



GASTONIA JUDGE CONSPIRED WITH THE PROSECUTION

The Miners Revolt in Illinois

The coal miners of Illinois, of which there remain at least 50,000 in spite of a drastic introduction of capitalist "rationalization" which threw tens of thousands out of work and sped up the rate to a back-breaking intensity of labor and in spite of years of systematic betrayal by the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, are splitting away from the U.M.W.A. by whole locals and sub-districts and joining the National Miners' Union, the fighting organization formed last year when it became plain to the rank and file of the U.M.W.A. that the officials of the old organization had sold them out and wrecked the strike.

The miners of Illinois are about all that is left of the U.M.W.A. They are fighters, with Virgen Day and Herrin and many strikes to their credit. For twenty years they never permitted a scab to work in the coal fields of Illinois, not until District President Farrington sold them out to the Lester Strip Mine and even then they rose in armed might and annihilated the strikebreakers. Farrington was discovered drawing \$25,000 a year from the Peabody Coal Co., and was expelled. His vice president, and partner in crime, Harry Fishwick, became district president, and formed, in 1926, an alliance with John Lewis, International president, to expel, beat up, and drive out of the state the militant left wing as each was doing separately before.

When Lewis and Fishwick had finished the job of treason in the great strike of 1927 and 1928, they remained in control of the fragments of the U.M.W.A. Their machine of paid organizers, who never under any circumstances organized anything but fake elections to keep the officials in power, their district and sub-district officialdom, who resorted to any methods however crude to hold office, had in addition whatever was paid by the operators for the defeat of the miners' strike; another rich source of income. They could not make the miners, thoroughly disgusted with them, in any way loyal members of their discredited union, but they could and did go to the operators, and agree to contracts at wage reductions ranging from 25 to 50 per cent, on condition that none but "U.M.W.A. members" should be hired, and that the dues should be paid through the check-off.

In Illinois, the miners voted by a majority of 25,000 not to accept the Fishwick agreement involving steep wage cuts, and Fishwick simply threw the ballots out of the window and declared the agreements in force.

It is over the union treasuries and property, and the right to monopolize the check-off privileges, that Lewis and Fishwick fell out a couple of months ago, began to expel each other, got injunctions and started in to expose each other's election frauds, graft and swindling of the rank and file miners.

But this was too much. The miners of Illinois are in revolt, and are swarming by thousands out of the U.M.W.A., now openly seen as a company union. Now is the critical time. Eight thousands have just joined the N.M.U. in Illinois, but there are 50,000 in the district. Every possibility exists of a huge and powerful miners' union emerging, if the miners of Illinois realize that it is not sufficient just to stop recognition of Lewis and Fishwick, as practically all are decided upon, but realize also that only a strong national union, linked up with the Trade Union Unity League, the new fighting trade union center established at Cleveland Sept. 1, and through it joined with the international working class movement. And also, let us emphasize, provided the new union—the only real union—works with unprecedented energy to gather them into its ranks, and leads their fights with the bold initiative which the union program has promised.

All over the world labor is becoming more militant, resisting the rationalization and wage cutting campaign of the bosses, preparing to fight the coming imperialist war. Local revolts will not be enough. The Belleville convention of the Illinois miners which starts its sessions Sunday should result in the major part of these thousands in the coal fields joining this struggle by coming over in a body into the National Miners Union, fighting the employers for the six-hour day, for care for the men made jobless by rationalization which is eating into the industry at an ever more rapid pace, for wage raises and for decent working conditions underground.

Organize the Illinois miners into a real, fighting union—the National Miners' Union!
Miners! Here at last is your opportunity! Down with the traitors, Lewis, Fishwick & Co., agents of the scab bosses!
Join the National Miners' Union!

Big Pacific Coast Light and Power Co. Merger in War Plans

LOS ANGELES, Calif., Oct. 23.—The H. Ballard, president of the Light and Power Co., today gave reports to a gigantic meeting of the light and power trusts of the West Coast. The merger is part of a series in preparation for imperialist war.

The plan is for a merger of the Southern California Edison Company, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, Southern Counties Gas Company, the North American Company and Pacific Lighting.

It is understood that a holding company will be created which will control all of the power and light companies through exchange of stock. Ballard said that the plan is "under consideration."

The merger follows the announcement of the Federal Power Commission that the Southern California Edison Company and associated companies shall have 25 per cent of all power developed at Boulder Dam on the Colorado River.

Suspend Negro Young Pioneer Delegate to U.S.S.R. from School

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 23.—Shelly Strickland, the Negro member of the Young Pioneers' delegation to the Soviet Union, has been suspended from the Spring Garden Public School because he spoke to a group of workers' children on the conditions of the Russian workers' children as compared with those of the workers' children under the capitalist system. Shelly was called out by the principal's bull-dozing with the statement that he had a right to talk to the pupils about the USSR and the Young Pioneers. The Young Pioneers plan a protest meeting at which Shelly's reinstatement will be demanded.

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

Landslide, for National Miner Union in Illinois; Scores UMW Locals Join

Great Convention Sunday to Organize Split of 50,000 Miners From Misleaders' Control

N. M. U. Has 8,000 New Members; Meetings All Over State; Defense Groups Expect Fight

WEST FRANKFORT, Ill., Oct. 23.—Scores more of local unions in the United Mine Workers of America are repudiating both the faction headed by International President Lewis, and that led by District President Harry Fishwick, are leaving the U.M.W.A., and joining the National Miners' Union.

Secretary-Treasurer Pat Toohy of the N.M.U., reported in a speech to 200 miners at Duquoin, Sunday, workers who stayed in an outdoor meeting throughout a driving rain, that the National Miners' Union had gained 8,000 new members in Illinois within the last weeks, and that the former U.M.W.A. locals at Coella, Royalton, Staunton, Livingston, and others had just affiliated with the N. M. U. There are dozens of mass meetings being arranged throughout the district in preparation for the convention called by the Illinois District of the N. M. U. to meet Sunday, Monday and Tuesday in Liederkranz Hall, Belleville, Ill.

This convention, with representation based on N. M. U. locals, U. M. W. locals that have repudiated Fishwick and Lewis, and militant groups in U.M.W.A. locals that have not taken (Continued on Page Three)

LABOR JURY GIVES VERDICT BY RADIO

Calls Upon Workers to Rally to Defense

Thousands of workers heard the decision of the Labor Jury in the Gastonia case over the radio last night when Henry Buckley, New York shoe worker and a member of the jury, broadcasted the working-class verdict.

"Our verdict is 'not guilty,'" he declared, was the working-class verdict. 'Guilty' is the capitalist class decision. The strikers were tried on their racial, religious and political beliefs. Workers the land over must rally to the defense of these labor leaders, victims of capitalist class justice and the bosses' Black Hundreds. Workers must support the International Labor Defense, the Workers' International Relief and the Trade Union Unity League, which sent the Labor Jury to the trial."

LABOR JURYMEN TO MAKE TOURS

Will Tell Facts About Gastonia Verdict

Three members of the Labor Jury, which rendered a working class verdict of not-guilty at the Gastonia trial, will tour forty cities of the United States within the next month to tell the truth about the Gastonia class verdict.

They are Henry Buckley, New York shoe worker; Sol Harper, and Charles Frank, New York Negro workers. They will speak at factory gate and street meetings. The tours are being arranged by the Trade Union Unity League and the International Labor Defense.

The tour of Frank, up to November 4, follows:

Industrial Tour.
October 30—Baltimore, Md.
November 1—Wilmington, Del.
November 2—Chester, Pa.
November 3, 4—Philadelphia.

The tour of Harper and Buckley is a special industrial tour to cover textile and shoe manufacturing centers so as to link up the work of the jury with the campaign to organize the textile and shoe workers into the new unions and to set up I. L. D. branches.

The following dates for the Harper-Buckley tour, with the industries which predominate in each city which special efforts will be made to organize, follow:

October 29—Providence, textile.
October 30—Boston, textile and shoe.
October 31—Lynn, shoe.
November 1—Chelsea, shoe.
November 2—Lowell, textile.
November 3—Lawrence, textile.
November 4—Haverhill, shoe.

Additional dates for the Harper-Buckley tour and the Frank tour industrial meetings being arranged will be announced in a few days—will soon be announced.

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

GASTONIA CASE JUDGE TRIES TO BRIBE VICTIMS

Offers 3 Shorter Terms If They'll Become Stool Pigeons

'Gazette' Hails Jailing

Blesses Release of Mill Gangsters

BULLETIN.

GASTONIA, N. C., Oct. 21.—The Gastonia Gazette welcomed the verdicts which jail union organizers for defending themselves and releasing the mill gangsters who tried to lynch organizers with a threat of more lynching and murder of unionists. "It will not be safe for any of the so-called labor agitators to be caught nosing around any time soon," says the mill owners' paper. "Folks here are simply not going to put up with it any longer."

FOSTER SPEAKS IN NEW ENGLAND

Greeted at Worcester; in Boston Today

WORCESTER, Mass., Oct. 23.—William Z. Foster, general secretary of the Trade Union Unity League, spoke to a hall packed with workers here last night. Great enthusiasm was displayed by the workers for the program of the T. U. U. L.

BOSTON, Mass., Oct. 23.—A mass meeting under the auspices of the Trade Union Unity League is scheduled for Franklin Union Hall tonight at which William Z. Foster will report on the continued organization plans of the new trade union center established at the Cleveland convention, the drive to organize the south, and the wave of workers' resistance to rationalization and terror spreading over the country.

Friday there will be a mass meeting, with Foster as principal speaker in New York City. After that, Foster's tour will extend through West Virginia, Pennsylvania and into the Great Lakes region.

"The T. U. U. L. is no longer a propaganda minority league, it is

TRY TO FRAME UP PHILA. CLEANERS

'Murder' Charge Used To Break Strike

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 23.—William Streit, organizer of the Window Cleaners' Union in Philadelphia, now on strike, and two members of his strike committee, were arrested last night on a framed-up charge of murder and were put through an all-night third degree grilling for a "confession."

Streit and his fellow workers were charged with the murder of a policeman and a gangster in the employ of the bosses.

The Window Cleaners had been waging a militant and successful strike. The charges against the leaders of the strike, coming on the heels of the Gastonia verdict, the Chicago frame-up charges, further indicates the wave of governmental terror against militant workers spreading to every part of the country.

The workers of Philadelphia, who will protest the Gastonia verdict tomorrow night at 7 p. m. in City Hall Plaza will also call for the immediate release of Streit and his comrades, who had been the most vigorous leaders in the Philadelphia strike.

Attorney Wallerstein, for the International Labor Defense, is defending the window cleaners.

BARNHILL SECRETLY ADVISED CARPENTER TO REDUCE CHARGES; ENABLED PACKING OF JURY BY CUTTING OUT CHALLENGES

Philadelphia Conference of International Labor Defense Urging All Workers to Attend Mass Demonstration, Scores Boss Verdict

Workers of New York and Many Other Cities Rally At Communist Party Call. Foreman of Jury Father of Mill Superintendent

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Oct. 23.—The fact was accidentally exposed here today that at the beginning of the second Gastonia case trial Judge Barnhill secretly conferred with Solicitor Carpenter of Gastonia, officially in charge of the prosecution of the strikers and organizers, then numbering thirteen, charged with first degree murder. The mill owners' judge came to an agreement with the mill owners' prosecutor, Solicitor Carpenter, behind the backs of the defense, that "interests of justice" would be best served by reducing the number of peremptory challenges allowed the defense, and that this could be done only by reducing the charge to second degree murder. This conference between a judge loudly pretending to be "impartial" and the prosecution was a dead secret from the defense, according to J. Louis Engdahl, national secretary of the International Labor Defense. It was by means of reducing the number of cases from 16 to seven, and by reducing the charge from first degree to second degree murder, that the packing of the jury was accomplished by the prosecution—and as now seen—by Judge Barnhill himself. Under North Carolina law the first degree charges against 13 defendants and second degree against three more enabled the defense to use 168 peremptory challenges of veniremen. The first trial in Charlotte demonstrated that by so doing the defense was able to get a jury that had a few workers on it, and not many others in the jury box who went there deliberately intending to convict regardless of the evidence. In the second trial, with only 28 challenges, the number allowed by the maneuver of prosecution and judge—a jury of fundamentalist, white chauvinist, reactionary farmers and one millionaire was obtained. With this packed jury the evidence did not count. They heard the prosecution tell them that it was their patriotic duty to stamp out Communism, race equality, unionism and atheism, and they tried to do it with their verdict of guilty.

Appeal for 100 Daily Workers Each Day in Norfolk, Virginia

Textile, War Industry Center Must Be Adopted By Workers' Groups

In the important war industry centers of Portsmouth, Norfolk and Newport News, Virginia, distributions of the Daily Worker have been frequent of late.

From the cotton mill sections of Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, North and South Carolina, all the way up thru the South to the port cities of Virginia, centers of shipbuilding, munitions, rayon and chemical industries, the name and meaning of the Daily Worker has spread.

Whenever a few copies of the Daily Worker are distributed to the unorganized workers of these sections of the newly industrialized South, among workers newly awakened to the class struggle, demands for more distributions of the Daily Worker are made.

Thus, a worker of Portsmouth, Virginia, writes: "Comrades, our Daily has done more than open the eyes of many Norfolk and Portsmouth workers.

"For instance to the workers of the Southern Spring Mfg. Co. I gave out 40 or 50 copies of the Daily Worker, to the Negro workers that attended a T.U.U.L. shop meeting there last Tuesday.

"The workers in the important war industries here are looking more and more to the Communist Party and the Daily Worker for guidance in the fast-growing mass struggle.

"Comrades, by all means send me at least 100 copies of the Daily Worker for distribution among the workers that will attend a shop meeting next Wednesday evening.

"I think workers should support the Daily and make it possible to send at least 100 copies daily to Norfolk.

Here, then, is another southern industrial center—not only a textile center, but also one of the most important war industry centers in the United States—which must be adopted by a working class organization.

What group of workers will adopt Norfolk, Virginia, and see to it that 100 copies of the Daily Worker are sent there each day?

So that the tens of thousands of unorganized workers of Norfolk may receive 100 copies of the Daily Worker each day, a Communist Party unit or other working class group must pledge \$10 a week to "The Drive to Rush the Daily South."

So that the workers of this southern industrial center may receive not merely 100 copies, but tens of hundreds of Dailies each day, many working class groups must combine to adopt Norfolk.

Individual workers too must rush funds so that the southern workers may receive the Daily Worker.

Daily Worker,
26 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
I am sending the enclosed contribution to aid in making it possible to rush 10,000 Daily Workers to the southern workers each day.

Name
Address
City State

Amount \$.....

"Our Only Hope in Working Class," Says Gaston Prisoner

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Oct. 22.—"The terror against the struggle of our only hope of freedom lies in the working class," a Gastonia case defendant declared today from behind the bars where they will stay for the next twenty years unless the labor movement forces the capitalist class to release him and his six fellow workers.

"We do not ask the workers of America to fight for our freedom alone," said one, "but for the rights of labor. All the forces of the Southern Capitalist class were behind this plot to lock up, not only seven union organizers, but with us in prison militant unionism itself, and the right to organize, strike, picket, and defend ourselves.

"The mass pressure of the working class saved us from the electric chair, forcing the prosecution to reduce the charges against us. We are confident that the workers, under the leadership of the International Labor Defense and the Communist Party, will go on fighting for our unconditional release and for the defense of workers' rights. Otherwise, this victory of the mill owners will mean another step in

Many Protests.
"We are getting those protests from all workers' organizations regardless of their affiliation. American Federation of Labor locals have been very active in sending their protests," Engdahl, national secretary of the I. L. D., said yesterday. He pointed a number of resolutions from the following locals: Dayton Electrotypes' Union, particularly Dayton, O.; Moulders Union, Madison, Wis.; Journeymen Tailors' Union, of Johnson City, Ill.; Lima Lodge, No. 200, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Lima, O., and from workers in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. The A. F. L. membership is for the Gastonia boys, even (Continued on Page Three)

SUBSIDIZES SHIP BONES.
WASHINGTON, Oct. 23.—The United States Shipping Board today approved a loan of \$2,225,000 to the American Bankers Corporation, Boston, to be used in converting the U. S. S. Ulysses from a collier to an oil tanker.

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GASTONIA CASE JUDGE TRIES TO BRIBE VICTIMS

Offers 3 Shorter Terms for Evidence

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In securing it, and thus prevent these workers even a brief respite from the rigors of prison, where they have been for the past four months.

After this attempt, Carpenter returned to Gastonia to complete the white washing of the murderers of Ella May, so that all mill thugs will see that it is perfectly safe as far as constituted authority is concerned, for them to kill unionists, as a patriotic duty.

Before imposing sentence yesterday afternoon, Judge Barnhill called to the witness stand Louis McLaughlin and William McGinnis, two of the defendants, and made an attempt to bribe them with a promise of lighter sentences if they would stoop to the work against the Southern Communists. Both refused, and gave Barnhill the same account of the events surrounding the killing of Chief of Police Aderholt during this murderous raid on the Gastonia strikers, as all the other defense witnesses gave.

Joseph Harrison was also called to the stand, where he corroborated his statements. Then Barnhill pronounced sentence, giving the Southern Communists the heaviest sentences: seventeen to twenty years.

Although admitting "I am in doubt about the guilt of Hendryx," the judge gave him five to seven years. Several witnesses had testified that Hendryx was not even on the union list when the shooting took place. This is further proof that it is not evidence, but prejudice and class hatred of militant unionism that sent the seven to conviction.

In futile appeals for lighter sentences, defense lawyers again pointed out what everybody in the courtroom knew, that the whole community except the workers was violently prejudiced against the defendants, and that an impartial trial was impossible. They pointed out that "there has not been a day since June 7 when the newspapers have not had editorials denouncing the defendants, their union and their beliefs." This was denied by Barnhill.

Determined to Jail.
"The prosecution in this case represented and reflected the determination of the mill owners to send those boys to jail regardless of the evidence," said Johnson McCall, of the defense staff, and continued, "They are not guilty of one unlawful act. The charges of the prosecution are absurd. The strikers were absolutely peaceful on their property despite previous attempts to provoke violence. On June 7 they were doing nothing but defending their lives and property. This jury would have found them guilty of anything in the world that the prosecution charged regardless of evidence to which the jury paid no attention whatever. The prejudice against the defendants was so thick you could cut it with a knife and it was not kept out of the jury box. So powerful is the influence of the newspapers that I thought them guilty myself until I examined the evidence. The very atmosphere of Charlotte is saturated with hatred and malice against these defendants. A fair trial was impossible here. Their only offense was an attempt to end the slavery in the mills."

Thaddeus Adams, for the defense, also appealed for lighter sentences. He could still hardly believe that Barnhill would be so vindictive an instrument of the capitalist class. "The only motive of the defendants was to organize to get better wages," he said, "they had no intention of killing anybody. If they had been conspiring to kill police, they had plenty of opportunity when they were attacked previously. They didn't know the officers were coming and could not have conspired to murder them. Their only motive in organizing the strike was to get better conditions and on June 7 to protect themselves."

Frank Flowers, another defense attorney, declared: "If the defendants had been tried separately, there would have been insufficient evidence to convict a single one of them. It was only by dragging in this idea of conspiracy and appealing to prejudice that the prosecution could obtain convictions. This jury would have convicted under any circumstances, such was their prejudice. There is absolutely no evidence against Beal, Miller or Harrison, yet because they are Communists, they are convicted."

Build Up the United Front of the Working Class.

12th Anniversary to Mobilize Workers for Gastonia Protest

Celebration Will Also Be Mobilization for the Election Campaign

The great celebration of the 12th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in Madison Square Garden, Sunday, Nov. 3, will be converted into a mighty protest against the vicious class verdict in the Gastonia case and a mobilization of the workers of New York behind the campaign to force the release of the seven defendants, it was announced yesterday at the office of District 2, Communist Party, which is arranging the celebration.

The sentencing of these seven workingleaders to long terms in jail brings home to every class conscious worker the great contrast between conditions in the Soviet Union and in the United States, the arrangements committee of the Nov. 3 rally, points out. While the seven-hour day is, as a result of the Five-Year Plan, being introduced into all textile mills in the Soviet Union and no worker works more than eight hours a day, the mill slaves of the South, men, women and children, work ten, twelve and even more hours a day at starvation wages and with merciless speed-up sapping their lives. While the textile workers in the Soviet Union are 100 per cent organized, efforts to organize the southern textile workers in this country resulted in the

mobilization by the mill barons of every reactionary force and the launching of a terror, "legal" and "illegal," of unprecedented proportions, culminating in the sentencing of seven of the leading fighters for the textile workers to long prison terms.

This great contrast will be given additional emphasis by the fact that the Madison Square Garden meeting will also be the final mobilization rally for the New York election campaign of the party that is leading the struggles of the southern textile workers, the Communist Party. Its leadership as well in he struggles of the New York workers will be paid mighty tribute when the thousands of New York workers demonstrate on Nov. 3 for the Communist election program, for the defense of the Soviet Union, for the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction and for the release of the Gastonia prisoners.

As Madison Square Garden is expected to be overcrowded on Nov. 3, workers are urged to buy their tickets in advance. They are on sale at the District office of the Communist Party, 26 Union Square, Freiheit, 30 Union Square; Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union, 131 West 28th St. and Workers Bookshop, 30 Union Square.

CHEATED DRIVERS LOOK TO T. U. U. L.

Ready for Irving Plaza Meeting Tomorrow

Under auspices of the Trade Union League and the organization committee of the Chauffeurs, Garage Workers and Gasmen's Industrial Union, a meeting of all drivers and gasmen will be held tomorrow 8 p. m., at Irving Plaza Hall, 15th St. and Irving Place. The meeting will take up the organization of one industrial union for the whole industry.

Those in the oil truck drivers' strike, attacked by a combination of company violence, police brutality, lying press stories, and the defeatist actions of their union "leaders" at many places visited by T. U. U. L. workers distributing leaflets, expressed confidence that the meeting would be well attended. The drivers of the Gulf Oil Co. are many of them not back at work. Those the company considered ringleaders in the strike for the eight-hour day and time and a half for overtime were blacklisted.

Betrayed.
Among the Standard Oil drivers much dissatisfaction is expressed with the sell-out tactics of the Teamsters' Union officials, who refused to make any attempt to spread the strike, refused to acquint the strikers with its progress, and took the attitude "no one can beat the Standard Oil," which seemed to the men on strike a strange way to fight. These men point out that the officials of the Teamsters' Union are paid over \$100 a month, whether the strike wins or not, and have little interest, unless the company makes it to their interest to lose the strike. Most of the men misled by these officials s., they will not continue in the A. F. L. Teamsters' Union.

Action of the Transportation Council of the A. F. of L. in New York City, in which Pat Ryan's International Longshoremen's Association refused to handle scab trucks, is welcomed by the men as evidence that the pressure of the rank and file, who went on strike on four docks in sympathy with the oil drivers' strike has got concessions even from the hard boiled gang of labor traitors.

Militant Gesture.
But they point out that during the truck strike in New York, many militant gestures were made by the officials, none of them of practical importance, because no effort was made to carry them out. Longshoremen now see that the Trade Union League's emphasis on rank and file committees to lead the strike was not misplaced. The chance of assisting the food truck drivers' strike, which is spreading, depends on the rank and file of the longshoremen watching for and stopping the scab trucks, as the officials have made no effort to identify them. Committees must be established to pick out the scab cars. The motion in the transportation council was merely to refuse those which were accompanied by police, and Whalen having already withdrawn the uniformed cops, and left the job to plainclothes men and company guerrillas.

Frank Flowers, another defense attorney, declared: "If the defendants had been tried separately, there would have been insufficient evidence to convict a single one of them. It was only by dragging in this idea of conspiracy and appealing to prejudice that the prosecution could obtain convictions. This jury would have convicted under any circumstances, such was their prejudice. There is absolutely no evidence against Beal, Miller or Harrison, yet because they are Communists, they are convicted."

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SOCIALISTS ARE BROTHERS OF THE GASTON JAILERS

Weinstone Denounces Thomas and Party

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a paradise before the National Textile Union organizers came, the words of all the respectable hangmen who are trying by terror, "legal" and "illegal" to drive the N. T. W. U. and the Communist Party out of the South and to crush the revolting workers into submission.

"The Rev. Thomas' echo comes at an appropriate time. It is an election campaign; votes must be gotten at any cost. Thomas has since the beginning of the campaign outdone himself to prove to his capitalist masters that he would make just as loyal a servant of capitalism as Walker for LaGuardia. Now he goes a step further; while seven militant workers face a living death in jail, the Rev. Thomas hastens to assure his capitalist masters that he too is against these workers; in other words, that if he, Norman Thomas, were a capitalist executive in a similar situation, he too could be relied on to do everything in his power to send these workers to jail and to defeat every effort to organize the savagely exploited and oppressed textile workers into a fighting union.

"The spirit of the South which Norman Thomas so eagerly defends from the 'alien' Communist philosophy is the same spirit which has made oppression of the Negroes into an institution; it is the spirit of the Jim Crow, of lynching boss, of the most vicious exploitation and persecution of Negro workers.

"Thomas asks: 'Must the course of industrialization of heretofore agricultural South be attended by all the stupidity and all the tragedy that have marked similar developments in Europe and America?' The mill owners are too stupid for Thomas. He knows how the workers can be kept enslaved more cleverly. And he tells how: "It is reasonable to expect the A. F. of L., rather than the Communist union to be the agency of progress in the South." The progress that Thomas means is progress for the bosses, progress in diverting the surging revolt of the textile workers into harmless (for the bosses) channels.

"The A. F. of L. union that is the hope of Norman Thomas and the southern mill owners is the United Textile Workers, which is dominated by the new fake 'progressive' group in which socialists play the leading role. This union has during its few months of activity in the South achieved the glorious record of brazen betrayals in Elizabethtown and Marion, paving the path for the bloodbath in Marion in which six workers were killed and many wounded.

"And workers must remember that this A. F. of L. which Norman Thomas looks to as the savior of southern capitalism is the same A. F. of L. which at the present moment in New York City is engaged in a shameless sell-out of the striking truck drivers.

"It is clear that the function of the Norman Thomases, the Mustes and their ilk is to keep the working class docile and impotent while capitalism drives ahead with its rationalization program of speed-up, wage cuts and long hours in preparation for its next war. That is why Norman Thomas is so welcome in the capitalist camp; that is why he gets as much publicity in the bosses' press as his two capitalist rivals, Walker and LaGuardia.

"The workers of New York must in the coming municipal elections give a decisive answer to the betrayal and exploitation program of

PHILADELPHIA

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WORKERS CALENDAR

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

CANADA

Russian Revolution.
Friday, November 8, the Communist Party of Canada will hold a mass meeting and concert at Prince Arthur Hall to celebrate the Twelfth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Comrades who have collected for Gastonia defense are asked to remit to: W. Gerrish, 276 St. James St., Montreal, or National Secretary A. E. Smith, 105 Bloor St., Toronto.

ILLINOIS

Chicago Scandinavian Bazaar.
The Chicago Scandinavian Workers Clubs will hold a bazaar Saturday, Oct. 26, at 27, at Southside Viking Temple, 69th St. and Emerald Ave.

MICHIGAN

Chicago I. L. D. Dance.
Sacco-Vanzetti branch I. L. D. will give a concert and dance Saturday, Nov. 9, at 8 p. m. at Folkets Hus, 2733 W. Hirsch Blvd. Admission 35 cents.

Y.C.L. Grand Rapids Affair.

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

12TH ANNIVERSARY Meetings

Scranton, Pa., Nov. 16, 7 p. m., 503 Lackawanna Avenue. Speakers: Jack Johnston, Mike Harrison.

Trenton, N. J., Nov. 19—Speaker and place to be announced.

Rochester, N. Y., Sunday, Nov. 24. District Four.

Buffalo, Nov. 24, 8 p. m., 351 Broadway.

Kansas City, Mo., Thursday, Nov. 7, Croatan Hall.

ELECTION TAG DAYS TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK ON SATURDAY AND SUNDAY

Active preparations are under way for the Communist Election Tag Days this Saturday and Sunday. Thousands of dollars must be raised on these days to pay for the special editions of the Daily Worker and the other Communist press that are being issued, as well as for the hundreds of thousands of leaflets to be distributed among the workers of this city.

Volunteer collectors are asked to report Saturday and Sunday at the following stations: 27 E. Fourth St., 1179 Broadway, 143 E. 103rd St., 330 Wilkins Ave., 56 Manhattan Ave., Williams' arg., 48 Bay 28th St., Bath Beach, 764 40th St., Boro Park, 29 Chester St., Brownsville and 2901 Mermaid Ave., Coney Island.

the socialist party and its candidate, Norman Thomas. They must answer this scurrilous attack on those who daily face the capitalist terror in the fierce class battles in the South by voting for the party that is leading the struggles of the southern textile workers. It is this party that is also leading the struggles of the New York workers, that fights against socialist thuggery and socialist alliances with the police in the needle trades, the Party of the class struggle—the Communist Party. A vote for the Communist candidates is not only a vote for the immediate demands of the working class such as social insurance and the seven-hour day, but also for the final overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government."

G. FRANK, NEGRO LABOR JUROR TO SPEAK FOR T.U.U.L.

Foster Tells of A. F. L. Convention, Friday

A mass meeting for all workers will hear Charles Frank, Negro member of the Gastonia Labor Jury, and William Z. Foster, general secretary of the Trade Union Unity League, Friday, Oct. 25, at 8 p. m., at Irving Plaza Hall, 15th St. and Irving Place.

Frank will tell of what he saw at the Gastonia case trial where the whole labor jury was Jim Crowed, but nevertheless watched the bestial antics of the class court, which has just assigned workers to 20 years in prison for daring to defend themselves against textile mill gunmen disguised as police officers.

Foster is fresh from a tour that began with the Southern Textile Workers' Conference in Charlotte three weeks ago, and has taken him speaking for the TUUL through most of the industrial cities of the Atlantic Coast. In each center, the new trade union center was established on a flourishing basis, with an organization drive under way and local conferences scheduled. He will report especially on the A. F. of L. convention in the light of the Trade Union Unity Convention. The A. F. L. Toronto convention was a gathering of officialdom of the reactionary unions, intent on saving its own fat jobs. The Cleveland T. U. U. L. convention was a vast gathering of workers, in basic industries, and it formed a new militant trade union center, with a fighting program, for the man on the job. The meeting Friday is called by the Metropolitan Area Trade Union Unity League.

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ALL WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS IN CHICAGO WILL PLEASE TAKE NOTICE THAT THE ANNUAL LABOR DEFENSE BAZAAR (CHICAGO DISTRICT) WILL TAKE PLACE ON DECEMBER 13-14-15 AT PEOPLES AUDITORIUM, 2457 W. CHICAGO AVENUE, CHICAGO. DONATIONS WANTED!

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STRIKES AND THEIR BETRAYAL BY MACDONALD "LABOR" PARTY DISILLUSIONING THE WORKERS

Election Corruption of "Labor" Member of Parliament by Capitalist, Exposed

In Germany, Also, Socialist Trade Union Leaders Betray Strike Struggles

(Wireless by Inprecorr.)
LONDON, Oct. 23.—The ballot in the "workers' union gave a result of 80 per cent against accepting the wage cut of 8.3 per cent. These are 150,000 workers involved and the employers are preparing a lockout. The fake "labor" government is again confronting the workers' demands, as at Lancashire where "labor" forced the cotton mill workers to accept a wage cut which had struck against.

At a Huddersfield Power Loom Union meeting 90 per cent voted to reject any cut whatever. An important group of key men, the Managers and Overlookers Society, voted almost 100 per cent against the 8.3% wage cut proposal, the vote being: To reject, 1,409; to accept, 98.

The employers in the jute mills have also put before the union a demand for 6 per cent wage reduction.

(Wireless by Inprecorr.)
LONDON, Oct. 23.—That the so-called "Labor" Party and the openly reactionary Tory Party is practically one and the same thing, is again proven by the inquiry into election corruption of the "Labor" member of Parliament, Moses. The inquiry proceedings show that Moses was financed in his election largely by the capitalist, Ballard, who also financed the Tory candidate, Lady Astor.

(Wireless by Inprecorr.)
BERLIN, Oct. 23.—The arrested leaders of the plumbers' strike are charged with "intimidation and bodily threats" of violence, or the instigation of the latter. The workers, who understand the charges were brought about by the union bureaucrats, are increasing their protests at this reformist crime.

BARNHILL CAUGHT IN CONSPIRACY

Met With Prosecutors In Secret on Charges

(Continued from Page One)
through its officials denounce them. The International Labor Defense today secured the bail, amounting to \$25,000, which will take the seven defendants out of prison until the appeal is heard in the higher courts. Engdahl points out why the floggers of the labor leaders were found "not guilty" at Concord, N. C., Saturday and the strike leaders were charged with such heavy terms. "The workers of America and the world will not stand for this," he said. "Their mass protest will rise in such an extent that the capitalist authorities will be forced to free those strikers who were guilty of no other crime than of organizing the unorganized Southern workers."

At a special meeting of the Philadelphia I. L. D. in Grand Fraternity Hall, Monday, preparations were made to mobilize all forces at the great mass protest meeting called by the Communist Party, Friday night at City Hall Plaza.

The conference Monday adopted a resolution scoring the class verdict which called seven unionists guilty of murder in the second degree because they dared to defend themselves from the killers sent against them by the mill company. The resolution says: "The verdict of the mill owners' court shocks, but does not surprise the members of the I. L. D. ... The International Labor Defense pointed out at the time the trial began that by changing the charge to second degree murder the prosecution merely made a strategic retreat in the face of the mass protest throughout the world. At the same time, however, we had no illusions as to the intentions of the prosecution. By this maneuver (changing the charge) they eliminated all possibility in any way absolving their main objective, which was to eliminate the most active organizers and terrorize the textile masses. Instead of quick death in the electric chair the valiant union members and organizers will now suffer slow death in the dungeons of the state prison."

Don't Accept Verdict.
"We have no intention whatever, nor will the working class accept the verdict of the venal and bigoted court and jury of the North Carolina mill barons. Now that the class mask of impartiality has been removed and Judge Barnhill stands exposed as a tool of the same mill-owners who organized the fascist lynching and kidnapping bands who have been terrorizing the enslaved mill workers and union organizers; now that all pretense that this was merely a murder trial has been dropped and the real issues involved; the right of workers to organize, to defend themselves against

NEGRO REVOLT SCARES WHITE IMPERIALISTS

East African Millions Stir British Rule

NAIROBI, Kenya Colony, Oct. 23.—The growing militancy against British imperialism among the Negro population of this part of British East Africa was the keynote of alarm sounded by Sir Edward Grigg, the Governor General of Kenya Colony, in a report to the Legislative Council here.

Both the Lumbwa and Massais are in the lead of the growing antagonistic attitude toward British farm proprietors and the situation has filled these white exploiters with fear, as they are helplessly outnumbered. Tribesmen who are suspected of being informers against the natives are frequently attacked.

Extra policemen have been drafted for the Lumbwa territory, and a company of the King's African Rifles, drilled and officered by British, has been ordered to patrol the Massai Reserve along the boundary.

The population of the colony is composed of 12,529 whites, 2,686,848 Africans, 30,583 Asiatics, and 10,557 Arabs.

LANDSLIDE FOR NEW MINE UNION

8,000 Join National Miners in Illinois

(Continued from Page One)
action on that question yet, will organize for a mass split with the U.M.W.A., and entry of the thousands of Illinois miners into the N. M. U. It will stage a sharp fight for the six-hour day, five-day week, against the speed-up, care for unemployed, etc.

Fight at Edgemont.
Livingston local of the U.M.W.A., voted last Thursday to join the N.M.U. in a body. The N.M.U. immediately took in 350 new members. Local 2 at Edgemont met the same night to burn the U.M.W.A. charter, and was invaded by a gang of Lewis thugs. About 200 men here joined the N.M.U.

As soon as they heard of the 700 miners of Staunton joining the N. M. U., 100 more miners in Macoupin County also joined.

The conference held last week in Belleville, called by the N. M. U., showed enthusiasm among the miners for the new union, and brought out something of the extent of the landslide towards it.

Landslide for N. M. U.
"Out of nine mines working in Saline County, eight are working with N. M. U. members," said the N. M. U. district president. "We are in complete control in the West Frankfort district," he continued, and "at Royalston we have 350 members. Zeigler and Christopher are aligned with us. At Valier we have ever member of the old U. M. W. A. Buckner and Benton are for the N. M. U. At Duquoin we have 450 members, at Staunton, 700 members were lined up today. Collinsville is lined up. At Pana, the new union has absolute control, and 8,000 miners attended our mass meeting in Springfield."

The district secretary of the N. M. U. spoke, applauding the decision of the U. M. W. A. locals to throw away their charters, but warning "but be sure you also get your money. Vote it for relief, divide it among yourselves, or give it to the N. M. U. Buy firecrackers with it rather than let Lewis fight you for it. If you are attacked, see that your defense groups fight them back."

German Cruiser Building Gets French Raw Spot

White Guardist Bands Find Red Army Bayonets

Wipe Out Three Bands Invading U. S. S. R.

(Wireless by Inprecorr.)
MOSCOW, Oct. 23.—Firing on the Soviet frontier guards and peaceful citizens by Chinese is proceeding in the Transbaikal district. Near Lake Khanka, three bands of White Guards raiding Soviet territory have been wiped out by Red Army troops.

At Harbin, authorities again raided the closed Soviet consulate, where a committee was left to wind up affairs of the Far Eastern Bank by agreement with the Chinese when the consul was withdrawn. The committee was dissolved and the monies, documents and so on confiscated. The Chinese have formed a new committee, all Chinese, and notified all debtors of the bank to pay all monies to them, refusing to make any protocol concerning the seizure. The chairman of the committee, Lukani, is subjected to house arrest.

The Mukden authorities are maintaining "neutrality" in the Feng-Chiang Kaishhek conflict, refusing to dispatch Mukden troops against Feng, under pretext that such action would weaken the Chinese front against the Soviet Union in Manchuria. Actually, Mukden hopes to utilize the conflict to establish the independence of Manchuria from Nanking or any other regime in the south.

The Chinese are attempting to force Soviet citizens still employed on the Chinese Eastern Railway to give up Soviet citizenship, many being dismissed for refusing.

Why He Went Over the Wall.
MOSCOW, Oct. 22.—Referring to the Besesdovski affair in Paris, where this man Besesdovski, an attaché of the Soviet embassy climbed the embassy wall to escape, so he said, being sent back to Moscow, an affair which the bourgeois and socialist press is striving to make an anti-Soviet scandal about on the theory that Besesdovski feared punishment for "political differences," the "Pravda" declares the following:

Besedovski's "differences" are not political, but "differences with the Soviet criminal code," as Besedovski had robbed the Soviet government of large sums of money.

Rote Fahne Printers Aid Humanite Defense

Plan for Big TUUL Mass Meet for Foster in Chicago on Oct. 30

BERLIN (By Mail).—The printers in the Friedrichstadt Printing Works which print the "Rote Fahne," the Central Organ of the German Communist Party, have sent a letter to the printers and editors of "L'Humanite," the Central Organ of the French Communist Party informing them that the printers of the "Rote Fahne" have collected 500 marks for the defense fund of "L'Humanite" and forwarded the money to Paris.

U. spoke, applauding the decision of the U. M. W. A. locals to throw away their charters, but warning "but be sure you also get your money. Vote it for relief, divide it among yourselves, or give it to the N. M. U. Buy firecrackers with it rather than let Lewis fight you for it. If you are attacked, see that your defense groups fight them back."

Watt Rebuked.
The National Miners' Union is in control of the rank and file. Fishwick, Farrington and Lewis have always by machine methods owned the U. M. W. A., but the new union is the miners'. This was demonstrated at the Belleville conference last week when Jerry Allard, youth organizer for the N. M. U. sharply rebuked John Watt, the president, for a wrong policy expressed. Watt gave an impression that the operators did not count in the fight.

"Brother Watt is on the wrong track when he tells us that the operators while we take over the organization which they now control are shivering and will stand idly by," the Belleville Daily Advocate quotes Allard as saying on the conference floor. "The operators are a greater enemy than either Lewis or Fishwick. We cannot be too careful to guard against them," said Allard. The miners at the conference agreed with Allard.

Says Senate Fixed Carbide Tariff to Suit Power Trust

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 23.—Senator Norris of Nebraska, so-called "liberal" republican, whose hopes to head a third party of the bosses leads him to occasional bouts with the regular republicans, today accused tariff-making senators of framing the calcium carbide schedule to protect the power trust.



Negro, White Molders Strike Together in the Chatanooga Stove Co.

(By a Worker Correspondent)
CHATANOOGA, Tenn. (By Mail).—The molders' strike at the Harron Stove Works of this city is still in progress. Most of the experienced mechanics who were brought in to scab have joined the union and also gone on strike. The strike is in its fourth month.

Plant officials boasted that they would lick the workers in less than thirty days. They were sure disappointed.

It is quite interesting to know that most of the new union members are Negro workers. Even the local A. F. L. "Labor Herald" was forced to state in its issue of Sept. 27 "that the Negro workers have proved themselves faithful on the picket lines and elsewhere."

Local molders, Negro and white, are beginning to realize that they must organize in order to protect themselves against starvation wages.

CASE OF FALL IS BEFORE JURY

Attempts Made to Hide Transactions

WASHINGTON, Oct. 23.—The case of Albert B. Fall, Secretary of the Interior in the Harding cabinet, will go to the jury tomorrow. Fall is charged with accepting a bribe of \$100,000 from E. L. Doheny for giving leases on government oil lands in California.

Evidence also showed he got over \$200,000 from Sinclair, who was given a lease on the Teapot Dome oil fields.

Evidence also showed the money was turned over in cash to Fall after it had been taken from the bank account of Doheny's son, in an effort to cover up the transaction.

In 1923 Fall wrote to the senate asserting the \$100,000 came from E. B. McLean, Washington publisher. But Doheny admitted that he gave the money to Fall, insisting that it was for "friendship," and that he wanted the valuable oil leases because of "patriotism" instead of any desire for profits.

cities in which Foster will speak on the remainder of his tour. October 25, 26—New York. October 27—Pittsburgh (two meetings). October 28—Charleroi. October 29—Cannonsburgh (two meetings). October 30, 31—Chicago, Ill. November 1—Gary, Ind. November 2, 3, 4—Detroit, Mich. November 2—Pontiac, Mich. (evening). November 5, 7—Cleveland, Ohio. November 6—Youngstown, Ohio. November 8—Buffalo, N. Y. November 9—Rochester, N. Y.

Membership Meetings.
Membership meetings of the TUUL have been arranged for cities which Foster will visit. Plans must be prepared so that a general discussion can be had, and a program of work to build the TUUL to set up necessary departments and committees, establish local leagues and to lay the basis for a district TUUL convention.

The following are the dates and

The Trade Unions and Socialist Construction in the Soviet Unions

By KATERINA AVDEYEVA

You will understand the secret of the "miraculous" successes of the FIVE-YEAR-PLAN. The Soviet Trade Unions as the driving force in Socialist construction is revealed with startling factual arguments by a member of the Presidium of the Soviet Trade Unions.

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IN THE SHOPS

USSR Lumber Worker, in Far Siberia, Tells of Life

How do the Soviet lumber workers, in the farthest reaches of Siberia, on the Japanese Sea, live? Read the following letter from a Siberian lumber worker.

SVJAZI, Vladivostok, Bubernia, U. S. S. R.:

It seems to me that every worker correspondent should write about the things with which he is well acquainted. Therefore, I am writing to you about the life of lumberworkers where I live—Nach tache, which is situated on the North Shore of the Japanese Sea.

The general situation in our region does not permit payment of high wages and therefore we do not have a paradise in Nachtache. However, we have our Soviet Government, our Soviet power and therefore we have passed laws which aim to improve our conditions and to improve our working conditions.

To Defend Workers' Interest.
The first organization which defends our work and enforces the labor laws is the Rabochkom (workers' committee). Rabochkom consists of a few (3-7) syndicate representatives who are elected by all the workers from the concern. The election is without any restrictions, and every group or individual can propose candidates. The tasks of the "rabochkom" are as follows:

To defend the material welfare of the workers; to raise the professional skill of the workers; to administer judicially (explain laws, contracts, etc.); to lead cultural and educational work; to develop in the workers the international spirit and class consciousness.

The Rabochkom for the Workers.
For the fulfillment of its tasks the Rabochkom organizes different committees. The first task is taken care of by the conflict committee. How does this committee work? To understand that you have to know that besides the labor laws there exist labor contracts, collective and individual, which are made by large private and state concerns which are under the control of the syndicates.

According to the law all conditions may be improved in the contracts upon the minimum which is guaranteed in the laws, but conditions less than those given in the minimum simply cannot exist. The conflict committee consists of an equal number of representatives of the administration of the concerns.

It always refers to labor laws and contracts to solve the misunderstandings. If the committee disagrees it has no power to decide the case. The latter is carried to a

BIG CARPET CO. WORKERS WALK OUT ON SPEEDUP

Bigelow Men Welcome the N. T. W. U.

(By a Worker Correspondent)
THOMPSONVILLE, Conn. (By Mail).—A strike broke out at the Bigelow Carpet Company, Thompsonville, Conn., Oct. 17th. About 400 men and women walked out of the tapestry department. A general walk-out was quickly prevented by the owners by withdrawing the so-called "point system," a vicious speed-up and wage cutting plan.

The workers are extremely dissatisfied with conditions and wages which are being continually cut. They are tired of the efficiency and rationalization stunts of the bosses. For instance, every step taken by a worker is counted and timed, for a visit to a rest room and to a drinking fountain is considered time wasted.

Every worker is watched carefully and a check up is taken. The time wasted (so-called) means that workers are dropped from the payroll, and four workers in some instances have been made to do the work of seven others being dropped from the payroll.

These unbearable conditions compel the workers to fight, and fight hard. The bitterness of the workers against the speed-up was shown at the outset of the strike, by their demands that all "efficiency experts" be discharged. The same sentiment exists generally among the 3,000 employed at the plant. Organizers of the N. T. W. U. are being received favorably. Labor Unity's and Daily Workers when distributed are read eagerly. Factory gate meetings are being planned.

The workers know that struggles are in their wake and it won't be long before the N. T. W. U. will be the leader of these struggles.

FORM CANADA MINE TRUST
TORONTO, Ont., Oct. 23.—Announcement was made here today of the formation of the International Mining Corporation, a \$40,000,000 organization with both American and British-Canadian interests on the board of directors.

Build Up the United Front of the Working Class.

Not One Minute to Lose in the Fight for the Freedom of the Gastonia Strikers!

Demonstrate! Protest!

FIGHT FOR THEIR FREEDOM, FOR THEIR RIGHT TO ORGANIZE, TO STRIKE, TO PICKET, TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST FASCIST AND POLICE ATTACKS!

NEW YORK workers will demonstrate on Union Square today, at 5 p. m. and will hear nationally known speakers explain the class significance of the Gastonia Case.

PHILADELPHIA workers will meet at City Hall Plaza, tomorrow, at 7 p. m. to demonstrate and to hear J. Louis Engdahl, explain the class verdict of the Gastonia case. The workers will protest the frame-up charge of murder against the leader of the Window-Cleaners Union, William Streik, and two other members.

CHICAGO workers will protest Gastonia and the bosses' plans to crush the Communist Party by arresting eighteen members of the Party and charging them with sedition and frame-up burglary charges.

DETROIT workers are holding Gastonia demonstrations Saturday at 3 p. m. on Campus Martius, Woodward, near Cadillac Square.

SEATTLE workers will hold a conference Sunday, Oct. 27, at Finnish Hall, when Mother Ella Reeve Bloor will explain the class issues in the Gastonia verdict and outline plans for developing and broadening the Gastonia campaign.

THE GASTONIA Joint Defense and Relief Campaign will get the seven Gastonia strikers out on bail immediately. To do this great sums of money are necessary. To carry the fight on in the higher courts and the Supreme Court of the United States means much money. The workers of America must continue to help with FUNDS as well as great mass demonstrations.

Gastonia Joint Defense & Relief Committee

80 East Eleventh St., Room 402, New York City

Auspices: INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE
WORKERS INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

Endorsed by: NATIONAL TEXTILE WORKERS UNION

WE HAVE SEVEN MORE GASTONIA STRIKERS TO SAVE!

The International Labor Defense rallied the masses of workers the world over to save the 23 Gastonia strikers. We forced the bosses to release sixteen workers! Our job is far from done. The bosses think they will be able to send the seven Gastonia strikers to jail for practically life sentences—slow torture to these militant workers.

Fight the bosses!
Build the workers' organizations fighting them!
Build the International Labor Defense!

The I. L. D. seeks 50,000 new members by January 1, 1930. A powerful I. L. D. will mean a powerful appeal in the higher courts for the Gastonia strikers. Add your strength to save the strikers!

Branches of the I. L. D. are springing up everywhere, from Miami, Florida, to Seattle, Wash. Every Worker Must Be a Member.

Tomorrow the bosses will try to give you "Gastonia Justice." The I. L. D. will be there to fight them.

For the protection of yourself, of the working class build the I. L. D. into a powerful mass movement. Join the I. L. D. at once!

Fill out the following blank and send it at once to the International Labor Defense, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York City.

I want to join the International Labor Defense. Enclosed find 25 cents for initiation fee.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

PARTY LIFE

Philadelphia Plenum Challenges Detroit "Socialist Rivalry" Applied to Party Building

The Plenum of District 3, meeting in Philadelphia October 20, amid great enthusiasm, sent the following telegram to District 7: District Plenum, Detroit, Mich.:

The District Plenum of District 3 after hearing a report on the CEC Plenum and unanimously supporting the line laid down and decisions made took upon itself the following concrete tasks as a means of putting this line into effect: to initiate a membership drive to last until May 1st by which time the district is to have three hundred new members at least one hundred of which should be Negroes and to establish 20 nuclei in mills, shops and army. To establish a special district page in the Daily Worker and to double its circulation in this district. This plenum has resolved to challenge you in the name of District 3 to do the same or better.

With Communist greetings for a United Bolshevik Party.
PLENUM DISTRICT THREE.

The Face of German Social-Fascism

By R. GERBER.

The bloody May days in Berlin, the white terror loosed under social-democratic leadership and social-democratic slogans against the traditional mass demonstration of the proletariat, and the Madgeour Congress of the S. D. Party which passed the social-chauvinist defense program—these events, occurring more or less together, indicate a certain maturity in the development of social-fascist tendencies in Germany. They justify us in speaking no longer of the growth of the leading reformist circles in the direction of fascism, but of definite and conclusive signs of fascism in German reformism as a whole. It is, however, incorrect to see fascist development in Germany only in the growth of social fascism. There is also (as the Landtag elections in Coburg-Bavaria show) a great advance in the Nationalist-Socialist Party, which is openly and consciously fascist (an increase in votes of 100 to 150 per cent in one year) and which is recruited chiefly from the petty bourgeoisie and (in connection with the chronic difficulties of coalition government, expressing the general crisis of parliamentarism) there is also a definite revival in the activities of the various defense organizations, from the Wehrwolf to the Reichshanner.

German fascism is advancing in three partially separated columns, each active in a different sphere. It would therefore be wrong to expect to find all the signs of fascism fully developed in one of them—the social-fascist column. It is true that in this article we are not dealing with German fascism in general, but only with social-fascism; still, we must point out its general connections which will give us a basis for the limits within which we may expect similarities to Italian fascism.

It may be objected that in such a broad conception of fascism, fascism loses its specific content, that the totality of these "three columns" is nothing more nor less than the bourgeois reaction, and that it is not worth while seeking fascist elements in each of them. This alternative, put forward by the conciliators—the denial of social fascism, or the obliteration of all differences within the bourgeois reaction, is false. There are a number of factors which are common to all forms of German fascism and which, taken together, differentiate fascism from other forms of bourgeois dictatorship. As distinct from a purely military dictatorship (which in recent times, it is true, tries to strengthen its position—and with a fair amount of success—by creating fascist support for itself) all forms of fascism are based upon broad mass organization whose activities are contrasted with the failure of bourgeois parliamentarism and which—otherwise the masses could not be won for fascism—use a certain "anti-capitalist" phraseology, and refrain from appearing openly as representatives of capital.

Fascism is differentiated from the terror exercised against the working class by a parliamentary democracy (a terror which in its outward manifestations may be just as brutal as fascist terror) in that it justifies its terrorist actions, not from the formal standpoint of the "will of the majority," but by the particular weight of the interests it represents. A bourgeois democracy it opposes the "organic membership of society" by the cooperation of various group organizations—fascism does not deny class contradictions; it merely maintains that they can be overcome within the framework of "common interests." In this way it seeks to organize the anger of the masses at the bankruptcy of parliamentarism in a manner which involves no danger to the rule of finance capital, and when bourgeois democracy fails, tries to utilize that anger for the maintenance of bourgeois class rule in other forms. For the working class movement, the particular danger of fascism lies in its use of demagoguery as well as terror, lies in the fact that it awakens among the workers the illusion that the dictatorship which it is anxious to establish, or has succeeded in establishing, is not the rule of their class enemy, but the result of their own work.

In this sense, of course, fascism is the general tendency of the development of bourgeois democracy in the period of capitalist decline. The growth of internal and external contradictions necessarily leads to an intensification of the white terror against the proletariat and also makes the parliamentary democratic form of bourgeois class rule less and less useful for finance capital. On the other hand the increasing difficulties and working class revolt which is drawing more workers into the struggle, necessitate the creation of bases of support within the working class, support which is won by the corruption of the labor aristocracy. The smaller this aristocracy becomes, because of growing economic difficulties, the closer, by way of compensation, grows its connection with finance capital. For this limited group to fulfil its duty of binding the greatest possible number of workers to the policy of finance capital, it must convince them that the tendencies in the development of imperialism—increasing monopolization and trustification, state capitalism, the enrollment of members of the labor aristocracy in the executive organs of bourgeois class rule—are means of overcoming "the bad side of capitalism." This is but a paraphrase of the fascist ideal of the "organic state," of "structural democracy." The organizational concentration of the national economy by means of state capitalism in the interests of finance capital appears as the "supercession of private capitalism," and the use of degenerate working class elements to suppress their class comrades as the "participation of the working class in the management of industry." These basic elements of fascist ideology will, in the conditions of the third period, develop to a greater or lesser degree all over the imperialist world. It is therefore of the greatest importance to deal with the growth of general fascist tendencies in those organizations where this course of development is in most glaring contradiction to their past history and where, consequently, the new state of affairs is most sharply expressed.

II.

The objective social basis of reformism generally is the corruption of the labor aristocracy (which in certain circumstances may be very great and in some countries even form the majority of the working class) rendered possible by the imperialist extra-profits of the bourgeoisie. The question then arises: does the development of reformism to social-fascism correspond to a change in its social basis, to a change in the type of corruption. This is true of countries such as Germany. Before the war, and during the first period of prosperity after inflation, the skilled groups of workers were fairly well off, and reformism rested on the basis of this prosperous position of certain, generally highly qualified crafts, but in the period of capitalist rationalization this state of affairs has undergone change. The special position of these highly-qualified workers was lost as a result of the growing mechanization of labor. Statistics show a lessening in the gap between the wages of skilled and unskilled workers, despite the growing wage differentiation within the working class as a whole (cf. the statements on pages 187 et seq. in the report of the C.C. of the C.P.G. to the Twelfth Berlin Congress). The explanation of this apparent contradiction is not far to seek: capitalist rationalization draws large masses of badly paid workers (practically women and juveniles) into the process of production and depresses the wages of the working masses, while on the other hand it creates well-paid positions for a limited group, a group which by no means coincides with the skilled working class, but includes also semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Individual workers who either act as foremen, or whose rate of work determines that of their fellow-workers, must, in rationalized undertakings working on the transmission belt system, be urged to more intense activity in the interests of capital by means of higher wages, wage premiums, etc.

THE STATE "PROTECTS" STANDARD OIL PROPERTY

By Fred Ellis



This gives the rise to a new and quite peculiar anti-proletarian attitude on the part of the new labor aristocracy. The compositor or mechanic who in former times had a good position by virtue of his professional knowledge, thought himself to be somewhat better than other workers, he had more to lose than his chains and, in his principles, he supported capitalist society. In accordance with this attitude he was a reformist and Bernstein, who proclaimed the peaceful development of capitalism into Socialism, was his prophet. Beyond that, however, this labor aristocrat was united with all his professional colleagues as against the employer, fought with them for better conditions of labor and therefore had a certain understanding (even were it only expressed in benevolent neutrality) for the struggles of other groups of workers against their exploiters. Today, the man who has first place at the transmission belt and who receives higher wages in payment for driving his fellow-workers to quicker work (from which they gain not even a temporary advantage) this man is an enemy to them. The old sort of labor aristocrat may have had no proletarian class-consciousness, but only a craft outlook, but the labor aristocrat of today is bound by no tie whatever to his colleagues; he is bound by many ties to the employer by whom he is bribed. His object is not common advance—even of his craft alone—but personal advance, if possible, out of the community of factory workers, among whom he is an outlaw, and into the category of "employees," each one of whom, he thinks, "carries in his knapsack the marshal's staff" of advancement into the bourgeoisie.

It is not only in the factory that this movement of the new labor aristocracy out of its own class and into the middle class is taking place. The number of posts which they can fill is limited; but the machine of bourgeois oppression is growing greater. Thousands of social-democratic workers are getting employment in State and local government bodies, the "fortresses of the working class," in the police, etc. A few reach to the height of minister, or police president, the highest levels of the pyramid, and are accepted in the society of the bourgeoisie. They are only few, but why shouldn't a parish councillor one day become a great minister? Those who have climbed to this height influence the way of thought of the whole. The desire for personal social advancement assumes the form of an effort to obtain position in the State or party machine, and in the mass organizations which are closely associated with the State and in the consciousness of the reformist official there are many bridges leading to the State machine. A wide labor bureaucracy arises, rooted below in the mass organizations and reaching above to all branches of the State apparatus; this bureaucracy serves as an excellent means of imposing the will of finance capital on the workers influenced by the reformists. However illusory the experiments in industrial democracy may be from the point of view of changing the order of society, they have the very real effect of employing thousands of workers, (there are over 40,000 in the cooperatives alone, besides the "labor bank" and various industrial undertakings) in conditions which are better than those of the mass of the workers provided, of course, that they show themselves willing tools of their party, that is, actually, of finance capital. The greater that social-democratic influence in local bodies grows the more do local undertakings, employing their thousands of workers, assume a social-democratic character.

The character of German social-fascism is determined by this new type of corrupted labor aristocrat. Since the economic situation of German capitalism no longer allows for the corruption of whole craft groups to a greater or lesser degree, groups including millions of German workers, only a limited number can be bribed with the decreased extra-profits; but they are corrupted more intensively. This state of affairs develops its own ideology, in which personal advance into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, and the hope of future advance into the bourgeoisie, is considered as the advance of the whole class, and these in their turn try to bind the workers to the bourgeoisie. Faced with their peculiar position in the rationalized process of production, faced with the fact that the general position of German capitalism does not permit of concessions even to craft groups, they deliberately repudiate every idea of class struggle even in its craft forms, replacing it by the conscious glorification of common interests, both economic and political. This is just what fascism does, and the further this process develops, the more do the organizations involved assume a typically fascist character.

III.

As we stated at the beginning, we cannot expect to find all the elements of fascist ideology developed to an equal degree in German social-democracy is the fascist economic program. It is clearer and stronger than in the openly fascist organizations, whose economic ideas are exhausted in misty thoughts about the "expropriation of the banking and financial masters." Social-democracy has this advantage over other fascist tendencies in Germany that, with regard to carrying on anti-capitalist demagoguery, by which fascism hopes to win the workers, it was in its origin a really anti-capitalist organization. It was not necessary to work out a new form of social-demagoguery; it was enough to develop the old ideology (in doing which even the appearance of continuity was as far as possible maintained, the better to deceive the workers) in such a way that it could be used to deceive the masses. Two factors are essential to every fascist ideology as far as its industrial program is concerned (and this is true internationally): firstly, a struggle against one section of the capitalists; this because it is deliberately aimed at only one section is always a sham fight; and secondly, the putting forward of demands which—apparently directed against the capitalists—are actually serving the interests of finance capital.

In Germany, the first condition is fulfilled in most obvious fashion by the National Socialists who adopt anti-semitic slogans and differentiation between "creative" (i.e., industrial capital) and "parasitic" (i.e., bank and trading capital), the latter alone being responsible for the bad sides of capitalism. This primitive differentiation is enough to win over the petty bourgeoisie—this being the specific task of the declared fascists—who do, in fact, feel the weight of bank and trading capital. Social-democracy, which has to face a working class trained for many years in the ideas of Socialism, could do little with such slogans. It

is the industrial capitalist whom the worker feels to be his natural enemy; and the old appeal of social-democratic coalition policy to bank and trading capitalists, who were regarded as "reasonable," as opposed to "scoundrelly" capitalists and who (or whose democratic party) were for a time the chief object of social-democratic coalition policy, has become pointless because of the monopolist development of German capitalism, because of the practically complete amalgamation of banking and industrial capital. In its agitation now, reformism simply draws a distinction between "reasonable" and "unreasonable" capitalists, according to their readiness to enter into coalition with the social-democrats, to support a "democratic-pacifist" government policy, and to use more refined methods of arbitration as the exploitation of labor power increases. The special capacity of social-democracy for government, its appropriateness for carrying out a fascist economic policy in Germany, lies in avoiding discrimination against certain dominant sections of the bourgeoisie. Even the large landowners who were long described as wicked capitalists in social-democratic agitation, and who are not quite in favor today because of their reluctance to enter into a coalition, were recognized as vital components of the national economy, in the agrarian program of the 1927 Kiel S. D. Congress, and the "community" must preserve the vitality of that economy. Recently (June, 1929) the social-democratic members of parliament have been very actively trying, in cooperation with the national junker members, to establish a State monopoly in grain trading. According to social-democratic ideology today, the capitalist may be fought with the weapon of the "community" only when he does not submit to "common interests," i.e., to the will of finance capital. In his speech at the Hamburg T. U. Congress, an din his memorandum submitted to the Congress, Naphtali declared that the replacement of free competition by monopolist organization was proof that "capitalism can be bent before it is ripe enough to be broken," and that "the advance of monopolist capitalism indicated the victory of socialist tendencies over this 'bent' capitalism."

This brings us right up against the positive side of the fascist economic program, the side which, as stated earlier, is most clearly expressed in the S.D.P.—that of economic democracy. The Hamburg T. U. Congress in September, 1928, expressed these ideas definitely (cf. article in "Unter dem Banner des Marxismus," German edition, Vol. III, No. 2, "Industrial Peace and Economic Democracy"). The fundamental idea was expressed by Nolting in a speech at the Frankfurt T. U. Delegate Conference on November 1, 1928:

"The worker must be placed where industry is really carried on, that is, on the management of monopolies. The introduction of workers into the control of monopoly management is the meaning of economic democracy. This change sometimes takes place without any activity on the part of the State, which assumes the right of control and supervision. The worker has a part in this control because in a democracy the popular will is decisive. What is new about it is this—that representatives of workers' organizations should be placed by the State in part control of monopoly organizations."

In both cases the road to the "worker's voice in the control of industry" lies over the bourgeois state, and, quite logically, Tarnov said at the Hamburg Congress that making economic democracy their central slogan would bind the trade unions "still more closely to the democratic state." The other aspect of this ideology is the denunciation of the "obsolete" method of class struggle against the employer, its place being taken by a "worker's voice" on the supervisory council, guaranteed by the bourgeois state. This was expressed, in a primitive but objective fashion, by a delegate to the Hamburg Congress, who said: "The class struggle has moved from the street to the negotiating room."

The social-fascist theory of economic democracy is the modern form, corresponding to the present situation of finance capital, of the old revisionist thesis of "development into Socialism." The reformists continually emphasize—to avoid the reproach of having surrendered their Socialist aims—that their economic democracy is not in contradiction to Socialism, but is "Socialism in the process of becoming." This argument, seized upon eagerly by the left, only makes the betrayal of Socialism more obvious. For economic democracy, as preached by the reformists, is nothing but the developing process of the monopolization of industry, plus the growing importance of State capitalism in monopoly capitalism, plus the enrollment of the labor aristocracy into the bourgeois machine of exploitation and oppression. These are not fragments of the imagination, but the real tendencies in the development of Germany, as of every other, imperialism. The reformists mean something very real by economic democracy. The treachery lies in this, that the strengthening of the bourgeois apparatus of oppression and the increasing enrollment of workers, estranged from their class, to fight their own class comrades, is put forward as an achievement. To "retain the aims of Socialism," seems therefore to mean the proclamation of capitalism today as "Socialism in process of becoming," and the tendencies in its development as Socialism already achieved. These ideas were expressed in the resolution passed by the Hamburg Congress, which states:

"The democratization of economy leads to Socialism... The change in the economic system is not an aim of the distant future, but a process which is developing from day to day. The demonstration of economy means the gradual elimination of the rule based on the possession of capital and the transformation of the leading economic bodies from bodies serving the interests of capital to those serving the community. The demonstration of economy takes place gradually with the structural changes in capitalism which are becoming increasingly obvious. There is no doubt that development is leading from capitalist private industry to organized monopoly capitalism."

This program is differentiated from any fascist declaration only by its terminology, only by the fact that, in deference to a working class brought up in Socialist traditions, a Socialist label is stuck on to the bottle. The contents are unadulterated fascism: the elimination

THE CITY OF BREAD

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN BY ALEXANDER NEWEROFF

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(Continued)

Mishka lay on his back in the grass, and gazed long at a curly blue-gray cloud that floated across the distant alien sky. In his entrail it was as though needles were stabbing him, his mouth filled with spittle that gugged his lips together. He spat, and pressed both hands hard against his temples. Then he began to put on his sandals; absent-mindedly he drew them on, inspected the strips that bound them, and the torn heels and languidly shook the dust out of his stockings. He stole glances at Serioshka's trousers pocket where the precious iron nut lay. He scratched his head. Luck comes to those who do not deserve it. See how it was. He, Mishka, took care of everything, ran around and found places on the train, helped the other climb up on the car, and then it had to be Serioshka who found the nut. Mishka beat his stockings against a brick, and said:

"All right! Keep your nut! I don't need it..."

Serioshka made a wry mouth, his eyes began to blink.

He had been clutching the nut so tight that it was all damp with sweat, as though it had grown to his palm. There would be a fight if Mishka tried to get it away by force. What did he have to be so high and mighty for?—wouldn't let you do anything!

Mishka watched him moodily.

"You're a fine comrade! It's worth while traveling with you! When it comes to gobbling up my bread, you're ready; but when it comes to the nut, you'd rather choke than give it to me. Who saved you from the Tcheka? Next time you get caught, you won't find me worrying about you. And I won't give you any more bread either, and I'm going alone, without you. You can stay here with your old nut..."

Serioshka's lips quivered, his eyes grew dark with resentment. For a moment he let his fist open weakly, but then he shut it again tighter than ever. It was not the nut he cared about, but he was angry at Mishka. Was Mishka his master, that he should always keep him from doing things?

They got up and went further.

Serioshka wanted to walk beside Mishka, but Mishka pushed him away.

"Go on, I don't want you."

Serioshka sniffled, and trotted along after him. He looked hard at his iron nut, rubbed it on the knee of his pants. What a pity! He would have to give it up. Mishka had brought him here, was off into this strange land, and now he might go and leave him there, on the road, with the Kirghiz and everything.

He was very sad.

He licked the nut a couple of times with his tongue, then said suddenly:

"Mishka, let's draw lots for it!"

"I don't want it."

"Do you think I care about it so much?"

Mishka breathed more easily.

"Do you see, little devil? You won't get anywhere without me."

First they decided to put two sticks into Mishka's cap, a long one and a short one. But Serioshka changed his mind.

"You'll fool me. Let's do it a different way."

"All right."

Mishka picked up a stone and said:

"I'll shut both my hands. If you pick the hand with the stone, the nut is mine. If you pick the hand without the stone, the nut is mine."

For a long time Serioshka pondered which one to choose. He screwed up his eyes, turned away, even prayed silently:

"Dar God, let me win!"

"Hurry and choose!"

"Left!"

Mishka clicked with his tongue triumphantly.

"Hub, you little fool! I always hold things in my right hand..."

Serioshka handed over the nut, and began to feel hungrier than ever. Wit hte nut in his pocket he had felt fuller inside, but now there was only emptiness in his belly, and in his mouth was the evil taste again.

Mishka boasted:

"What a lucky fellow I am! When I go home again, I'll make something out of this nut, or maybe I'll sell it to the blacksmith for a hundred rubles."

Serioshka raised his head.

"A hundred rubles! That's too much!"

"Why? It's iron, and it's good for almost anything."

"You won't get a hundred."

"Do you want to bet?"

Serioshka was very downhearted. He went on for about twenty paces, then he consoled himself.

"Go ahead and sell it. I'll find another one, a better one too, and iron!"

(To be Continued)

of individual interests by means of greater organization (individual interests being called "capitalist interests" by both reformists and fascists, because for them capitalism as a whole is not capitalism at all) in favor of the "interests of the community," the State playing a leading part in the change. We cannot ask more of the social-democrats, and it would be childish to base the recognition of the presence of social-fascism on the surrender of the word Socialism. For the bourgeoisie, the specific value of "social-fascism" consists in the fact that the fascist program is preached with a Socialist phraseology, just as the specific value of the Hakenkreuzler (a fascist, anti-semitic organization—Ed.) for the bourgeoisie (including its Jewish members) lies in their fascist program preached with an anti-semitic phraseology. With the formula of economic democracy, German reformism, becoming social-fascism in the process, found the idea best adapted to its nature whereby to win over the largest possible number of workers to support its own desertion into the other class camp and the advancement of certain corrupted working class elements into the petty bourgeoisie, binding them, in this way, to the bourgeoisie. The consequences of this was drawn by Dittman at the Madgeour Congress in his speech on the defense question (a question also affected by these ideas, for they form the basis of social-chauvinism) when he said:

"We are no longer living under capitalism; we are living in the transition period to Socialism, economically, politically, socially."

And:

"In Germany we have ten times as many Socialist achievements to defend as they have in Russia. Wherefore, naturally, the results of this defense, in reality against the Russians, so backward in Socialism. Whether the form of society, to be defended against the proletarian dictatorship and real Socialism, is called Socialism or corporate economy (as Italian fascists call it) is merely a difference in the form of agitation."

(To be Continued)