

MASS PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS IN FASCIST SOUTH

Bosses' Terror Will Fail to Defeat Southern Workers

Seven mass protest meetings against the Gastonia case boss class verdict and the open legislation of lynching and murder as long as it is practiced against members of the National Textile Workers Union, shows that the bosses' terror is failing to paralyze the workers' movement.

The savage 20-year sentences handed out by Judge Barnhill to the Gastonia strikers and organizers were meant to chill with fear all militant workers in the South. They meant that if workers defended themselves in the future against such massacres as that at Marion, or the killing of Ella May, or the lynch gangsters' attack on Wells, they would get life sentences or electrocution for daring to do it.

At the same time, the very same grand jury that rushed through the indictment against the Gastonia strikers, has refused to indict the murderers of Ella May, though these mill bosses and company gunmen were identified by scores of textile workers, whom they fired volleys at and "hunted like rabbits across the fields."

This brazen confirmation of the right of the bosses to murder is ratified by the refusal of Judge Harding's court in Marion to place on trial Sheriff Adkins and his most important aids in the Marion massacre. It is sealed by the pure and simple whitewashing before a packed jury, with judge and prosecutor assisting in every way the mill lawyers defending them, of the lynch gangsters who kidnapped Wells, Saylor and Lell.

In plain words, these legal activities mean that any mill gunman can kill any man or woman textile worker, and be safe in doing it. Also that if the prospective victim defends himself, he will be railroaded through the bosses' courts and will get a death sentence, either by electrocution or the slow death of confinement in prison.

Nor are plain words lacking. The mill owners' Gastonia Gazette states editorially, "It will not be safe for any so-called union organizers to be found snooping around here," and the Atlanta Constitution raves in an editorial entitled, "Let the Reds Be Warned," "Every plant of Russian Communism in the South will be promptly and fearlessly rooted out."

Against this rule by murder, the exploited working class has revolted. Seven mass meetings to protest the terror, addressed by N. T. W. officials, Communists, and Gastonia case defendants, is a pretty good answer to the challenge, as a beginning. Organization and militant labor action is the next word to speak. The courage and persistence they show in the face of ruthless and organized killers, is guarantee that they will go on to victory.

Threat to Deport Southern Worker Who Gave Out Daily

Rally to Fight on Terror by Rushing the Daily Worker South!

The arrest of Stephen Graham, a worker of Norfolk, Virginia, for distributing copies of the Daily Worker to Negro workers, must be answered by militant workers by rushing the hundreds of copies of the Daily Worker into Norfolk every day, which Graham says is necessary, and demanded by the workers of Norfolk.

The fact that the Daily Worker, which was the voice of the Carolina mill workers in their struggle against slavery and terror, was reaching the Norfolk workers, threw a thorough scare into the open shop bosses, and the government officials of this center of the textile and war industries.

For they know that the Daily Worker brings the message of a clear cut class fight by the southern workers.

Therefore the open shop bosses of Virginia quickly obtained the aid of the federal government, which counts on the Virginia war industries in the imperialist war which it is preparing.

And so Stephen Graham is being threatened with deportation to fascist Yugoslavia, where imprisonment and possible death at the hands of the white terror faces him.

To go to this length to prevent the unorganized southern workers—Negro and white—from getting the Daily Worker—this shows every thinking worker what the Daily Worker signifies to the mind of the southern boss.

To these bosses, the Daily Worker in the hands of the southern workers means that these workers will no longer stand for the status of mere chattel.

This is what the Daily means to the southern mill bosses. Let us see what the Daily Worker means to the southern workers.

Writes a worker who slaved side by side with Ella May Wiggins in the mills of Bessemer City: "I never heard tell of such good news as that some fellow workers in New York are going to adopt Bessemer City, and send the Daily Worker down here always."

"If we all down here can always have the Daily Worker, then I tell the northern workers that they can be sure we'll never be satisfied to be slaves."

The southern bosses, organizing a terror reign to stop the Daily Worker from reaching the southern workers—and the southern workers demanding the Daily Worker regularly; what is the answer of militant American workers to them?

Send your contributions at once to the "Drive To Rush the Daily South."

Organizations must adopt southern mill and other industrial centers! Individual workers too must aid!

Gastonia Prisoners to Be at 12th Anniversary Meeting

Three of the defendants in the Gastonia case whom mill owners' justice has sentenced to long terms in jail, will bring the message of the Gastonia struggle to thousands of New York Workers at the huge celebration of the 12th anniversary of the Russian Revolution and Communist Election Rally, to be held in Madison Square Garden on Sunday afternoon, Nov. 3.

The three workers, who have fought the terror of the mill bosses in the South, will be pointed to as the symbols of the fight of the workers of Chicago, New York and every part of the country against capitalist terror and exploitation. The relation of this struggle to the election campaign in New York, the real issues of this campaign such as the fight against speedup and all forms of capitalist realization, the fight against imperialist war, which have

Predicts Solid Support for NMU on Eve of the Illinois Mine Convention

Caravans of Miners Tour Ill., Knit U.M.W.A. Locals Together for Belleville Convention

Monster Mass Meeting Sunday Night in Belleville; Officials Threaten Attack Convention

BELLEVILLE, Ill., Oct. 25.—That the National Miners' Union will have rallied the bulk of the old membership of the United Mine Workers of America before the district convention opens at Liederkranz Hall here Saturday, is the confident prediction of Freeman Thompson, national board member of the militant new union which is directing the struggle to wrest control of the miners' organization from the leech-like clinging of the Lewis officialdom on one side, and the Fishwick-Farrington machine on the other. Both machines are fighting in court for the money bags and property of the coal diggers, with the coal operators backing up both.

The convention will also inaugurate determined struggle for the abolition of the check-off to the fakers, for the day rate system, the six-hour day and five-day week, for unemployment insurance and for the control of the conveyers and other machines.

Big Mass Meeting. A monster mass meeting which miners from the entire Belleville sub-district will attend, is scheduled for Sunday night.

Machine officials are openly threatening to round up thugs to attack the Illinois Convention as they did the convention in Pittsburgh over a year ago, when the new union came into being. That the Illinois miners will be ready to repulse any such attempts, is the promise of the militant coal diggers here.

This convention will blow up the Fishwick-Farrington-Nesbit plan to organize a separate company union which they expected to call the "Illinois Mine Workers' Union!" Contrary to the fakers' policy of splitting the bituminous miners from the anthracite, and district from district, the National Miners' Union has broadened its organization to take in metal miners in addition to coal miners.

Automobile caravans of rank and ship as a result of militant activity in the struggle, and organizers sent in by the Pittsburgh national office and the various districts to help in the emergency, go from town to town and mine to mine knitting together the membership of the locals, many of which number over a thousand, for the struggle.

Mass meetings are held in every coal mining town in the state, and the Coal Digger, official organ of the left wing union, is being spread broadcast. In addition, thousands of leaflets carrying the official call for the convention and explaining the objectives and plan for representation, are being sent thru the Illinois fields.

Among the active organizers who are mobilizing the Illinois miners in support of the N.M.U. are William Boyce, Negro vice president of the union; Vincent Kamenevitch, secretary of District 5, N.M.U., and national board member; Joe Tash, national youth organizer; and Charles Guynn, board member from the Ohio district who recently has been in the West Virginia field.

Oehler told of mass meetings of workers on behalf of the convicted Gastonia strikers at Charlotte, at Greenville and at Atlanta, Ga.

Oehler declared that the I. L. D. was greatly popular among the mill workers, and that all workers should join the International Labor Defense in its campaign for 50,000 new members by Jan. 1. He also appealed for workers to send funds to the Gastonia Joint Defense and Relief Campaign, 80 East 11th St., Room 402, New York City, to help fight the case in the higher courts.

JAIL 7 WINDOW STRIKE PICKETS

Charges of disorderly conduct against seven striking window cleaners were dismissed at Jefferson Market Court yesterday following their arrest while picketing scab firms in the downtown city section.

The seven were Louis Grand, J. Roberts, Joseph Mello, H. Silver, W. Kohut, A. Gilian and Ambrose Granklitz.

The number of arrests was the largest made since 2,000 window washers, led by the Window Cleaners' Union in a fight for wage gains and better conditions, began the strike Oct. 16.

Firms picketed included R. H. Macy and Co., Lord and Taylor, Best and Co. and Tiffany's.

Two more independent firms surrendered to the union's demands today as the strike spread through the city.

Thirty-seven firms have now signed the union agreement, which calls for the 40-hour, five-day week, an increase in the minimum wage from \$45 to \$49.50 a week, proper safety devices to be provided by bosses, and adequate compensation insurance carried with a solvent company.

The 160 workers the 37 firms employ have now gone back to the job.

MASS RECEPTION TO U.S.S.R. FLIERS IN CHICAGO SUN.

Over 25,000 Workers to Greet Crew of the "Land of Soviets"

Detroit Hop Monday

Great Welcome on Field in Chicago

CHICAGO, Oct. 25.—A great welcome marked the arrival of the Soviet Moscow-to-New York fliers at Curtis Field in Chicago yesterday, in the monoplane Land of the Soviets.

Hundreds of workers were on hand at the field, despite the time of the day in which the fliers arrived. The four fliers made a non-stop flight from North Platte, Nebraska, to Chicago.

CHICAGO, Oct. 25.—Chicago workers will tender a mass reception, the greatest so far received by the crew of the Land of the Soviets, at this Sunday, Oct. 27, at 2 p. m. at the Broadway Armory 5875 Broadway. The four fliers, Shestakov, Bolotov, Fufaev and Sterlingov, will address the Chicago workers at Sunday's reception.

Over 25,000 workers of Chicago and vicinity are expected to honor the fliers at the reception. Workers of Chicago have subscribed tractors and trucks as their gift to the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, and as an aid in the Five Year Plan of construction in the U. S. S. R.

From Chicago the Land of the Soviets will take off for Detroit, which it will probably reach the same day. In Detroit, as in all cities along the route of the fliers, another huge reception from the workers awaits the four fliers.

New York workers will receive the fliers in Madison Square Garden, on the arrival of the Soviet plane at its goal.

MAYOR APPROVES WHITE WASHING

Mills' Official Happy Ella May Case Closed

GASTONIA, N. C., Oct. 25.—Mayor F. B. Denny of Gastonia is jubilant over the speed with which the grand jury is acting on the cases before it of murder and attempted lynching, kidnapping, beating, etc., committed by gunmen of the Manville-Jencks Co.

After the grand jury had refused to indict the murderers of Ella May, the mayor was interviewed in a restaurant near the court room.

"It looks like they are making a quick end of the calendar," he said. "Then is the case of the murder of Ella May closed?" as was asked. "Yes, I think it is," he replied with obvious satisfaction, adding as an afterthought, "unless somebody talks."

Sink Runs a Bluff.

Bpt the mill bosses will see that everybody in the murder gang is satisfied, and there is little immediate likelihood of any embarrassing confessions.

Judge Hoyle Sink knows this, too. He is just now going through the formal gesture of protesting against the failure to indict anybody for killing Ella May, National Textile Workers Union organizer, murdered by the open road, in broad daylight, when they shot up a truck load of mill workers who had tried to attend a mass meeting in South Gastonia.

Sink told the grand jury they were elected for six months, and should do something to kind who killed Ella May.

Communist Party Hold Rousing Election Rally

A rousing election rally was held at 131st St. and Seventh Ave. by the Communist Party last night in spite of police who sought for an opportunity to break the meeting. Many Negro workers attended.

The issues of the election campaign from the working class viewpoint were analyzed by the Communist Party speakers.

They included Richard B. Moore, candidate for Congress in the 21st District, Brooklyn, N. Garcia and C. Hope.

PHILADELPHIA WORKERS ASSEMBLED IN DEFIANCE OF POLICE TERROR ARE BRUTALLY ATTACKED; MANY MEETINGS

A. F. of L. "Socialists" Combine in Atlanta to Interfere with Big Mass Meetings Called to Denounce Gastonia Verdict

Find Steel Trust Behind Prosecution for Sedition of Communists Arrested in Cleveland International Red Day Meetings

BULLETIN.

The attempt to frame up Streit, on charges of "murder" in connection with the shooting of a right wing thug, was also assailed.

The marchers also met before the offices of the Needle Trades Industrial Union, against which a particularly vicious terror has been directed by police, needle trades reactionary misleaders, and thugs.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 25.—Police broke up the mass demonstration of workers held tonight at City Hall in protest against the railroad to jail of the seven Gastonia workers and organizers, arresting seven demonstrators, including Herbert Benjamin, district organizer of the Communist Party, and also the district organizer of the Communist Youth League.

The demonstration was preceded by a march of over 500 workers, singing revolutionary songs and carrying banners demanding the unconditional release of the Gastonia prisoners and attacking the terror against militant Philadelphia workers.

Mass demonstrations have already begun in the larger cities of U. S. and in the heart of the fascist ruled South, as the first waves of an ocean of denunciation and protest over the general terror against the Communist Party and all militant labor organizations.

Thursday night in Charlotte, James Reid, president of the National Textile Workers' Union; William Murdoch, its vice president; George Maurer, southern organizer of the International Labor Defense, and other speakers told the story of the murder by gunmen and by court action which is the outstanding feature in the South today, next to the growing drive of the union and the Trade Union Unity League for a real organization of the exploited workers.

Last night, in Philadelphia, thousands of workers defied the terroristic attitude of police, capitalist press, and patriotic organizations, and assembled for a giant protest meeting, at which J. Louis Engdahl, national secretary of the I. L. D., and Herbert Benjamin, Communist Party district organizer, were principal speakers.

With the memory of the denunciations of the bosses' terror by thousands of militant New York workers, assembled Thursday evening in a mass protest meeting at Union Square, before them, workers of Boston, demonstrate in Boston Common Sunday at 4 p. m.; workers of Cleveland in the Public Square at 2 p. m.; and meetings in Kansas City, Detroit, San Francisco, and other cities are under preparation.

HUNDREDS HEAR FOSTER EXPOSE A. F. L. AT MEET

Aid Labor Unity; Join TUUL After Appeal

Hundreds of workers gathered in Irving Plaza Hall last night cheered tumultuously when William Z. Foster, general secretary of the T. U. U. L., pointed to the thousands of Illinois miners leaving the U. M. W. A. and joining the National Miners' Union as a proof that the workers realize that the reactionary unions are no good, and that Secretary Morrison and President Green were padding the figures when they claimed there was a gain in A. F. L. membership during the year.

The other principal speaker was Charles Frank, Negro member of the Gastonia Labor Jury. Frank told an interested audience of the railroad of the Gastonia boys, the proof of their innocence, and the prosecution's cross-examination, which paid no attention to the incidents of June 7, but concerned itself solely with the prisoners' political, religious, and race equality beliefs.

Assistant Secretary Schmies of the T. U. U. L. appealed for the support of Labor Unity, and a substantial donation for the paper was raised.

George Powers was chairman, and a call to join the T.U.U.L. was responded to by workers in the audience.

Poster began by telling of his addressing a left wing meeting on arriving in Toronto, the first left wing meeting held there—only it was not quite there. It was a foot and a half outside the city limits, "and this foot and a half legality was all that saved it from being raided by the police."

"The A. F. L. convention was held in the palatial Royal York Hotel, and the A. F. L. paid \$60,000 for hall rent alone," said Foster. It was attended by all the important fakers of the A. F. L., and was the most reactionary convention yet, in spite of the attempt of the Muste Group and the socialists to say that it was progressive.

Foster told of the opportunities of militant unionism, such as is represented in the T. U. U. L., and which the A. F. L. cannot provide. He told of the depression coming, "the collapse of the stock market is only the overture to the grand opera of depression."

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

Other meetings are being rapidly arranged for, and in the South where every oppressive agency is at the beck and call of the textile mill bosses, this is highly significant of the rising tide of resentment against Marion massacres, and Gastonia verdicts, as well as the bitter exploitation in mills and other industries.

A. F. L. Refuses Hall. ATLANTA, Ga., Oct. 25.—The mass protest meeting here against the Gastonia case verdict and sentences, and the mill company's terror in the South will be held, Si Gerson, one of the speakers now on the ground, stated today, in spite of every opposition. The American Federation of Labor central body here has refused the use of the local labor temple. Another meeting place will be found.

The forces of reaction in Atlanta are all being mobilized in the holy crusade against the "Reds"—(read the entire working class of Georgia for "Reds"). Ten hours after two organizers of the National Textile Workers' Union came into Atlanta, the Atlanta "Constitution" printed an editorial which can only be termed as lynch incitement. It is worthy of the best that the prostituted pens of the servants of the Georgia Power Company can produce. It is as clear as daylight. "Let the Reds be warned," it is captioned.

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IMPORTANCE IN SOUTH.

The mass protest meetings in the South, however, continue to bulk large in significance, as this is the first such incident known to the history of labor there.

James P. Reid and Sophie Melvin, one of the released Gastonia defendants, will speak at Greenville, South Carolina, an important textile city. The local unions of Asheville, N. C., have themselves called and are

advertising a great protest meeting, and have invited Amy Schechter and Delmar Hampton, two of the released Gastonia defendants to address them.

Hugo Oehler, southern organizer of the N.T.W.U., will likewise be a speaker.

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CLEVELAND, Ohio, Oct. 25.—The steel trust is prominent in back of the campaign in Ohio to suppress the Communist Party, and all militant sections of the labor movement. Five members of the Communist Party, and the Young Communist League, Tom Johnson, Charles Guynn, Betty Gannett, Lil Andrews and Zorka Yori are charged with sedition because they distributed shop bulletins in the steel-trust controlled town of Martins Ferry, in the mining section, and called an August First meeting there.

On Oct. 28 the county court at St. Clairsville will set the date for the trial of the five members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League.

The steel trust and the mine bosses have long carried out a terror reign against the Communist Party in Martins Ferry, where more than a year ago Communist meetings were stopped during the election campaign, altho the Communist Party was on the ballot.

Since that time all halls in that town have been closed to the Communist Party and meetings of the International Labor Defense, both membership and mass meetings, have been barred.

The terror against the militant labor groups has been increased in Ohio, just as in Illinois, as the coal miners begin in greater numbers to turn to the National Miners Union. The growing militancy of the coal miners and the steel workers has resulted in statements by the bosses that they will resort to all means "to keep the area clean of militant organizers."

DRAMA

Sovkino Film Scandal? at Film Guild Cinema

This Saturday, the Film Guild Cinema will present the first American showing of the latest Sovkino film "Scandal?" a tragicomedy which reveals modern youth in Russia at work, at play and in love.

"Scandal?" which introduces a new director, Ivan I. Perestiany, depicts the conflict between the new and the old generations under the regime of the Soviets and introduces interesting every-day types in Russian city life today.

On the same program, the Film Guild Cinema will show on their Russian news-reel, shots just arrived from Moscow which shows the departure of the fliers on their remarkable flight across Siberia and America.

"RASPUTIN" CONTINUES AT CAMEO THEATRE

The Cameo Theatre is extending the engagement of its current attraction of "Rasputin." The picture will show for another seven days starting today.

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

TUDOR INN Restaurant 113 East 14th Street For good and wholesome food, don't fail to visit us.

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Dr. ABRAHAM MARKOFF SURGEON DENTIST 240 EAST 115th STREET Cor. Second Ave. New York

DR. J. MINDEL SURGEON DENTIST 1 UNION SQUARE Room 803—Phone: ALgonquin 8152

Dr. M. Wolfson Surgeon Dentist 141 SECOND AVENUE, Cor. 9th St. Phone, ORchard 2323.

AMALGAMATED FOOD WORKERS Meets 1st Saturday in the month at 8861 Third Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.

Airy, Large Meeting Rooms and Hall TO HIRE Suitable for Meetings, Lectures and Dances in the Czechoslovak Workers House, Inc. 347 E. 72nd St. New York

Communist Activities

Central Brooklyn Election Rally. An election rally will be held Friday, Nov. 1, 8 p. m., at the Tivoli Theatre, 20 Myrtle Ave. All comrades from Central Brooklyn are urged to attend without fail.

Autumn Dance. District 2 of the Y. C. L. will give a special Autumn Youth Dance this Saturday evening at Stuyvesant Casino, 2nd Ave. and 9th St.

Unit 7, Section 5. Every comrade must report at 1330 Wilkins Ave. for the two tag days, Saturday and Sunday.

Unit 5, Section 3. Meets Monday, 6.30 p. m., at 1179 Broadway.

Unit 4, Section 4. Special meeting this Monday at 6.30 p. m. at 129 Myrtle Ave., Brooklyn.

Volunteers Wanted. Ushers and usherettes wanted for reception to Soviet fliers. Register at F. S. U. office, 175 Fifth Ave., room 511.

Council 24 Theatre Benefit. The theatre benefit of Council 24, U. C. W. W., will be given at the Intimate Playhouse this Saturday evening.

German Council Solidarity Night. On Saturday, October 26, 8 P. M., German Council 23, will hold a Solidarity evening in the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street.

Boro Park Lecture. Com. Goralnik will lecture on "What Should We Teach Proletarian Children?" at 1373 43rd Street, Brooklyn, this Saturday evening, 8.30 sharp.

Drug Clerks Concert, Dance. Concert and dance given by N. Y. Drug Clerks Union at Park Palace, 2-5 W. 110th St., this Saturday, 8.30 p. m.

Bronx Hall. The Bronx workers Youth Club will give a ball Saturday evening at McKinley Square Gardens, 1260 Boston Rd., near 189th St.

Harlem Educational Forum. The Educational Forum, 235 W. 125th St., will reopen Sunday, 3.30 p. m., with a lecture on "Imperialism in the Virgin Islands, U. S. Naval Rule," by Rothschild Francis.

Student Council Executive. First meeting of Students Council of Workers School Sunday at 8 p. m. at Workers Center.

Brownsville Welcome to Blumberg. The Brownsville Branch of the International Labor Defense will give a welcome party for Hyman Blumberg, cafeteria worker released from Welfare Island prison, today at 8 p. m. at 122 Osborne St., Brownsville.

NOTICE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRIGHTON BEACH WORKERS' CLUB

As "PIESTA" has been withdrawn from the GARRICK THEATRE, the tickets held for Friday, October 25, will be honored at the performance of GLUCK'S "ORPHEUS," at the same theatre FRIDAY NIGHT, NOVEMBER 1st.

FURNISHED ROOMS 133 East 110th St. Heated rooms; large and small; all improvements; near subway. Tel. Lehigh 1690.

NICE FURNISHED ROOM, near the Cooperative Colony, 2504 Olivette Avenue, Apartment 3B.

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LOST BANK BOOK No. 1066609. Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank. Payment stopped. Please return to bank, 51 Chambers Street, New York City.

LABOR TEMPLE 14th St. and Second Ave. SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27 5:00 p. m. DR. G. F. BECK MAHATMA GHANDI (The Spiritual Weapon)

7:45 p. m. AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CHURCH AND FORUM EDMUND B. CHAFFEE "HUMANISM—A CRITICISM" —ALL WELCOME—

INGERSOLL FORUM PYTHIAN TEMPLE THOMAS JEFFERSON HALL 155 West 70th St. SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27 THOMAS WRIGHT "Why I Do Not Believe in Personal Immortality" ADMISSION 25 CENTS

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

LECTURES AND FORUMS

MASS RECEPTION in honor of the "ICOR" EXPERT COMMISSION TO BIRO-BIDJAN TOMORROW AT 1 P. M. at MARTIN BECK THEATRE 45th Street, West of Eighth Avenue

The following will report: PROF. FRANKLIN S. HARRIS PROF. CHARLES KUNZ PROF. J. P. DAVIDSON L. TALMY PROF. KIPER B. SOULS E. WATENBERG BENJAMIN BROWN DR. I. GLASSMAN, Chairman

COM. I. M. BUDICH will greet the Commission in the name of the National Executive. ARRANGED BY NATIONAL "ICOR" COMMITTEE

Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ORGANIZED 1884—INCORPORATED 1899 MAIN OFFICE: 9 Seventh Street (Cor. 3rd Ave.), New York, N. Y. TELEPHONE: ORchard 3449

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CLASS B: 50 cents per month—Death Benefit \$550 to \$230. Parents may insure their children in case of death up to the age of 18. Death Benefit according to age \$20 to \$200.

Sick Benefit paid from the first day of filing the doctor's certificate, \$9 and \$15, resp. per week, for the first forty weeks, half of the amount for another forty weeks.

Sick Benefits for women: \$9 per week for the first forty weeks; \$4.50 each for another forty weeks. For further information apply at the Main Office, William Spuhr, National Secretary, or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches.

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Advertise your Information Meetings here. For information write to The DAILY WORKER Advertising Dept. 26-28 Union Sq., New York City

Hotel and Restaurant Workers Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers 133 W. 51st St. Phone Circle 7236 BUSINESS MEETING held on the first Monday of the month at 8 p. m. One Industry—One Union—One Office Open from 9 a. m. to 6 p. m.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

CONDUCTORLESS SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA TONIGHT (Sat.), at 8:45

SOLOIST: Etrem Zimbalist MOZART, Symphony D Major BEETHOVEN, Violin Concerto RUGGLES, "Portals" RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF, Introduction and Cortege from "Le Cig 400." Tickets \$1.00 to \$2.50 at Carnegie Hall Box Office and at 22 E. 55th St. (Steinway Piano)

Philharmonic - Symphony TOSCANINI, Conductor THIS SUNDAY AFTERNOON AT 3

MOZART—BRAHMS—STRAVINSKY—DEBussy

CARNEGIE HALL Thursday Eve., Oct. 31, at 8:45 Friday Afternoon, Nov. 1, at 2

ROGER—DUCASTRE—SIBELIUS

CARNEGIE HALL Sat. Eve., Nov. 2 (Students) BERLIOZ—MOZART TOMASKY—WAGNER

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE Sunday Afternoon, Nov. 3 at 3:00 BERLIOZ—FRANCK—RESPIGI

CARNEGIE HALL Saturday Morning, Nov. 2 at 11 "THE DREYFUS AFFAIR" ERNEST SCHELLING, Conductor MOZART—BEETHOVEN TCHAIKOVSKY—WIENIAWSKI SMETANA

ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway)

W. I. R. WORKERS CHORUS ENGLISH LANGUAGE Now Being Organized

Register at Workers International Relief, New Address: 949 BROADWAY Room 512. Telephone ALgonquin 9048

SOLIDARITY EVENING given by the German Council No. 23 of the Workingwomen Council TONIGHT AT 8 O'CLOCK

at the New York Labor Temple 243 East 84th Street ADMISSION 50 CENTS

CONCERT, RECITATIONS SPORTS — DANCING

ETHEL BARRYMORE THEATRE 47th St. W. of B'way. Chick, 9944 Evgs. 8:50. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

JOHN COMEDY BIRD N HAND DRINKWATER'S

FULTON W. 46th St. Evgs. 8:50 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

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CIVIC REPERTORY 14th St. 6th Ave. Evgs. 8:30. Mats. Wed. Sat. 2:30

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LECTURES AND FORUMS

MASS RECEPTION in honor of the "ICOR" EXPERT COMMISSION TO BIRO-BIDJAN TOMORROW AT 1 P. M. at MARTIN BECK THEATRE 45th Street, West of Eighth Avenue

The following will report: PROF. FRANKLIN S. HARRIS PROF. CHARLES KUNZ PROF. J. P. DAVIDSON L. TALMY PROF. KIPER B. SOULS E. WATENBERG BENJAMIN BROWN DR. I. GLASSMAN, Chairman

COM. I. M. BUDICH will greet the Commission in the name of the National Executive. ARRANGED BY NATIONAL "ICOR" COMMITTEE

Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ORGANIZED 1884—INCORPORATED 1899 MAIN OFFICE: 9 Seventh Street (Cor. 3rd Ave.), New York, N. Y. TELEPHONE: ORchard 3449

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Sick Benefit paid from the first day of filing the doctor's certificate, \$9 and \$15, resp. per week, for the first forty weeks, half of the amount for another forty weeks.

Sick Benefits for women: \$9 per week for the first forty weeks; \$4.50 each for another forty weeks. For further information apply at the Main Office, William Spuhr, National Secretary, or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches.

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TONIGHT — SATURDAY Autumn Youth Dance at Stuyvesant Casino Second Avenue and Ninth Street Good Music Refreshments Tickets in advance 50c—at door 75c Auspices: YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, District Two

5-Year Plan of Socialist Construction in USSR to Shatter World Capitalist Economy

Initiative Not Killed But Born Under Workers' Rule!

"Socialist Rivalry" of Toiling Masses Unprecedented in World History

At every turn of the revolution, at every steep ascent, we meet with new forms of the mass movement, with new expressions of the readiness of the Soviet proletariat to fight the great event which began in October, 1917. During the period of struggle for the possession of industry, workers' control arose, which alone made it possible to continue the organization of the Soviet management of nationalized industry. Thus, during the period of reconstruction of economy, which was ruined by the war and the blockade, the working-class began to form industrial conferences—a new form of participation by the masses in economic construction. And now, when Soviet Russia has entered a new period: the period of Socialist reconstruction and the final elimination of the remains of capitalism, when simultaneously with the creation of grandiose tasks of the five-year plan, the working class, its party, and its power, have come face to face with big difficulties—once again we are the witness of a wide mass movement the like of which is unknown in the history of mankind. This movement is Socialist Rivalry.

What is Socialist rivalry, what are its aims and tasks, what is its political meaning, and what influence has it on the further construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.? This rivalry is the reply of the working class to the five-year plan, the reply of the great masses to the policy of the Communist Party and Soviet power, which is directed towards decisively overcoming all political and economic difficulties, and the hastening of Socialist reconstruction in industry and in agriculture.

The Rights and the conciliators became frightened of these difficulties. They fell into a panic. They began to defend the ideas of capitalism before the "kulaks" and "Nepmen," and of relinquishing the strongholds of Socialism to its enemy capitalism. In 1928 already, when the process of reconstruction was finished and, on the basis of the growth of productive powers in the Socialist section of economy, a great increase had begun in the process of socializing industry and distribution, we came up against great difficulties, chiefly in the food question. The "kulak," the chief representative of capitalism in the land, organized resistance to the policy of the Soviet power and tried, by means of corn sabotage (refusal to sell corn), to delay the gradual movement of socialization. Then, already a feeling of capitulation was noticed amongst the unruly members of the party (those very members who, subsequently, appeared in an organized form as the Right wing). Instead of a firm attack on the "kulak" and "Nepman," they advocated the theory of "concessions" (Liadoff and others). The five-year plan of economic development evoked the sharp criticism of the Rights and conciliators, who feared the difficulties, and put forward demands which would have really meant a slow descent to capitalism.

The political aspect and true significance of the Right deviation and the conciliators, have been sufficiently exposed in the documents of the C.P.S.U. and Cimentern. It is unnecessary to repeat what is known by everybody. We need only point out that the party voted unanimously for a forced Socialist attack, for an increased speed of reconstruction, for socialization of agriculture, for the firm overcoming of difficulties, for a pitiless fight against the class enemy, for the five-year plan in its improved form (that form that had been ratified by the Fifteenth Party Conference and the Fifth Congress of Soviets).

The working masses discussed the five-year plan. And the workers replied to this great plan of works by the organization of Socialist rivalry. The bourgeois economists and philosophers have always, in their fight against Socialism stated as one of their greatest arguments that Socialism would kill private initiative—the most important factor of progress and that there will be no ground for competition. Already in 1918 Lenin proved the groundlessness of these statements: "Socialism does not only not kill rivalry; on the contrary it creates the possibility for the first time of using it widely on a real mass scale; of attracting a real majority of the workers into such work where they can reveal themselves make use of their talents, of which there is a virgin source in the people, and which capitalism bent, oppressed, and stifled by the thousand and million."

"A wide, true, mass creation of the possibility of showing initiative in rivalry can make a bold beginning only now" when "for the first time after centuries of working for others, of forced work for exploiters, the possibility of working for one's self has arrived."

And indeed, the working class masses have begun to realize Lenin's theory: at the present stage of the revolution, when Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is approaching by greatest strides. The start was made by the

A \$300,000,000 SOVIET CITY TO RISE ON DNEIPER

Huge Industry Center Already Building

MOSCOW, Oct. 26.—Details are published here of plans for a huge \$300,000,000 industrial center to be built by the Soviet Government on the banks of the Dnieper River adjoining a \$100,000,000 hydro-electric plant.

Equipment for factories, mills, warehouses and railroads in the new city which will be called "Bolshoi Zaporozhie" will cost \$100,000,000, while the cost of the construction will cost \$200,000,000.

A large brick factory with an output of 200,000 bricks a year has already been completed while two additional brick factories with a combined capacity of 60,000,000 bricks annually are under way. An immense lime plant also is nearing completion.

The plans, as announced here, call for the construction of more than a hundred model workers' apartment buildings, accommodating 20,000 employees. Schools, hospitals, warehouses, workers' clubs, railroads and sawmills are expected to be finished some time next year.

Light, heat and power for the new city is to be supplied by the Dnieprostro hydro-electric plant, one power station of which is already in operation.

Many Large Strikes Looming in Sweden

STOCKHOLM, (By Mail.)—Wide scale wage struggles are pending in Sweden. October 31st a general strike of national agreements expire. The negotiations for the bookbinders, for the miners in South Sweden and for the boat and shop workers have been concluded. The bookbinders demand an all-round wage increase and the extension of holidays to twelve days, the shoe and boot workers demand wage increases and the shortening of working hours from 48 to 45 hours a week. All these workers are highly organized and in a position to force through their demands if a determined struggle is made. The reformist leaders, however, will probably do their utmost to throttle the threatening struggle. The social democratic press hints for instance that the leaders of the metal work union are in favour of renewing the old agreement, although a great majority of the metal workers have voted against doing so.

meet working-men and working-women who are full of enthusiasm for Socialist rivalry, and who, by their personal example, give examples of real Socialist labor. The enthusiasm of the workers has been communicated to the engineering and technical staffs. Engineers, technicians, masters, etc., take part in the rivalry movement.

The rivalry movement is not only in industry; it has entered transport, building, and all institutions beginning with the Co-operative shops and People's Commissariats and ending with the militia, the customs, etc. The technical workers; scientists, doctors, agriculturists, teachers, writers art workers—the whole of the hired labor in the country has gone into the movement. While the rivalry in factories takes place over the increase of productivity the decrease of cost prices, etc., in the institutions there is rivalry over improved service, precision in work, quick fulfilling of various tasks, the rationalization of the apparatus, a decrease in expenses, and so on.

The metal workers of Toula sent a letter to the plenum of the Russian to the poets, the writers, and the artists: "Work to our guilds and workshops. Strengthen us and buoy us up with your good poems, stories, and pictures. We do not invite you to our workshops for the sake of singing our praises, but as you will agree, there is nothing at the present moment which so interests and excites the masses as Socialist rivalry. The masters of metal hope to receive the masters of the pen and of the brush."

The "masters of the brush" took up the challenge. Writers and painters visited the factories and workshops in order to give real types of the rivalry movement in their literary works, and to show living examples of the best work.

It must not be thought that rivalry is only a temporary spark, a passing mass caprice. The Toula metal workers very clearly expressed the attitude of the working masses to rivalry in the letter just quoted (published May 30th). "We look on rivalry, not as a temporary campaign, but as a system of labor. Our class enemy says that rivalry is just a Bolshevik idea and a game for a minute. Let us turn rivalry into a mighty advance to Socialism. Our class enemy remarks that our rivalry has often a showy character. Let us reply to this by serious, every-day, and energetic work." Not only the metal workers of Toula, but the whole vanguard of the working-class looks on the matter in this light.

American Workers! Spread This Page in Your Shops!

Tell the Workers Everywhere of the Heroic Achievements of the Soviet Workers!

Let All Know That Only By Revolution Can Labor Build Industry for Itself

The five years' plan of socialist construction—based on the rapid tempo of industrialization of the U. S. S. R. and on the extension of collective agriculture—which is being carried through with tremendous enthusiasm by the working class of the Soviet Union, is the greatest achievement not only of the working masses of the Soviet Union, but of the whole international proletariat. The realization of this plan is the most effective action possible in the whole attack of the Soviet proletariat on the capitalist elements in the towns and in the villages. From this standpoint the five years' plan is the most important part of the world proletariat's attack on capitalism: it is in essence a plan for the destruction of capitalist stabilization, a mighty plan of world revolution. It strengthens the socialist basis of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R., and in doing this it strengthens also the trenches for the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. This plan should be the handbook of every Communist, arming him with facts in the struggle against the mean social-democratic slanders on socialist construction in the U. S. S. R.; it should be spread by the Communist Parties among the widest masses of the workers in every country; the achievements on the path to its realization should be the object of systematic enlightenment in the Communist press, and should be most attentively studied by every factory group. It is only by this means that it will become a real mobilization plan in the organization of the workers of every country to support the country where the proletariat rules and socialism is being victoriously built up. The working class can set it against social-fascism, as a war banner of the masses and the capitalist essence of MacDonald's "socialist construction" and of the German social-democrats' "economy democracy" and be exposed.

MOSCOW, Oct. 25.—The final check by the Supreme Economic Council on all figures of industrial production of Soviet industry for the past economic year, shows that production for the year beginning Oct. 1, 1928, and ending Sept. 30, 1929, increased 23.4 per cent and was valued at 7,600,000,000 roubles (1 rouble equals about 50 cents U. S.). This figure of 23.4 per cent actual attainment, exceeds the estimate of 21.4 per cent set in 1928 as the highest goal possible to attain in the first year of the Five-Year Plan.

Forward to Socialism! Read the Theoretical Reason Why!

By R. ROPACH. Equilibrium in Communist Society.

To avoid antagonisms in Communist society it will be necessary according to Marx to figure out in advance how much labor, means of production and means of subsistence that society can spend without harm in such lines of production as the building of railways, for example, which for a long time say a year or so, give no return of means of production nor of means of consumption and in general, give no more or less absorbed effect, but which of course absorbed in the course of their production, labour, means of production and means of consumption (Capital, Vol. II).

However, we are not as yet living in Communist society, but at the very beginning of the road leading to it out of capitalist society. On the other hand, we cannot simply wait until we have such powerful reserves of labour, as means of production and means of consumption which could without injury be expended for any length of time. "Injury" is to a certain extent inevitable for us and that is the price that we have to pay for the industrialization of the country.

First Years' Production Exceeds Plan's Estimate

A new, high economic level was reached by the Soviet Union during the Soviet fiscal year 1928-29 just ended. Record totals were attained for industrial production, for the output of many agricultural products.

The production of large-scale industry advanced to about 60 per cent above that of 1913, while the output of electric power was 3 1/2 times the pre-war total and railway freight operations 1-3 above the pre-war level. Agriculture recorded an expansion of 4.5 per cent in the area sown to grain crops last spring, and a still greater increase in the area under industrial crops.

A favorable trade balance of over \$10,000,000 was attained for Soviet foreign trade during the year, whereas a large adverse trade balance was incurred last year. Soviet-American trade for the fiscal year ended Sept. 30, 1929 reached, according to preliminary data, the record total of \$149,000,000, as against \$113,000,000 in the previous year and \$48,000,000 in 1913.

The achievements of the year ending Sept. 30, which was the first year of the period covered by the recently adopted Five-Year Plan for the economic development of the Soviet Union, exceeded even the most optimistic expectations of the Soviet Government. Industrial production increased 24 per cent over the previous year, reaching a value of over seven billion dollars, although the schedules of the Five-Year Plan called for an increase of only 21.4 per cent. Practically all Soviet industries reported on output for the year substantially above that of the best pre-war year.

The output of coal, for instance, totaling 41 billion metric tons, was 42 per cent above the 1913 production, while the oil production of 13.7 billion tons was 49 per cent higher.

SOCIALISTS IN GERMANY ENACT FASCIST LAWS

New "Defense" Law Is Aimed at Communists

(Wireless by Impeccor) BERLIN, Oct. 25.—The new "republican defense law," proposed by Severing, has passed the Reichstag. This new law represents a sharpening of the former law and an advance toward fascist dictatorship, providing imprisonment for the members of organizations which are against the state, for those who insult the form of government, or who insult the Reich president or members of the Landtag or Reich government.

The draft of the law also gives authorities the power to dissolve bodies "hostile to the republic." The members and even the sympathizers of such organizations also are liable to imprisonment. In addition, the law contains all the repressive passages of the former law directed against the press, etc.

STRIKERS IN PEKING FIGHTING

Street cars and rickshaws were halted in Peking, China, today after fighting, in which rickshaw men attacked trolleys, according to a capitalist news report. Hundreds of rickshaw pullers were arrested. It was thought possible the tramways had been disabled permanently.

internal industrial development can really solve the problem before us." However, this method cannot be accepted by us on principle because if that were carried to its logical conclusion it would seem that instead of investing capital in the development of heavy industry, we would have to invest it in agriculture as a means of export.

Such an economic policy would obviously not lead to the industrialization, but rather to the agrarianization of the country, not to its emancipation from dependence on the foreign market, but to its perpetual dependence, to its technical stagnation and lasting stagnation in industry. Therefore, this line was also resolutely rejected by the Party, just as the line of high prices, which was one of the ultra-industrialist manifestations of the Trotskyist tendencies.

This being the case, a way out of the situation is sought in the curbing of the demand by reducing the monetary appropriations and by diminishing our new construction as well as the development of industries which require a durable period of construction. The chief background of this is of course an uncritical, non-dialectical panic, a capitulation in face of temporary hardships of growth instead of trying to surmount them, an actual unwillingness to abide by the industrialization policy of the Party, material as to the oaths in favour of the industrialization which accompany this unwillingness.

Our Way of Surmounting the Difficulties

Since the problem of industrialization of the country has not cropped up accidentally, since that problem is historically necessary and inevitable for us, a simple curbing of new construction is therefore not so "simple" for us—we must seek a less elementary, but a more palpable way out of the economic difficulties, a way which would dissolve the cluster of difficulties which we now have without a noticeable retreat at the front of socialist industrialization of the country.

Neither the straight road of avoiding an accentuated commodity famine, the road of which Marx spoke with regard to communist society, nor the capitalist road, are suitable in our case. We must seek and use special new methods, methods suitable to the peculiarities of the transition period.

Apparently such a temporary way out (prior to the conclusion of the period of construction and before the newly constructed objects begin to produce for the markets) would be a cautious system of maneuvering with the available and produced commodity supplies a most planful and rational distribution of these supplies and give the greatest satisfaction to the consumers, finally such a method as would make possible to pass through the stringency with the least pain which is inevitable when there is a shortage in commodities, endeavoring to mitigate and reduce the shortage as much as possible, but not submitting to a panic, not retreating and not capitulating before the blind forces of the market, a victory over which as any other struggle and victory, demands certain privations, hardships and self-denial.

And when the Party, in raising before the working class the hardships and the problems arising during the period of socialist construction, speaks of them as hardships, well-founded definition which finds its full confirmation in Marx's profound analysis which we have given above. Our hardships are hardships of growth, and we therefore have full reason for considering them as temporary, we have full reason for looking forward towards their disappearance in the not distant future.

Collective Farming, What It Means in the Class Struggle

Soviet Proletariat Fights to Industrialize Agriculture in War on Capitalism

The main object of the Proletarian Dictatorship is to break down the rule of the bourgeoisie and uproot the foundations of capitalist economy. This demands a number of undertakings such as small peasant measures in respect to small peasant undertakings such as will eventually assure the development of large-scale Socialist production in agriculture also. Both Marx and Engels alluded to this, and it was on this theory that Lenin based his plan for the co-operative development of rural economy.

"The proletariat," wrote Marx, "as the government, should undertake measures, the result of which will be that the position of the peasant will directly improve and that he will himself go over to the side of Revolution. These measures will contain the embryo of the transition from private landed proprietorship to collective ownership; they will facilitate this transition in such a way that the peasant will himself arrive at this by economic means." (Annals of Marxism II, p. 98.)

Engels makes a similar observation: "Our task in relation to the small peasants," wrote Engels, "is above all to turn their private property into collective property, but this should be done, not by force, but by means of example, and the application of public aid for this purpose."

"We shall do everything possible," wrote Engels, further on, "to make it more tolerable for the small peasant to live, to facilitate his transition to collectivity." "The material losses which in this respect will have to be borne in the interests of the peasants, might seem, from the viewpoint of capitalist economies, to be wasted money. But actually this will constitute an excellent investment of capital because such losses will save perhaps ten times larger sums in the expenditure on social reconstruction as a whole. Consequently, in this respect we can afford to be more generous to the peasants." (The Peasant Question in Germany and France.)

This teaching by the founders of revolutionary Marxism as to the lines of development of small peasant economy after the seizure of power by the proletariat was brilliantly extended by Lenin in the co-operative plan for the development of rural economy. Lenin continually emphasized that "when the proletarian revolution takes place in a country where the proletariat is in the minority, where there is petty bourgeois production, the role of the proletariat in such a country consists in directing the transition of these small undertakings to socialized collective labor." Collected Works, Vol. XVIII, part I, p. 118. Russian Edition.)

The October Revolution in the U.S.S.R. in vanquishing the landowners and bourgeoisie gave a tremendous spurt to the initiative of the masses in developing forms of Socialist construction. The poor and middle peasant sections of the Soviet countryside have widely extended the construction of collective farms—the Socialist form of collective production in agriculture.

The first collective farms to a large extent started as "communes," i.e., large-scale enterprises with common means of production, common labor and equal distribution. The revolutionary enthusiasm of the first years of the Revolution led the constructors of socialized agriculture to create Socialist enterprises of a more consistent type. But this form (collective farms) demands from the small peasant radical changes in the forms and conditions of the production and the conditions of living to which he is accustomed. For this reason, side by side with the Communes, and considerably exceeding them in number of other forms of a similar type, such as artels, societies for joint cultivation of the land, sowing associations, etc. The great variety of forms promoted directly by the builders of large-scale production in the countryside bears witness to the great activity of these sections in their fight for new production and social relations in the Soviet rural areas.

The Fifteenth Party Congress took place at the time of the change from the restorative to the reconstruction period in the national economy of the U.S.S.R. Soviet industry had entered this stage slightly earlier than agriculture. The latter, however, could not considerably lag behind the reconstruction processes in other branches of national economy. Whereas in capitalist countries the development of capitalist industry intensifies the contradictions between town and country, under conditions of proletarian dictatorship one of the main tasks of the regime is to do away with the opposite position of industry and agriculture. This task cannot leave the proletariat indifferent to the lines of development of agriculture, to capitalism, which has produced millions of small peasant farms, the proletariat interposes a different way—that of Socialist development. The Fifteenth Party Congress, having in view the considerable successes of Soviet industry, which has passed the pre-war level, and the progress of agricultural machine-production in particular, alluded in its findings to the necessity of a more active construction of the Socialist section of agriculture, i.e., the Soviet Estates and Collective Farms.

These slogans of the Fifteenth Congress met with a friendly response in the countryside itself. The attention paid by party organizations to the construction of collective farms encountered a corresponding wave of activity on the part of the poor and middle peasants in this constructional work. It goes without saying that the proletarian state plays a leading role in this collectivization of agriculture.

The leading role of the proletarian state in the socialistic transformation of agriculture is seen plainly in the varied and complicated methods of planned economy. In the main this role is defined by the following factors:

1. The planned system of economy, regulation of the market, maneuvering with the commodity mass—these things make it possible to influence real economy and co-ordinate the development of agriculture with the interests of national economy as a whole.
 2. Socialist industry, producing the means of agricultural production is a decisive propellant of agriculture. This factor determines the tempo of development of the various branches of farming and the introduction of advanced methods of production, improved cultivation, application of artificial manures, building of refrigerators, granaries and so on.
 3. The building up of a state budget, of a banking and credit system, the redistribution of parts of the national income, and the maneuvering of credit resources determine the structure of the rural money-market, and the character of agricultural finance and the trend of expenditure in rural economy.
 4. Limitation of the development of rural capitalism, liberation of the dependent sections of the countryside from the usury of the wealthy peasants, the legal, fiscal and other State measures, have a very strong influence on the nature of social relations in the countryside.
- Such are the "commanding heights" which enable the Proletarian State to influence the process of development of agriculture.
- It should be added that the nationalization of the land relieved agriculture of the burden of outlay for the purchase or rental of land, releasing funds for increasing the means of production. For the State, this means devoting a part of the population's resources to the work of economic development.
- The production of agricultural machinery inside the Soviet Union exceeds pre-war by two and a half times; the construction of tractors and the production of mineral manures, etc., has now started. The plans of work for the next five years envisage, however, a further very considerable extension of industrial production for agricultural purposes. Thus, two new tractor factories will produce by the end of the five years 100,000 tractors per year; the production of agricultural machines will be five times more than in 1928, while the number of mineral manures manufactured in the country will be still further increased. There is also planned a most extensive system of creameries, poultry farms, bacon curing factories, refrigerators, granaries, etc.
- Thus the Socialist industry of the U.S.S.R. is energetically at work and has already achieved big successes in the way of supplying agriculture with implements and means of production such as will be able to bring it up to the standard of all demands of modern agricultural technique and create the basis for its socialization.
- During the two years that have elapsed since the Fifteenth Congress the number of collective farms has increased almost fourfold. The population an area sown in these farms has grown still more. On May 1st, 1929, there were altogether 50,000 collective farms in the U.S.S.R. They were peopled by 900,000 families with a total population of 4,000,000 and an area of more than 4,400,000 hectares under cultivation. In 1927 there were 13,500 collective farms with 164,000 families and 774,000 hectares area sown.
- The most rapid construction of collective farms has taken place in the districts producing marketable grain where, at the same time, there is class differentiation to a greater degree than in other districts. Thus, in the Ural region the cultivated area of the collective farms was 30,300 hectares in 1927, 80,500 hectares in 1928, and 335,500 hectares in 1929. In the Lower Volga region the cultivated area of collective farms was 67,000 hectares in 1928, and 405,900 hectares in 1929. In Siberia for the same years the figures are 55,900, 150,000 and 593,200 hectare respectively.
- The tremendous scale on which collective farm construction has developed bears witness to the large and rapidly-growing numbers of revolutionary peasants who are breaking forth from the framework of their social "surroundings, from the framework of the small plot of land."

THE HOUSE CLEANED, THE MINERS MINERS UNION MOVES IN. By Fred Ellis.

No Compromise!
No Wavering!

THE CITY OF BREAD BY ALEXANDER NEWEROFF TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

Next they caught sight of a lady with many combs in her hair. That kind could be seen in Samara! That father used to call them peacocks. The lady stood on the steps of a green car, there were two gold rings on her fingers and an earring glittered in one ear. Even her teeth were different from other people's, they were of gold. A crowd of children had gathered around her, had stood staring at her mouth. The lady began throwing meat bones at them, and the children scuffled wildly for them. They fell down all in a heap, and set up a shrill piping like a tangle of frogs. Then they picked themselves up again and stood in a row, waiting. When the lady had thrown all the meat bones, she threw a crust of bread.

A storm of bitter anger shook Mishka. "She's throwing bread around, the fool!" He adjusted his sack, and went over with Serioshka to the fray. "You try to grab some, and I will too."

Mishka was not big, but he was sturdy. He took after his uncle Nikanor, who had been a master at fist fighting. When that one boxed you over the ear—you heard music all through your head.

The lady saw the boy in the wide sandals, and purposely flung a bigger piece in his direction. Mishka's nostrils dilated. He lunged forward with his right arm, knocked down two youngsters and sat astride a third. He forced the boy's head into the ground, and began squeezing his throat as though with pincers.

A little piece of bread, all squashed and covered with dirt, was his prize. Before he could get his breath, the lady flung another piece. With amazing strength, Mishka leapt for it. "Grab it, Serioshka!"

But a bandy-legged boy with a big belly was quicker than all of them. He tripped up Serioshka, who fell down right on his nose. Serioshka jumped up, saw no one near him and struck out with both hands, but his blow went wild. The bandy-legged boy flung aside a girl in a long dress, and bristling like a pole-cat, turned on Mishka who was running toward him. Two other boys yelled:

"Give it to him, Vanka!" Mishka shifted his sack on his shoulders and pushed back the visor of his cap, which had fallen over his eyes. "Come on!"

"Huh, do you think I'm afraid of you?" "Come on, come on, try it!" Again the lady tossed them a piece of bread. And at the same time some one threw a little packet out of the car window.

"Oh, the devil take you!" Mishka would have liked to divide himself into two halves, but it could not be done. He flung himself toward the packet. "There must be something in it!"

With trembling fingers he undid the paper—nothing but cigarette butts. "Fui, devils! May boils devour your body!" The game lasted a long time.

Once Mishka threw two others, once they threw him. He had grabbed more than any of them, and he had not fared so badly at his hands either.

Maybe he would bump into another peacock like that. All right, let her throw things around, if it amused her. Anything, so he could get to Tashkent. And bring back fifteen pounds of seed with him, and bread—big pieces.

The grave, tranquil visions of the husbandman floated through his mind, filling his heart with quiet gladness. The thought of sowing his own field next spring warmed and comforted him. His thin famished body ached with the sweet languor of the soil.

Serioshka had not succeeded in getting anything at all. He had caught one tiny morsel, but bandy-legged Vanka with the big belly had, wrenched it out of his hands, and scratched up his face for him too, with his long dog's claws.

They sat down together, back of the station. Mishka counted the crusts he had gathered and said: "Fine! Three for me, two for you." Serioshka gulped down the crusts but the taste in his mouth grew still worse.

"Mishka, give me a little more, I'm still empty." "That's all for now. We'll fill up with water and go to sleep." "Well, just give me that tiny crumb there."

"Where?" "There on your knee." Mishka had not had enough either; he fingered the bread he had stolen from the peasant and pressed his lips together.

"Always give and give! And when will you start giving?" "I gave you the nut." "I won it." Serioshka was silent.

Mishka drew the nut he had won out of his pocket and threw it at his feet. "Go on, eat that, if you don't want to be friends." Neither spoke for a long time.

"How many pieces of bread do you owe me?" "Three." "How do you reckon that?"

"Count them up—then you'll see. That time we stopped to rest, I gave you one, one at the station where we got on the train—that's two; and just now I gave you two pieces—that's four. I'm not like you, I don't reckon more than there are."

Serioshka began to cry. "My insides hurt so!" he sobbed. In the night it rained. The fields around the station began to swarm with mudjaks and women, the coals hissed in the campfires, angry curses flew back and forth. Some one shouted through the darkness:

"Bring along the overcoat!" "Where is it?" The whole herd trailed over to the station, crawled beneath the cars. Only one woman who had been left behind in the field scolded furiously.

"Nikolai, Nikolai, where has the devil dragged you?" For a long while Mishka and Serioshka splashed along through puddles, floundered around in ditches. When they got to the station at last, it was too late, there was no place to sit. They squeezed up against the wall in the corridor, squatting on their heels. Serioshka's stomach began to hurt:

"Mishka, I must go out in the yard." "In the yard again? Run out by the wall there quick!" "You come with me." Mishka spat in exasperation.

"What a queer fellow you are, Serioshka! You need to go, so I must go too. There are no wolves there. No one will bite your feet." Ten times Serioshka ran out, straining, sobbing, and each time he said to Mishka in a weak, frightened voice:

"Mishka, it's coming again..." "Well, try not to..." "I do, but it comes itself..." "Try to swallow your spit." "My insides are all upside down." Mishka was tired of bothering with him and said sleepily: "It will get better, only don't think about it. It's diarrhea from drinking bad water." Serioshka tried not to think about it. He shivered, pressed close to his comrade to get a little warmer, and closed his eyes.

"I'm cold!" In the dim light of the platform lantern big raindrops were falling. They splashed into the puddles, drummed on the roof of the station. A man in a leather cap came running by, his heels thudding along the corridor, and trod on Serioshka's foot.



The Face of German Social-Fascism

(Continued) IV.

While the union of reformist organizations with the machinery of oppression, and the ideology of economic democracy, which expresses this union was being worked out in recent years, there seemed to be an important—and for international fascism a characteristic—sphere in which fundamental differences between fascist and reformist ideology were apparent: this was the conception of the State, which was invoked to establish order in industry and to enforce agreement between the classes. On one side the glorification of bourgeois democracy, on the other an assertion of its bankruptcy and the deliberate preaching of dictatorship as a higher State form; closely allied to this, fascism proclaimed the "sacred egoism" of one's country as the highest rule of conduct in international affairs, while social-democracy indulged in pacifist phrasemongering. The differences were never so great as they seemed to be. Polish fascism and the military dictatorship in Jugoslavia, began their activities under the slogan of protecting and defending democracy, or of suspending it temporarily only in order to re-establish it more firmly later on. It was only during the course of the dictatorship that dictatorship was declared, more or less openly, to be the highest form of state organization. Even in Italy, before the present state of affairs was reached, there were various stages in the exercise of constitutional rights and various corresponding ideas as to the "ideal" type of national state. The ideas at the first of these stages did not differ greatly from the demands of German democrats and social-democrats for a "strong leadership in democracy," and were anything but anti-parliamentary. The rattle of the sword, as recent years have shown, is but an occasional tactical maneuver in fascist dictatorships as well as in democratic states; it is not the normal, which in both cases consists in the justification of armaments by an appeal to the necessities of "defending peace," "protecting the frontiers," etc.

If, in those countries where it is to a large extent based upon organizing the petty bourgeoisie against the proletariat, fascism has developed an open anti-parliamentary and anti-pacifist ideology only gradually, so that it is not complete even today—and in any case this development has occurred almost entirely after the seizure of power—it would be quite stupid to expect German social-fascism to fulfill its task of winning democratic and pacifist masses for war and dictatorship by publicly renouncing a democratic and pacifist ideology. Social-fascism's work on behalf of the bourgeoisie consists in transforming this ideology in such a way that it can be used in the propaganda for a fascist dictatorship, and for this purpose such a renunciation would be the worst possible method. This is the real reason why the group concerned with the Socialist Monthly—which has for many years declared that parliamentary democracy is bankrupt, and has advocated a "structural democracy" based on economic corporations, after the style of fascist syndicates, joking maliciously about pacifist ideology and openly sympathizing with Italian fascism—why this group, although leading trade unionists and prominent persons like Severing and Wissel belong to it, and although it has fairly correctly foretold social-democratic tactics on all internal matters, cannot guide the development of social-fascist theory, but can only influence it from outside. In an industrial country such as Germany, the task of social-democracy consists in preparing and organizing the fascist dictatorship by spreading ideas—if possible "Marxist" ideas—calculated to mislead the greatest possible number of workers, and not in openly and honestly expressing its treachery to the old principles. The Magdeburg S. D. Party Congress was particularly significant because it took a definite step in guiding this democratic pacifist ideology into fascist channels. After German social-democracy had declared the rule of the bourgeoisie to be "socialism in process of becoming," it was only right and proper that the social-democrats should solemnly announce their duty of defending that rule against all internal and external foes.

The real idea behind the replacement of bourgeois democracy by fascist dictatorship was expressed by Wels (S.D. leader) in a famous speech, in which he said that the dictatorship is at first established in the interests of a later "re-establishment of democracy," and that the parliamentary crisis is recognized to be only of a temporary character. Actually, it is clear that the longer the fascist dictatorship lasts, the smaller becomes the possibility of a return to democracy, and that once in the stream of "managing the dictatorship" (which has its own internal logic, wherein one measure gives rise to another) the theory to justify this management will be found and based on "Marxist" principles (if this word has not been entirely discarded, as its spirit was long ago), as that the social-fascist dictatorship is the highest form of democracy, from which it would be senseless to return to lower forms. It is significant of the real spirit of the entire social-democracy that the lefts accepted Wels' famous statement not in a critical manner, but as an indication of the party's growing militancy.

Should the social-fascist dictatorship be established in Germany, it will differ from the Italian brand in its efforts to use with greater care extraordinary force, which is a part of every fascist dictatorship and which is employed both in the form of "emergency measures" (which, nominally only temporary, outlive their legal limits) and in the form of the employment of "private" and "irresponsible" force exercised by organizations formally unconnected with the state. Since German fascism finds its chief support in social-democracy (as was to be expected from the structure of the country) which must have an ideology to cling to, state emergency measures will be the dominating form. Severing's speech in the Reichstag on June 27th indicated this. After the rejection of the law for the protection of the republic, he declared that the government was prepared to use the emergency clause 48 of the Reich constitution (a year ago the social-democrats protested against the use of the same clause to bridge over certain legal gaps). The actions of the Coalition Government are very greatly accelerating the development of the required ideology. There is also a good deal of preparation for the use of extra-legal force in the activities of the Reichsbanner, which will certainly be extended as the difficulties of the German bourgeoisie come to a head. The dominant feature (as is to be expected considering social-democracy's special function) is the tendency to make social-fascist organizations and their terrorist acts a part of the mechanism of the state apparatus. At the last conference of the leaders of the Reichsbanner, where the May Day struggles were discussed, the question of establishing connections between that organization and the Reichswehr and Schutzpolizei (semi-military official bodies) was the principal item considered. It was stated there that they were only a hair's-breadth off from doing so; this may be an exaggeration in actual fact, but it was an exaggeration designed to facilitate the ideologic and organizational preparation of social-fascist terrorist groups for the coming class struggles.

Wels—as any avowed fascist might have done—referred to the strength of the reformist organizations as a special justification of reformism's claim to exercise the fascist dictatorship in Germany. Actually, reliance on mass organizations outside the state apparatus is part of the nature of any fascist dictatorship, and gives it (from the bourgeoisie's standpoint) an advantage over the traditional forms of military dictatorship. Ideological and organizational unity and the exclusion or violent elimination of any anti-fascist tendency, are the essential conditions for the usefulness of an organization as a pillar of fascist dictatorship. The greatest practical advance of German social-fascism at the present time is probably the progress of the trade unions and other mass organizations controlled by the reformists, along this road. It is impossible to enter into all the details of the reformist offensive directed to splitting all these bodies. Since we are dealing mainly with the ideology of German fascism, we must be content with pointing out that the measures responsible for splits and exclusions have undergone change in the last year or two. Previously Communists were excluded because they "brought politics into the trade unions" by expressing their ideas, and violated the "neutrality" of the nominally unpolitical mass organizations; now "neutrality" has disappeared even from the official statements. The connections of these bodies with the "trade union party" are openly proclaimed and Communists are excluded, not because they introduce politics, but because they carry on a definite, anti-social democratic policy and fight against the "trade union party."

The opportunity is not always offered to the "gentlemen of the press" to attend "secret" political meetings, as such attendance customarily leads to publicity, which, however, is just what was wanted by the almost-forgotten, near-Napoleon, Alexander Kerensky, when he, in Paris, called the journalists to a "secret" session of counter-revolutionists to hear the absurd yarn of one George Bessadovsky, who was dismissed from a subordinate post at the French embassy in the French capital recently but who refused to return to Moscow to stand trial for stealing a considerable sum of money. Bessadovsky chooses to paint his case as political, that he is a martyr to the cause of the Russian peasants, whom he fears to return to Moscow to face. But there are serious sides to this affair of counter-revolutionary thieves and blackguards getting together "secretly" with the kind permission of Monsieur Briand.

Bessadovsky asked to join Kerensky's group of counter-revolution, and Kerensky spoke for the applicant, explaining, so the capitalist press tells the world, "that such hesitations, if turned down, would finally fight on Moscow's side when the conflict to overthrow the Communist regime occurred." So that it what is planned by Messrs. Kerensky and Briand! And in the same city, with equal "secrecy," Briand permits the separate, but politically akin, Russian monarchists to organize, the eligibility to which is based on a satisfactory reply to the question: "How many Red Army commanders have you killed with your revolver?"

Paris, the organizing center and haven of refuge for counter-revolution against the Soviet Union, under Briand is, however, a scene of implacable struggle for legal existence by the Communist Party of France, sixty Communists, including the leading members of the Chamber of Deputies, having been arrested the day before Kerensky's "secret" meeting and, added to the hundred arrested on August 1, in the Anti-War Red Day demonstrations, all are to be tried for "threatening the interior and exterior security of the state"—for treason.

Nor is the insect Bessadovsky the only sudden convert to counter-revolution as the fight sharpens in France between class and class, as waves of strikes rise ever higher, caused by proletarian resistance to rationalization, worsening conditions and the growing danger of war directed first of all against the Soviet Union.

Recently, in the world capitalist press, another pimple burst in the form of flamboyant "exposures" by a hitherto unknown soldier of counter-revolution, Paul Marion, a petty-bourgeois intellectual, who sought a career in Communism. Being an intellectual he was taught to need an education, and at what better place to learn than at Moscow, where, however, after working in a minor position a while, he was sent back to France with the testimonial to the French Communist Party that he was a cheap careerist and an enemy of the working class.

With this recommendation, Marion found it more than difficult to establish himself with the C. P. of France, and feeling expulsion coming his way, "quit before he was fired," making use of his visit to the Soviet Union to sell himself to the bourgeois press, delivering reams of nonsense about the "failure" of the Five-Year-Plan at the very moment the same papers were getting repeated assurance from their Moscow correspondents that the Five-Year-Plan is a marvelous success!

Let no one think this constellation of events is grotesque or impossible, that the French bourgeois press is so liberal as to argue on all sides. The whole world bourgeoisie sees with growing fear and dread the astounding success of the Five-Year-Plan of Soviet industrialization. The imperialist bourgeoisie knows full well that the accomplishment of the Five-Year-Plan is a sword thrust at its own heart, and it is precisely for this reason that it gathers up all the Kerenskys, all the Bessadovskys, the Marions and the monarchist officers of the Czar, and is preparing M. Briand of the "Right" capitalist party group to turn over the business of making war on the Soviet Union to the "Left," as shown by the growing "left" face of the new cabinet. Such is the galaxy of counter-revolution in the "republic" of France.

What lesson for American workers in this? Plenty! Let none forget that Bessadovsky cries out to Kerensky, and Kerensky cries to Briand to rescue the Russian peasant from the "clutches of Stalin"—which is what the international Right Wing renegades, whose American champion is Lovestone—blabbers about when speaking of the Soviet Union.

And what says the vindictive insect, Paul Marion? "In Russia there is neither the dictatorship of the proletariat nor the building up of socialism, but the dictatorship of a caste and the burial of socialism." Glib phrases, and where can we find them better repeated than in the sheet conducted by one James P. Cannon! Then in the mouthings of Trotsky!

And what must we draw as a conclusion from this international aggregation, what can any member of the Communist Party extract from all this, other than that these various gentlemen for various reasons, which have nothing to do with proletarian interests, all fit into the scheme for war on the Soviet Union, the world plan of counter-revolution! And let no leading body of our Party tolerate their fledglings in the party of Lenin, the party of revolution! Those who do not fight against them, those who keep silent, are not Communists, but cowardly conciliators with counter-revolution, for whom this period of struggle leaves no room in our ranks.

as German imperialism) a defensive force was necessary "to protect the self-determination of its (the German republic's) people," while the text finally adopted runs: "To protect their neutrality and the political, economic and social achievements of the working class."

Externally, this seems to indicate a weakening of the avowedly nationalist ideology (the German people's right to self-determination), actually it is a further development of typical social-fascist ideology, which developed, not by simply adopting nationalist phrases, but by basing and justifying dictatorship and war on the special interests of the working class. In the coming war the question will be not so much of making propaganda for the war, as of having at the government's disposal organizations to defeat the revolutionary proletariat and to maintain the war industries. Levi, a "left winger," in his pamphlet on the subject, expressly emphasized the particular capacity of the working class to further a war "in its own interests," because of their control of military supplies and their strong organization. In thus planning the future role of the organization (in which work left and right share) German social-fascism is carrying out the main object of its development. If the organizations are to be maintained as an effective force, their fascist work must be based upon "the interests of labor." The idea of the nation is not surrendered, but sharply underlined by laying emphasis on the special interests of the working class in the war conducted by and for the bourgeoisie. This assures the bourgeoisie of organizational support from among its one real enemy, the working class.

Magdeburg brought the ideological development of German social-fascism to a certain provisional conclusion. In its counter-revolutionary activities social-democracy will cast off the last "shackles" of its past—and also thousands of workers which it has misled in the past—and, by virtue of its position, will become the strongest counter-revolutionary force in the country, attracting to itself the labor aristocracy and numerous petty bourgeois elements. Every step on the road to social-fascism means accelerating and extending the next steps, as it affects the social structure of the party, repulsing workers and attracting the petty bourgeoisie. If German social-fascism is to be useful to the bourgeoisie it had necessarily to develop out of a "proletarian" ideology, but every step in this development takes it further from the starting point. Democracy and pacifism, two years ago important planks in reformist propaganda had, at Magdeburg, changed from slogans of action (or at least things to be defended) into petty beautiful "distant objects" to assure which, for the time being, war and dictatorship must be accepted as part price of the bargain.

The new elements that have come into the party will start with the "provisional" justification of war and dictatorship and will, in practice, reach their ideological justification, will reach a hundred per cent fascism (which the leaders have done long ago). Magdeburg clearly announced the participation of German social-democracy in the anti-Soviet war. While Breitscheid, referring to the May struggles, talked of the "impermissible interference" of the Soviet Government in German home affairs, Wels declared German capitalism to be a higher form of socialism than that in Russia, and Crispian referred clearly enough to the necessity, in the end, of intervention.

The campaign for the imperialist war of intervention against the Soviet Union, together with the greater use of the state machine in the class struggles during the autumn and winter, will bring with it the next great steps in the development of social-fascism.

(THE END)

(To be Continued)