longshoremen, for a general sympathetic walk-out.

Last night delegates from the 18 New York locals of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, representing 25,000 men, met at Astoria Hall in East 40th St. to again demand the general trucking strike which A. F. of L. officials succeeded in frustrating last Friday.

Previous to the meeting, Michael Cashal, vice president of the union, admitted that the delegates would have the authority to declare such a strike, but intimated that he and other labor fakers were prepared to spike the proposal.

Gas, Garage Workers Join. Members of the Garage Workers' and Polishers Union have already forced their president, Herman Cohen, to announce that if the struggle is not settled in favor of the oil truckmen by Saturday, the union's membership of 15,000 will call a sympathetic walkout.

On Tuesday night, representatives of the 5,000 filling station workers met in two halls in Brooklyn and Manhattan to formulate demands and decide on joining the truckmen's struggle, but the strike vote was stalled off until Friday by the corrupt officials in charge. Even then, it was intimated, the meetings might be hogged to voting on "whether to present the demands to the bosses."

At 2 o'clock today, the Transportation Trades Council, which includes eight branches of the International Longshoremen's Union, will meet to instruct the 27,000 longshoremen, cooper, checkers and other waterfront workers it represents to cease handling goods delivered by scab drivers, or transported with scab gasoline. This will mean a virtual tie-up on the waterfront.

AFL Officials Hedge. The iron solidarity of all truck drivers, and the manifest sympathy of workers in other industries for the cause of the strikers, is at last driving the misleaders of Gas and Fuel Drivers' Local 553 to change front, at least in words, the Trade Union Unity League, 26 Union Sq., pointed out last night.

Heretofore Dawson and his henchmen have been trying to stuff the truckmen with fake optimism on the question of spreading the strike. Dawson himself, boasting that the local could "dry up the city" without the aid of workers in the other branches of trucking, the waterfront, garage, filling station and rail workers, called off the truckmen's meeting scheduled for last Tuesday, when the general strike vote, blocked Friday, was to have been taken. Now the A. F. L. fakers are mouthing 'general strike' in order the placate the strikers, but at the same time stamping out united front sentiment wherever encountered.

The solidarity of the truckers is well illustrated at the Pratt Plant of the Standard Oil Co., where strikers of the Royal Glass Co. and the Aus-

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. (Continued on Page Two)

CLEANERS QUIT WINDOWS 100%

Whalen Offers Police to Break Strike

"Never in the history of the union have we received such a unanimous response to the strike call," Harry Feinstein, secretary of the Window Cleaners' Union, Local 8, said yesterday in commenting on the 100 per cent effective strike of the 2,000 window cleaners.

They are demanding the 40-hour, 5-day week; increased minimum wage from \$45 to \$49.50 a week; proper safety devices; adequate compensation insurance and equal division of work in slack periods. Thirty independent companies have accepted these demands, Feinstein reports.

Other employers, organized in the Manhattan Window Cleaning Employers' Protective Association, have rejected them.

Whalen Provides Police Thugs. Police Chief Whalen immediately rushed to the aid of the employers by offering 100 police to "protect non-union window cleaners employed to replace strikers."

More uniformed strikebreakers would undoubtedly be added to that number if 1,500 of them were not already helping to break the oil truckmen's strike.

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 only in the Communist press can workers find the truth about the Soviet Union or any other phase or factor of the class struggle.

Five Days for Worker Held in Demonstration Against MacDonald

Anti-unionism characterized the action of Judge Silberman in Jefferson Market Court in sentencing Anna Pogranibsky, one of the workers arrested in the recent demonstration against Ramsay MacDonald at Grand Central Station, to five days imprisonment.

The worker refuse to allow herself to be finger-printed, despite the judge's threat to sentence her to six months. This further aroused Silberman's viciousness. The International Labor Defense defended the worker.

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

5-Year Plan To Be Feature of 12th Anniversary Program

Will Celebrate Achievements of Revolution, at Great Anniversary Gathering, Nov. 3.

The Five-Year Plan, opening up new vistas of intensive industrialization throughout the Soviet Union, strengthening the defense of the only Workers' and Peasants' Republic and tremendously improving the living conditions of the Russian masses will live in work and picture in the pages of the souvenir program that is now being prepared for the celebration of the 12th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The celebration, which has been arrang-

SEDITION CHARGE IN CHICAGO IN DRIVE ON PARTY

Court Says Communist Membership Enough Grounds for Charge

Jail Hathaway and 27 Attempt to Illegalize the Party

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 by similar action in other parts of the country.

THUG ATTACK ON NEEDLE WORKERS

To be Announced at Meet Tonight

An attack by professional gorillas on a member of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union in the fur market yesterday as turned into a mass demonstration against the organized thuggery of the I. L. G. W. U. by many of its victims.

Arising out of the fight, the only arrests made by Tammany police were of workers against whom the thugs directed their knives. The thugs slashed Morris Winchewsky at Seventh Ave. and 30th St. in the face and hand, causing ugly wounds which required several stitches.

Organizing immediately in defense of Winchewsky, his fellow-workers rushed after the gorillas, denouncing them as cut-throat agents of the Schlesinger machine.

Their cries were swiftly taken up by the crowded market till some 2,000 workers joined in the movement.

Caught at 27th St. and Eighth Ave., Schlesinger's agents drew knives and started a fight.

Several threatening shots were fired by police who charged into the crowd to protect the gorillas. They (Continued on Page Two)

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.

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 fundamentalists farmers everything that will inflame their prejudices.

If Fred Beal, Louis McLaughlin, William McGinnis, George Carter, Joseph Harrison, K. Y. Hendricks, and Clarence Miller go to a living death in the penitentiary, it will be because they are militant leaders of the working class, holdign revolutionary opinions 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 content 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

Dental Workers Await Shoe Workers Resist Police Brutality on Brooklyn Picket Line

Whether New York dental laboratory workers will call a general strike will be largely determined by letters expected today from employers organized in the Associated Dental Laboratories, Inc., in answer to the demands of the Dental Laboratory Workers' Union, M. J. Shalcan, union organizer, announced yesterday.

Unless the union's demands for the eight-hour day, 44-hour week, minimum wage scale and recognition are met by Tuesday, Oct. 22, the threatened general strike will take effect from that date.

Progress in the work of completing organizational plans for the expected stoppage was reported at the union membership meeting at Irving Plaza Hall, 16th St. and Irving Place Tuesday night.

Police arrests against workers organized in the Independent Shoe Workers Union, who are picketing three Brooklyn shops which violated the union's agreement are still successfully resisted by the strikers.

The shops involved are the Septurn, 33 Marcy Ave.; the Ebee, 44 Troutman St., and the Resined, 330 Melrose St.

All had acted in accordance with the State Department of Labor's circular letter instructing shoe firms to break relations with the Independent Union because, the Department tried to show, it was a "Communist organization."

Two strikers were arrested and dragged off the picket line after being beaten up by thugs outside the Septurn shop, given a suspended sentence who tried on charges of "disorderly conduct" at the Bridge Plaza Magistrate's Court, Brooklyn.

(Continued on Page Three)

DEMAND SPREAD OF OIL TRUCK WALKOUT HERE

Urge Rank and File Strike Committee

(Continued from Page One) tin-Nichols Co. are picketing with Standard drivers.

T. U. U. L. Meet The T. U. U. L. yesterday held another non meeting at 9th St. and Wythe Ave., Brooklyn, within a block of the Pratt Plant, and a fair sized crowd of strikers listened attentively as George Powers, and Ben Intrator of the League, and Harold Williams and Lewis, of the American Negro Labor Congress, exposed the underhanded methods by which the A. F. L. fat boys are conducting the strike, urged the unity of white and Negro workers in a wide-spread struggle and attacked the socialist, democratic and republican politicians as the governmental tools of the bosses.

Many of the truckmen gave their names and addresses to the T. U. U. L. organizers, asking that further information on the League and its fighting program be sent them. They expressed admiration for the fearlessness with which the Daily Worker is championing their strike, and admitted that the A. F. L. policy of carrying on the struggle behind closed bureaucratic doors was disgusting them.

Demand Action. They are demanding action from the officials, a strike headquarters near the center of the struggle, regular meetings and full reports on the situation.

The T. U. U. L. speakers also showed up the gesture of the Rockefeller, Sinclair and Mellon bosses in "withdrawing" the bodies of gunmen who have been terrorizing the strikers under the direction of Tammany and republican politicians. The carloads of gangsters no longer trail scab-driven tank cars; their places on the trucks have been taken by uniformed gorillas, the Tammany police. The thugs now roam the streets "on their own" looking for chances to slug stray strikers and if apprehended the oil bosses can simply deny that they are on the oil strike-breaking payroll.

One gorilla, totting a semi-machine gun, was "arrested" yesterday and will be punished by having his license, made out in Erie years ago, revoked. The Sullivan law applies only to workers.

The city government is a strike-breaking agency! He trucks trucks of the department of plant and structures are now being loaded and brought to filling stations to help companies crippled by the strike.

The Tammany police have unleashed a reign of terror against the striking oil men. This was to be expected. In every struggle of the workers the capitalist government rushes in to aid the bosses. This was seen in the struggles of the needle trades, cafeteria and shoe workers in New York. It is seen in the strike of the New Orleans carmen and the growing, militant struggles of the workers in the cotton mills of the South. It is seen in the attempt to railroad seven active textile workers in Gastonia to living deaths in prison cells.

Three Boss Parties. The democratic, republican and socialist parties are the parties of the bosses. The socialist party and the socialist party trade union bureaucrats have been up and assault militant rank and file workers who have been fighting against company unionism, for the organization of the unorganized, for better living conditions.

The A. F. L. chiefs have repeatedly surrendered the strikes of the workers; they work hand in hand with the bosses against the rank and file, and are now preparing to betray the oil workers. During the two weeks that the strike has been on, not a single meeting has been called by the A. F. L. officials. This is part of the preparation for a complete surrender to the oil bosses. Cashel, vice-president of the Teamsters' Union, has already called for "arbitration" by the capitalist strikebreaking agency, the State Department of Labor.

This is the usual trick of the labor bureaucrats to destroy a militant strike. Justin Crain, whom Cashel wants to "arbitrate" the strike is an inunction judge who sold out the interests of the building trades workers last spring and is now the candidate for district attorney of the democratic party which is now using police to break the oil men's strike.

Spread the Strike! Form United Front! Fellow workers, the oil truckmen are fighting the battle of all workers for shorter hours, union organization, and improved living standards. This fight can be decisively won if the food truckmen, garagemen and dockmen will rally to the support of the oil truckmen. The bosses have their forces in they are rallying their forces in every greater and underworld characters. Now is the time for the food truckmen to renew their struggle for the eight-hour day together with the oil truckmen. Now is the time for the garagemen to organize into a union, to be controlled by the rank and file to fight against their miserable conditions. The dockmen must refuse to handle scab goods and join the oilmen in their fight. Such a

Wm. Faversham Returns in Light Comedy at Longacre

William Faversham.



A frothy comedy, that often borders on farce, has arrived at the Longacre Theatre. It is titled "Her Friend the King," and has with it William Faversham in the leading role, A. E. Thomas, veteran playwright and the late Harrison Rhodes are the authors.

The play concerns royal empires living in Switzerland and their plotting to return to power.

The comedy has many witty lines, but to sit through these acts of it is asking too much. Then again the play is royalist propaganda, banking interests represented by the McKinley Trust Co. of New York, financed the kingdom before Georges was deposed. Only in these few brief remarks is the role of American imperialism touched upon.

There is no need to go into further details about the rest of the play. It is not as important as the play. It is a play that at no time seems logical.

Its redeeming point being the excellent acting. As Georges, Mr. Faversham shows that he has not forgotten to act effectively. Katherine Kohler is pretty to look at as the Princess, while Ara Gerald is unusually fine as Mrs. Hastings. Hugh Sinclair is rather awkward in the first act, but improves before the play ends. Others in the cast include Daisy Atherton and Henry Morrell.

"POWER" AT YIDDISH ART THEATRE. Maurice Schwartz' opening production of the Yiddish Art Theatre will take place this evening in what was formerly Proctor's Fifth Avenue Theatre at 28th St. and Broadway, will be Lion Feuchtwanger's "Power" ("Jew Suss").

Schwartz has made use of Feuchtwanger's own drama of the same title which, it may not be generally known, antedated the novel in composition by several years. Ashley Dukes' dramatization of "Power," the reigning hit of the new season in London, has been made, on the contrary, from the novel. In translating his version of "Power" from Feuchtwanger's own original German play manuscript, Mr. Schwartz has included several scenes from the novel which were not in the original play.

Arthur Hopkins will present "The Channel Road," a new play by Alexander Woolcott, and George S. Kaufman, at the Plymouth Theatre, this evening.

The play is headed by Anne Forrest, Edith Van Cleve, Peggy Con-

United front will defeat the Rockefeller and the other oil companies. The oil truckmen must not be left to fight alone.

"Oil truckmen, food truckmen, garagemen, dockmen!" "Form a rank and file united front to win the eight-hour day, organization of the unorganized. Spread the strike. Maintain your right to strike and picket. Fight the violence of the thugs and police. Defeat the Rockefeller oil magnates. Form rank and file united front strike committees over the heads of your officials!" Under these slogans District 2 of the Communist Party last night issued the following statement on the strike:

The strike of the oil truckmen who are now putting up a stiff fight for the eight-hour day, increased wages, extra pay for overtime and for union recognition, provides the most recent example of the role of the bosses' city government as a strikebreaking agency.

Walker's Police Commissioner Whalen, mouthpiece of the corrupt Tammany Hall city government, in the oil men's strike as in other struggles, has brazenly stepped forward as the gangster-in-chief of the powerful oil bosses.

Whalen, faithful tool of the employers, has placed a copy alongside the driver of every scab truck, with a motorcycle policeman behind each truck. Groups of armed policemen surround the depots, threatening the strikers. Mouted policemen tear through the strike areas terrorizing the strikers and strike sympathizers. Several have been severely injured as a result of police and gangster attacks, and one sympathizer is now in a hospital in a critical condition.

Hiding his strikebreaking activities under a cloak of hypocrisy, Whalen engages in shadowboxing with the powerful oil corporations by making a fake gesture in which he warns them that they "must stop the use of gorillas." At the same time he announces that he is increasing the police force so that no 2,000 are being used to break the strike. Recently, Whalen asked for 3,000 policemen to be added to the city force. This was an anticipation of the growing militant struggles of the workers arising from increasing attacks by the bosses upon their living standards and of the growing determination of the workers to meet these attacks.

Walker Aids Bosses. Walker's government is thus providing the oil companies with uniformed strikebreakers to add to the army of private thugs and guerrillas, whom the city government protects and whose violence against the strikers it encourages.

The democratic party of Tammany Hall is not alone in this open attack on the striking oil workers. In the strike zones in Brooklyn both republican and democratic leaders openly act as "guardian angels" of the hired gangsters, who sweep through the streets in speeding automobiles flaunting guns, blackjacks and knives.

The republican headquarters in the 14th District, Brooklyn, is the mobilization point for the gangsters, and the republican local leader, Merrick Nittley, is in active war service for the open shop, union-hating oil corporations. He assigns the cops and gangsters to take their places alongside the scabs.

Spread the strike! Bring out the garage, food truckmen! Do it yourselves! Your leaders prevent the other workers from joining you! Organize Negro workers as well as white workers! One fight—one front! Organize defense committees

HARLEM, BRONX ELECTION MEETS TOMORROW NIGHT

Weinstone, Hall, Gold, Olgin to Speak

(Continued from Page One)

last night from the headquarters of the Communist Campaign Committee, 28 Union Square, declared that "the democratic, republican and socialist parties are the parties of the slave-driving bosses and rent-gouging landlords. Tammany Hall stands for the system of 'black belts' which rules in New York as in other cities. Tammany Hall upholds the grasping landlords to whom workers are compelled to pay more than one-half their wages.

"Right now in the gasoline truck drivers' strike, it is the Negro strikers especially, as well as the white workers, who are attacked by the Tammany and republican strike-breaking police."

Included among the speakers will be Ben Gold, secretary-treasurer of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, and candidate for alderman in the 29th district, Bronx; M. J. Olgin, editor of the Morning Freiheit and candidate for assembly in the 4th district; Rose Wortis of the Industrial Union and candidate for assembly in the third district; and Rebecca Grecht, candidate for assembly in the fifth district, Bronx, and Communist campaign manager.

Olgin, in addition to discussing some of the highlights of the campaign, will also deal with the recent Arab revolt in Palestine. The meeting is being held under the auspices of the Bronx section of the Communist Party, with the cooperation of the Campaign Committee of the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union.

Scott Neuringer will give a lecture on the coming World War in the Auditorium of the Cooperative Colony on Sunday, Oct. 20, 8:30 p. m. Admission 25 cents.

Drum Fraction. All Party and League members affiliated with dramatic groups are asked to attend a Drum Fraction meet on Thursday, 6:30 p. m., at 28 Union Sq.

Women's Mass Meeting. A mass demonstration of protest against the Gastonia frame-up will be held in conjunction with an election rally of women workers at Irving Plaza Hall, 15th St. and Irving Pl., on Oct. 17, at 8 p. m.

Spanish Night. Under the auspices of Unit 2, Section 4, a Spanish Night entertainment will be given this Saturday, Oct. 19, 8:30 p. m., at 25 W. 116th St. Music, refreshments, dancing. Admission 25 cents.

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Wm. Faversham Returns in Light Comedy at Longacre

Urge Rank and File Strike Committee

(Continued from Page One) tin-Nichols Co. are picketing with Standard drivers.

T. U. U. L. Meet The T. U. U. L. yesterday held another non meeting at 9th St. and Wythe Ave., Brooklyn, within a block of the Pratt Plant, and a fair sized crowd of strikers listened attentively as George Powers, and Ben Intrator of the League, and Harold Williams and Lewis, of the American Negro Labor Congress, exposed the underhanded methods by which the A. F. L. fat boys are conducting the strike, urged the unity of white and Negro workers in a wide-spread struggle and attacked the socialist, democratic and republican politicians as the governmental tools of the bosses.

Many of the truckmen gave their names and addresses to the T. U. U. L. organizers, asking that further information on the League and its fighting program be sent them. They expressed admiration for the fearlessness with which the Daily Worker is championing their strike, and admitted that the A. F. L. policy of carrying on the struggle behind closed bureaucratic doors was disgusting them.

Demand Action. They are demanding action from the officials, a strike headquarters near the center of the struggle, regular meetings and full reports on the situation.

The T. U. U. L. speakers also showed up the gesture of the Rockefeller, Sinclair and Mellon bosses in "withdrawing" the bodies of gunmen who have been terrorizing the strikers under the direction of Tammany and republican politicians. The carloads of gangsters no longer trail scab-driven tank cars; their places on the trucks have been taken by uniformed gorillas, the Tammany police. The thugs now roam the streets "on their own" looking for chances to slug stray strikers and if apprehended the oil bosses can simply deny that they are on the oil strike-breaking payroll.

One gorilla, totting a semi-machine gun, was "arrested" yesterday and will be punished by having his license, made out in Erie years ago, revoked. The Sullivan law applies only to workers.

The city government is a strike-breaking agency! He trucks trucks of the department of plant and structures are now being loaded and brought to filling stations to help companies crippled by the strike.

The Tammany police have unleashed a reign of terror against the striking oil men. This was to be expected. In every struggle of the workers the capitalist government rushes in to aid the bosses. This was seen in the struggles of the needle trades, cafeteria and shoe workers in New York. It is seen in the strike of the New Orleans carmen and the growing, militant struggles of the workers in the cotton mills of the South. It is seen in the attempt to railroad seven active textile workers in Gastonia to living deaths in prison cells.

Three Boss Parties. The democratic, republican and socialist parties are the parties of the bosses. The socialist party and the socialist party trade union bureaucrats have been up and assault militant rank and file workers who have been fighting against company unionism, for the organization of the unorganized, for better living conditions.

The A. F. L. chiefs have repeatedly surrendered the strikes of the workers; they work hand in hand with the bosses against the rank and file, and are now preparing to betray the oil workers. During the two weeks that the strike has been on, not a single meeting has been called by the A. F. L. officials. This is part of the preparation for a complete surrender to the oil bosses. Cashel, vice-president of the Teamsters' Union, has already called for "arbitration" by the capitalist strikebreaking agency, the State Department of Labor.

This is the usual trick of the labor bureaucrats to destroy a militant strike. Justin Crain, whom Cashel wants to "arbitrate" the strike is an inunction judge who sold out the interests of the building trades workers last spring and is now the candidate for district attorney of the democratic party which is now using police to break the oil men's strike.

Spread the Strike! Form United Front! Fellow workers, the oil truckmen are fighting the battle of all workers for shorter hours, union organization, and improved living standards. This fight can be decisively won if the food truckmen, garagemen and dockmen will rally to the support of the oil truckmen. The bosses have their forces in they are rallying their forces in every greater and underworld characters. Now is the time for the food truckmen to renew their struggle for the eight-hour day together with the oil truckmen. Now is the time for the garagemen to organize into a union, to be controlled by the rank and file to fight against their miserable conditions. The dockmen must refuse to handle scab goods and join the oilmen in their fight. Such a

United front will defeat the Rockefeller and the other oil companies. The oil truckmen must not be left to fight alone.

"Oil truckmen, food truckmen, garagemen, dockmen!" "Form a rank and file united front to win the eight-hour day, organization of the unorganized. Spread the strike. Maintain your right to strike and picket. Fight the violence of the thugs and police. Defeat the Rockefeller oil magnates. Form rank and file united front strike committees over the heads of your officials!" Under these slogans District 2 of the Communist Party last night issued the following statement on the strike:

The strike of the oil truckmen who are now putting up a stiff fight for the eight-hour day, increased wages, extra pay for overtime and for union recognition, provides the most recent example of the role of the bosses' city government as a strikebreaking agency.

Walker's Police Commissioner Whalen, mouthpiece of the corrupt Tammany Hall city government, in the oil men's strike as in other struggles, has brazenly stepped forward as the gangster-in-chief of the powerful oil bosses.

Communist Activities

Unit 12F, Section 2. Functionaries meet Thursday, 5:30 p. m., at 1179 Broadway.

Section 5 Rally. Indoor rally Friday evening at Rose Garden, 1347 Boston Rd. Come, Weinstone, Olgin, Gold, Grecht, and Wortis will speak on the Party election campaign. Admission free. All Section members urged to attend.

Election, Gastonia Banquet. Section 4 has arranged an Election Campaign and Gastonia defense Banquet for Sunday, Oct. 20, 4 p. m., at the Hungarian Workers Home, 350 E. 81st St. Good food; musical entertainment. Admission \$1.00. All comrades invited.

Unit 12J, Section 2. Meets Thursday (today), 6 p. m., at 1179 Broadway.

Branche 4, Section 5. Special meeting Monday, 5:30 sharp, at 1179 Broadway.

Needle Trades Youth Section. A very important meeting will be held today immediately after work. All League members employed in the needle trades urged to attend.

Greek comrades. All Greek comrades must report at 1179 Broadway today at 7:30 p. m.

Unit 1F, Section 2. Special meeting Friday at 6 p. m. sharp.

Unit 5P, Section 3. Educational meeting Monday, 6:30 p. m., at 1179 Broadway. All comrades must appear without fail.

Columbus Circle Open Air Meet. An open air election rally will be held at Columbus Circle today, 8 p. m., under the auspices of P. M. Branch, Section 2. Speakers: G. Priff, Williams.

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Scott Neuringer Lecture. Scott Neuringer will give a lecture on the coming World War in the Auditorium of the Cooperative Colony on Sunday, Oct. 20, 8:30 p. m. Admission 25 cents.

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ILLINOIS MINERS PREPARING THEIR OWN CONVENTION

Both Gangs of Fakers Appear at Toronto

(Continued from Page One)

and are merely subjected to an involuntary dues payment, the check-off, through collusion between Lewis, or Fishwick, an dthe 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 looming 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 A. F. L. TORONTO, Canada, Oct. 16.—The Lewis-Fishwick split, which tears the U. M. W. A. right through the middle, is before the A. F. L. convention here, in a submerged form. Lewis, who is a convention delegate, as always, is telling the

capitalist press all the things he is going to do to Fishwick and his 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 1925 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. officialdom taking any public action on the split.

Cleaners Quit Windows (Continued from Page One) department to grant a permit forced a parade to City Hall to be called off.

The parade was to have protested against employers who, aided by state complicity, tricked workers out of accident compensation.

Unity Co-operators Patronize SAM LESSER Ladies' and Gents' Tailor 1818 - 7th Ave. New York Next to 110th and 111th Sts. Send to Unity Co-operative House

Cooperators! Patronize SEROY CHEMIST 657 Allerton Avenue Estabrook 3215 Bronx, N. Y.

Comrade Frances Pilat MIDWIFE 351 E.

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 merging of trust capital with the state apparatus, growing tendencies 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 assembly 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 well 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 hence 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, pace-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, is 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 more vigorous struggle against the Communist movement, to fight 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 outright 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 their 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 present 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 through the separation of certain categories of workers from their class, by higher wages and other privileges, but also through "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 Bolshevik 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 "exceptional" 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 thermidorean theory of "degeneration" of the Communist International; their defense of and collaboration with the International Right Wing (the renegade article published in Brandler's organ inspired or written by the Lovestone group); the struggle with methods of American petty bourgeois politicalism (burglarizing of 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 truly 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 (Canonites) have gone over completely to the other side of the barricade (counter-revolutionary Thermidorean 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 opportunistic 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 (khovostism); failure of Party organization to assume leading roles in strike struggles and the general tendency of too slow a 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 coming 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 triple alliance of capitalist state, employers' organizations and reformists), and carry on a ceaseless propaganda for the mass 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 Address. Bureaucratic 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

Continued on Page Four

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 wear obviously hiredling of the mill barons, and see through the mass flow 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 1st 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 do not 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 be heard. 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 is not impartial, but on the contrary, is an efficient instrument of his class, the capitalist class, against the workers. Barnhill's previous pretense of fairness was for the purpose of creating an 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 20th 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 with bundles of the Daily Worker regularly, for distribution among the 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 strike 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. Bolshevik self-criticism is in itself an instrument of bringing the Party closer to the masses.

The envenoming 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, the 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 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 firmer 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. R. Beginning of the drawing of new forces into the Party cadres. Beginning of the establishment of real Bolshevik self-criticism and proletarian democracy.

The Plenum stands as a very important achievement that the Party and its leadership has succeeded in liquidating factionalism, to smash old 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 Bolshevik 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 and proletarian, 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 struggles of the world proletariat; insufficient work among the colonial workers in the U.S.A., especially Latin Americans.

Those 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 Bolshevik 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 imperialism, 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 masses, 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 function 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. R., 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 to join 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 on 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. Mad panic seized him and he fled, leaving behind his little sack and his bark sandals.

(To be Continued.)