

Spot News: New Year's Eve Housewarming Party and Dance At New Socialist Party Headquarters, Biggest and Best in the Country, 236 Van Ness Avenue

Voice Of
Socialism In
The West

LABOR ACTION

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of California

Workers Of
The World
Unite!

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Wage War on Union in San Diego

Negotiations Drag As Growers Push Drive For Company Union

By RICHARD FRASER
SAN DIEGO, Dec. 20.—Negotiations between the joint committees of the American, Mexican and Filipino Unions and representatives of the Celery Growers, started Nov. 14, have so far been unsatisfactory. The growers' attack on the unions continues. During the course of the negotiations the growers have introduced the yellow-dog contract, a company union, etc. and have started a concerted drive to lock-out the unions. At the same time they flaunt the name of Chet Moore in the face of the workers, hoping in this way to cow them into an early compromise with company unionism, which is fast becoming the most important and vital problem faced by the agricultural unions all over the state.

The introduction of Chet Moore into the San Diego County celery harvest situation shows the activity of the banks in the effort to crush unionism.

CHET MOORE
Who is Chet Moore? Chet Moore has furnished the strike-breaking plan and apparatus for scores of broken strikes in California agriculture during the past few years. He has inspired a "three-point co-ordination plan" for California Agriculture—the third point being company unionism. Chet Moore has organized the Shipper-Growers in the name of the banks. As a tribute to the class struggle he has based his first line of strategy upon the "labor problem."

It is thus becoming increasingly evident to the workers that it is impossible to localize their problems. They are lined up not against only a few small growers. The whole financial oligarchy is against them.

Company unionism has appeared within the last few months in three important districts in some form or another. In Salinas, the company-union hiring hall was raised to its most vicious height by the guarded Filipino camps. That the union did not penetrate these camps with its membership was fatal. More recently in Santa Maria the Moore machine was able to buy off one of the Filipino union leaders who split the union in half.

Despite everything the unions are making definite headway in their organization campaign.

We'll Be Seeing You All New Year's Eve

The Socialist Party, San Francisco, will combine its New Year's celebration with a housewarming party at the grand new headquarters, 236 Van Ness Ave. The "Absurdities of Capitalism 1936" will be the theme of the party, and everyone is expected to come and have a good time.

Costumes portraying the actuality of hard times or the illusion of "prosperity" (1936 version); caricatures of Hitler, Mussolini, the king, the archbishop—anything goes.

To our readers in San Francisco we issue an invitation to join with us New Year's Eve; evolve some sort of costume get-up, dig up a mask, and come to 236 Van Ness Avenue any time after 8:30 p. m. to join in the dancing, entertainment, and fun. Tickets are 35c.

Minnesota Convention Of Alliance

Attempts of Clique To Provoke Split Is Frustrated

By CARL O'SHEA

ST. PAUL, Dec. 20.—A unity convention of the Minnesota locals of the Workers' Alliance of America was held last Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 12 and 13, in the State Office Building auditorium, St. Paul. The convention was attended by several hundred delegates, and by Herbert Benjamin and David Lasser, national officers of the W.A.A. An attempt of Communist Party elements to provoke a split in the convention failed.

The organized unemployed in Minnesota have been divided into two groups. First from point of view of size and effectiveness has been the Federal Workers Section of Local 544. This organization, sponsored, financed and organized by the General Drivers Union Local 544, has been in existence ever since the 1934 drivers' strikes in Minneapolis. Because the F.W.S. has this tie-up with the organized union movement, and because it has been able to organize the Hennepin County unemployed almost completely, the workers in this area have obtained probably

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Frameup of Union Men Is Exposed

Conspiracy Against King Revealed By Witness

Within a few days, the world will know if California's newest labor frameup—the "ship murder" case—is to be defeated or not.

Attorneys defending four members of the Marine Firemen's Union against the frameup in Oakland will have presented all their evidence soon—possibly by the end of this week.

The defense started the jury last week with a sensational revelation that San Francisco shipowners had connived with District Attorney Earl Warren to pay at least one witness, Roscoe C. Slade, to perjure himself.

The revelation came from H. M. Mann, third mate of the steamship Katrina Luckenbach. Mann testified that Slade confessed on October 19 he had been offered tremendous rewards to participate in the foul affair. Slade was second assistant engineer of the vessel, which was in Seattle at the time.

"Slade came to me that morning," said Mann, "and asked if he could borrow my gun. I asked him why, and he told me that he was going to be a witness in the ship murder frameup. He said his life had been threatened, and he wanted to protect himself."

"He asked me if I wanted to hear about the case, and I said yes. He talked about it the rest of the day."

"He told me he had been on straight pay from the Alameda county district attorney's office and the Swayne and Hoyt Steamship Company ever since early in August. He had taken a flying trip by plane—he didn't say what for—from New Orleans to Texas in August."

"APPROACHED BY SHIP-OWNERS"

"Then he said a representative of high financial interests—shipowners—had approached him in San Francisco and offered him a long-term engineering contract in South America if he would testify 'properly' at the trial."

"He was to 'identify' two men who supposedly went down the gangplank of the Point Lobos." (It was aboard this latter vessel that Chief Engineer George W. Alberts was murdered in Alameda harbor last March 22.)

"The shipowners' representatives showed him pictures of the men he was to identify, and told him he'd be 'taken care of.' He told

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"--and a Happy New Year"



Shipowners Say "Voice" Is a Phoney

Organ of Bosses Puts In a Beef Against Editorial Policy

One of the most heart-rending squawks against the editorial policy of The Voice of the Federation we have yet noticed appeared in the Shipping Register, organ of the shipowners, Dec. 5. Something really ought to be done to curb the editor. Read the editorial yourself and see if it doesn't make you think of home and mother:

"Disinterested observers have expressed amazement that any one group, meaning the workers, could be so utterly partisan and selfish. Anyone reading one of our labor papers finds not one iota of blame directed against the strikers, the 'boys' are always victims of some 'soulless and oppressive corporation.' For instance, in a recent edition of the Voice of the Federation, the story of the 'Standard Oil Victims' is set forth, wherein the company is berated for using foul tactics, enmeshing 'innocent victims,' etc. Not one word is said of the guilt of the convicted felons. That point is entirely overlooked, and not one word gives even a vague impression that the men so convicted were breaking the law."

"And so through the whole publication. Men hired by steamship companies to protect their property are characterized as 'wild beasts,' 'thugs' and 'gangsters,' making it appear that the innocent and gentle stevedores and sailors never so much as mentioned even an unkind word in their entire lives."

Socialists Aiding Spanish Workers

CHICAGO (LSP).—Socialists are concentrating their efforts on collecting funds and supplies for the Spanish workers and peasants now in a life and death struggle against fascism, according to Roy E. Burt, newly-elected executive secretary of the Socialist party.

Every Socialist headquarters has been turned into a depot for supplies. Special meetings are being held and committees are visiting homes and stores for donations.

Socialist Youth Guild Wins

Gets Jail Term at Minneapolis

Al Russel, former organizer of the Minneapolis Circle of the Young People's Socialist League, was sent back to the Minneapolis Workhouse to serve out the remainder of a term of four months which he received in connection with the strike of the Hosiery workers at the Strutwear Hosiery plant last year. An unsuccessful appeal to the District Court of Appeals by the Worker's Defense League was concluded last month.

Despite conclusive testimony as to the innocence of Comrade Russel and the others involved, anti-labor Federal Judge Moynaux sentenced them to a six month term in the workhouse.

The importance of the case lay in the fact that a precedent involving a new way to evade the anti-injunction law had been set. Because of this fact, the W.D.L. decided to appeal the case. An adverse decision was handed down based on a technicality, and Comrade Russel has been forced to return to jail. Communications can be sent to him at the Minneapolis Workhouse, Parker's Lake, Minnesota.

Thomas Is Speaker At Shoemaker Meeting

TAMPA, Fla. (LSP).—Marking the first anniversary of the death of Joseph Shoemaker, Tampa unemployed leader, who was kidnapped and murdered by Florida vigilantes, Norman Thomas spoke last Friday at a mass memorial meeting. Thomas, chairman of the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, was the first to bring the case before the attention of the public.

Florida authorities have so far succeeded in postponing the trial and conviction of the others who were indicted. The charge of murder still hangs over their head.

Guild Wins Demands In Bay Region

All S. F. Dailies Sign Up for Pay Increases And 5-Day Week

For the first time in history, every working newspaper man or woman in the Bay Region is guaranteed a decent living wage, minimum pay graduated with his experience, and a 5-day, 40-hour week, as a result of Guild negotiations.

All Guild-organized papers in the Bay Region are operating under Guild conditions. And the one paper which has not recognized the Guild formally, has tacitly acknowledged the effects of Guild collective bargaining—the Oakland Tribune management informed its staff the same wages and hours would prevail on that paper as the Guild has negotiated on the other afternoon papers.

The Post-Enquirer and the Call-Bulletin have recognized the Guild, and posted agreements establishing the 5-day, 40-hour week, and minimum wage scale as first established on the News.

Thus the Guild has fixed identical minimum wage scales for all afternoon papers, and a slightly higher, identical scale for the two morning papers.

"Only the force of public opinion will compel authorities to act," said Aaron S. Gilmartin, secretary of the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, 112 E. 19 St., New York.

DEBS WIDOW DIES

TERRE HAUTE, Ind. (LSP).—Mrs. Katherine Debs, widow of Eugene V. Debs, labor and Socialist leader, died at her home here last week after a long illness. Mrs. Debs had lived a secluded life since the death of her husband more than ten years ago.

Owners Offer Agreement to Sailors' Union

All Basic Union Demands Conceded in Settlement Proposal. Sailors Will Not Sign Until All Unions Get Agreements

Early settlement of the maritime strike on terms complying with the basic demands of all the unions was forecast this week by the agreement offered to the Sailors' Union of the Pacific as a result of new negotiations conducted by Harry Lundeborg, secretary of the Sailors' Union and Thomas G. Plant, chairman of the shipowners' committee.

It is reported that an agreement has also been offered to the firemen. Negotiations are still snagged with the Cooks and Stewards over the 8-hour day and with the Masters, Mates and Pilots over preferential hiring of union members. Negotiations have not yet been resumed with the Longshoremen.

The sailors' agreement, which has already been informally approved at a membership meeting attended by 2,000 union members at a meeting Monday afternoon, will be sent out for a coast-wide referendum, with all indications of a virtually unanimous vote of approval. However, Harry Lundeborg made it clear in a statement that the agreement will not be formally signed until satisfactory agreements are concluded with all the striking unions. This is the solidarity principle of the Federation.

Martin Hits 'Christmas Gift' of GMC

Auto Union President Shows Wage Cuts Offset Bonus

DETROIT, Michigan.—The generosity of General Motors in announcing a Christmas bonus of \$10,000,000 and a 5-cents-an-hour wage increase was described by Homer Martin, President of the United Automobile Workers as a "farious sleight-of-hand performance."

Wage cuts, speed-up, and displacement of labor more than offset these concessions he declared.

Prices for piecework have been cut as much as 25 per cent at the Fisher Body plant at Atlanta, Georgia, on the 1937 models while additional cuts have been made at other plants.

"Despite the much-advertised bonus and 5-cents-an-hour wage increase, so-called, General Motors will find that their workers are universally dissatisfied because they realize that both the bonus and increases are more than taken up by wage slashes and speed-up."

LEFT-HANDED BONUSES

"This action is but a repetition of the left-handed bonuses granted by the same company a year ago when the same sort of reductions in piece rates and increase in speed-up actually resulted in a net loss for each worker of \$2 a week."

SWEEPING VICTORY FOR UNION

The agreement offered to the Sailors' Union represents a sweeping victory of the union on all important points. The main points of the agreement are:

1. The employers agree to recognize the Sailors' Union of the Pacific as the representative of their unlicensed deck personnel for the purpose of collective bargaining.
2. The employers agree to give preference in employment to members of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and to secure their unlicensed deck personnel through the offices of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. (This is to our knowledge the most sweeping provision for union control of hiring ever put into a formal union agreement since the hey-day of the Western Federation of Miners and the I. W. W. at Goldfield, thirty years ago.)
3. Cash is to be paid for all

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Communist Candidate For Congress Joins Socialists

LYNN, MASS.—French Austin Benson, C. P. candidate for Congress from the Seventh Massachusetts district in the last election has joined the Socialist Party local of Lynn, Mass. He was a member in good standing in the C. P. for over four years, being organizer of the branch at one time, and through his militant, determined and sacrificing work in the unemployed movement won the support and admiration of those workers in Lynn. The addition of Comrade Benson to our ranks is a valuable addition to the cause of revolutionary socialism. Upon joining the S. P. he made the following statement:

AN OPEN LETTER

"Dear comrade workers: "Although a candidate for U. S. Congress from the Seventh Mass. district in the last election I found it impossible to agree with the 'defeat Landon at all costs' line, and took only a passive part in the campaign, being greatly impressed with the campaign of the Socialist party for Socialism—not reformism. Being a WPA worker I am amused to re-read my old 'Daily Worker' and see the manner in which the C. P. misled the WPA workers by telling them in an editorial of September 8th that, 'Roosevelt did make clear, however, that despite the attacks of the Hearst-Liberty League crowd he will not cut down on federal

relief activities for the victims of the drought and the unemployed."

A SHIFTY LINE
"The change in the line from social-fascism, dual unionism, etc., without any discussion among the party membership, proved conclusively the strength of the bureaucracy that has stultified the C. P. as a revolutionary instrument of the working class. The class-collaboration character of the Peoples' Front in Spain and in France and the desire of the C. P. U. S. to unite with 'good' labor leaders, 'honest' professional people, pacifists of every shade and description in order to carry out orders and manufacture a Farmer-Labor Party, thereby dropping the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, has compelled me, a sincere and militant worker, to leave the C. P. and join the Socialist Party."

"The oft-repeated pleadings of the C. P. for a united front with the Socialist party and all workers was completely and utterly exposed to me here in Lynn where the Socialist comrades repeatedly asked the C. P. for united action to build a branch of the Workers' Alliance—only to be ignored and refused by the 'unity shouters.' "I now take my place again in the ranks of the Revolutionary Socialists."

"With comradely greetings,"
"FRENCH AUSTIN BENSON."

JOB--A Short Story

By RUGG

Not everyone can be seventeen and stroll around in a body like mine. Now don't get me wrong. You'd have to look mighty close to find anything like a football hero or a Max Baer. What I mean to say is that I'm pretty tall, fairly well proportioned, not too awkward, and, if graduating from high school at fifteen means anything, not too dumb. That's me on the surface: I can put in a good day's work and I look it.

Like everyone else I have my moments but I don't go around wearing 'em on my sleeve. A fellow enjoys thinking that he carries something around with him that's different from other people's emotions. Maybe all folks think the same thoughts but, hell, you can't blame a chap for thinking he's different, can you?

BROTHER SAM

I should've mentioned my oldest brother, Sam. He's part of my being. I've been living with him since I was a kid, you know. . . . Alright, so I'm STILL a kid. . . . Anyhow Sam has been like a real father to me since the old man was killed falling off a ladder. For a guy who's worked hard all his life to support his family he sure has succeeded in keeping his reputation clean. If you believe that's easy among working men

when you have to depend on bosses in order to obtain a square meal, you're crazy. Either you live in a cloister or you don't know how workers lose their self respect while engaged in the fight for bread.

What I've been trying to bring out is that what pride I have is inherited. Since I can remember, the whole family has always had a firm realization that each member of the group was duty bound to keep the family name clean. I think Shakespeare once wrote something about names—something like, "If you pick my purse you steal trash, but if you touch my good name—" You get the idea even if the quotation is kind of wrong; even if people like me or my brother haven't any purses that could be picked. Maybe I'm harping too much on a trivial matter but believe me it means something when I'm pointed out by people as being Sam's brother. They know our family doesn't take any guff from bosses or scabs or wise guys who try to fenagle around.

I want you to understand what kind of a person I am so you'll see why I didn't take the job. When you phoned that the leather factory could use some help I immediately ran down. . . . Boy, what a lousy, stink catches

your nostrils in that place! But that wasn't so bad. I've worked in worse places.

I walked in and the bookkeeper asked me what my business was and I told her. She pushed a couple of buttons and sent me to the second floor. The stairs were old and slippery and I nearly killed myself by the time I climbed them. Then a red-headed pair of khaki pants introduced himself to me as one of the owners. He told me to wait until the other three partners came along. So I waited and watched the men work in the filth. What a stink!

Then it happened, a few minutes after the other bosses came in. One of them, a little squirt with a pince-nez (those are phony eye-glasses) walked up to me and without saying a word he began to feel my muscles!

Honest, he began to feel me up like I was a girl or something!

I thought he'd yank my mouth open and see how old I was! Christ! What in hell was I supposed to be—a horse?

Were they buying me for keeps? That's why I broke the little squirt's glasses and ran out of the shop.

Maybe I'm crazy. I don't know. I still need a job.

Minnesota Convention Of Alliance

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the highest relief and work relief standards in the United States. The same leadership which, functioning at the head of the General Drivers Union, has been able in a little over two years to transform Minneapolis from one of the worst scab towns in the country into a strong union town, has also led the unemployed to victory after victory.

CONVENTION GERRYMANDER

Those workers organized by the Communist Party into various Workers Alliance locals throughout the state comprise the other group. What strength it has is almost completely in the rural areas. The Federal Workers Section has more members; but because at the last moment the national officers ruled that contrary to previous agreement, voting power at the convention was to be apportioned by total dues stamps purchased from the national W. A. A. office during the past four or five months, the Stalinist-controlled groups had a substantial majority on the convention floor. (The Federal Workers Section has purchased stamps only the last month.) However, the F.W.S. sure of the correctness of its program and policy, which have been proven in action time after time, did not fear to go into the new Minnesota Workers Alliance as a minority. The only major concern of the Federal Workers Section was to maintain intact its own organization, and to seek to insure that a democratic regime would be obtained.

Last week the official organ of the Teamsters' Joint Council, The Northwest Organizer, warned the WPA workers and those on direct relief that the same Communist Party clique might attempt the same trickery and unprincipled manipulation which brought to naught last year's convention. It soon became apparent that the Stalinists, guided by Herbert Benjamin, national secretary-organizer of the W.A.A., were determined that unity should not prevail this year. In the usual mechanical fashion for which the C.P. has become notorious in recent years, they forced through a slate of officers and an executive committee which is outrageously unfair to the F.W.S. and its actual organized members.

DISORGANIZERS AT WORK

Not content with this, the C.P. caucus did its utmost to seek to tear the F.W.S. away from its tie with the organized labor movement in Minneapolis. Note this! Here in Minneapolis a unique situation exists. Here a progressive A.F. of L. union has actually sponsored and financially supported an unemployed organization, assuring that unity between employed and unemployed would be a reality. That this organizational principle is correct is shown to the hilt by the solid gains made by the F.W.S. And yet the Stalinists had the gall to seek to break up and disperse this strong and militant organization, to scatter its membership into yet-to-be-created neighborhood and project locals officered by Benjamin's followers.

And this is by no means all! Blandly, the Stalinists informed the Federal Workers Section that it could not even choose whom it wanted to represent it on the state executive committee. Even more. After the nominating committee of the convention had arrived at an agreement on a slate, the C.P. held a caucus, came on the convention floor, and reversed the report of the nominating committee. This trick, which was put over with the full knowledge and assistance of the national officers, was done deliberately to provoke the F.W.S. delegates to walk out of the convention, thereby placing the onus of a split upon their heads.

But it failed; for at this point Grant Dunne, a member of the General Drivers Union executive board, and a delegate from the F.W.S., rose and declined all posts on the state executive committee for the Federal Workers Section. He also presented a statement which declared the willingness of the F.W.S. to abide by the constitution of the state and national Workers Alliance.

SPLIT MOVE THWARTED

The F.W.S. section was represented by a delegation of over sixty workers who worked actively in the various committees to which they were assigned, presenting among others the major resolutions listing demands on the federal and state government which were accepted by the convention. Hence, there is almost unanimous agreement on the program to be followed.

Thwarted in their attempts to provoke a split at the convention, the Stalinists are apparently striving to achieve the same end by different means. On Dec. 16 they mailed letters to all delegates containing the following tid-bits: "With the exception of a single group in the convention (now WHO could that be) there was evident a general understanding and desire for a united State organization. We deeply regret that

Letter to the Editor

Editor, Labor Action:
The paper so far has been excellent. The class struggle implications of the union struggles are drawn out, rather than covered up. Also, you are not afraid to roast Blum. "Note-book of an Agitator" is fine, also the cartoons. Socialism has a worthy representative in Labor Action.

JOHN W. PARSHALL,
5437 Kimbark Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois.

Convention Agenda Is Announced

State Executive Gives List of Points for Discussion

A tentative agenda for the state convention to be held February 21, 22, and 23 in Berkeley has been announced to locals. In preparation for the convention the State Executive Committee has issued a list of topics and questions for local discussion as a basis for recommendation to the delegates at the convention. Locals are asked to discuss these subjects thoroughly at regular educational or special red-card meetings between now and the convention in February. If your local has any resolutions to offer for consideration at the convention, send them in by January first if possible, so that they may be summed up and re-submitted for further local discussion.

SUBJECTS ANNOUNCED

The subjects as announced are as follows:

- (1) Immediate program on the following basis: analysis of the Party position and strength up to the time of the convention; analysis of economic conditions in various localities; estimate of party strength; organizational and contact work; basis for recruiting and personal assignments; education.
- (2) Farmer-Labor Party: shall we organize either a farmer-labor or a labor party? If and when a farmer-labor party is formed, what action should the Party take? Function of a farmer-labor party; definition of minimum basis for genuine labor or farmer-labor party.
- (3) United Front: what constitutes a united front? Should we participate in a united front? If we support or organize a united front, what kind should it be and under what circumstances?
- (4) People's Front Government: analysis of people's front government; if socialists participate in a people's front government, under what circumstances; and what should be their role in that government? What should be our attitude toward socialist participation in people's front governments in other countries?

TRADE UNION POLICY

- (5) Trade Union Policy: shall we support craft or industrial unionism? Should we support Lewis and the C.I.O.? If so to what extent shall we work with Lewis? What is our stand in case of a split in the A.F. of L.? Should we organize Socialist leagues within the various trade unions? If so what should be their functions? In the event of Socialist participation in a strike situation, what policy should be followed in relation to policy and personnel within a union with which we disagree? Should we maintain a "hands off" policy in trade union affairs? What should be the policy of party members in unions now aligned against the C.I.O.?

- (6) War: should we support the U. S. government in any war? In case the U. S. lines up with democratic countries against fascist—what should be our attitude? In case the U. S. lines up with fascist countries? What should be our attitude toward pacifist groups, anti-war groups, church groups? What preparation should be made for Party war-time activity?

the leadership of this one group deemed it necessary to subordinate the general interests of WPA and unemployed workers to their personal ambitions, based on a disruptive splitting policy, which aimed to demoralize the honest efforts of the majority in the Convention."

WATCH MINNESOTA!

Soon calls will be sent out for the setting up of county central committees of the Minnesota Workers Alliance, and it is fair to assume that the Communist Party disorganizers will cook up some nice new dishes for the unemployed workers. The Stalinists have yet to prove to Minnesota workers that they can make gains for the unions or the unemployed organizations that they control, or that they can even maintain such organizations. It should prove interesting and instructive to all workers to follow the future course of the Stalinist leadership of the Workers Alliance in Minnesota.

Owners Offer Agreement to Sailors Union

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4. Wages are to be increased about \$10 per month, a general average increase of about 16 per cent.
5. The employers recognize the union delegate aboard each ship as the official representative of the union and the men aboard.

In view of the original scheme to isolate and smash the Sailors' Union, and the perfidious propaganda to the effect that the sailors were the "stumbling block" to a settlement of the strike, the agreement the sailors have secured attracts particular attention.

The crushing defeat of the isolation scheme, as well as the campaign of "sailor-baiting," bears testimony to the power and militancy of the union, and the effectiveness and skill of its leadership.

Harry Lundberg received a stormy ovation when he entered the union hall Monday to present the agreement. And it was a "natural," too, not a staged demonstration.

"Strike-crazy Lundberg"—as he has been dubbed by people who want to eliminate the class struggle from strike strategy—has proved that the art of negotiating is not such a complicated and difficult thing. In fact, it is fairly easy if you know what you want and have a strong picket line behind you. In the last analysis the picket line decides the issue of a strike. Negotiations only formally ratify it.

BEACON TO BECOME POPULAR ORGAN

The Beacon, official internal discussion organ of the Young People's Socialist League of California is to become an organ for distribution to advanced contacts of the YPSL, according to a decision made by the District Committee. Until now the Beacon was published for members of the YPSL and Socialist Party only, and was a highly political internal bulletin.

Because of the great interest shown in the League by young workers, especially in the agricultural and maritime industries, it was decided to permit distribution of the Beacon to people who are close to the YPSL and who show that they are willing to work with and be loyal to the principles of the organization.

Letter To the Editor

To The Editor:

Enclosed, one dollar for a one month's subscription to Labor Action. Labor Action is certainly a momentous publication to make its appearance in semi-fascist California. Long may its print expose the nefarious capitalist society, and class collaboration or would-be saviors of the working class. May it clarify the path to unity of purpose of labor, that emancipation of the working man and woman can be achieved.

Hall Labor Action—
PAUL KOLINSKI,
San Francisco, Calif.
P. S. Being a rolling stone, I gather very little moss in capitalist society. So I have no permanent address, that is why a one month sub. I feel it's worth the buck, though. PK.

New Federal Law A Mockery Of Genuine Social Security

WASHINGTON.—Although the blanks for registering 26,000,000 workers for old age pensions have been sent out by the Social Security Board, no move has as yet been made to eliminate those aspects of the new act which have aroused the vigilance of organized labor.

Aside from the fact that workers will still be required by law to contribute a portion of their hard-earned wages which they cannot afford, the Board has done nothing to assure workers that they will not be discriminated against by employers if their employers do not turn the blanks back to them. The law allows the blanks, which contain confidential information, to be given to the union, the postoffice or the employer for transmission to the board, but labor circles feel that the fact that the employer is allowed to collect them at all will permit him to misuse the authority of his position and require that the blanks be given to him in order to obtain black-listing information about his employees.

CRITICISMS OF ACT

Much more fundamental criticisms, however, have been leveled at the Act, which, it is claimed, will establish a huge bureaucracy to administer a measure which will fall miserably short of providing for the real needs of old persons. Three types of benefits are to be paid: (1) monthly benefits at 65; (2) lump-sum benefits at 65; and (3) death benefits.

Coming into the act of 65 the benefits often will not be paid until long after they first become necessary, since the average worker finds it difficult to get

steady employment long before he reaches 65. These benefits will not be based upon need, but instead upon the total past earnings of the individual after December 31, 1936. In other words, the unemployed or partly employed worker will be singled out for the lowest benefits which can be as low as \$10 per month. Under no conditions will the benefits reach more than \$85 per month, a miserably low figure, but far above what the average benefit will be.

MERE PITTANCES AT BEST

Even workers, now young, who by the remote year of 1980 or 1985 will become eligible for old age pensions will receive no enviable amount although calculated on the basis of a lifetime of earnings. But the workers who will be 65 or over by 1942, the earliest date for the first payment, will receive a mere pittance even if they have been lucky enough to have been steadily employed.

The law also provides that if these earnings do not total \$2,000 between December 31, 1936 and the time the age of 65 is reached, which will be the case for thousands, the workers will receive one "lump-sum" payment equal to 3½ per cent of their total wages. In other words, in the name of "social security" many a working class family will receive the magnificent sum of \$30 to \$50 to continue them through the rest of their lives.

In addition, the Act leaves out important classes of workers entirely. Agricultural workers, domestic servants, sailors and several other categories will not be included in any benefit payments at all.

Frank Trager Roy Burt, New Secretary Of Party, At Work

CHICAGO.—Frank N. Trager began his new job as labor and organization secretary of the Socialist Party on Dec. 15.

For the past year Trager has been state secretary of the Socialist Party of New York.

Even while an instructor of philosophy at John Hopkins University he participated actively in the struggle of the workers. He was one of the founders of the Eastern Federation of Unemployed Leagues and the Workers' Alliance. He has held such posts as secretary of the Baltimore chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, secretary of the Maryland Anti-Lynching Federation, secretary of the Baltimore Negro labor committee, and national labor secretary of the committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment.

FARM BOY

Born on a farm in Illinois, Burt's family moved to south-eastern Kansas when he was nine years old. From that time on he worked on the farm and in and around the coal mines of that state.

He has been a member of the Miners' Union, Retail Clerks' Union and now is a member of the American Federation of Teachers. Early in 1934 he was named national organizer for the Socialist party. He has appeared before audiences of trade unionists, farmers, professional workers and students. Having met with so many varied groups, he has come in direct contact with practically every significant thought trend in America today.

Complete details of the new law are unknown, but its asserted purpose was to put "new teeth into the old law."

Roosevelt Is Showing His True Colors

Slash In WPA Rolls Shows Direction of Policy

By JOEL SEIDMAN
Labor Economist and Educator
Instructor at Brookwood Labor College

Within several weeks the 75th Congress will be in session. Those workers who supported Roosevelt and the Democratic party in the recent election are due for a rude awakening.

Now that the election is safely over and labor's votes no longer needed, Roosevelt is showing his true colors. The drastic slash in the W. P. A. rolls is a case in point. Pious speeches on peace are indeed made in South America, but at the same time new war vessels are launched and authorized at home.

The bill that labor most desires is the 30-hour week measure. Yet this is not given the slightest chance of passage, though pressure from Roosevelt could force it through. Roosevelt will unquestionably oppose the bill, passively if not actively.

LABOR'S HOPES DIMMED

Labor's hopes of legislative gains at this session are dimmed by Roosevelt's growing beliefs that recovery has already taken place, and that prosperity is now at hand. For those who accept these beliefs, there is no further need of emergency measures, regardless of the presence of 10,000,000 unemployed. Far more important to the comfortable is the reduction of expenditures so that the budget may be balanced.

For what can labor hope at this session? The most important measures, in all likelihood, will be those that apply the principles of the N.R.A.—reduced production, controlled prices, higher wages, shorter hours, and collective bargaining—to specific industries such as coal, textiles, and clothing.

NINE OLD JOKERS

The Supreme Court will probably hold these measures unconstitutional, however, as it has already done in the case of the Guffey Coal Act. Moreover, these proposals balance production with consumption at a level of security instead of plenty.

Some attempt may be made by labor to increase the powers of the National Labor Relations Board. Such a proposal may indeed pass Congress, but its practical effect will be zero because the Supreme Court will almost certainly hold the basic act unconstitutional.

Modern Labor Calendar Published

CHICAGO (LSP).—An artistic "Modern Labor Calendar" has just been published by the Three Arrows Press and Rebel Arts and is being sold by the national headquarters of the Socialist party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill., at 59 cents each or ten for \$2.50.

The calendar contains illustrations by Rivera, Grosz, Orozco, Daumier, Massere, and others, and quotations from Debs, Tolstoy, Whitman, Marx, Lincoln and Shaw.

The Action Army

by frank stern

Since this is the season for swapping four-bit ties "we imagine" that one of our readers may absent-mindedly send us one. Honest, we can't use any neckties, but if some of you play Santa Claus for a lot of workers by giving them subs as Christmas presents you'll be doing a lot of good for both the workers and Labor Action.

Last week we wrote quite a splurge about Xmas, but our Roman Catholic Irish editor whose first initial begins with James Patrick Cannon took exception to such liberties being taken by a son of Israel and just cut the whole business out.

Anyway, we mean that about giving subs as Xmas gifts—and put us on your list for a cash gift (that is, if you still have some) on account of we always need money to keep putting out this swell paper.

Just as we got to this point in the column the mailman came in and placed in our lilly-white hands a brief note attached to a 28 dollar check, said money coming from Comrade R. R. Brownson of Upland, California for a two-years sub and a 25 dollar donation. Thank you Comrade Brownson for a swell boost.

And before we could recover from it in walked Tom Kerry of Oakland and laid down a couple of subs on the line along with a little something as a contribution.

But first place in the ranks of the Action Army goes to the Berkeley Young People's Socialist League who turned in seven for a natural and their choice of any of the original drawings of Carlo's cartoons that they want. Those Berkeley Yipsels are so far ahead of the rest of the YPSL in boosting Labor Action that the others don't even seem to be in it.

In second place we find Ernest Peri of Los Angeles who placed first last week. Good work Ernest—and you still haven't let us know which of the drawings you want. Now you have a print coming to you too.

Ray Sparrow comes through with a blast of four subs from the Windy City (Chicago to the uninitiated) and the following remark—"I'm aiming to get the history of the Russian Revolution so expect more from me." and as a commentary on Labor Action generally, Comrade Sparrow continues:

"The real story of the west has not yet been written but I start to be made in 'Labor Action.' It's the best damn radical sheet in the country, bar none. I would sooner miss a meeting than an issue of Labor Action." Well, Ray, to tell you the truth, we feel exactly the same way.

From Tom Johnson of Sioux City, Iowa comes the following (accompanied by a pair of subs): "Your paper is O.K. A good two-fisted hard fighting paper." and E. A. Donelson of the same place postscripts: "I like your paper. You are talking Socialism and that's what we want."

Eddie Parker, State organizer of the Illinois Workers Alliance, sends for a bundle with the following comment: "I saw Labor Action for the first time this morning. To say that the paper is a masterpiece would be putting it mildly. At last there is a revolutionary paper that the average worker can understand. More power to you!"

We would like to quote everybody, but the editor says there isn't enough space. So we just say thanks to those Action Army members who have come through this week, and to our well-wishers who took the trouble to write.

That goes for Pete Gallagher of Plentywood, Montana; Ernie Norback, Ruth Holtz and Del Owens of San Francisco; Jean Ruid of Denver; Chas. Fischer of Kansas City, Kansas; Rae Saunders of Washington; Bert Cochran of Cleveland; Bill Gannon of Berkeley, and Paul Kolinski of the U. S. A. Keep up the splendid work comrades. Labor Action is already becoming a force for revolutionary action in the west.

Don't forget that with the thirty-first of December comes the closing of the first month's contest for the grand prize of Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution," so you all had better start getting in those subs real fast. Even if you don't take first place you can still win the prize for each club of four of a print of one of Carlo's cartoons. The weekly prize of an original drawing by Carlo goes to the one sending in the most subs during the week. Call your shots. And it still isn't too late to re-member us with an Xmas gift.

Just Off the Press THE MOSCOW TRIAL
By Max Shachtman
Price 25 Cents
MODERN BOOK SHOP
118½ West 9th St.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Frameup of Union Men Is Exposed

me he actually had no idea who the two men were.

"I asked him if he thought the defendants in the trial were guilty, and he said he didn't think so. He called the whole thing a frame-up. He said he was afraid to testify as the shipowners wanted because he'd get in bad with the unions. But he said he was afraid to tell the truth and testify for the defendants because the shipowners would blacklist him.

"The next day, October 20, he came into my room and told me a car had come for him and he was going to San Francisco."

Slade, first assistant engineer of the murder ship, had been the last man to see Alberts alive and had discovered the murder. He did not, at the trial, make any identification of the men he said went down the gangplank, but he declared that he COULD do it.

DEFENDANTS IN CASE

Defendants in this new Tom Mooney case are Earl King, head of the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen; Ernest G. Ramsay, former patrolman for the Firemen and now secretary of the Fish Reduction Workers' Union; Frank J. Conner, former ship's delegate of the Point Lobos; and George Wallace.

The absurdity of the charges is made clear by the fact that King, Ramsay and Conner are accused of "plotting" to kill Alberts, each being specifically exonerated of any share in the crime. And Wallace's "confession," obtained by the usual third-degree methods, says he himself had nothing to do with it—that a mysteriously missing man named Bob Sakovitz committed the actual murder.

But Wallace admits he didn't see the murder, and didn't know until several days later that a murder had been committed. Prosecution witnesses, some of them rank perjurers, have contradicted each other to such an extent as to demonstrate clearly that the case is framed.

Evils of Education

CHICAGO, Ill.—Testifying against her husband in a suit for separate maintenance, Mrs. Tillie Osberg, 48 years old, stated that her husband, Jacob, 48, loved her "until he learned to read and write English. Now he wants an up-to-date wife."

She was granted a temporary weekly allowance of \$10 by the court.

BEHIND THE MOSCOW TRIAL

The Greatest Frame-up in History

BY MAX SHACHTMAN

The first and only work on the sensational trial of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the fourteen others who were executed for plotting the assassination of Soviet leaders.

It is a thorough review of the trial, its background and significance written by the noted revolutionary journalist and editor of Trotsky's Works. It contains a detailed analysis of the real facts in the trial and provides concrete proof of how and why the frame-up was arranged.

144 Pages
Cloth \$1.00 Paper 25c.

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The Cultural Front Again Or, Theodore Dreiser and The New Masses

Readers of The Nation who have not forgotten the Hapgood-Dreiser-Anti-Semitism controversy which raged in the pages of that liberal weekly a little over a year ago

were startled last week by a half-page display 'ad' which appeared on the Nation's back page. The advertisement was an announcement of the "25th Anniversary Issue" of the New Masses. But it was not the well-known fact that the New Masses was born in 1926 and has no relation—spiritual or physical—with the old Masses and liberator, edited by Max Eastman, that puzzled the Nation readers. It was rather the appearance, in the list of contributors (featured under the headline "We Salute You, Oh, Pioneers") of the name of Theodore Dreiser—the same Dreiser whose outburst of anti-Semitism was the sensation of liberal and radical literary circles only a year ago.

For the benefit of those benighted souls who read neither the Nation nor the New Masses, it may be well to review this incident before indulging in any generalizations.

GREAT MIGRATION

The year 1932 will be remembered as the year of the great cultural migration in America. Among the thousands of intellectuals and artists, (real and pseudo), who suddenly turned to the Left and began flirting with Communism in that year was Theodore Dreiser—a great novelist who was an-

other erstwhile literary converts, notably Sherwood Anderson, were rapidly losing faith in the Revolution. They were groping about in the agrarian sub-conscious for some mystic "American dream" that would lead them out of the economic wilderness. (Earl Browder had not yet discovered the Founding Fathers and Mike Gold had not yet raised the slogan "Daniel Boone Belongs to Us.") For all his unorthodox mysticism, the Party still clung to the Dreiser coat-tails, to the embarrassment, no doubt, of the famous novelist.

NAIVE ANTI-SEMITISM

Then in 1935, The Nation published—with the permission of the writers—an exchange of letters between Dreiser and Hutchins Hapgood in which Dreiser propounded the theory that what really ailed America was a superfluity of Jews. In answer to Hapgood's attack upon this theory, Dreiser expanded his argument to include practically all of the shop-worn bug-a-boos on this subject with the exception of the Protocols of Zion. Dreiser's anti-Semitism was as naive and confused as his Communism.

The Dreiser-Hapgood correspondence fell like a bomb-shell in New Masses circles. When the editors had recovered themselves slightly, they expressed doubts of the letter's authenticity. With this point cleared up, they decided to send a

By 1934, Dreiser and a dozen

Resolution on Spain

(Adopted by the State Executive Committee)

In support of the National Executive Committee decision, and for the guidance of our membership the California State Executive Committee endorses the following position on the Spanish question.

The conflict in Spain is likely to prove for Europe and for the world as a whole to be the decisive battle between the organized working class and the forces of Fascist capitalism. The heroic nature of the struggle should mark the end to a long series of capitulations and defeats for the workers in Italy, Germany, Austria and many lesser European nations; victory will be a long step toward world socialist revolution.

Therefore, the fight of the Spanish workers is the fight of all class conscious workers throughout the world. Direct aid to the rebels from the Fascist governments of Italy and Germany and indirect aid through official protection of private arms shipments to the Fascists from the democratic-capitalist governments of Great Britain, France and the United States must be answered by independent working class aid to the Spanish workers. Their need for munitions, war equipment, men, food and medical supplies will be met only by the organized action of their class brothers throughout the world. Only organized, independent workers' action can block the shipments of the "merchants of death" to the fascist rebels by declaring all such shipments "hot cargo" and refusing to load, transport or ship them.

SOLE GUARANTEE

It is equally true that in Spain itself the only guarantee of complete and final victory over fascism depends on independent working class action. Spanish fascism cannot be destroyed unless its roots are forever banished from Spanish soil. The roots of fascism lie in the capitalist system of exploitation and profit and so long as that system endures fascism will grow. The final defense against fascism is working-class victory for socialism, in Spain and in every nation on earth.

Obviously a so-called "Peoples' Front Government" which depends upon the support of supporters of capitalism and which is itself pledged to the present system cannot achieve this victory.

More, it's ability to rally the masses of workers and peasants is weakened by the fact that it is bound to the very system which produces both the wrongs they suffer from and the fascist counter-revolution. Above all, class collaboration exposes the rear of the fight against fascism to capitalist betrayal as has been demonstrated in the recent exposure of the plot of Catalan middle-class politicians.

The fight of the working class is under all conditions our fight. But the revolutionary socialist movement of the world must particularly lend every possible encouragement to our comrades in those parties and groups who are moving away from crippling compromise with the parties of capitalism and toward a clear-cut program for the socialist victory. The increasing evidence that the Catalan workers are rapidly moving in this direction is particularly heartening.

A CLEAR APPEAL

Essential to socialist victory in Spain is the clear appeal to workers and peasants on the basis of their real interests as expressed in such slogans as "ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS," "LAND TO THOSE WHO TILL IT," "INDEPENDENCE FOR MOROCCO," "ARMS TO ALL WORKERS, AND WORKERS CONTROL OVER THE ARMY," "FIGHT FASCISM BY DESTROYING IT AT THE FRONT AND IN THE REAR."

Only as we rally to the campaign to render every possible aid to the Spanish workers in their present struggle are we justified in offering comradely criticism and suggestions. Such friendly criticism is, on this condition, not only a right but a duty. Failure to speak now before final decision is made would be a serious blunder, and harmful not only to the Spanish working class but to the cause of world socialist revolution which we and they serve.

The fate of Spain is now being written in letters of blood. The cause of the Spanish revolution is the cause of every worker in the world. We must not fail them!

INTERNATIONAL NEWS AND VIEWS

Gide's "Return" Is A Bombshell

Andre Gide's book, written on his return from a five months' sojourn in the USSR, from June to October, 1936, has had the effect of a bombshell on Paris, according to the French press. (Extracts from this book were published in Labor Action for December, 12, 1936). It has become one of the most widely discussed books in years. Even a left Deputy (elected on a People's Front ticket, but a "non-party man") has taken up his pen to write an article, dealing with the book, entitled, "Truth About Everything. Even the Soviets" (in La Fleche). Many columns have been devoted to Gide's book in the press, except, naturally enough, the Stalinist press.

The Stalinists in France and elsewhere have been stricken dumb—they have had nothing to say as yet, waiting no doubt for a lead from Moscow. The confusion and consternation in the Stalinist ranks is strikingly reflected in the only document that has, to our knowledge, emanated from that source to date. It is a letter by a young French writer, Herbert, to Andre Gide. Herbert had spent ten months in the Soviet Union, and was one of Gide's companions on the tour, together with Jef Last, Guilleux, Schiffrin and Dabit.

"MUCH CONFUSED"

Herbert is (and wants to remain) a Stalinist in good standing. He was so much "confused, troubled and frightened" by the appearance of Gide's book that on the spur of the moment he wrote of his reactions to Gide, who has published Herbert's letter in the periodical Vendred for November 20, 1936, with a brief statement to the effect that the reactions of his "young companion (on the tour) would doubtless prove of interest." Yes, indeed!

Herbert, giving expression to his anguish at the publication of Gide's book, points out in his letter that two important conclusions must follow from it: (1) That in the USSR there exists a tendency towards the formation of classes, a privileged bureaucracy, a great differential between wages, etc.; (2) That the dictatorship of the proletariat has been transformed into the dictatorship of Stalin, or

at any rate, that of a very restricted group of people."

Instead of indignantly refuting these two "important conclusions," Herbert proceeds to affirm with respect to the first, that Gide had respected the case truthfully. He, too, must admit that: "After a ten months' stay . . . I was also able to convince myself that the existing regime in the USSR IS NOT SOCIALISM." (Our emphasis). We wait with some anxiety the news of what will happen to Herbert for saying this, after the "irrevocable triumph of socialism" has been signed, sealed and delivered in the "world-historic Stalinist constitution!" This is worse than heresy. This, we believe, is nothing else but "Trotskyism!" Alas, poor Herbert!

DEFENDS DICTATOR

Nor does faithful Herbert deny the second conclusion. Incredible as it may sound, he tries instead to defend it. "Absolutism," he argues, is absolutely necessary. Because, you see, to "transfer political and economical power into the hands of the still inexperienced producers would undoubtedly weaken the land of the Soviets which is confronted with capitalist countries whom it is destined to engage in war." The dictator, according to Herbert must be "absolute" lest the bureaucracy "turn into a class."

To avoid this frightful danger, Herbert approves of the concentration of power in the hands of one man—apparently on the basis that a single man, even Stalin, would be unable to "turn himself into a class." Then, it follows as a matter of course, that equally indispensable is "the mysticism of the leader, which sometimes is spontaneous in character, but which, in any case, must be asiduously and artfully supported." Kant had a name for such artificial logic, calling it "psychologic logic." Could more irrefutable evidence be adduced to Gide's contention that in no other country in the world is the human spirit more degraded than in the Soviet Union, under the Stalinist regime?

COOLIE PHILOSOPHY

We are offered here the entire "philosophy" of enlightened despotism. It is in reality this coolie philosophy that the

"conscious" supporters of Stalinism subscribe while they profess in public the holy communion of "Socialism in One Country"—only, they never dare express these private convictions. It took Gide's book to bring these cynical unspoken thoughts into the open. And naturally enough, they have been avidly seized upon by the bitterest enemies of the October revolution, the Russian White Guards.

Sadly, Herbert places the blame for Gide's disillusionment (and that of others) on the "absurd declamations" of Soviet propaganda abroad which needs arouse boundless illusions that are in turn rudely dispelled by the first contact with reality itself. Herbert, apparently, would have all future travellers better prepared for the "shock." This poison bears within itself its own antidote.

"VERY TROUBLING"

In sum and substance, Herbert does not and cannot dispute a single statement in Gide's book, nor the conclusions that flow from

it. His only complaint is that Gide "hurt" the Soviet Union by publishing it, that is, by Gide's refusal to identify the Soviet Union with Stalinism as Herbert does. But even this complaint is qualified. Herbert's chief grievance apparently is that the book was published at this time. Most inexpedient, indeed — for Stalinism! "Very confusing!" "Very troubling!" "Very frightening!" It is only in this medium of confusion, trouble, and fear that Stalinism is able to breed and maintain itself. That is why Stalinism must seek to suppress with filth and blood every vestige of truth, clarity and courage.

(As surely as there is no socialism in Stalin's land of absolutism, Gide, whether he wished it or not, has started something by his sincerity as a writer which no one has as yet dared to challenge. The readers of Labor Action will be kept fully informed as to the developments on Gide's "Return." —Ed.)

Polish Socialists Turn Patriotic

The "Supreme Council" of the Polish Socialist Party (PSP) met on November 7-8 in Warsaw. This body adopted a number of resolutions of utmost importance on the main points on the agenda, which were: Relations with the CP and the impending War Danger.

On the war question, the Council motivated its position in favor of national defense as follows: "The impending threat of a sudden flare-up (of the war) creates for Poland the wholly actual danger of her being transferred into the victim of an enemy invasion, with the (consequent) loss of her independence." In the face of this threat, the Polish Socialists, in the opinion of the leadership, must turn patriots. To assure the liberty of the Polish people . . . the Council considers it urgently necessary that such measures are taken for the defense as would enable the country at any time to repel the danger that threatens.

"DANGER" ABROAD

The Council specifies that it considers Hitler and Nazi Germany as the actual threat, the enemy against whom "defense

measures" must be supported. Hitherto the PSP has not come out openly for national defense. Its present position on this key question is in all respects similar that the Polish CP. This fact, together with the attitude taken by the PSP in the Spring of 1936 toward the C. P., when the trend was clearly for establishing a more or less friendly relationship with the Stalinists on the basis of a possible non-aggression pact, makes all the more astonishing the present stand of the PSP.

The PSP flatly rejected the Stalinist proposal for a united front (i. e., a People's Front), and took an extremely sharp attitude towards it, as the following extract from the resolution clearly indicates:

FLAT REJECTION

"The attitude of the Communists to the so-called 'People's Front' and especially to the Socialist parties has remained as insincere and even as hostile as hitherto. The Communists still resort to their old maneuvers, and incessantly undermine the Socialist Party and the trade union organizations. Under such conditions the slogan of a united front—advanced everywhere except in Russia, where only persecutions and mass murders are reserved for the socialist and communist opposition—must be looked upon as a hollow phrase behind which lurks the intention to disorganize the Socialist movement in order then to subject it to the command of the Communists. The PSP which has always maintained the viewpoint of the genuine unity of the working class, the unity of its political and trade union movement, therefore rejects the slogan of the united front. True to its principles, the party will work to unite the working class within the framework of the PSP and the class trade union organizations against the Communists."

REASONS FOR CHANGE

The PSP has been under great pressure for its previous friendly attitude to the CP. This pressure was primarily exerted by the Polish government which has made a bogie of Communism ("Communism is the main danger!") to hide the disastrous conditions in the country. The hostile attitude toward the CP will no doubt serve in part as a cover for the patriotic position that the PSP has assumed on the question of national defense and which is in direct conflict with the revolutionary Socialist position of our party.

Commenting upon the causes that might have impelled the PSP to take its present stand against the CP, the Sotsialisticheski Vestnik suggests the following: (1) the Moscow Trial; (2) the shooting of these former leaders of the Third International and the trial that preceded these executions aroused in the party (the PSP) as among the majority of the working class profound disgust and indignation; (3) the PSP was also incensed by the vile attack launched by the Third International against Dr. Bruckner and Adler "because of their famous Moscow telegram"; (4) the conduct of the French communists towards Blum. All these reasons are implied in the body of the resolution itself.

Churchmen Favor Organized Labor

NORRIS, Tenn.—At a recent meeting here of Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, the organization issued a strong statement in favor of the organization of labor, declaring that they "believe it is essential to the self-respect of the workers that they have freedom to become part of the organized labor movement." The Southern Churchmen further condemned the system of land tenancy and sharecropping, and urged the organization of agricultural workers into trade unions.

The Party At Work

Los Angeles New Year's Eve Party

Los Angeles announces a New Year's Eve costume dance and "rousing fun frolic" to be held at 1105 North Serrano Ave., Hollywood, at 8 p. m. Music will be furnished by Roy Clark's Revelers, and there will be refreshments and entertainment. Admission price will be 35c for tickets bought in advance, 40c if bought at the door.

California Welcomes New National Executives

Working faithfully during some of the most difficult months of Socialist Party history, and sticking to the job through financial worry and an arduous campaign in spite of serious personal illness, Comrade Clarence Senior has finally given over his duties in order to take a much-needed rest for his health. On December 12 a testimonial dinner was held in his honor in Chicago. Early last week, Comrade Senior made final arrangements for a trip to Mexico. California takes this opportunity in the columns of Labor Action to thank Comrade Senior for his splendid work for the Socialist Party nationally, and for his cooperation with the State Office of California.

We wish, also, to welcome the new Executive Secretary, Comrade Roy Burt and Frank Trager, who will act as Labor and Organization Secretary in the National Office.

The record of both of these comrades is one of active service to the Socialist cause. Comrade Roy Burt is well known in California, both as a lecturer at Socialist meetings, and as a teacher in the summer schools conducted by the Party in this state. Comrade Burt remained in California several weeks after the "Epic" elections to assist in the re-organization of the California Socialist Party.

Comrade Burt has been active in trade union work, particularly among the miners. He has served as National Organizer for the Socialist Party and has kept in close touch with organizational and educational work all over the country, has toured the west several times, and is well qualified to take over the responsibilities placed upon the National Executive Secretary. He was elected at the last meeting of the National Executive Committee.

Comrade Frank Trager is also known to comrades in California. He was in this state just before he was called to serve as State Secretary in New York. His record of Socialist activity before taking that post, and his effectiveness as State Secretary recommended him for the work to which he has been assigned by the N.E.C.

The State Secretary, on behalf

of the California Socialist Party, assures these two comrades of full cooperation in the cause of building a strong, clear, effective and militant Socialist Party in the United States.

Delegates to National Convention

Because the State Convention comes so close to the special National Convention (to be held March 26-28 in Chicago), it will be necessary to change the procedure usually followed in nominating California's delegates to the National Convention. Instead of nominating at our state convention, the Socialist Party membership will make nominations at local and branch meetings or in the case of members-at-large, individually. All nominations must be sent in by mail sending in nominations not later than January 20th to the State Office. Ballots will then be sent out under the usual procedure for electing delegates.

ALL MEMBERS OF LOCALS WHO WISH TO MAKE A NOMINATION MUST MAKE SURE BEFORE THEY SEND IN THE NAME OF THEIR CANDIDATE WHETHER OR NOT THAT CANDIDATE ACCEPTS!

Palo Alto Plans Organization Drive

Palo Alto Socialist Party local is planning a membership drive to begin early in January. Registered Socialist and subscribers' lists of Labor Action and the Socialist Call will be used as a basis for house-to-house contact work.

The local is planning at the same time to expand the educational and organizational program. A public forum will be held on the third Wednesday of each month in Union Hall on University Avenue, Palo Alto. First Forum will take place January 20, and the speaker will be announced as soon as the local can find out whether Comrade Ernest Erber (recently returned from Spain) will be in California at that time.

The Young People's Socialist League announces the first 1937 meeting of the new series of Sunday afternoon classes. "The International Labor Movement since the World War" will be the subject of the first discussion which will take place January 10, at 3 p. m. at 804 Hudson St., Redwood City. Lenin's "State and Revolution" will be used as a study text.

S. F. Headquarters To Open Soon

Alterations are being made in the new San Francisco headquarters at 236 Van Ness Avenue in preparation for the Socialist Party to take possession on the first of January.

The New Year's Eve costume party will be the housewarming event. Plans are being made to make full use of the enlarged space and equipment by conducting regular Sunday evening forums, weekly classes, and monthly social affairs.

Western States Federation Of the Socialist Party

Red Special En Route

The Red Special is now headed West on its tour of Locals in the states of the Western Federation. If the first two weeks of the tour have progressed as planned the truck has left the Joplin area, finished its work temporarily in the Tulsa region, and is now working from headquarters in Dallas, Texas. A report of the work done in these localities will be carried in next week's Labor Action.

New Mexico will probably be the first state where weather conditions will permit detailed organizational work of some extent. The State Secretary, Comrade Pearl Swan Powell, has sent the Federation Secretary a tentative outline for a tour covering the important sections of that state. The major towns to be covered will probably be Clovis, Clayton, Roswell, Las Cruces, Albuquerque, and, if possible, Gallup.

Meanwhile the State Secretary of Arizona, Comrade Marguerite Potter, has been asked to survey the possibilities in her state for organizational work with the Red Special after it finishes its work in New Mexico.

Comrades are again reminded that they will assist in keeping tour expenses at a minimum if they will furnish hospitality for the organizer, Comrade Douglas Anderson and his wife, wherever possible. This does not mean a heavy burden, but merely furnishing bed and meals at the home of some comrade who is in a position to take this responsibility when the organizer is in town.

Response Favorable To Erber Tour
In response to the suggestion that Comrade Ernest Erber be toured under the sponsorship of the Western Federation, we have received word from New Mexico that they think it is a splendid

idea and will make plans to cooperate. Kansas seems favorable to the idea, but reserves decision until we can find out what fees will be necessary to cover the expenses of the tour.

The Young People's Socialist League of California is preparing to take full advantage of the opportunity to have Comrade Erber in California. Comrade Erber, having recently returned from Spain, can give first hand information about the struggles of which he was an eye witness.

Note: The December issue of the "Western Socialist," monthly bulletin of the Western Federation, will be issued by the Secretary shortly. Please send names and addresses of active members of the Socialist Party who do not receive this bulletin and are not yet on the mailing list. Also please appoint someone to take responsibility for getting news about your state to "Labor Action" and the "Western Socialist." Deadline for news in "Labor Action" is Saturday of each week.

Information Required

The following items of information are essential in planning the work of the Red Special. Please send them in to the Federation Secretary at once, whether the truck can be used in your state right away or not. The best results will be obtained from this tour if we have the information some time in advance so that the tour can be efficiently planned.

1) We must know what the weather conditions are in the various parts of your state. Also, the condition of roads between localities where work is to be done.

2) We must know the legal requirements for licenses on a small truck equipped with sound. This is important so that we won't get into difficulties because of ignorance of local ordinances.

THE BATTLE FOR RED BARCELONA!

A Worker Participant Tells The Story Of The Heroic July Days

By ERNEST ERBER

"Rojo" approached me in a cafe. He had recognized me as an American from my attempts to order from a Spanish menu. "Rojo" (I was not sure whether he got his name from the color of his hair or his politics) had lived in New York for some nine years and was always on the look-out for Americans who could bring him the latest news on the New York "Yankees" in the pennant race and what the latest films were on Broadway. I satiated his appetite for news on baseball and Hollywood and then got him to talk about his experiences in the eventful July days when the workers of Barcelona crushed the fascist uprising.

He began to describe the developments and as it became apparent that my ignorance of the geography of Barcelona was leaving me out of the most exciting features, "Rojo" suggested that we visit the main scenes of the July street fighting. We walked up "La Rambla," the main boulevard that runs up from the harbor to the "Plaza de Catalunya" in the heart of the city. We sat down on a park bench in the Plaza and "Rojo" began describing the fighting that had taken place there.

Heroic Role of the CNT

He repeated again and again the role of the CNT, the powerful anarcho-syndicalist trade union, of the POUM (the Workers' Party of Marxist Unity) of which he was a member, of the UGT, the Socialist and Communist led trade union movement. He told how they mobilized the workers, how they organized the fighting, and how their members swept the streets of the fascist troops. It was "the workers, the anarchists, the Socialists, the Communists, the trade unions," until I could not keep quiet any longer and asked the question prompted by all the propaganda and all the explanations I had heard about the fight to defend the Republic. "But what was the Republic doing all this time, what were the ministers doing?"

"Rojo" hesitated for a minute. He wanted to give me a Marxist explanation and analysis. Yet "Rojo" had never gone to school in his life and reading was such a tedious task that he never ventured into anything deeper than a newspaper. He suddenly remembered something and pulled a copy of "La Batalla," the POUM daily, out of his pocket.

the role of the "Guardia Civil" in the first days of the fighting. The "Guardia Civil" had for ages been the royal guard of the king. They were a set of trained mercenaries who had developed into a military caste with no interests in common with the broad masses of the people. After the Republic was founded they continued to serve the government. The appearance of their high, three-cornered hats in the midst of a strike or demonstration always stirred such a deep hatred in the workers' ranks as to cause bloodshed. The "Guardia Civil" was nowhere to be seen in the first hours of the fighting. The masses of workers and the fascist troops surged up and down the streets, fighting.

Role of the Civil Guard

The fascists were getting the worst of it. Suddenly the gates of the "Guardia Civil" barracks swung open and they marched out. President Companys told an American reporter a few days later that he stood rooted to the spot with fear and then gave a leap of joy as the "Guardia Civils" raised their left arm in the workers' salute and shouted "Long live the Republic." They too, said "Rojo," had been caught behind the wrong lines and were making the best of it.

One is prompted to ask, "What kind of allies do these people make? Will they not seek a bargain with their real allies, the fascists, the first opportunity they get?"

The Communist Party does not think so. They defend the line of a People's Front policy, of coalitions with these people. In fact they regard their being "caught behind the wrong lines" (and being in the leading posts at the head of the wrong lines) as a brilliant victory for the People's Front policy. Says the latest theoretical pundit of the Communist International, Ercoli:

"Had the development of events been different it is possible that some of these people would have sought for a compromise with reaction. But the fascist rising, depriving them of this possibility, showed them the necessity for defending the republic and democracy by all means. Linked up their fate with

that of the fighting masses of the people."—(International Press Correspondence, October 24, 1936).

"Rojo" and I walked down "La Rambla" again in the direction of the harbor. Here the hottest fighting had taken place around the huge stone barracks. On the wall of one building after another we saw chalked up the names of some prominent leader of the workers' movement who had fallen there. The overwhelming majority were the anarchist leaders of the CNT. They fought bravely and well. Whether it was foolhardy or not, they did not send their men to storm a single fascist-held building unless they stood at the head of the attack. The list of CNT martyrs is a long one. No other party can point out sacrifices in those days in any way comparable.

The Workers Did the Fighting

Not only did they show personal courage. They showed ability to organize street fighting. Of tremendous significance is the fact that the workers responded to the call of the CNT and turned out in the streets more than 12 hours before the fascist troops rose. This graphically illustrates the true character of the struggle. It was not a republic defending itself, but both the fascists and the workers taking to the streets in uprisings to establish their authority.

Today's news reports tell of the resignation of Taradellas, as head of the Catalan cabinet. His excuse is that he could not keep the "extremists," the anarchists and the POUM, in check. One is prompted to ask: "Where are the buildings that bear the names of Mr. Taradellas' political cohorts? Where were he and his allies when the 'extremists' were giving their lives on the streets? Is Mr. Taradellas angry because the workers of Spain refuse to follow the path of the workers in Germany and so many other countries who defeated reaction only to hand over the fruits of their victory to the democratic politicians?"

Already the story of the arrest of prominent leaders of the democratic capitalist parties, "Estat Catalan" and the "Esquerra," in a plot to betray the anti-fascist

struggle gives an indication that those "caught behind the wrong lines" are busy trying to serve their real allies. This is the time the revolutionary workers must act against those who would betray the struggle. Yet the party that wraps itself in the revolutionary banner of Lenin, of the Russian Revolution, the Communist Party, is singularly silent about these plots by the democratic politicians. And no wonder. The CP has been responsible for the coalition with them.

Stalinism in Action

It has pampered and protected them. It has been more republican in its policies than the republicans. It therefore, in this moment when the workers stand in danger of open betrayal by their "allies" who were "caught behind the wrong lines," seeks to defend the democratic politicians and divert attention from their actions by launching a vicious attack upon the POUM. It now calls for the suppression of the POUM newspapers. In Madrid the Young Stalinists led an armed attack upon the headquarters of the POUM youth. The POUM is denounced as the representative of the "Gestapo," as led by "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites," by "mad fascist dogs." The POUM is not a "Trotskyite" organization. It is affiliated to the international grouping headed by the British ILP. Yet to the extent that it even approaches a Bolshevik policy in Spain, it is singled out as the target of abuse, slander, and persecution.

But the issues are becoming increasingly clear to the masses in Spain. "Rojo's" line of "Capitalism versus Socialism" will become the rallying cry of millions of Spanish "Rojos." They will say like he did, "We would be fools to fight and sacrifice in order to go back to the factories where the capitalists can exploit us. We want democracy, but real democracy, a workers' democracy, an industrial democracy, we want Socialism." The Spanish masses are on the march. If a revolutionary leadership is offered them no power in the world, not even the Communist International, will be able to divert them from their ultimate goal.

LABOR ACTION

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Training In Worker's Democracy

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has announced an emergency national convention for the last week of next March. It is timely. The cleavage in the American Federation of Labor, the heroic workers' war in Spain, the rapid shift to the right of the international Communist movement, the cleansing of our own party ranks of old guard opportunists and labor politicians who clambered onto the Roosevelt bandwagon, and the swelling of our ranks by enlistment from the left because we alone offered a clear Socialist alternative to capitalism—all these events require that our party meet for a thorough stock-taking and to plan for action based on our own strength and the needs of our time.

Already the Socialists throughout the country are arranging systematic, careful discussion as preparation for the national meeting. Resolutions are being drafted, possible delegates discussed. The papers and periodicals of the party, including Labor Action, will print full and free consideration of all problems from different and often conflicting points of view.

In all this one thing will stand out. Here is genuine democracy. Serious, honest, and independent comrades join in searching for victory for the working class by frank, open discussion of the problems which are ours. This is no well-oiled, job-machine like the twin parties of capitalism. Nor is it a one-man "movement" like Coughlin's, Townsend's or Hitler's. Here is none of the stifling dictation from the top which has turned the Communist International into a fundamentalist church with Stalin as its prophet. Socialists are free men and women united in the common cause of winning a workers' world.

Let us hope that every state and local division of the Socialist Party will stimulate and encourage the fullest and freest possible discussion of every current issue. It is out of the comradely clash of varied experience and viewpoint that truth and effective action are wrought. We cannot expect every problem of our movement to be solved in a single national session, but, to the degree that real workers' democracy is exercised, not simply given lip service, we will move forward.

United Front

The united front of fascists and Stalinists, which finally drove Trotsky from his last European place of refuge in Norway, is matched by another united front of San Francisco newspapers to deprive him of asylum in Mexico. The editorials in the Chronicle and the Western Worker strike such an identical note of protest and warning to the Mexican Government that they might have been written by the same hand. At any rate they correspond to the same formula.

The Western Worker bemoans the stand of the distinguished publicists and writers who are defending Trotsky's right to have a place to live and a chance to be heard. Willie Schneiderman shakes his head sadly over "the group of misguided intellectuals who have fallen into the trap of demanding the right of asylum for Trotsky." Little Willie is quite ferocious on the subject of the organizer of the Red Army. He smacks his grim revolutionary lips over the killings that have already taken place in Moscow and demands that Trotsky "be treated no different." Willie wants the blood of Trotsky, and he will not allow one per cent discount.

The editorial writer on the Chronicle has the same idea. He warns Mexico against "the volcano of revolution" and bluntly asserts that Trotsky will always be dangerous until he is put out of the way for keeps. Listen to this in the Chronicle of Dec. 19:

"Agitation, intrigue, propaganda, revolution have been his life since boyhood. In him it is an unquenchable fire and its heat and smoke are bound to erupt in spite of everything. Trotsky has been a veritable volcano of revolution and like any other volcano he will be dangerous until he is dead for sure."

This San Francisco United Front for the head of Trotsky, may not have any serious practical consequences. The most these bloodthirsty scribes can shoot is paper wads from pop guns. But just the same, there is a profound political significance in their jointly expressed sentiments. And it should not be forgotten that the bullets fired into the hearts of Zinoviev, Kamenov and the others were real bullets, and the blood that was shed in Moscow was real blood.

Better Yet To Come

"You Ain't Seen Nothing Yet." That is what Al Jolson used to say when the crowd began to applaud before he started to do his real stuff. Only four issues of Labor Action have been printed, and this makes the fifth, but already we have heard a collective and almost unanimous report of approbation from the socialist and labor militants of the west.

"Keep on pitching, you're doing fine," or words to that effect, is the gist of the really glowing messages of cheer and greeting we have been receiving from the doers and builders on the firing line. And they are just the people we are trying to serve and want to hear from.

Labor Action was started on a shoe string, and none of us thought it had more than a fighting chance to succeed. But from the way subs are rolling in and bundle orders increasing it begins to look like the paper is a sure success. We are going to proceed on that assumption, anyway, and settle down to a serious steady job.

The too generous praise we have received has not thrown us off balance but it has convinced us that we are on the right track. We are well aware of the deficiencies of the paper—the result to a large extent, of inadequate facilities and the haste and turmoil that always accompany the launching of new enterprises.

We haven't hit our stride yet, not by a long shot. We can do better and we will. We follow no pattern. We aim to make our own. We aim to turn out a hard-hitting socialist paper which every comrade can put into the hands of average workers with confidence that they will understand it's message.

Monday Versus Tuesday

The old prophets of Socialism undoubtedly had their points, but they can't hold a candle to the modern stream-lined experts, who employ the technique of "twentieth century Americanism." Wilhelm Liebknecht, for example, once said he could change his tactics within 25 hours if conditions changed. But if he were among us now we could show him people who can change their position in 24 seconds without bothering about conditions.

Take the recent events in China as a case in point. On Monday, December 14, the Chinese situation was explained in The Daily Worker as follows:

"Tokyo realizes only too well that the 'mutiny' of the Chinese troops in Shensi and the seizure of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek are but the sensational symptoms of a more elemental upsurge of the 400,000,000 Chinese people." And then, to make it clear who deserved credit for this upsurge of the Chinese masses against Japan, it is modestly added that the "policy of the Communist Party (is) undeniably behind the present occurrence."

But that was Monday, December 14. And what has that got to do with Tuesday, December 15? Nothing whatever, for on that day in the same paper we read that the uprising against Japan, inspired by "the policy of the Communist Party," had gone through a metamorphosis and come out as follows:

"The causes of the revolt of the troops of Chang Hsueh-liang must be sought in the plots of pro-Japanese elements in China which use every means of facilitating Japanese Imperialism's enslavement of the country."

You may think that makes it one up for each of the contradictory positions, with each having an equal chance to come out on top the following day. But that is a bad guess. Monday's position never had a chance. The position taken that day was formulated in the Daily Worker Office by the foreign editor, Harry Gannes. The Tuesday position was a cable from Moscow.

The Tuesday position immediately became official without further parley and Gannes promptly got on the band wagon of the winner. Quick work. There is nothing like American efficiency. The German Liebknecht required a change in conditions before he would consider changing his tactics. All the Daily Worker needs is a cablegram.

Congratulations?

In fairness to our readers we ought to explain that the incoherence of the Action Army column during the past few weeks has very probably been due to the nervous condition of Frank Stern, who got a lucky break and has been going around as dizzy as an Irish Sweepstakes winner.

Our business manager, who is known from coast to coast as a man who has no business trying to manage anything, took an hour off (on company time!) and got married to Esther Levine, the comely and competent secretarial worker who used to help make the wheels turn in the National office.

The office of Labor Action has been over-crowded with comrades who keep dropping in to express themselves volubly on this momentous event. The mail has been clogged with congratulatory messages, but we notice all the congratulations are for Frankie. However, that is not because Esther lacks popularity. The general sentiment seems to be: Esther is a nice girl and a fine comrade, but where's her judgment?

The Siamese Twins Of U. S. Capitalism

The Demo-Reps, and Along Comes A Triplet

BY BLEN TRIMBLE

On December 5th I addressed an open letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States appealing for revolutionary unity in the fight against capitalism and for the victory of world Socialism. The committee has not seen fit to answer, but the Western Worker of December 14th contains a six-column defense of compromise and refusal of unity until such time as the Communist Party is given the privilege of selecting the membership of the Socialist Party.

A Serious Charge

It seems that I and many other Socialist comrades have "swallowed the Trotskyist bait hook, line, and sinker" and that this bait is "super-revolutionism which, subjected to the clear light of Leninist analysis stands revealed as opportunism of the worst kind." This is a serious charge. On what does editor Ross base it? On the fact that Socialists maintain, as they have maintained since the founding of the party, that there is no fundamental difference between the Republican and Democratic parties, and both are parties of capitalism and enemies of the working class?

Let me assure editor Ross that I "swallowed" that conviction long before I met a "Trotskyist" or read a line from Leon Trotsky's pen. Was it "Trotskyist poison" which caused Eugene Victor Debs to stomp the nation for twenty years preaching the message that the Republican and Democratic parties were the "Gold-Dust TWI'S of capitalism"? Was it, horror of horrors, "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" which caused the 1932 Communist Party to maintain that there was no difference between the THREE parties of capitalism—the Republican, Democratic, and Socialist parties? What startling change in "the clear light of Leninist analysis" has taken place?

Who Changed And Why?

Bluntly, there has been NO change in Leninism, or in the fundamentals of Marxism on which Lenin based his life and work. The change has been that of the Comintern and its branch offices from advocates of world revolution to ardent and unprincipled defenders of the status quo.

As a matter of fact the Western Worker editor proves this to the hilt himself and proves, too, that the Communist Party is less interested in the misguided radicals who voted for its candidates than in the more discerning "comrades" who followed the party's actual instructions and voted for Roosevelt.

To take the first first, let me quote a paragraph designed to justify separating the siamese twins of capitalism:

"We declare that a Republican victory in the elections would have resulted in an open-shop, wage cutting, and relief-slashing drive against the American working class, accompanied by a series of suppressive and restrictive measures which would have made doubly difficult the task of organizing the American workers to fight for their immediate demands and for the final victory of Socialism."

Change only "Republican" to "Democratic" and "would have" to "has" for a clear statement of the actual situation today.

Look At The Record

If editor Ross will read his own paper he will find the actual record of relief-slashing and wage-cutting, of anti-picketing measures against agricultural workers, of martial law, suppression and restriction in brutal form, after a Democratic victory. Surely here is proof "out of his own mouth" that Socialists, not the Stalinists, were correct in campaigning against both parties of capitalism!

One of the most infamous and immediate of these suppressive measures he has deliberately "played down" for reasons of Soviet diplomacy. This is the vicious, black-listing, flunk-herding Copeland Act, signed by President Roosevelt, and designed to crush maritime organization and make the seas "free" for the next war.

"The Socialists," says Ross, "are permitting themselves to be fenced off from the masses by the Trotskyites in the Socialist Party. The results of the election prove this conclusively."

The Socialist presidential candidate received more votes than Browder in California, more than two and a half times as many votes in the national totals. Yet Socialists are fenced off from the masses—Communists are not. Why not? Because, according to the C. P. State

Secretary, writing on the same page of the Western Worker, the Communist "slogans", and their analysis of the situation, were eagerly accepted and picked up by millions. What millions? The millions who voted for Roosevelt. Three cheers for revolutionary clarity!

Planned Confusion

This confusion is not accidental. It is a deliberate and calculated outgrowth of the present foreign policy of the Soviet Union. That policy is the preservation of the status quo at all costs. A part of such a program must be an attempt to thwart every effort toward the winning of Socialism in any present capitalist nation, whether it be Spain, France, China or the United States. How? One method is to muddy the waters of radical thought, to foster and encourage confusion.

The same editor Ross who finds Socialists "too pure" because they see no fundamental difference between the Republican and Democratic parties, reveals in the first sentence of his article that he sees no difference between at least four separate and distinct tendencies in America. The sentence is:

"As a result of the election campaign the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party has been sharply stimulated throughout the country, organized labor and other progressive groups have become more keenly aware of the need for the building of an American People's Front, more conscious of the necessity for independent working class political action, anti-fascist in aim, based on the immediate demands of the people."

Strange Quadruplets

(1) A "Farmer-Labor Party" would be an alliance between the present leaders of organized labor and the "farmers," who are not one class but several, fighting bitterly among themselves and, often, against the industrial working class. (2) An "American People's Front" is the creature of Stalinist imagination. It would be an All Class combination, based on demands to which all agreed. Necessarily, then, it could not be anti-capitalist and would be the ideal preserver of the status quo. (3) "Independent working-class political action" is ONE-CLASS action and is therefore, obviously, neither a Farmer-Labor Party nor a People's Front. It would be based on the immediate demands of the workers as a class not of the imaginary, classless "people." (4) The

stool-pigeons signing up, some of the employers announced that their Company Unions would give an entertainment at which they would serve a great deal of free liquor, thereby admitting that even they realized that no worker in full possession of his senses would sign the "agreement." The entertainment was also a failure.

Several factors are combining to make the situation a real test for the Unions. The "City Dads" of Chula Vista (center of the Celery District), among whom are several growers, saw to it that an anti-picketing ordinance was passed during the past year in anticipation of a struggle. Needless to say they receive full support from Mayor Brown of Chula Vista, himself a grower, who last year was most vicious in his attempt to break the strike.

Taking the cue from Salinas and Orange, large stores of tear gas bombs, ammunition, etc., have been reported placed in the hands of the Chula Vista and National City police for issuance to "special" deputies.

Several weeks ago over 3000 bankrupt farmers from the drought areas of Oklahoma, Arkansas, etc., and their families were shipped into the Imperial Valley to provide cheap labor for the pea harvest. However, a killing frost has put about 2000 of these out of work and many of them are being shipped to the San Diego area. The growers are lodging them in camps designed to be inaccessible to Union Organizers and aim to use them in an attempt to lock out Union Labor.

The Unions, however, are least of all to be caught napping. Nor will they let such valuable, though disastrous experiences, as Orange and Salinas go by unheeded. They have long since raised the banner of solidarity of all nationalities and are giving this slogan a real meaning.

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SIDELINES

By JONATHAN DOE

Merrily We Roll Along

As this is written, the maritime strike seems to be moving toward settlement. We doubt, however, that negotiations can be completed in time for a Merry Christmas. But the editorial writers need not despair. They can start a drive for a Happy New Year. Or a Bright Washington's Birthday.

The \$400,000,000 Mystery

The Shipping Merchants Association estimates the cost of the strike to the Pacific Coast at \$7,000,000 a day. That means about four hundred million dollars gone with the wind thus far. We get light in the head whenever we get up into the financial stratosphere and begin talking in hundreds of millions, but it seems to us that about the same people who were broke before the strike are broke now and that those who drove Packards are still driving them. If we didn't live in these parts, we know we would get the impression from the shipping merchants' figures that all Pacific Coast bankers, shipowners, industrialists, big and little business men, clerks, etc., must have taken to the mountains long ago and are engaged in frantically digging up roots and turning over flat stones in an effort to keep a faint flicker of life in their emaciated bodies.

More Banana Oil

Those banana cargoes have been "hot" for so long now that if this strike is ever settled and the bananas finally reach the market, life hereabouts will be just one banana fritter after another.

What with the WPA lay-offs and all the talk about balancing the budget, some people are beginning to wonder if the Literary Digest poll wasn't right after all. Who the devil did win the election anyhow?

Please, Mr. Blum!

The Communist Party got down on its knees to Blum and begged forgiveness for not whooping it up for the People's Front policy of non-intervention in Spain. It promises to do better in the future. We might shed a few tears for the plight of the French Communists, but they just won't come. Those boys spend so much time on their knees nowadays that they have callouses there an inch thick. The soles of their feet have become the most tender sections of their anatomy. If they ever stand on them again, that will be the time for us to extend our sincere sympathies.

Nuts to You, Mars

"Be aloof to war," says Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah. "Be coy toward slaughter," is our private slogan. Also: "It's SMART to be SNOOTY. When the call comes for DUTY."

We seem to remember, though, that some people were "aloof to war" in 1917. Where were the Democratic senators like Mr. Thomas and their slogans then?

Moors Say There Ain't No Santa Claus

Madrid's war chieftains warn the workers' militia against going home for Christmas dinner. It seems that the Moors who, according to the press, are fighting for the preservation of Christianity against the infidels of the Left, are forgetting themselves this year and are not approaching the Yuletide with the proper spirit of Christmas reverence.

Mooney "Justice" Peels Skin Off Reactionaries Hides

By GEARY TRIMBLE

Anyone familiar with the good old-fashioned New England winters knows that when you put your hand on a frosty metal door-knob you can't take it off without leaving on it some of your skin. Evidently the representatives of California "Justice" were "native sons" who knew nothing of this phenomenon when in 1916 they imprisoned Tom Mooney on a framed charge.

They built up an elaborate case to convince the court and the world that Tom Mooney was guilty of the Preparedness Day bombing. Misguided folk who believe justice to mean a fair trial to the accused, a fair trial on the basis of the old principal that a man is "innocent until proved guilty," were disturbed by the trial. The "skin began to come off," however, when the powers-that-be prepared to forget the whole business having succeeded in putting Mooney behind prison bars.

RED INSURANCE

The case was built up as a "lesson" to those who would further the cause of organized labor. It was to assure those who wished to come to the land of gold and sunshine and join in the ownership and exploitation of its resources that they would be safe from molestation by radicals, labor-leaders, and those who believe in decent standards of living.

But the trial did not smell good—even as far away as Washington, D. C., and Mooney was not executed. He was allowed to live and keep alive for twenty years the issue which has at once blackened the history of California and served as a fighting inspiration to many thousands of workers who have learned the "lesson" of the California courts—that there is no justice under capitalism for the worker who tries to better his conditions by union organization.

Far from being able to remove their hands unscathed from the frosty door-knob of this case, the representatives of California law and order have scarred them deeply. Fickert, the prosecuting attorney who expected to use the Mooney case to advance himself, slid rapidly down the rungs of the ladder which were covered with the slime of a higher justice than the slimiest and slipperiest rung—his conduct of the Mooney case—started him coasting.

COINCIDENCE?

Every governor of California, as a campaign vote-catcher, promised to free Mooney—none did—none has been elected to a second term of office. Even the money and power of those who would not permit the governors to carry out their promises were not sufficient to re-elect them.

While Mooney remains imprisoned, he is a constant reminder to the workers of the world that vigilance and organized power are their only guarantee of freedom. It is a tribute to his loyalty to his class that Tom Mooney has not lost heart. His indomitable will, his fine courage and undying determination have kept alive a case which the world otherwise might have forgotten. As long as Tom

Mooney remains in jail the "justice" of California stands on trial.

CAN'T LET GO

It may seem strange to liberals that the powers-that-be fail to recognize this fact. It would seem wiser to drop this case—to let go of the frosty door-knob and preserve what skin there may be left. But if Mooney were freed, California "Justice" would stand convicted. Class-conscious workers know what the liberals have yet to learn, that government is the executive committee of the ruling class. "Justice" is a catch-word, permitted only when the accused has not committed the crime of questioning the right of that ruling class to exploit the workers without interference.

Were Tom Mooney to be freed today by action of California officials, it would be an admission that California convicted a man on evidence of bribed witnesses, framed charges, and has since repeatedly refused to recognize evidence which unequivocally exonerates Tom Mooney of any connection with the bombing charge. It would even lend support to the oft-hinted and definitely not impossible probability that the bombing itself was instigated by a paid agent of the powers-that-be.

STILL FIGHTING

Tom Mooney, with head still high and courage undaunted is at present working on the habeas corpus proceedings which he finally succeeded in securing. It is almost a foregone conclusion—so vicious is the justice of capitalism in California—that he will not be freed by any act of California officialdom. If he secures release from the Supreme Court it will only be because they, themselves, are in the limelight of suspicion and cannot afford to give further proof that the court is not immune from class prejudice.

Labor Action joins with all enlightened workers in the fervent hope that Tom Mooney may be freed, but we have no illusions about the meaning of justice under capitalism. We maintain and strongly emphasize the FACT that Tom Mooney was convicted by capitalism. That he has been kept in a tomb for twenty years by capitalism. That capitalism is repeatedly convicted, and it is high time that it be given the extreme penalty!

Wages Reduced and Dividends Doubled

OTTAWA, Ont.—Wages of Canadian railway workers have been cut in half since 1920, although in the same period returns to investors have been doubled, according to figures before the railway labor conciliation board.

The board is considering a petition of railway employees to restore a 10 per cent wage cut. Informal sources say the government may bring pressure for a 5 per cent restoration in hope of averting a strike.

George Hodge, Canadian Pacific official, holds that the petition is "unjust," as "shareholders are entitled to some consideration."