

## Workers of All Countries, Turn Eyes to Gastonia!

The protest demonstrations in Denmark, England, Germany and elsewhere in Europe and Latin America in behalf of the Gastonia prisoners as reported in our columns yesterday, show that the struggle of the working class of North and South Carolina against capitalist rationalization has acquired not only national but international significance. The trial of the 13 workers for murder, of three others for second degree murder and of seven for assault, workers who had sought to defend their union against the attacks of the mercenaries of the mill owners and the government, has focused the attention of workers throughout the United States and in other countries as well upon the struggle that is going on in North Carolina.

The broad significance of the struggle was brought out in the Manifesto of the Communist Party of the United States, published in the Daily Worker on Thursday, Sept. 19, and emphasized in the special editorial of Saturday.

It was shown that North Carolina has become the cockpit of the capitalist drive for even more intense exploitation of the workers, by which means the capitalists hope to solve the contradictions between expanding productivity and shrinking markets and at the same time make safe "the rear" of their armies in a new imperialist war.

North Carolina typifies the whole struggle of the international working class against the capitalist offensive, typifies the new oncoming tide of the revolutionary proletarian movement. Hence, the eyes of the workers in all countries at this moment are beginning to turn towards Gastonia; and there is heard the voice of protest that must swell into strikes of protest and mass mobilization.

There in these mill towns and mill villages of the newly industrialized South, where beside the company mills rise the company-owned church and the company-owned schools, a grim struggle goes on unceasingly.

Telling long hours (the eleven-hour day is permitted by law in North Carolina—and no severe penalties will fall on any employers who stretches it to 12 or more), living in miserable hovels, earning low wages (30 a week was the pittance on which Ella May had to support five children), deprived of adequate schooling (many workers have not been allowed to learn to read or write), split up and subjected to a continuous capitalist propaganda to turn the white workers against the Negro workers, starved, evicted and shot down in cold blood if they stir a hand in their own behalf, these workers are eager to be organized, eager to join in a common struggle of all the workers against their oppressors.

Out of the misery of their exploitation they look to the formation of a militant union as the means whereby they will break their chains; they look to the Communist Party to help them break their union and to lead them in their struggle.

Therefore the whole might of the State of North Carolina becomes an engine of the bosses to crush the rising spirit of resistance and to strike terror by the trial on a murder charge of those who sought to build and defend the union.

Therefore the might of the state is reinforced by the fascist hands of armed thugs, who nightly rush through the villages of North Carolina in their automobiles, ready to murder or torture any militant worker.

Therefore, too, it is that the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, takes up the challenge of the American capitalist class. On the workers' side, on the other hand, as the Manifesto of Thursday states:

"The working class under the leadership of the Communist Party takes up the challenge of the American capitalist class," and answers capitalist rationalization and terror by the slogans of struggle for the seven-hour day, for unemployment insurance, for higher wages, for the right to organize, for the right of workers to defend themselves and their organizations;

For building our Party and our Party press in the South; for building mill committees in every mill, for Workers Defense Committees in every mill and mine, in every shop and ship, in every center of production, for the disarming of the fascist thugs, for the preparation of strikes of protest in support of the workers of North Carolina and to save the Gastonia victims from the electric chair.

## JEWISH MASSES REPUDIATE ZIONIST SWINDLE AND FOLLOW PARTY LEAD ON PALESTINE

The thousands of Jewish workers who packed New Star Casino Sunday and the hundreds, perhaps thousands of others who could not get into the crowded auditorium, showed clearly that the class struggle cannot be obscured by the racial or religious appeals of the Zionists and the other elements of the Jewish bourgeoisie. These thousands of workers, with one voice, denounced the writers, editors and contributors to the Jewish Daily Forward, the Day and the Morning Journal, as agents of imperialism who were trying to aid in the capitalist suppression and exploitation of the Arabian masses and Jewish workers in Palestine. The demonstration took the form of a mass trial, with spokesmen for the Communist Party presenting a devastating indictment of the Zionists as pliant tools of British imperialism.

The masses realized the true significance of the Zionist swindle, as its utopian mask was ripped off and its imperialist features exposed in all their hideousness. Zionism, trying to deceive the Jewish masses with talk of a social and national paradise in Palestine, is in reality an instrument by which British imperialism carries on a campaign of exploitation against the Arabian masses, driving them from the land on which they and their ancestors have lived for centuries and enslaving them on plantations. It was shown conclusively that no Jewish state has been established in Palestine; that the Zionists aid British imperialism in stifling every movement for political independence of Palestine. The "left" Zionists, the Paoli Zionists, were exposed as the most vicious enemies of the toiling masses and the most virulent agents of imperialism who even sink so far as to prostitute Communist slogans and demand a "Jewish Soviet republic" for Palestine. This is nothing other than a demand for a dictatorship of a minority of Jewish elements over the vast majority of Arabians in Palestine. A Soviet republic must be based upon the whole toiling masses of a country and can only be brought about by the overthrow of the exploiting class and of every form of exploitation.

Against the demands of the Zionist agents of imperialism the class Communist demands were put forward for support of the revolutionary movement against imperialism and its Zionist agents, for an independent Arab republic with full rights for all national minorities, including the toiling Jewish masses, for the return of the land stolen from the Arabs, for a federation of Soviet republics of Arabistan and for a united front of Jewish and Arab toiling masses against world imperialism.

The Communist program was unanimously endorsed by the class conscious Jewish workers of New York, who have been through bitter class conflicts in this city and elsewhere. These workers could not be deceived by the reactionary nationalist and religious appeals of the Zionists.

At the same hour the trial of the Zionist agents of imperialism was being held, there was staged in another hall a demonstration of Jewish capitalist journalists, editors, doctors, lawyers, manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers, peddlers, musicians, who passed resolutions against the Communists and affirmed their "most sacred faith in Jewish culture, in the Jewish masses and the Jewish people." No one could expect these elements to speak of the working class.

The Jewish masses recognize in the apologists for Zionism who passed resolutions against the class struggle and against the liberation movement of the colonial victims of imperialism, the same identical Jewish needle trades bosses and their associates and labor faker tools and gangsters who fight with all their power against every attempt of the Jewish needle trades and other workers to improve their conditions.

The Jewish working masses understand that their emancipation is to be sought not by following the chimera of nationalism into the camp of imperialism, but by fighting the class struggle in the ranks of the working class.

## NANKING TROOPS LOOSE IN FIRST YANGTZE BATTLE

### "Reorganizationists" Reported Close to Chiang's Capital

## More Attacks on USSR Red Army Annihilates White Guard Raiders

Firing started yesterday in a new war against the Nanking military government, centering about Ichang in the central province of Hupeh, according to a United Press cable from Shanghai.

General Chang Fa-Kwei, dismissed by President Chiang Kai-shek for ordering unauthorized movements of his so-called "Ironside" troops, contacted a battery of artillery near Ichang, twenty miles from Ichang.

The guns opened fire on a Nanking troop ship moving up the Yangtze river towards Ichang from Hangchow, killing a Chinese newsboy and wounding forty soldiers on the transport, according to advices reaching here. Seven shells struck the ship.

### "Reorganization."

The newest Chinese civil war centered about "reorganization group," headed by Chang Fa-Kwei, who was reported to have allied himself with the Kwangsi faction in a southern drive designed to capture Canton. (Continued on Page Three)

## POLICE SMASH PATERSON MEET

### Nine Workers Jailed; One Given 15 Days

PATERSON, Sept. 23.—Morris Lis, one of nine workers arrested Saturday night when police broke up an open air meeting at Main and Bank Sts., was sentenced to 15 days in jail then arraigned before police recorder Joelson this morning. The charge against the other eight workers was dismissed. An effort will be made to release Lis on bail while his conviction is being appealed.

Altho chief of police Tracy had given the National Textile Workers' Union, the Communist Party and the Youth Communist League a permit to hold the meeting, it was broken up by a large squad of police, despite the protests of 1,000 workers who were present. This is the second meeting on this corner that has been smashed within two weeks.

When a committee of the union, the Party and the League called on Chief Tracy this afternoon to inquire why the meeting had been broken up after he had issued a permit, he at first ordered the committee "to get the hell out of here." When they refused to leave the police station, Tracy gave them an audience and issued a permit for another meeting, which will be held next Saturday night at Governor and Bridge Sts. It is planned to make this a big working class demonstration.

Those who were discharged in court this morning were Martin Russack and George Siskind. N. T. W. U. organizers: Gertrude Welsh, R. Goldberg, Sol Greenberg, Minnie Donzinger, Edie Swaysal and Aaron Leib.

## Krestintern in International Move to Free 13 in Gastonia

### World Farmers Council, Latin-American and German Workers Demand Release of 23

Heading the list of international protest of the Gastonia defendants and strikers is a resolution from the International Farmers Council, the Krestintern of Moscow, appealing to the millions of farmers and peasants all over the world to demonstrate for the freedom of the 23 strikers.

"Most of these workers are the sons and daughters of poor farmers of the vicinity of Gastonia," the resolution states. "The farmers and heart-croppers of that part of the United States, as everywhere else are growing under the pressure of capitalist exploitation, and choked by debts and unbearable taxes, are compelled to send their children to the mills and factories where they have to bear inhuman exploitation.

The government of the United States, the executioner of Sacco and Vanzetti, is preparing another gruesome execution on the electric chair of the 16 textile workers of Gastonia.

## Land of Soviets Primed to Hop Aleutian Isles

SEATTLE, Wash., Sept. 23.—The globe-girdling monoplane, Land of the Soviets will leave Attu, outermost island of the Aleutian chain off Alaska, for the Dutch Harbor, Unalaska, some time today, according to a radio message from Captain Cochrane, commander of the U. S. coast guard fleet in the Bering Sea, who quoted a dispatch from the Soviet cutter Krasny Vypel, supply ship of the U. S. S. R. plane. Captain Cochrane's message, sent from Dutch Harbor, which is 752 miles from Attu, refuted previous reports that the four Soviet fliers had taken off yesterday.

The Pacific Northwest was blanketed in a heavy fog today, with a light rain falling at Unalaska and the barometer down to 29, the report said, adding greatly to the hazards of the flight over the Aleutians, which are studded with treacherous volcanoes, some over 3,000 meters high and perpetually covered with snow.

The route followed by Commander Semyon Shestakov and his three daring comrades, across the North Pacific, has been attempted only twice before, once by British aviators, one of whom met disaster, and again in 1924 by one of the U. S. army world flight plane, which was forced to turn back before reaching Japan.

## FRANCE AND U. S. BARGAIN ON SUBS

### Confabs of Imperial Powers Frequent

Secretary of State Stimson is engaged in continuous conferences with the ambassadors of Italy, France and Japan, officials at the state department building have made known to the capitalist press.

Although nothing on the exact stage of negotiations is permitted for publication, it is known that it has been virtually decided that England shall issue the invitations and that the five power conference shall convene early next year, probably in London.

### Japanese Demands.

The officials do not deny that a regular dog fight at the conference (Continued on Page Two)

## Metal Workers Meet Tuesday to Discuss Organization Plans

Under the auspices of the Metal Workers' Industrial League, organized in Cleveland Aug. 31, a mass meeting will be held at Irving Plaza, St. and Irving Place, Tuesday, 24. In a leaflet issued to all workers the League points out the inhuman speed-up system in this important industrial center and the need for an industrial union to fight for better conditions.

Toolmakers, machinists, specialists, foundry workers, radio workers, auto and airplane workers, men and women, regardless of race or color, are invited to attend. (Continued on Page Two)

## CANADA 'WORKER' DEFIES BANNING

TORONTO, Ont., Sept. 23.—The Worker, official organ of the Communist Party of Canada, re-appeared this week following police confiscation of its previous issue just as it came off the press. This issue, however, was prepared in the face of further police edicts threatening sedition proceedings against printers handling the paper.

The onslaught on the Communist press is coincident with the campaign of repression initiated by Toronto police against militant workers' organizations. Eight workers face charges in the higher courts arising from their activities in the Party's fight for free speech and freedom of the streets. Five are to be tried for "distributing literature advocating the violent overthrow of constituted authority," an indictable offense entailing a possible jail sentence of twenty years each.

## Are You of Those Withholding Day's Pay from the Party

To Every Party Member!

The DAY'S PAY assessment was decided upon three months ago there are still thousands of Party members who have not yet given their DAY'S PAY.

ARE YOU ONE OF THOSE STILL WITHHOLDING THE DAY'S PAY FROM THE PARTY?

The present situation in the country, the rising tide of struggle of the masses, the success of the Trade Union Unity League Convention, the sharpening of the class struggle in Gastonia—surely in such a situation every Party member must rally to the support of the Party in every respect.

At a time when some of our comrades are face to face daily with the open fascist terror of the capitalist class there should not be a single Communist who fails the Party at such a period.

If you have not yet given your day's pay set at once!

If you have done your duty to the Party see that every member of your nucleus does the same.

Demand of your nucleus officials an account of all money collected and see that it is forwarded to the National Office of the Party.

Let your unit insist that the district shall send all funds collected on the day's pay to the National Office immediately.

No Party member will be considered in good standing who has not secured a day's pay stamp either by giving a day's pay or through unemployment pay deductions of the nucleus.

Send all money collected to Communist Party, 48 E. 125th St., New York City.

## SENATE PROBE IS GAME TO SHIELD WAR PROFITEERS

### Steel Trust Official Acts Dumb on Shearer Case

## Millions in War Profits McKeller in Attack on British Navy

The senate at Washington is still conducting the "inquiry" into the activity of the big navy advocate, William B. Shearer, in an effort to cover up the jingoistic activities of the ship builders and munitions manufacturers, particularly Charles M. Schwab, chairman of the board, and Eugene E. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, who made millions as war profiteers in the last war and are outstanding leaders of American imperialism's preparation for another world war.

The employment of Shearer by the war-mongers as "observer and reporter" at the unsuccessfull Geneva arms conference in 1927 was the subject of the investigation (?) yesterday, when S. W. Wakeman, vice president of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation and Frederick P. Palen, vice-president of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Corporation, testified before the senate.

### Tries to Act Dumb.

Wakeman's job on the stand was to try to support the statements of Schwab and other war-mongers who testified Saturday by taking the blame for hiring Shearer. Instead of admitting that Shearer was at Geneva with the knowledge of Schwab and Grace and unofficially representing the United States government, Wakeman said that he hired Shearer because he thought he could get "an angle on Geneva that would be different from that of ordinary newspapermen."

Senator Shortridge, examining Shearer, revealed by his questioning the fact that capitalist newspapers at such conferences are regarded as part of the spy system of the United States government and of the big shipbuilders and munition makers. (Continued on Page Three)

## COAL AND IRON TRIAL STARTED

### Try Hirelings for Killing Barcoski

(Continued on Page Three)

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Sept. 23.—Three of Andy Mellon's henchmen, brutal murderers of John Barcoski, go on "trial" in criminal court here today.

To Roy T. Clung, a minor assistant of the district attorney, has the case been relegated. The prosecution of cases pitted against workers with charges half so serious, are almost invariably handled directly by the district attorney here.

The selection of the jury has already been begun.

These coal and iron police employed by Mellon thru his Pittsburgh Coal Co., dragged Barcoski out of his home on the night of Feb. 10, to their barracks, clubbed him to the ground, stamped upon

PENN R.R. GOBBLES BUS LINES PHILADELPHIA (By Mail)—The Pennsylvania Railroad has obtained a controlling interest in the class struggle in Gastonia—surely in such a situation every Party member must rally to the support of the Party in every respect.

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The ten years' battle of the Communist Party of America, under the leadership of the Communist International, against imperialist war and for defense of the Soviet Union, in a period which saw the complete degeneration of the socialist party into an agency of imperialism, and the identification of the American Federation of Labor with the imperialist war aims of the American government, will be told at the election campaign rally and 10th anniversary celebration of the birth of

## CONFERENCE OF TEXTILE UNION ORGANIZERS PLAN STRATEGY FOR STRUGGLE

### Defeat Terror and Build Organization for Strong Charlotte Conference, Oct. 12, 13.

### Textile Workers Destitute in Georgia, Reports Woman Organizer; Strong Demand for Union

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Sept. 23.—Following the conference of all organizers of the National Textile Workers' Union held here Sunday, a complete program to smash the mill bosses' attempt to uproot the union from the South by their campaign of terror was agreed upon, Hugo Oehler announced today. The Charlotte textile conference was the principle point on the agenda.

One woman organizer who returned a few days ago from Georgia, reports that families of workers there are destitute and walk the roads looking for employment. Production has been curtailed in the mills, and thousands have been turned out of their homes in mill villages and are unable to find work.

The mills, she said, are being flooded with copies of the Gastonia Gazette, in an effort to poison the minds of the workers against the National Textile Workers' Union. However, the union has distributed thousands of pieces of literature throughout these Georgia mills, and the workers there are asking for more organizers.

Every organizer, both Northern and Southern, manifested an increased determination to answer the terror with an intensified organizational drive reaching out to new mills. This drive is part of the preparation for the Southern Workers' Textile Conference to be held here on October 12.

It is the objective of the bosses and their black hordes to prevent this conference, but organizers and active members of the N. T. W. U. are resolved that not only shall it take place, but that it will be even bigger than expected before the recent outbreak of terrorism, and that this conference shall initiate a general struggle of Southern textile workers.

Nearly fifty organizers were at the conference Sunday. They reported that while the terror has temporarily prevented mass meetings and organization work generally, still it has aroused the workers to indignant protest and increased the mood for struggle and the sentiment for the union.

The workers realize the role of the state as an agency of the capitalists in the class war which is taking place in the South. In the past few weeks southern workers have learned the lessons of a decade of class struggle.

The report of Sunday's conference, released to the press, delete the names of the organizers present and do not tell where they are from, since such information would endanger their lives. Everyone known as active in the union is singled out for attack by the fascists who have threatened that during the coming week preceding the trial's opening, there will be one beating every night.

The fascists who have taken complete control of Gaston County and whose gangs reach into other counties and even into South Carolina with the active cooperation or passive consent of the police officials and the encouragement of the capitalist press try to crush the union by terror.

A meeting is held somewhere nearly every night. Yesterday's meeting took place at the WIR tent colony near Gastonia. The Lory gang knew nothing about it until it was all over. Nearly two hundred workers heard Caroline Drew outline plans for strengthening the W. I. R. and the N. T. W. U.

"Our answer to the bosses will be a stronger union and more militant struggle for better conditions," she said.

Fully 75 per cent of the Gastonia Gazette's pages are devoted to lies

the Communist Party, to be held this Friday night, at Central Opera House, according to a statement issued by the New York Communist Campaign Committee.

The statement described the break up of the Second Socialist International during the world war, and the socialist parties of the world completely selling out to their respective governments and existing to give every aid to the imperialist design of the capitalist states against the workers' movement. (Continued on Page Two)

about the union, relief and defense organization's policies and activities. This mill bosses' sheet through the insistent repetition hopes to convince workers that black is really white, that the union is organizing workers for vicious purposes, and not in preparation for struggle against the starvation wages and stretch-out system. The "Gassy Gazette," as the workers hereabouts characterize it, is known as the mouthpiece of the mill barons and the enemy of the workers.

### Deny "Gunmen" Yarn.

Commenting on the most recent charge of fantastic murder plots to do away with the Manville-Jencks attorneys by importation of gunmen from New York City printed in the local papers which insidiously linked up the name of William Z. Foster, general secretary of the Trade Union Unity League, in the ridiculous yarn, Hugo Oehler said:

"The accusation is another of the malicious and contemptible lies continually being spread about the N. T. W. U. More of them will be tolerated against us. I have denied about one every day but the brains of our class enemies are fertile factories for such libelous and baseless lies. One of the reporters of the capitalist press, Robert Barry, spent about two days with Major Bulwinkle and the Lory gang and sold his pen to them, writing a series of articles in which one falsification followed another. Not one of his assertions is true as anyone familiar with the situation well knows. There is not one newspaper correspondent in the South that does not know how maliciously false Barry's statements are. The figures of the U. S. government on wages in the Southern textile mills gives the lie to Barry; the average wage of the mill workers in the South is \$12.33, according to the U. S. Census on Manufacturers."

### Gets Even Less.

"Actually, the average wages taken into consideration time lost by unemployment, sickness, etc., receives about \$10 a week for 55 to 60 hours health-wrecking work. The North Carolina Bureau of Health recently stated that pellagra has increased among mill workers 50 per cent during the past six months."

These conditions, Oehler declared, are rallying the workers of the textile mills to the union, and is making them eager for the struggle to be concretized at the Charlotte Conference, Oct. 12, 13.

GASTONIA, N. C., Sept. 23.—With the coming of cold weather and rain storms, workers living in the Workers International Relief tent colony here are suffering great discomfort. They have been disinclined and have been unable to get jobs here. The National Textile Workers Union is sending as many as possible into mills throughout the five states to carry on agitation and organizational work.

The relief organization, Caroline Drew, its Southern representative, said today, is doing its utmost to take proper care of all the disinclined workers, and is now sending houses for them as rapidly as possible, in a statement released by the Gastonia Joint Relief and Defense Committee, 30 E. 11th St., N. Y. C.

With the reopening of the trial of the 16 Gastonia prisoners a little more than a week off, organizers of solidarity from class war parties, workers and workers' organizations here, in the Soviet Union and Europe continue to pour into the office of the Gastonia Joint Relief and Defense Committee, 30 E. 11th St., N. Y. C. Announcements of future conferences and preparations for the

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## MELVIN, WELLS, SCHECHTER AND

MELVIN, WELLS, SCHECHTER AID FOR DEFENSE

Organize Big Defense for Gastonia Prisoners

(Continued from Page One) A rapidly growing front, including right and left wing workers, independent unions, etc., are mobilizing against the fascist terror in Gastonia, and preparing to force the freedom through mass protest of the 23 Gastonia prisoners.

A letter from Mrs. John Lynch, of Flemington, W. Va., whose husband was framed and sent to jail for ten years as a result of his labor activities follows: "To the Gastonia prisoners: Dear friends, you have my heart felt sympathy, you and your families. My husband was framed and sent to prison for ten years. He has been there for almost two years. I hope you will gain your freedom and be reunited with your families soon."

Philadelphia workers will hear Ben Wells, organizer of the N. Y. W. U., who was recently flogged by the "hill boss" gang, has gone to Pittsburgh where he last night addressed a defense and relief meeting. He will stay in western Pennsylvania all week talking to the coal and mine workers on the Gastonia defense campaign.

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Communist Candidates at Latin America Ball

Next Saturday evening will be the first big Red night in Harlem during the present election campaign. The Spanish Bureau of the Communist Party has arranged a Latin American election campaign rally and ball that night at Harlem Casino, 116th St. and Lenox Ave., which, according to the Arrangements Committee, promises to be the greatest Harlem event of the season. On that night the leading candidates of the Communist Party in the next municipal elections, together with the two Latin American candidates, Alberto Moreau and Libertad Narvaez, will make their official appearance before the workers of Harlem, particularly the workers of the 17th Assembly and Aldermanic Districts where they are running. Wm. W. Weinstein, Communist candidate for mayor, will also be there.

Of course, the night will not be entirely devoted to speeches, and a show program of Latin American dances and songs has been prepared. John Smith's Harlem Devils will furnish the music for dancing.

Tickets may be secured at the Workers Bookshop, 26-28 Union Square, at the Spanish Workers Center, and at the Harlem Progressive Youth Club, 1492 Madison Ave.

WORKERS CALENDAR

Table with columns for State (Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Maryland) and Date, listing various worker meetings and protests.

Workers Advised to Save for the Daily and Freiheit Bazaar

Sell Tickets to Dispel Impatience for Coming of October 3rd, Date Affair Opens

The third of October seems to be approaching very slowly, particularly for the thousands of workers who have already stopped buying their necessities, in order to buy them at the Daily Worker-Morning Freiheit Bazaar, which will be held at the Madison Square Garden for four days beginning Oct. 3.

ZIONIST TOOLS FOUND GUILTY

Convicted of Aiding Imperialism

Four thousand Jewish workers crowded New Star Casino to capacity, with hundreds more clamoring to enter the hall, in a remarkable demonstration yesterday against the betrayal of the cause of the working class by the Jewish Daily Forward and other Jewish newspapers which support imperialism and its instrument, Zionism, in Palestine.

The affair, arranged by the Jewish Bureau of the Communist Party, took the form of a trial, by the workers, of the mercenary journalists who try to poison the working class with capitalist class propaganda in general and try to aid in the imperialist war to subjugate the Arabian people in Palestine.

PREPARE NEEDLE WAGE CUTS

Realizing that the company union which program of the scab International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the strikebreaking International Fur Workers' Union has been unusually effective in reducing the workers' wages, increasing their hours and establishing an intense speed-up, millinery manufacturers are preparing to further worsen the conditions of the millinery workers, who are members of the right-wing Cap and Millinery Worker Union.

Build Up the United Front of the Working Class

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

FRANCE AND U. S. BARGAIN ON SUBS FOR COMING WAR

Confabs of Imperial Powers Frequent

(Continued from Page One) And of course the Women's Councils, as usual, are on the job. They know the needs of our comrade-housewives and are speedily arranging a number of booths with just such articles. If you need a pot, coffee drainer, a ladle or frying pan, just wait a few more days. Why buy them elsewhere, when you can get them at the Bazaar.

KEYNOTE, FIGHT IMPERIAL WAR

Big Celebration in New York Friday

(Continued from Page One) The struggle in the war. It tells of the struggle of the left wing in the socialist party of America against the betrayals of the elements in control, and of the final organization by this left wing, together with the other revolutionary workers throughout the country, of the Communist Party, American section of the Communist International.

The 10th anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party in the United States, declares the statement further, is being celebrated on the eve of a new imperialist world war, and when a united attack of the imperialist powers of the world, including the United States, menaces the Soviet Union.

Revolutionary songs and cheers will also mark the celebration, with the participation of the full chorus of 350 voices of the Freiheit Singing Society, the Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra, and a band of selected musicians.

AGITPROP DIRECTORS

A meeting of unit agitprop directors will take place Sept. 26, at 7:30 p. m. All unit agitprop directors are required to bring with them the registrations of three comrades for the Workers School, and funds for these registrations. Also every comrade must be prepared to give a report on the registration of new members for the new members courses, either at the Central School or in the sections. All new members must be accounted for.

UPHOLSTERS AND VARNISHERS MEET

Upholsters and varnishers will meet at 6:30 p. m. today at 28 Union Square, room 603, to make arrangements for the Daily Worker-Freiheit bazaar.

Build Up the United Front of the Working Class

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

Ben Wells Says Workers Defy Terror

Hold Successful Street Meeting in Brownsville

A rousing street demonstration under direction of the Communist Party was held Saturday night at Stone and Pitkin avenues, Brownsville. The District Executive Committee calls upon all members to attend the general membership meeting to take place on Tuesday, Sept. 24, 7:30, at Webster Hall, 11th St. and 3rd Ave.

Last Week to Register at Workers School; All Selected Must Report

This is the final week for registration before the opening of the Fall Term at the Workers School. In a letter issued to all units yesterday, all those elected by the units on the partial scholarship basis are instructed to register immediately in order that they may be properly assigned. During the entire week of Sept. 23 examinations for English studies will be conducted, on the basis of which the students will finally be assigned to their classes.

The District and Agitprop Department again notified all new members of the necessity for their registering for the special New Members Courses. A meeting of all unit agitprop directors has been called for next Thursday at 7:30 p. m. at which reports will be given by every unit on the election of students for the functional courses and the registration of new members for the school.

Barbers Defy Thugs to Attend Meet Called by Militant Union Comm.

In spite of right wing gangsters outside the hall who attempted to intimidate them, more than 150 members of Local 900, Barbers' Union, attended a meeting held at Harlem Casino, Lenox Av. and 116th St., called by the Barbers' Section, Trade Union League.

Metal Workers Meet Tuesday to Discuss

(Continued from Page One) color, are invited to come to the meeting, to discuss the program adopted at the Cleveland conference. The program of building shop committees and building the League in the metal industry will be presented by John Schmies, associate secretary of the Trade Union Unity League; Benjamin Lifshitz, and Andrew Overgaard, secretary of the Metal Workers' Industrial League.

Ben Wells Says Workers Defy Terror



Militant National Textile Workers Union Organizer who was kidnapped and viciously flogged by the millmen's fascist band. With him are Lell and Saylor, kidnapped at the same time.

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After hearing militant members of the union speak, the barbers voted in favor of suspension of all the officials of the local while the investigation committee elected by the membership review all the affairs of the union. It also recommended that the committee be placed in charge of the union until the report is rendered.

N. Y. DELEGATES STRESS DEFENSE AT T. U. U. L. MEET

Another Conference to be Held October 1.

Support of the Gastonia workers, the election of defense committees in the shops and plans for the reception of the Soviet fliers, were the outstanding features of the conference of the Metropolitan Area Trade Union Unity Conference, held Saturday afternoon at Irving Plaza, Irving place and 15th St.

The conference also decided that in view of the fact that the unorganized workers work all day Saturday, to hold another conference Oct. 1, when a full report on the Cleveland Trade Union Unity Conference will be given.

On the question of the Defense Committees, it was urged that they be organized at once, to protect workers' meetings, also working class institutions. All unorganized workers in the metropolitan district were urged to have representatives at the Oct. 1 conference.

Drug Clerks Organize Union; State Demands

The New York Drug Clerks' Association changed its name to the New York Drug Clerks' Union at a meeting held at Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Ave. Pointing out that the drug clerks now work 60 to 70 hours a week, the union stated that it is fighting for a 48 hour week, recognition of the union and job control. The union also demands a living wage for the clerks.

Not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the man who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletariat.—Karl Marx (Communist Manifesto).

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

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PHILADELPHIA ALL ORGANIZATIONS ARE ASKED TO TAKE NOTE THAT THANKSGIVING EVE IS TAKEN FOR THE DAILY WORKER BALL AT LULU TEMPLE

Advertisement for 'I Saw It Myself' by Henri Barbusse, featuring a remarkable offer of a free copy with every yearly subscription. Includes a list of representatives and a subscription form.

Table titled 'Offices of the Daily Worker' listing various sections of the country with columns for City, Address, Telephone, and Representative.

# ZIONISTS ADMIT RAB REVOLT IS AGAINST BRITAIN

## Many False Statements Exposed by Facts

Correspondents of capitalist papers in Jerusalem are now admitting that many of the stories sent by the Zionist publicity experts on "pogroms" and "attacks" on Zionists were false. Together with the Arabian revolt was really against British imperialism, this is admitted. It is now admitted that the Arab, at first said to be wrecked by Arabs, was not attacked, not a single house damaged. Not a single life was cut down in any of the orange groves in Judea and in Arab.

### Fake "Massacre"

The orphan's village at Ben Shean, scene of a big fake "newspaper massacre," is now admitted to be undamaged. No Jewish children in the Jezreel or Jordan valley were damaged. Ruttenberg's warehouses are working normally. The places the Jewish colonists are attacked were where they are themselves in the front rank of the British imperialist drive against the Arabian revolution, organizing med corps to put down the peasants' uprising, and making attacks the Arabs themselves.

### Lipsky Speaks Out

The speech of Louis Lipsky, president of the Zionist Organization of America, to the New York mass meeting held by that organization in Town Hall, last Sunday, is significant.

While Rabbi Stephen Wise spent most of his time blaming the British government for "inefficiency in fending the Zionists," and claimed that "by a negative, neutral, non-cooperative attitude the Balfour declaration has been tortured by the Palestine government into sanction of acquisition in anything that the vulgar leaders of the Arabs have seen to do," (a sufficiently amazing statement in view of the British report raising there against the Arabs), Lipsky, more realistically, stated frankly that the Arabian uprising "masked an attack on the undying government of Palestine" (which is a British mandate, and therefore the fighting was an anti-imperialist movement).

### Crash of Empires

This attitude of the official spokesman of Zionism in America indicates that there is a pro-American drift on the part of some of the Zionist leaders, who are certainly anti-imperialists, and a feeling that U. S. rather than England should make a colony out of Palestine to the better advantage of the Zionist organization.

The Zionist extremists (Revisionists) who held their meeting in Irving Plaza the day before, although their attitude seems mixed, showed distrust of Britain. They are organizing a Zionist legion to be sent

# 25 Indian Unionists in Meerut Case Make Hungerstrike Threat

## (Wireless By Inprocom)

LONDON, Sept. 23.—Twenty-five Indian trade union leaders in the Meerut case have addressed a letter to the court repeating their demand for their political rights, and pointing out that one prisoner held in Lahore, Jatindranath Das, has already died as a result of his hunger strike for political rights while two others are seriously weakened. The letter states that should the Anglo-Indian government not grant political rights within a week the 25 prisoners, including the Englishmen, Spratt, Bradley and Hutchinson, threaten to hunger strike.

When Das' funeral took place last week, thousands of workers lined the eight-mile course of the coffin, shouting "Down with British rule."

# One Million Petitions to be Presented When Gastonia Trial Starts

One million signatures of protest by the time the trial of the Gastonia prisoners opens at Charlotte, N. C., September 30, continues to be the aim of the Gastonia Joint Defense and Relief Campaign.

It is planned to present these petitions to the 16 prisoners in danger of the electric chair and to the authorities on the day the trial opens.

Protest the fascist terror in Gaston and Macklenburg Counties.

Protest the murder of Ella May.

Protest the lynch plans of Manville-Jencks.

Protest the plans to legally murder the sixteen Gastonia strikers.

Send the petitions to the Gastonia Joint Defense and Relief Campaign, 86 East 11th St., Room 402, New York City.

### STARVATION KILLS NEGROES.

RICHMOND, Va., (By Mail).—The death rate of Negroes in Virginia doubled the death rate of whites, state department figures show. The rate in 1928 was 9.89 for whites and 18.69 for Negroes. The starvation wages paid the Negro workers, and the lack of sanitary facilities and hospitals for them is the main cause.

### MOVIE OPERATORS STRIKE.

BUFFALO, N. Y., (By Mail).—Motion picture operators at the Strand and Genesee Theatres are on strike to obtain union working conditions.

from America to Palestine, and hold the country by force, for which empire they do not say. However, they called for the resignation of Lipsky and Chaim Weizman, president of the World Zionist Organization, because of their too tame policy. At both meetings, the cabled report that the U. S. consul in Jerusalem was helping the Zionists was loudly cheered.

# GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRIA YIELDS TO FASCIST PLAN

## Offers Constitutional Changes Thursday

The United Press correspondent reports from Vienna that the Steerwitz government will turn over to the parliament Thursday a plan for considerable change in the Austrian national constitution. The change will be offered two days before the Heimwehr ultimatum expires.

The Heimwehr, or Austrian fascist military organization, several days ago demanded that the constitution be changed to place dictatorial power in the hands of the president, with the idea of fascistic government, and threatened to march on Vienna and seize the government by force of arms if their demands were not met.

### Government Action Suspicious.

It is known that the Austrian national council has been considering these changes, and that the government is giving no real attention to any preparations to block a fascist coup.

A large meeting of Heimwehr was held Saturday, at which the opinion seemed to prevail that the government was co-operating with them. A meeting of 100,000 landbund (reticent peasant's organization) was held Saturday and voted "confidete in Steerwitz."

# Fom Anti-Imperialist League in Cleveland as Simons Continues Tour

CLEVELAND, Sept. 22.—A branch of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League was organized here following a talk by William Simons, League National Secretary, at Garma Hall. David Martin was elected local secretary.

The sharpening anti-imperialist struggle in the colonies reported by delegats to the Frankfurt and Montevideo congresses of the League Against Imperialism, was noted by Simons in his speech.

Cities Simons will visit in connection with his organization tour will include Chicago, Sept. 24, 25; Gary, Sept. 26; Milwaukee, Sept. 27; Minneapolis, Sept. 29; St. Louis, Oct. 2; Kansas City, Oct. 4; Denver, Colo., Oct. 7; Fort Lupton, Oct. 8; Portland, Oct. 11; Seattle, Wash., Oct. 13; San Francisco, Oct. 16; Oakland, Oct. 17; San Diego, Oct. 18; Los Angeles, Oct. 20; San Antonio, Oct. 24; Houston, Texas, Oct. 26; Dallas, Oct. 28; Oklahoma City, Oct. 31.

### UNION BISHERS STRIKE.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Union polishers and bishers are on strike against the Chromium Corporation of America in Cleveland, as a result of putting eight crew on a lower wage rate than that of the day crew.

# Latin American States' Delegations At League Organize Economic Bloc

The United Press correspondent at Geneva cables that 15 Latin American delegations have held two meetings among themselves, and worked out a plan for an economic union, similar to that proposed for Europe by Aristide Briand.

They have also laid the foundations for a voting bloc within the league, according to this correspondent. What happens to states under rival imperialist control, as Paraguay is by England and Bolivia by U. S., is not stated. Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Mexico are not represented at the league. It is planned to submit the plan to these governments, asking them to join with it.

# NANKING TROOPS LOSE IN BATTLE

## Red Army Annihilates White Guard Raiders

(Continued from Page One) Chang also was described as seeking an alliance with Feng Yu-Hsiang, the "Christian general."

Hupuh and Kwangsi adjoin. Separating them from Canton is the narrow province of Kwangtung. Between them and Nanking lies the province of Anhwei.

Reports from China indicate the revolt of Chang Fa-Kwei is taken seriously by the Nanking government.

### Chiang Raising Money.

The London Daily Telegraph's Shanghai correspondent reported Chiang Kai-Shek's government was doing its utmost to sell \$70,000,000 disbandment bonds, ostensibly to help finance the fight against the Ichang war lord.

The Exchange Telegraph Correspondent at Hongkong reported that Chang Fa-Kwei's troops near Itu (presumably the same as fired on the Nanking troop ship), were disarming Nanking punitive troops sent out under General Chang Sui-shu. The correspondent added that the "Ironside" division was advancing to join General Ho-Chien at Changsha, on the way to Canton and that some of the troops were reported to have moved eastward, reaching Pukow, across the Yangtze river from Nanking.

### Many Mutinies.

Both Chiang Kai-Shek and Chang Fa-Kwei are issuing proclamations against each other, making charges of graft, inefficiency, and reaction. It is reported that Wang Ching-Wei, at one time regarded as a "left winger," but actually a traitor to the workers and peasants of China, though recently again in opposition to Chiang Kai-Shek, is in Hongkong, waiting to join the anti-Nanking forces.

### Crash Invaders.

Reports by capitalist press correspondents from Chita, Siberia, state that a white guard Russian band penetrated from Manchuria to 25 miles northeast of Nerchinsk. (Nerchinsk is one hundred miles inside the U. S. S. R. border.) This group was hunted down and crushed by the Red Army cavalry, who with the loss of one man wounded, killed 11 of the white guards, wounded many, and captured their horses and rifles.

Attempts were made by white guard mercenaries of the Mukden government, unsuccessfully, to invade the Soviet Union at Michinsky, Amitsar, and in the Pabi-Gutigar district. Chinese soldiers of the Mukden army attacked behind a barage Soviet order posts at Sanchago. After considerable firing, they were repulsed. A Red Army soldier is reported killed at Amazar.

### WIN FIVE-DAY WEEK.

BUTTE, Mont.—Painters, plasterers, plumbers, electrical workers and hod carriers of Butte are working the five-day week, their unions announce.

# BIG MCCORMICK REAPER SLAVES STEP WITH CHAIN

## Never Know What Pay Will Be

(By a Worker Correspondent) CHICAGO (By Mail).—I am a worker in the McCormick reaper works in Chicago. We assemble parts of binders that are moving on a chain. We have to keep up as fast as the chain is moving and there is not a minute's let-up as long as the chain keeps going.

We never know for certain what our wages will be for the week. We average from \$27 to \$30 a week. Sometimes the chain breaks down or gets stuck so they simply dock us for the time that we are waiting for the chain to begin moving again.

If the chain gets stuck one hour before quitting time they simply send us home with that much less pay. On top of that the trucks that they use are not electric trucks but gasoline trucks and the smell from them injures our health.

When we get through working we have to wash up either in the toilets or go to the painters' washroom where we have to wait until the painters get through. We have no washroom for our department. Evidently the bosses don't care whether we wash up before going home or not, that is not their concern.

We are beginning to awaken. We have established a shop paper, the Harvester Worker, and think it's a great paper. Through its columns and through the Daily Worker we can expose the rottenness of the system in the shop and the raw deal handed the workers, and point out the need to organize.

### What to Do for the Defense of the 16 Gastonia Prisoners

1.—Hold mass protest meetings!  
2.—Mobilize for the mass collection days, Sept. 21 and 22!  
3.—Send resolutions of protest and telegrams of greeting to prisoners at Mecklenburg County Jail, Charlotte, North Carolina.

4.—Build International Labor Defense units!

5.—Build Workers International Relief units!

6.—Tell your neighbors, shopmates, friends of Gastonia!

7.—Build a united front in the shops, factories and mines!

8.—No let-up until all the Gastonia prisoners are freed from the danger of lynch-law or legal lynching!

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

### WANT BUSINESS HEAD.

Before the recent Brotherhood of Painters convention in Denver came machine delegates from Glendale, Cal. and Terro Haute, Ind., with a demand that the international union be placed under what might be called a dictatorship. They proposed that a business manager, to be paid as high as \$50,000 a year, assume command of the union.

The Brotherhood, viewed as a million dollar concern or better, is entitled to the services of a high pressure business executive who has won his spurs, not in the organized labor movement, but in big business itself, in the view of the machine.

### DEMAND RAISE.

CHICAGO (F.P.).—A 40-hour week and \$3 weekly raise is demanded by Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 for the new job shop contract. Abolition of the bonus is the principal union demand of the newspapers.

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

### McKellar Assails Britain.

Yesterday in the senate, McKellar, democrat of Tennessee, and one of the outstanding agents of imperialism in political life, made a sharp attack upon Great Britain. Concerning the discussions between Ambassador Dawes and Premier MacDonald, the Tennessee senator said he would vote for no agreement that does not ensure absolute parity.

Claims British Supremacy. "Our newspapers state," he said, "that our government has reached a tentative agreement with the British government that instead of a 'parity,' America is to accept an inferior cruiser strength to Great Britain, just as she accepted her inferior battleship strength in 1922. Under these circumstances I shall fight to the last ditch against putting America in an inferior position on the seas."

### HIGHER WAGE SCALE.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—The granting of a 14 per cent increase in wages to the Cleveland musicians union has made possible the re-opening of the Hanna Theatre, a legitimate house. The musicians demanded a 40 per cent increase.

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

# Bosses "Ride" Old Telegraph Workers to Make Them Quit

## (By a Worker Correspondent)

CHICAGO (By Mail).—In a previous letter I told some of the conditions of the workers of the Postal Telegraph and Cable Company. Routine is the constitution in the Postal. You must abide rigidly by it—and monitors and supervisors see to it. Talk between operators and chewing of gum is forbidden.

Lunch is a half hour and they have a 15-minute short relief period. One minute late on your relief and you're docked 16 minutes.

Ten hours for the "Printers." The girls work an average of 10 hours a day, no overtime being paid. No holidays allowed off, neither is there a half day Saturday. The girls slave all day on these nerve-wrecking printers—their hands continually flying. If they lay off a day, on their own time, the card supervisor calls up to ask why they are not down.

### The Chief Monster.

There is a chief monster, a veritable snake of a woman, who cruelly rides the girl operators for any slight infringement of the routine. She has them fired for nothing at all.

# PROBE SHIELDS WAR PROFITEERS

## McKeller in Attack on British Navy

(Continued from Page One) makers. When asked how Shearer managed to "put it over on him," Wakeman replied: "I don't know. It must have been super-salesmanship. I hate to admit it."

### Fearful Losing Money.

Wakeman said he did not know what information he expected to get from Shearer, but had in mind that the Washington Arms Conference had scrapped a ship his company was building in 1921, that in 1926 his company was constructing the aircraft carrier Lexington and bidding for two cruisers, the contracts bearing a cancellation clause.

### "I guess I was just jaxzed off my feet," the witness said.

### Meant Millions Gained.

Senator Allen, republican, Kansas, asked whether the ease with which Shearer foisted himself upon competent business talent indicated the ship builders had "a languid or a poignant interest" in the Geneva conference. The interest was languid, Wakeman said.

### "If Shearer did what he says he did, and was the author of the breakdown of the Geneva conference, the American shipbuilding industry profited by \$740,000,000,"

asked Allen.

"Why, it's absurd to think this man could affect negotiations between high powers," Wakeman replied.

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# HAWTHORN PUNCH PRESS SHRIVELS WORKERS' HANDS

## Western Electric Co. Machinery Dangerous

(By a Worker Correspondent) CHICAGO (By Mail).—Department 6338, Building 30-3 at the Hawthorn Works of the Western Electric Company is a punch press department. The workers are paid on an individual piece work basis. The day rate is \$21 per week and the maximum wage a punch operator can make under the most mad-making speed-up conditions on piece work is \$26 a week.

There is practically no ventilation of any kind reaching the punch press workers. The workers are so speeded up that they have not got sufficient time to remove their hands while feeding the material to the press before the safety flap in front of the die comes down and strikes their hands with the result that the small fingers are all shriveled up with the thousands of knocks that they receive every day.

The place is very unsanitary, the lard oil sticks to the clothing and stinks like hell. The operators have their hands covered with a film of oil, making the work more dangerous due to material slipping out of hands. The company does not provide free laundry service or overalls for these workers, who have to dig out for their meager wages to have this done every day.

### The Western Electric slaves must and will organize to end these conditions, but they will follow the leadership of the Communist Party which will not sell them out.

—W. E. SLAVE.

# Int'l Harvester Co. Bleeds Young Workers; Must Do Adults' Work

## (By a Worker Correspondent)

CHICAGO (By Mail).—The international Harvester Works employs a great many young workers, some just out of school. In many cases they do the same kind of work the adults are doing but their pay is considerably lower. They receive anywhere from 35 to 45 cents an hour, hardly ever any more, but in many cases they are put on jobs at reduced pay. This happened in Department 36 as well as other departments. Certainly these lads need more protection from the exploitation of the boss who does not respect any age, old or young, as long as he can squeeze out a few bloody dollars for profits. Harvester workers, organize!

### —REBELLIOUS WORKER.

### BOUNCE TEXAS STAGE HANDS.

HOUSTON, Tex.—Twenty stage hands in Houston's biggest movie theatres were ruthlessly given two weeks' notice to leave their jobs when New York magnates controlling the chain show houses decided to install all-talkie programs. The union has not announced what action it will take.

### Union musicians in the movie houses have been working without contract for a month, pending decisions of the show magnates to install complete mechanical equipment to oust the hand players. The change to "sound" movies, eliminating all vaudeville acts—including their necessary accompaniment of stage hands and musicians—is going on all over the country.

### MACHINISTS STRIKE.

ILION, N. Y.—Machinists are on strike against the Remington Arms Company for discrimination against members of the International Association of Machinists.

# Women in the Cotton Mills

## (Continued)

### Mill Bosses Own It.

I went out from the mill, down a long weaving room, out into the arm, sunny streets of Columbia, among the hills with their arctic pines. In Columbia the snow never falls and the cold winds of winter come not. I passed the abiding places of the mill slaves. These men are owned by the mill owners. The churches of Columbia are owned by the mill owners. Ministers and priests are owned by the mill owners.

### Said the superintendent of Grand.

"The hands is very religious, I weans take pains to keep up its spirit."

### I spoke to the "Cracker" superintendent.

"Do you employ Negroes?"

"Naw," replied the man. "The ager goes to sleep at the looms, is all-fired bum of the machinery ts on his feet."

Again I spoke. "There is no air these mills; all the windows are used, and there is no ventilation."

"Naw," again he drawled. "Cotton weavers can't have no air in the ills. Air breaks the threads."

I said, "Some of these men workers are powerful in build, they are intelligent, and they will not stand for these things long; they will organize on class lines."

### "Want No Unions."

The superintendent snorted. "Class lines. Northern mill owners are coming to Columbia, woolen mills are coming, they won't stand for unions—they air a-comin' for cheap labor."

"What do you do for these children in the July heat?" I asked.

"Oh," replied the man, "if it gets over 100 degrees inside the mill we sprays outside with the hose."

"Do the workers get cold, ice water through the heat?" I continued.

"Now you make me laff—let me tell yu-uns somethin'. You speaks about unions. We had half a dozen of them I. W. W. fellers down hyar long since. They stopped three to six months. I reckons, a-tryin' to organize the han's, an' what do you think they did to be popular? Them fellers went rite in to the best restaurants in town an' ordered a fine dinner for the crowd, an' when the waiter brought the bill, they tore it up and cried out, 'Charge it to the Mayor.'"

I laughed so to myself. I had heard the store before.

### What of N. T. W. U.?

I lingered sob. "What of the new 'National textile Union?'"

The superintendent turned on his heel, and prepared to leave me. I called out, "Just a moment more."

The man's face is red and angry looking. "We wantn't have labor unions in this mf he replied.

### The Arguing Ends.

"The mill hands all the work here," I said. "I manufacturers get the millions at the workers make. Work cottons in these mills are bad; lab must make its own conditions. I lild like to ask if you are making ready for the Revolution in the con industry?"

The superintendent was sullen and silent.

I continued, "I'mills in the South. It is time to the workers here in Columbia to a hand in making decent work conditions in these mills. All the millions made by the manufacture are wrung from labor's toil; lab's social productive values. Wh belongs to labor, labor must h; and labor is bound to come into own!"

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By WM. F. DUNNE

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| Saturday, October 5th..... | \$1.00 |
| Sunday, October 6th.....   | 50     |
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# PARTY LIFE

## Bucharin-Lenin and the Tenth Plenum

### Inner and Outer Contradictions.

Lovestone, the leader of the international right wing in America, already a renegade, is an outstanding and illustrative example of how low a right wing opposition can sink.

A leader of the Party during "normal" times, he at once, when the real struggles are approaching, became, first, a concealed opportunist (Ninth Plenum and Sixth World Congress), then progressed to open fight against the Communist International in the Party (Sixth National Convention) and, last, as a renegade, went over to employing counter-revolutionary tactics in his struggle against the Party, fighting it with fascist methods (burglary of National Office) and sinking down to the level of denouncing comrades to the police (his caucus documents) and establishing collaboration with people that declare themselves to be tools of the American ochrana (Jackson, the self-confessed agent of the Department of Justice). It took years for a Hoglund to travel from his brand of "communism" (left socialism) to regular social-democracy but Lovestone has rationalized his renegadeism; the American "speed-up" allows him to travel his road in six months.

One of the stepping stones of Lovestone is his theory of "primacy of outer contradictions." The basis of this standpoint is to be found in Comrade Bucharin's recent articles, where he stresses the theory that domination of finance capital does away with competition INSIDE the capitalist states and establishes a sort of organized capitalist planned economy. The competition, according to Comrade Bucharin, is removed to the sphere of international relations. The German and Russian delegations at the Tenth Plenum fought very efficiently against this wrong theory of Bucharin, and the Plenum showed that this theory is nothing new and has a rather old standing. Already Comrade Lenin fought against this theory when Bucharin published his book on the economics of the transformation period, when he stated:

"Finance capital has destroyed the anarchy of production inside of the big capitalist countries."

Lenin received a copy of that book and in the margin he made the following note: "Has NOT destroyed."

Comrade Kuisin reported how Bucharin at the First Congress of the Communist International, in spite of the objections by Lenin, succeeded in getting his idea worked into one of the resolutions. Bucharin and his followers of the right wing speak about the substitution of planned production for anarchy in the capitalist system of economy, but simultaneously they demand in the Soviet Union less control and freer conditions on the market. This theory is an indication of a decided lack of confidence in the power of the working class and overestimation of the strength of the bourgeoisie.

Lovestone's exceptionalism in America is based precisely upon the same tendency of underestimating the strength of the working masses and overestimating the strength of the capitalist class: exceptionalism, "second industrial revolution," etc.

Such a pessimistic and cowardly passivity is nothing else than opportunism, and the Tenth Plenum, following the line of the Sixth World Congress, could do nothing else than condemn this theory which attempts to liquidate the Marxist conception of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism. The Tenth Plenum stated categorically that the standpoint of the conciliators is wrong when they declare that the inner contradictions in the capitalist countries are softening, that the inner markets can be organized under the capitalist system, and that the anarchy will remain only in the world market. Furthermore, this theory has been refuted through the development of capitalism during the last few years and means nothing else than a capitulation before reformist ideology.

## LOVESTONE—LORE—BRANDLER

By MAX BEDACHT

Lovestone's burglary of the National Office of the Communist Party and his theft of materials and documents from that office, and his subsequent detective story designed to attack and undermine the Party and to break the morale of the Party membership, are not the only activities of Lovestone in his capacity as an agent of the American bourgeoisie. Lovestone also, and very definitely, is engaged in building up an American gathering basin for the growing radicalization of the masses; in order to serve the bourgeoisie as a deflector of the revolutionary energies of the masses.

It is in periods when a decided leftward trend of the masses manifests itself that the opportunist becomes most valuable for the bourgeoisie and most dangerous for the working class. In such periods, the bourgeoisie expects from the opportunist traitor that he divert the flood of radicalizing sentiment before it reaches revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary proportions. The task of the opportunist is to direct this sentiment into channels of pro-capitalist action, the basis and purpose of which are covered by pseudo radical theories. This is the root of the present attempts of Brandlerism to build up a new international to fight the Communist International and to support the "socialist" international which is already too much discredited to play this treacherous role alone. This is why, just at this moment, in the third period, we are confronted with the splitting attempt in the American Party. This is why just at this moment, Lovestone is playing his role as a leader in the fight against the Communist International and its American section.

Lovestone tries to keep secret his national and international connections with the openly recognized and easily recognizable opportunist agents of the bourgeoisie. He protests against being put into the same pot with Brandler. He gets indignant when he is mentioned in one breath with Lore. He vociferously cites his zeal in the struggle against Cannon to disprove accusations which link him with Cannon. But all of these protests cannot eradicate the fact that Lovestone today speaks the language of Cannon, that he fights the fight of Lore, and that he carries on the propaganda of Brandler. To prove that, we need no artificial constructions or interpretations. The bare fact suffices. Cannon's "Militant" prints Lovestone's argument on Gastonia and on the Trade Union Unity League Convention and Lovestone's mimeographed sheets repeat Cannon's arguments on the same points. Lore's "New York Volkszeitung" is fighting Lovestone's battle against the Comintern and Lovestone is using Lore's arguments against the Comintern. Brandler's paper, "Gegen Den Strom," anticipates all of Lovestone's slogans and arguments against the Comintern even before Lovestone uses them.

An outstanding monument to the shame of Lovestone's renegade activities is the New York Volkszeitung of Friday, September 20. In this issue, Lore devotes fully two pages, and over, to the struggle against the vilification of the Comintern. The theme of this specific manifestation of Lore's favorite pastime is Lovestone's so-called appeal to the Comintern. In this issue of the Volkszeitung, Lore reprints from Brandler's paper, "Gegen Den Strom," a seven-column article entitled "American Tragedy" or "The Clique Which Rules the Comintern." Not satisfied with this quotation from Brandler, which in turn, is a quotation from Lovestone, Lore writes a four-column commentary on it entitled "How a Mass Party was Systematically Destroyed." In these two articles, we find the Trotskyite Lore and the "anti-Trotskyite" Lovestone voluptuously wallowing in the same mud.

In Moscow, although still in the ideological and physical bondage of factionalism, I had long and repeated arguments with Lovestone, Wolfe and Gitlow, on the question of the perspective of the fight which we were then carrying on within the Comintern but essentially against the Comintern. "Blinded by the poisoning influence of years of factionalism, I, too, saw in the struggle of the Comintern against factionalism in the American Party, a manifestation of the bad quality of the Comintern leadership, yet in some samer moments, I raised the question: where will that lead us? I contended that under no conditions could we allow this struggle to develop to a point where we would fight the Comintern from the outside. First, because in doing so, we would have to accept the alliance of all of the enemies of the Comintern, mentioning specifically Brandler, Trotsky, Souvarine and Lore; and secondly we would have to accept, as the only justifiable theoretical basis of such a struggle, Trotsky's theory of Thermidor. My own greatest crime in connection with our campaign in Moscow was my failure to bring these discussions out into the open and to raise these issues out in the open. Had I done this, the activities of the degeneration of our Party in Moscow would very probably have taken a different course. Certain it is, however, that if I had done this, Lovestone would not have dared to dish out all the lies that he, together with Brandler and Lore are now peddling concerning my attitude in Moscow. These lies are, of course, not directed against me individually, but aim to discredit the Comintern, the Party and its leadership.

These discussions in Moscow ended with a continuation of my active participation in the Lovestone policies. We finally agreed that we

# The Economic Struggle and the Tasks of the Communist Parties

## THESES UPON THE REPORTS BY COMRADES THALMANN AND LOSOVKY

### 2. THE RADICALIZATION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE REFORMIST TRADE UNIONS.

1. The continued radicalization of the working class and the sharpening of class battles leads to a growing crisis in the reformist trade union movement. Already the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions have recorded the fusion of the reformist trade union apparatus with the bourgeois state and with the large monopoly capitalist enterprises. During the last year, in connection with the unfolding of the class conflicts, this process has gone still deeper. Just as social democracy is evolving through social-imperialism to social-fascism, joining the ranks of the vanguard of the contemporary capitalist state in the suppression of the rising revolutionary movement of the working class (Zorgiebel's May Day atrocities), the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy is, during the period of sharpening economic battles, completely going over to the side of the big bourgeoisie, defending compulsory arbitration, endeavoring to harness the working class to the yoke of capitalist rationalization, transforming the reformist trade union apparatus into a strikebreaking organization. This is openly disclosed in the "new program" of the reformist General Confederation of Labor in France and in the decisions of the last trade union congresses in Germany and Great Britain (Hamburg, Swansea). "Industrial democracy," which embodies the joint pressure of the capitalists and the reformists on the working class, has become the official slogan of the Amsterdam International. This International strike-breaking program is based upon the idea of active cooperation in the enforcement of the economic policy of the capitalists by means of the direct collaboration of the reformist trade union machinery with the employers' apparatus ("peaceful" wage agreements, participation in the supervisory boards of the trusts, etc.) and with the bourgeois state apparatus ("industrial councils," economic organs of the League of Nations, compulsory arbitration boards, etc.). At the same time international reformism intensifies its efforts to throttle the revolutionary class movement of the proletariat in the colonies. Albert Thomas fraternizes with the leaders of the yellow unions of the Kuomintang hangmen. Under his leadership Bunzi Suzuki, the agent of Japanese imperialism, carries out his reactionary plan of the so-called Pan-Asiatic Labor Congress.

In this process of rapid fascization of the reformist trade union apparatus and of its fusion with the bourgeois state, a particularly harmful role is played by the so-called "Left" wing of the Amsterdam International (Cook, Fimmen, etc.) who, under the cloak of opposition to the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International, are trying to conceal from the workers the real significance of this process and are forming an active and constituent part (and by far not the least important) in the system of social-fascism.

Naturally, the situation becomes more and more intolerable for the workers, when in their economic struggles they must remain under the leadership of politically reactionary, strikebreaking wire-pullers. These treacherous blacklegging tactics of the trade union leaders at a time when capitalism is widening and intensifying its offensive with the object of tremendously increasing the exploitation of the workers, are the main source of the growing crisis in the reformist trade union movement.

2. This growing crisis has found its expression in a number of countries in the stagnation of the reformist trade unions (Great Britain) and in the mass growth of the revolutionary trade unions (India, Latin-America, U. S. A.). It has also found its expression in a keen distrust of the trade union masses towards reformist bureaucracy and in the onslaught of the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy on the revolutionary trade union opposition, in the ever increasing expulsion of members of the revolutionary opposition from the reformist unions and in the threats of the expulsion of "tens of thousands" (statement by the president of the reformist Metal Workers' Union in Berlin). The more the unions which are converted into simple accessories of capitalist economy the greater will be the growth of the crisis in the reformist trade union movement and the more severe will be the attacks of the trade union bureaucracy upon the revolutionary trade union opposition. The struggle within the reformist unions has already become unusually sharp. The pressure brought to bear upon the trade union officials by the masses of the workers is so strong that not infrequently the lower links of the reformist unions feel themselves forced to act against the trade union wirepullers who, in order to transform the unions into strikebreaking agencies and into tools of capitalist stabilization, are pursuing the policy of class disruption, expelling the best revolutionary elements from the unions, abolishing the last vestiges of trade union democracy, presenting ultimatums ("reverses") to the revolutionary opposition, and heading for the fascization of the trade unions.

3. The present stage of internal development in the reformist unions conforms to the general transitional period in the co-relation of class forces on the whole. The working class has already become sufficiently strong to be in a position to take up the counter-offensive. The trade union bureaucracy is still influential among certain sections of the workers, but the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition are increasingly winning over large masses of workers belonging to the reformist unions. This predetermines also the tasks of the Communists in the reformist trade unions: not to withdraw from these unions, but to contribute in every way to the acceleration of the process of revolutionization of the rank and file members of the reformist unions by placing themselves at the head of the class struggle of the proletariat.

### 3. THE ECONOMIC BATTLES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION OPPOSITION.

1. The Ninth Plenum of the Communist International and the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions placed before the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement not only the task of independent leadership of strikes but also of the best organization and preparation for this struggle, and the bringing about of working class unity from below, in the factories. Already at that time the disparity between the growth of the political influence of the revolutionary trade union movement and its organizational scope was pointed out. With this in view, it was proposed to reorganize the Communist factions in the reformist unions from the bottom, and also to recognize the revolutionary unions on industrial lines (in countries with dual unions), to institute democratic centralism, and to set up factory committees as the basis of revolutionary unions. Attention was at the same time called to the danger of the social-democratic traditions and of trade union legalism which was particularly apparent then in countries where no independent revolutionary unions exist (Germany) in the slogan of "compel the trade union bu-

would fight "to the last ditch" within the Comintern. Even to that policy I had raised the objection that it was not within our power to determine the location of this last ditch. I contended that we might believe to be still fighting within our rights within the Comintern and yet the Comintern itself, which, after all, is the only body that decides as to what is permissible within its boundary lines, may tell us, at a certain point, that we have exceeded the limit of the permissible. This argument was answered by Lovestone with the statement: Well, then we will be expelled. Thereupon I made the categorical statement which was the last one in this discussion, that on the day I will be expelled from the Comintern I will make application for re-admission, accepting any conditions the Comintern may put upon me.

Why should all this be recited here? Not so much for the purpose of confronting Lovestone's-Brandler's-Lore's lies with the actual facts, but primarily in order to show that Lovestone's alliance today with Lore and Brandler is not an unconscious and incidental one but was clearly anticipated by Lovestone even before the American Commission made its final decision on the American question. It was exactly my crime and a proof to what extent factional blindness can lead one not to have seen then already the clear design in Lovestone's aims. It was my crime to believe that the unavoidable perspective of an organizational alliance of Lovestone with Trotsky, with Lore, with Brandler was only a hypothetical possibility and was not the inevitable outgrowth of an ideological affinity.

Lovestone, Lore and Brandler maintain that Bedacht proposed an organizational alliance with Brandler, after our delegation had received information about the condemnation of Lovestone in the draft of the Thesis of the German Central Committee. If it were possible to straighten out the crooked channels of thought in the head of Lovestone I would, as an answer to his ridiculous assertion, recall to his memory the following facts: First, that I protested in the presence

recrats" (Zwingt die Bonzen) and also in diplomatic upper combinations of the leaders of the revolutionary unions with the heads of the reformist unions.

2. The danger could and was bound to become particularly serious in the subsequent period of the growth and unusual intensification of the class fights. It is precisely in this process that the forces of the Comintern have become consolidated (and it could not be otherwise) on the basis of sifting out the anti-Leninist and opportunist elements. A similar regrouping was inevitable also in the revolutionary trade union movements (the split of Hais and Co. in Czechoslovakia, of a section of active functionaries of the trade union departments of the C. P. of Germany, etc.). The decisions of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. have achieved their object. The Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions (in countries where the trade union movement is united, as well as in those where it is divided) have made big progress during this period. In comparison with the strikes of preceding years, there is to be observed better preparation, a better application of the united front tactics, and progress in the struggle against trade union legalism and in the enforcement of the economic and political slogan of the Communist Party. Experience has shown that the success of the revolutionary trade union movement during this period were in direct ratio to the determination with which these decisions were carried into effect.

3. In countries in which there are no independent revolutionary unions, trade union legalism is still the greatest shortcoming of the revolutionary trade union movement, consisting in the fear of overstepping trade union rules and regulations. Hence the insufficient resistance to the attacks of the trade union bureaucracy (expulsions, "reverses") and the insufficient activity aiming at embracing the masses of the workers from below (enforcement of the new tactics in the factory council elections in Germany, organization of committees of action, etc.). In Lodz, for example, during the General Strike in the Autumn of 1928, the revolutionary opposition skillfully organized the struggle, made proper use of the struggle when the workers were indignant over the new factory regulations and fines, correctly rejected the suggestion of some Communists that it was premature to declare a strike, developed a wide campaign in connection with the strike, and skillfully linked up the economic struggle with the political struggle against the fascist regime. Yet at the same time the Red fraction of the strike committee revealed an incorrect understanding of our unity tactics, with the result that a defeatist strike committee was set up consisting mostly of followers of the P. P. S.

4. Another shortcoming in these countries is the fear to apply the new tactics of the revolutionary trade union opposition, believing that they would thereby weaken their positions within the reformist trade unions. This is exactly what the Rights and conciliators are harping on, just as before they used to speculate (when strike committees were set up in the Ruhr) on the supposed conversion of the Communist Party and the revolutionary union opposition into organizations of the "declassed slum proletariat."

5. A great defect in this connection is still the nature of the structure and activity of the Communist factions in the trade unions. A necessary prerequisite to successful work by Communist Parties for winning the masses of the reformist unions is the existence of strong Communist fractions in the union capable of carrying out the Party line in the unions, linked up with each other, and working under the leadership of the respective Party Committees. The Plenum again places on record that many Comintern decisions on the question of trade union fractions are not satisfactorily carried out. Trade union fractions have not yet been organized everywhere where they should have been, in accordance with the decisions of the Second International Organization Conference; and where they do exist, they are not always properly organized. In many places where the Communist movement is illegal (Poland) side by side with Communist fractions (so-called Red fractions). The Red fractions should be so built as to represent the widest possible masses organized around the Communist fractions and sympathizing with them. But Red fractions can in no means substitute Communist fractions, and the Communist Party must not organize Red fractions without securing the leading role of the Communist fractions within them.

6. Finally, in the Communist Parties themselves, there is as yet no clear understanding of the singular importance of trade union work in the present phase of development. Trade union work is regarded as ordinary work of the "department." The Party does not concentrate the whole of its attention, and especially the attention of the factory nuclei, upon current trade union work, particularly, however, upon the preparation for leadership of economic fights. This shows an underestimation of the political significance of revolutionary trade union work and of current economic fights.

7. In countries where there are independent revolutionary trade unions (France, Czechoslovakia), the chief defect up now consists in the under-estimation by a certain section of the revolutionary trade union militants of the fact that the masses are becoming radicalized, and also in an underestimation of the new character (trade union reformism). In France the unitary trade unions were taken unawares and were overwhelmed by the movement. ("The movement developed over the heads of the unitary unions, our organizations lacked initiative," said Monmousseau at the October Plenum of the Unitary Unions.)

In Czechoslovakia the tactics of the liquidators sought the leaders of the Red unions were characterized by the top combinations between them and the leaders of the reformist organization by collaboration with the corrupt reformist factory councils, which was advertised as the united front tactic, by their legalist attitude towards the bourgeois state authorities, by their opportunist attitude in relation to the strike tactics and particularly in relation to the unorganized. As a result of this, in the first big conflict in which the Communist Party and the new strike tactics, the liquidators responded by taking away from the revolutionary trade union movement.

A great danger in those countries is also legalism, a respect for capitalist laws. While fighting to the utmost for legal possibilities, the revolutionary trade unions should not cherish any opportunist illusions with regard to the bourgeois state apparatus. The strength and influence of the Red unions depend exclusively on the active organization and independent leadership (economic fights of the proletariat). One of the main weaknesses of the revolutionary unions is their inadequate penetration into the factories, the absence (or extremely bad functioning) of the system of trade union delegates in the factories.

(To be Continued)

of Wolfe, Lovestone, Gitlow, Ella Wolfe and skin against the intimate political conferences into which our so-called social relations with Ewart had transformed themselves in Moscow, and that I protested against the re-establishment of an alliance with Pepper after we, ourselves, had condemned Pepper in the sharpest terms not only before the outside world but among ourselves and, fully, that I proposed after we got knowledge of the German theses to leave a comrade in Germany on our way home, to appear in the invention of the German Communist Party as a representative from the American Party to combat the proposed condemnation of Lovestone. He only difficulty in the way of my proposal was our inability to ask such a representative on our part, and the necessity to have the action of such a representative affirmed by the Political Committee in America.

Incidentally, I might take this occasion to declare categorically that Lovestone's statement that I wrote table of the 15th of May is an unmitigated lie.

The articles appearing in the "New York Volkszeitung" of September 20 establish with undeniable clarity Lovestone's connection with Brandler. Lovestone either himself wrote article which appeared in Brandler's "Gegen Den Strom" and repudiated by Lore, or he sent his so-called appeal to Brandler. The article is, in the main, composed of quotations from Lovestone's appeal. This appeal formulated by Lovestone under the pretense of appeal to the Comintern, was the appeal of an enemy of the Comintern in that body, addressed to other enemies of the Comintern and aimed to make new enemies for it.

How the followers of Lovestone can maintain their pretense of pro-revolutionary aims and desires in face of the fact that the pronouncements of their leaders make it welcome anti-Comintern propaganda in the hands of Lore is more than they can explain to the Party

# I SAW IT MYSELF

Translated by Brian Rhys

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### THE NAKED MAN.

IN the Skupshina of Belgrade, the other day, a spectre was seen—the White Terror personified.

Visit any chamber of parliament in Europe between sittings, and it will look the same as any other. These places of assembly so alarmingly official are always smaller than one imagined. In their great curving lines, their corridors, ante-rooms and lobbies, they resemble the circus. But when empty of voices and faces, these chambers of legislature wear an air of calm reflection which somehow intimidates the visitor. Pompeus, stiff decorations, in their emptiness they seem particularly empty. That atmosphere of injustice, of the serenity which hangs about deserted court-rooms, when silence is imprisoned there between the hours of sitting, is also in the air, and inspires the same uneasy fear, when one treads in these centralized workshop where contemporary events are turned out in words.

And every parliament chamber looks the same when it is full as in full swing. Here, scandals and iniquities vanish like magic to the sound of the big base drum, after a few wordy encounters, which, from a distance, might give the impression of a debate. Everything is sanctioned by votes cast in advance, so that the difference between the parliamentary system and the prerogative of despotic rule comes to this: the parliamentary system has only added tremendous waste of time.

So the Skupshina of Jugoslavia is like every parliament-house in this ancient world, except that its name is the Skupshina, not the Reichstag, Reichsrath, Sobranie, Sejm or House of Commons or Chamber of Deputies.

WELL, Mr. Maximovitch, Minister for the Interior, was answering questions. Under his nose they had thrust glaring testimony concerning the savage acts of terrorism committed by government-officials and subordinates during the General Council elections. These facts were patent, well attested, undeniable; they proved once more the proverbial truth—that elections in Jugoslavia mean nothing but systematic maltreatment of voters to make sure of sound votes.

And what was the reply of Mr. Maximovitch, who really had none? He raised his hands aloft.

"Certainly not!" he exclaimed. "It is all a mistake. Never did the world see government as meek and liberal-minded as mine. Force. Nothing of the kind. Freedom, I say, freedom, perfect and entire, unparallelled.

To judge from his words, no cabinet ever shone with purer democratic light than the ministry to which he had the honor to belong. With hand on heart, this minister spoke like a regular delegate to the League of Nations.

"But," came the retort from the opposition benches, "on such a such a date, this happened, and this..."

"Not true! Not true! The facts are utterly false. They have been drawn from ancient history, or from the history of the neighboring country. It is the Bolsheviks who are circulating these stories of blacken Jugoslavia in the eyes of the world. So-and-So? He has the best of treatment. So-and-So? Why, his foot was scarcely trodden on. So-and-So? Why, he beat the poor gendarme himself!"

NOW while Mr. Davidovitch, leader of the opposition and of the democratic Party, was thundering, attested documents in hand, which his voice was drowned in the resentful mutterings of the government majority, a message was passed down to him.

"Come at once to the Democratic Club."

He went. There in a corner, crumpled up on a chair, with a crowd about him, was something which looked like a man. He was battered, he was swollen and blue and disoriented, yet still alive at the core, so to speak. They were crowding round him, doing what they could for him—and when he was touched, or when his back met the chair, he cried out in pain.

Those around explained to Mr. Davidovitch that this pitiable sight went by the name of Iovan Ristitch, tollgate keeper at Topchider just opposite Belgrade.

He had been reduced to this plight at election time, for his half-hearted support of the government candidate, by the strong arm of Mr. Sokolovitch, police commissioner at Topchider.

Some one suggested stripping the poor fellow, as he sat there groaning and struggling miserably to shift his position, as if he was sitting on blazing coals.

His back was beaten blue, striped and spotted bloody marks.

"We must take him to the House!"

THEY gathered him up in their arms, this living wreck, this man half-broken, as one might gather up a regimental flag riddled with bullets.

To the Skupshina they went, jostling their way in at the doors—and, there, right among the members, propped up this quivering statue of flesh and blood, this memorial to governmental proceedings. They set the body down, like a scarecrow, half-stripped, so that the dreadful tattooings and beastly marks of the club might clearly be seen. Lolling on the top of this battered body was a haggard head; the hair was plastered down to the forehead with agony and sweat; the eyes were closed.

Every member sprang to his feet, and began shouting.

The creature became frightened, opened two eyes, and a month his hands trembled as they hung from those arms forged by the King's Commissioner of Police.

He seemed to be sinking back into the nightmare from which he had only just got free. Were they going to beat him again? The terrified look on his face seemed like another wound there.

At the sight of this martyr, bearing the impress of the elections on his flesh, the opposition became one menacing body, and yelled with a single voice: "Murderers!"

THIS was meant for Maximovitch and all his coadjutors, and his masters, for it was obvious that Ristitch bore the marks of the fists of every man jack among them, from the gendarmes up to His Majesty himself.

But other members grew angry for another cause and they, in gradually swelling numbers, called: "Shame! Shame!"

It was shameful, they said, to bring a man without clothes into the precincts of the most self-respecting of parliaments, and to lay bare the wounds of a martyr to the ruling regime. And now this roar of indignation smothered the first.

Mr. Maximovitch, of course, was placed in an awkward and annoying position; and, of course, he lost no time in making a scape-goat of Sokolovitch, the Commissioner of Police who had been so clumsy at to allow these wounds—or this man—to remain as evidence, and had carried out his duties as police commissioner so carelessly and thoughtlessly. He was deprived of his post and proceeded against.

Nice-minded people, however, who always carry more weight and outbursts those who see too far and shout too loud, were offended, rather than anything else, by this scandal in the Skupshina.

Things of this kind are not done. There is nothing more dangerous to bourgeois peace of mind, consequently, nothing more aristocratic, than to tear down the veil, strip a human being to show him as he really is. Why naked men? There is the cross; wave it on high as much as you like; it cannot hear, or speak, or see. And again, there are the doings which extremists always label as crimes: these you can smooth over as much as you like. But lay a finger on the living torso, tear vest and shirt from the carcass of a common man, to show the marks of social truth has left on his body—no, never! That is an unheard-of outrage, the most unspeakable of all!

(Tomorrow: The Schoolmaster.)