

Maritime Labor And The Government

3. The Drive For An Arbitration Board To Curb Strikes And Wreck Unions

The great significance of the Copeland fink book to American workers does not arise solely from the book itself, but primarily from its use as an agency or tool in putting across much more fundamentally vicious legislation. The book itself is an entering wedge of government interference to the end that seamen's standards of living will be lowered, that strikes will be broken, and that militant union members will be blacklisted. It was for these purposes that the Copeland act was conceived and passed, as is conclusively proven by a survey of the history of this legislation. All assurances to the contrary from government officials are worthless.

The real drive of the shipowners is to get legislation passed by Congress to curb strikes by the establishment of some sort of permanent compulsory governmental mediation and arbitration board. The organs of the big commercial interests do not mince words in admitting this. Unfortunately the worker rarely gets a chance to read these papers which circulate almost exclusively among the employers. A glance at the New York Journal of Commerce is very enlightening.

On January 8th the Journal of Commerce reported that although in its formal report to Congress the Maritime Commission had made no recommendations for further legislation (obviously because of fear of adverse publicity after its farcical "investigation" of the Maritime situation had been exposed by waterfront unions), the Commission nevertheless is advising Senators Copeland and Bland as to how the present acts should be "liberalized and clarified" for the purpose of strengthening their means of enforcement.

"Liberalizing" the legislation of last June means according to the article: (1) the elimination of the few meagre clauses limiting profits and salaries of shipbuilding companies and shipowners, and (2) the repeal of the "lobby clauses" which require shipowners to identify the lobbyists they send to Washington and reveal their salaries.

"Clarifying" this legislation means: (1) the inclusion of all longshore workers under these dog collar maritime bills, and (2) the institution of a maritime mediation board modelled after the Railway Labor Board which have kept a stranglehold over railroad workers since the war.

And this "benevolent" government intervention—can maritime workers ever expect it to be "impartial" in the way the Stalinites have been pleading with it to be? Will the government boards and commissions really "put the screws" on the shipowners in any effective manner and force them to accept union demands? The Stalinites may think so (because they are only too anxious of late to get on the good side of the present administration as advance agents of an American-Soviet pact) but the shipowners themselves know better. A capitalist government, however "liberal," has always been their agent and always will be.

"Public resentment over the West Coast shipping strike," says the Journal of Commerce of January 14th, "foreshadows the passage of Congress of new legislation, probably modelled after the Railway Labor Act, to control collective bargaining in the industry."

To "control collective bargaining" is a contradiction in terms, since collective bargaining truly exists only when unions are free from any and all "control" of the government. In critical situations this control has always been exercised, and necessarily so, in favor of the employer, and time and time again has smashed American unionism, setting back for many years the forward development of the militant American labor movement.

The shipowners, for their part, eagerly await this control. Edgar S. Luckenbach, president of the steamship company bearing his name, for example, writes openly in the Journal of Commerce for January 14th: "I believe that many of our labor difficulties would be solved by empowering the Maritime Commission with labor authority somewhat similar to that presently exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission as to railroad labor matters."

R. J. Baker, president of the American Steamship Owners' Association, writes in the same issue: "The prospect is not dark, however, since the newly created Maritime Commission looms as a possible referee to enforce whatever regulations it may lay down."

This intimate relationship between the agencies of the government and the big shipping interests in conspiring against the workers is nothing new or startling. Maritime workers have struggled through experience after experience which has demonstrated this fact. And it is because of this that these workers have been waging a militant fight against the shipowners, the government and their labor fakers.

This fight must be carried on unceasingly—since the forces of reaction will never give up their labor wrecking purposes, though they may temporarily be forced to back water from time to time. The principal obstruction in the way of the maritime workers is subtly being spread

R.R. Unions Ask Wage Increases

Five Brotherhoods Present Joint Demands

CHICAGO — Following a week's discussion five of the railway brotherhoods joined in demanding an increase of 20 per cent in the basic wage rates covering their crafts.

The demand, which the companies must answer in some way within 30 days, was issued by the unions covering the locomotive engineers, conductors, trainmen, firemen and switchmen.

The week's bickering between the crafts, which almost became deadlocked at times, was around the question of percentage or flat increases in the basic scale. The engineers and conductors, higher paid aristocrats of the running trades, stood out for the percentage increase demanded.

Meanwhile, financial journals show that the railroad companies are easily able to pay the increase demanded. Characterizing the preliminary reports of railroad earnings as "pleasant reading for Wall Street," the financial editor of the New York Times states, "Companies which have reported showed returns last year were rapidly approaching the levels of 1929 and 1930, one company showing the best net income for any year in its history."

Victory For Flat Glass Workers

Union Wins Demands After 13-Week Struggle

PITTSBURGH—13 weeks of militant struggle on the picket lines won for the workers of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. major concessions and a year's agreement.

7,000 workers were locked out last October 25, when officials of the Pittsburgh Company refused to consider demands of the Federation of Flat Glass Workers. The owners of the flat glass industry intended to smash the newly-organized P. F. G. W., and prepare the way for the wrecking of unions in other basic industries.

Yet the strike held firm, was extended to the Libbey-Owens-Ford plants, and reached a successful conclusion. The workers won wage increases, an effective seniority rating and a commission to investigate wage inequalities between Pittsburgh Plate and Libbey-Owens-Ford.

TRIMBLE TO SPEAK

SAN FRANCISCO—Glen Trimble, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, on Sunday night, January 31, will speak on "More Moscow Trials." This will be an analysis of the recent trial of Radek-Pratakov in Moscow. The meeting will be held at International Hall, 236 Van Ness Ave., under auspices of the Socialist Party of San Francisco.

Socialists Aid Auto Strikers

CLEVELAND — The Socialist Party of Cleveland completed its inner party reorganization in time to lend significant aid to the Fisher Body strikers here. This party reorganization established on a functioning basis a Socialist Labor League composed of its members who are also members of some labor union. In this way unions and fraternal organizations were contacted for donations, for food, and for aid on the Fisher Body picket line.

The Socialist Labor League elected a directive committee composed of Bert Cochran, M. E. S. A. organizer; John Jurkanin, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Organizer; and Louis Golden of the Office Workers Union. This committee has contacted the officers of the striking Auto Workers local who have welcomed the aid of the Socialist Party.

Bert Cochran, Chairman of the Socialist Labor League, has just returned from Detroit where he took part in successfully negotiating a settlement of the Michigan Tool Company strike called by the M. E. S. A.

around the waterfront by certain groups who are not sincerely interested in the welfare of the American labor movement. Let there be no mistake. Government intervention can only bring disaster to maritime unions under whatever lamb's clothing it enters upon the scene.

Lenin Memorial, 1937 - - By Carlo



Push Drive To Finance Volunteers

3-Week Campaign To Raise Funds For Debs Brigade

An intensive three-week campaign of money-raising for the Debs Column has been launched by the Socialist Party in California. Temporarily, no more volunteers will be interviewed until provision has been made to assist the volunteers who have already qualified.

During the three weeks, locals of the Socialist Party have been advised by the State Executive Committee to concentrate on three main phases of activity: mass meetings, appeal to working-class and liberal organizations for financial co-operation, and tag-days. Material has been prepared in the State Office and sent to locals over the state for the purpose of co-ordinating the work to get effective results in the fund drive.

Financial support has started to come from nearly every state, according to reports of the Friends of the Debs Column, a committee in New York which is supporting the Debs Column project. Sponsors of the Friends of the Debs Column include: V. F. Calverton, Sidney Hook, Ludwig Lore, Carlo Tresca, Louis Boudin, Dorothy Kenyon, Charles Yab Harrison, and others.

Final arrangements are being made to assist the ten best qualified volunteers from California to

Erber Meetings Scheduled Here

"We fight for a Worker's Spain"

What was the message the workers of Spain told Ernest Erber, National Chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, to bring to the American workers? He recently returned from a visit to the scene of the civil war.

The unforgettable heroism of the Spanish workers will be related by Erber at public meetings when he comes to California on speaking tour.

The civil war in Spain is of vital importance to the workers in the U. S. Here is a chance to get first hand information as to what is really taking place there without the censorship of the Capitalist press.

Below is the schedule of his tour in this state:
Feb. 12, San Diego; Feb. 13, 14, 15, Los Angeles; Feb. 16, Berkeley; Feb. 17, Fresno; Feb. 18, 19, Stockton; Feb. 20, Berkeley; Feb. 21, 22, 23, San Francisco; Feb. 24, Palo Alto.

Join with the first group from this country to affiliate with the International Workers' Brigade under the banner of the Debs Column.

Readers of Labor Action are urged to send funds to 236 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, for the purpose of assisting the office in California to make a more direct contribution to the work of the Western Division of the Debs Column.

After the first group have started on their way, other volunteers will go (in order of their qualification rating)—according to the amount of financial support received from workers, sympathizers, and friends of the cause, of the Spanish workers.

GUILD PUSHES CHICAGO DRIVE

CHICAGO.—An organizing drive by the Newspaper Guild here has already resulted in 400 members enrolled, about half of the working newspapermen in Chicago.

A large majority of the editorial workers of the Times, the Herald-Examiner, International News Service and the City News Bureau are members of the guild, and in three days 87 men were signed up on Hearst's American. The next drive is aimed at the Daily News, the Tribune and the Associated Press.

Form CIO Branch

PHILADELPHIA—A local branch of the Committee for Industrial Organization has been formed by Philadelphia unions.

Spy Policy Of Bosses Shown Up

Metal Association Is Clearing House For Human Rif-raff

WASHINGTON — Organized use of thugs, scabs and labor spies directly controlled by automobile manufacturers and allied metal manufacturing companies, was openly admitted before the La Follette committee as the operation of the National Metal Trades Association was investigated.

The industrial relations policy of 952 firms is formulated and carried out by this association of employers, and the character of that policy is amply demonstrated by the use of scabs, ex-convicts used as "guards" and the employment of spies within the unions.

Sitting on the advisory council of 12, are K. T. Keller of Chrysler Corporation and David Wilson of the Willys-Overland Co. This council is the directing body of the N.M.T.A., and the resources of the association are at their disposal to break any strike or any union that dares ask to be considered on the questions of wages and conditions.

The association has nearly a quarter of a million dollars in its "war chest" and has expended \$138,147 in the first nine months of 1936. As an employers' association, it is immune to taxation.

The association fully recognizes the aid of the state militia and always seeks to have the National Guard called out in strikes. Senator LaFollette charged the association with seeking to create violence to serve as the necessary pretext to call the troops.

The Byrnes law, prohibiting the interstate shipment of scabs, interfered only slightly with the operations of the strike-breaking N.M.T.A. The recruiting of scabs only becomes a local problem, and already four men have set up offices in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

PHILADELPHIA.—A "sit-down honeymoon"—without the bride—was the lot of one striker here. Two marriages in the ranks of strikers sitting down in the plants of the Electric Storage Battery Co. did not weaken the strike. One spent a solitary honeymoon inside the plant, the other, a girl, brought her husband to plant, sales, for a celebration.

Roosevelt Shows Colors to Labor In Automobile Crisis

Lewis' Reminder of Election Obligations Is Curtly Dismissed by President As Auto Strike Spreads

While General Motors plants employing 125,000 men lay idle and the ever-widening circles of the country's biggest auto strike reached the shores of San Francisco bay, "Labor's friend" in the White House showed his capitalist colors this week.

John L. Lewis addressed an appeal to the President—and got a quick reply. "This is no time for neutrality,"

said Lewis, "and this is not time for pussyfooting. We have informed the administration, through the Secretary of Labor, that six months ago the economic royalists, the Duponts and the Sloans contributed their money and used their energy to drive the President out of the White House. He asked labor to come to his aid and labor helped repel the attack.

"The same economic royalists now have their fangs in labor and we expect the administration to help repel the attack from the same rapacious enemy.

"Our people are the people the President talked about in his inaugural speech. Our people are the 'ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed,' he mentioned. We are conscious of the virtue of their position and their right to be recognized.

INTERVENTION ASKED
"Is it time for the President to intervene?" Lewis was asked. "Labor intervened for the President," he replied. "We expect him to side with the workers when they are right. We don't care who gets General Motors into a conference with us."

The President's reply came like a splash of cold water to the imagination of the workers who hope for workers' aid from capitalist politicians.

An interesting feature of the fight against this strike, it was pointed out by Cochran, consisted in the fact that all the preliminary negotiations were conducted by the Union Committee with the officials of the Ford Motor Co.

This is the third strike in Detroit auto parts plants settled in this manner. Ford has intervened in both the Midland Steel and Kelsey-Hayes strikes previously, and has used economic pressure upon the managements of these companies to settle the strikes in a hurry.

This brings into sharp relief the general tie up of the plants of General Motors and proves that the basic strategy of the Auto Union in isolating General Motors has proven correct. Ford, the last of the industrial individualists, is for the time being, pushing production as heavily as possible, to steal the market of the Chevrolet car.

Lewis asks presidential help in drawing the anti-labor fangs of economic royalists; Roosevelt, the campaign and its flowery speeches over, calls for "peace"—but overlooks labor's demand for justice—collective bargaining, an end to the speed-up, a share in the G. M. profits which in 1936 were larger than the total wage bill. This is no time for statements about "ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed" auto workers. Forget these things "in the interests of peace." That answer is always the answer of the politicians who are pledged as Roosevelt is by his own words "to the system of private ownership, private initiative and private profit."

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250 Hear Erber Speak On The Civil War In Spain

CHICAGO.—Two hundred and fifty people filled every available seat and standing space in the Cafe Idrott meeting hall to hear Ernest Erber, national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, report on his findings in a recent official visit to Spain made by him on behalf of the young Socialist national organization.

Erber described in glowing terms the resurgence of a working-class set into motion by the present struggle against Fascism. After depicting the evidences of proletarian revolutionary spirit everywhere, from the salute with which workers greet each other on the street to the significant initials of unions on the railroad tracks they have taken over, he traced the causes and effects of the six months of armed struggle in Spain.

LULLED BY FALSE SECURITY
The astonishing rapid consolidation of the Spanish rightists, who a year ago had been a group utterly beaten in a spectacular election, into the fighting insurrectionary force of last July, was laid squarely by Erber on the bankruptcy of the Popular Front government which was incapable of vigorous action and only served to lull the working-class and peasantry into a false sense of security.

On the day of the insurrection this government in many cases denied arms to the anti-fascist workers, Erber explained, telling how this policy had resulted in

the capture of Saragossa, one of the strongest proletarian centers, by the Fascist militarists.

INVEIGLE WORKERS
Once the workers were armed, however, the "democratic" capitalists had only one way to save themselves—to inveigle the workers' parties into accepting their class rule because of the "need for unity" and entering the popular front governments in Madrid and Barcelona at the same time they themselves continued their anti-working class plotting, as exposed by the frustrated coup of outstanding "liberal" capitalists in Barcelona. The effect of this, Erber said, has been the gradual gerrymandering of the workers' militia, weakening the independent workers' plenipotentiary committees, and slowly undermining working-class self reliance.

THE POUM of Catalonia and the left Socialists in Asturias are today the most revolutionary currents in Spain, he concluded. There are also certain sections of the Catalanian anarchist movement which could be won over to a revolutionary Marxist position, in Erber's opinion.

Roosevelt Shows Colors to Labor In Automobile Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

REAL GUARANTEE
Labor's real guarantee of justice, the unbroken and growing ranks of the United Automobile Workers of America, remained firm through the week of Washington maneuvers. Sidestep strikers continued to hold the key Fisher Body plants in Flint, Michigan. Homer Martin, union head, announced a program of militant mass pickets at 17 scattered GM factories. As far away as Oakland, California, Chevrolet and Fisher Body assembly plants saw their first picket lines, and in union offices, other lines of men eager to join the "one big union" of auto workers.

John L. Lewis, on far surer ground than in his appeal to Roosevelt, declared that "We have enough men to close the plants. That's the test Sloan asked for, isn't it? Well, he

asked for it, let him take it. Until General Motors signs an agreement the plants will stay closed."

MADAM PERKINS CALLS
Lewis and the other union officials were preparing (as Labor Action goes to press) to attend a conference called by Secretary of Labor Perkins after Roosevelt washed his hands of the whole auto situation. Union heads were doubtful of the value of the Perkins conference and declared in advance that they would refuse any proposal to return to the "Lansing agreement" which pledged the unions to remove sit-down strikers. Lewis correctly condemned this agreement as opening the way for a corporation "double-cross."

The strike will be won in Flint and the other sites of General Motors—unless it gets lost in Washington.

Chinese Communists Offer To "Curb Labor"

An agreement to "curb all labor troubles" and to "adopt a tolerant attitude toward landlords, merchants and rich peasants" is offered by the chairman of the Chinese Soviet Government in return for a united front against Japan, according to the Shanghai correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor.

Ludwig Love, writing in the New York Evening Post, January 19, quotes from the Monitor and comments as follows:

The Shanghai correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor reports progress in the formation of a Chinese National Front against Japanese aggression. Mr. Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Soviet Government, wrote a significant letter to four leading members of the "All-China National Salvation Association" in Shanghai, commenting on and replying to a manifesto issued over their signatures last July. In this manifesto the association proclaimed its allegiance to the Kuomintang Government and General Chiang Kai-shek in the

peace in the territories of the "Chinese Soviet Republic." "In the Soviet regions," the four leaders of the Salvation Association declared "they (the Soviet troops) must adopt a tolerant attitude toward landlords, merchants and rich peasants. In the large cities they must agree to curb all labor troubles."

To these postulates Mr. Mao now makes reply. "We agree to act in the manner you suggest. Indeed, it is in this spirit that we have acted in the past. . . ."

Verily, German Social Democratic reformism at its worst was never like this!

SOCIALIST CALENDAR

SAN FRANCISCO:

OPEN FORUM: Every Sunday, 8:00 P. M.

Socialist Study Class: Every Monday, 8:45 p. m.—Socialist Fundamentals.

Every Monday, 8:30 p. m.—History of Socialist Thought.

BERKELEY:

Socialist Party Local: Meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., 2533 Telegraph Avenue.

Every Thursday, 8:00 P. M.—History of the Three Internationals.

PALO ALTO:

Socialist Party Local: Meets every second and fourth Wednesday of the month at 915 Channing Avenue, at 8 p. m.

STOCKTON:
Socialist Party Local: Meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at 234 N. Sutter Street. First and Third Monday regular business meetings. Second and Fourth, open educational meetings.

OXNARD:

Socialist, Party Local: Meets every Monday at 8 p. m. First and third meetings, regular business meetings; second and fourth meetings, social and educational.

LOS ANGELES:

Socialist Party Local: Meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 116½ West Ninth Street.

Socialist Party Jewish Branch: Meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 126 North Saint Louis Street.

Sunday Evening Forum: Every Sunday, 8 p. m., at 116½ West Ninth Street.

HARBOR CITY:

Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m.

Letters to the Editor

From a Sailor

San Francisco
January 18, 1937

Editor, Labor Action:

As a member of the Socialist Party for twenty years, please allow me to express my opinion regarding your paper, Labor Action. I and hundreds along the waterfront think it is the best labor newspaper anybody has published so far.

Last night when I stood on the picket line along the front, some YPSL members came along and distributed Labor Action, which was appreciated by every honest union man except the Communist members who are not satisfied with any publication except the Western Worker which we absolutely refuse to accept. More and more maritime strikers are convinced that the Socialist Party is the real champion behind labor.

Say, we certainly get a kick out of the "Notebook of an Agitator." I remember a couple of weeks ago you referred in your paper

From a Railroader

Minneapolis, Minn.
January 19, 1937

Editor, Labor Action:

Enclosed find cashier's check for six dollars to cover four one-year subs to Labor Action from railroad unionists who like this militant weekly.

You comrades in Frisco are surely putting out a fine working class paper, easy to read, easy to understand, and brim full of vital information to those who toil at productive labor.

Well, so long, with compliments from the rail workers on your splendid work. We will be there with more subs.

C. R. HEDLUND.

about the Communist Party that whatever union they get hold of they will wreck. And you certainly spoke the truth. Am glad to say that we honest union men stand behind our honest and fearless leader, Harry Lundberg, whom we have absolute faith in.

J. MELIN, S.E.R.

Roster Of Defendants In Latest Moscow "Trial"

Biographical Sketches of the New Victims of Stalin-Borgia

KARL B. RADEK

Born 1885; in the revolutionary movement since the age of 14; first worked in Austrian Poland and Galicia (1904-1908). In 1908 went to Germany where together with Rosa Luxemburg formed the left wing in the German social democracy around the newspaper Premier Arbeiter-Politik. Internationalist during the war. Participated in Zimmerwald and Kienthal. On the Bureau of the Zimmerwald Left. Came to Petrograd after October (prevented from coming earlier by the European police). After Brest peace in charge of the Central European section in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. After the revolution of 1918 in Germany went there illegally. Participated in organizing the first Congress of the German Communist Party ("Spartacists"). Arrested in Germany, Feb. 15, 1919. On his release in December of that year returned to Russia. One of the most active participants in the work of the Communist International under Lenin; was reporter at the II and III World Congresses of the Comintern. In 1920, secretary of the E.C.C.I. Member of the Opposition until summer of 1929 when he capitulated. Was reinstated in 1930, and served on the newspaper Izvestiya.

GREGORY L. PIATAKOV

Born 1890; participated in the revolutionary movement since 1903. Member of the Bolsheviks since 1905. From 1905-1907 worked in the Moscow organization. Participated in the armed Moscow uprising in December 1905. Arrested in the Autumn of 1907. Exiled to Siberia in February 1908. Escaped abroad almost immediately. During the war, an internationalist. Returned to Russia after the February revolution. From April 1917 member of the Moscow Party Committee; member of the editorial board of the central organ (after the July days). After October, directed the nationalization of the banks. Elected to the CEC at the 1st Party Congress. In 1925 served

the Ukraine. In Dec. 1918 served as Chairman of the first Soviet Government in the Ukraine. In 1919 chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the 13th Army. In 1920, Commissar of the Military Academy. May 1920, member of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the 16th Army at the Polish front, then of the 6th Army at the Wrangel front. In 1921 head of the management of the coal industry in the Donbas. In 1923, vice Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, expelled from Trotskyism at the Fifth Party Congress; capitulated and reinstated in 1928. Since that time served in various high posts, his last being that of the vice Chairman of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry.

One of the "younger Bolsheviks," Piatakov's name was among the six mentioned by Lenin in his Testament, bracketed with that of Bukharin as one of the "two ablest young men in the party." A brilliant administrator, he was one of the most instrumental in building and developing the Kuzbas basin, which he is now accused of seeking to wreck.

GREGORY SOKOLINKOV

Born 1888; old Bolshevik. In the revolutionary movement since 1903. Member of the Bolsheviks since 1905. From 1905-1907 worked in the Moscow organization. Participated in the armed Moscow uprising in December 1905. Arrested in the Autumn of 1907. Exiled to Siberia in February 1908. Escaped abroad almost immediately. During the war, an internationalist. Returned to Russia after the February revolution. From April 1917 member of the Moscow Party Committee; member of the editorial board of the central organ (after the July days). After October, directed the nationalization of the banks. Elected to the CEC at the 1st Party Congress. In 1925 served

as chairman of the Brest Litovsk peace delegation; signed the Brest treaty. 1918-1920 member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 2nd, 9th, 13th and 16th Armies. In 1922 appointed People's Commissar for Finances (creator of the chervonets). Same year sent to the Hague Conference, "new Opposition" but left it shortly, capitulating to Stalin-Bukharin. Since then has held very important high posts. In 1929, vice Chairman of the Gosplan (State Planning Commission). In 1928, Chairman of the Oil Syndicate. In 1929 ambassador to England.

LENOID P. SEREBRYAKOV

Born in 1890; old Bolshevik; a worker metallist he began factory work at the age of 8; entered the movement at the age of 14, in 1904. Arrested in 1905. Since 1910, a professional revolutionist; participated in the Prague Conference of the Bolsheviks. Arrested in 1912 in Samara and exiled to Narym whence he escaped in 1914. On his return to Moscow, immediately organized the May 1st demonstration there; was rearrested and sent back to Narym. After serving his exile term, came to Tomsk in 1916 and worked there. After the February revolution organized the Komatromsky Soviet. In the middle of 1917 came to Moscow where he served on the Moscow Central Committee. After October, member of the Praesidium of the Moscow Soviet and secretary of the Moscow Committee. 1919-1920, secretary of the C. E. C. (CPSU); and secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets. Active participant in the Civil War. Member of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Southern Front (1921). Then served as Commissar for Communications. Expelled in October 1921; came

back to Moscow in January 1920. Since then served in various high posts; his last being that of assistant Commissar for Communications.

N. I. MURALOV

One of the oldest worker Bolsheviks. One of the leaders of the Moscow insurrection in October, 1917; served in the most important posts in the army during the Civil War. He is one of the legendary heroes of the Civil War. Expelled from the party, but did not capitulate to Stalin. In exile, in Western Siberia, since 1929, he apparently withdrew from all political activity.

J. N. DROBNIS

Born in 1890. Worker-Bolshevik, entering the movement in 1905, at the age of 15. Member of the Ukrainian CEC. During 1918, assigned to the most dangerous and responsible work in the Ukraine, where he functioned in the underground organization, mobilizing partisan detachments against Petlura and the Germans. Served on the Denikin front 1919-1920. Member of the "Democratic Centralist Group," expelled at the 15th Party Congress; capitulated and was reinstated in 1929; being assigned to work in Siberia.

MICHAEL S. BOGUSLAVSKY

Born in 1886; old worker Bolshevik; in the revolutionary movement since 1904, when he was arrested in Kharkov. In 1905, participated in the October strikes. Has worked in the Ukraine. Member of the first C. E. C. and the first Soviet Government in the Ukraine. In 1919, elected secretary of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, and also of the Council of People's Commissars in the Ukraine. Was transferred to Moscow, and in 1921 elected to the Moscow Executive Committee. Member of the "Democratic Centralist Group," expelled at the 15th Party Congress; capitulated in 1930 and assigned to work in Novosibirsk where he has remained until his recent arrest.

Sabotaging Aid For Spain

Hearst and New Masses Join Hands to Fight Debs Column

On the back cover of the liberal Nation of January 16th there appeared a full page advertisement calling for the support of the Debs Column volunteering throughout the United States for service against Fascism in Spain. That advertisement was sponsored by the Friends of the Debs Column, including such well-known figures as Clifton Fadiman of the New Yorker, Charles Yale Harrison, Ludwig Love, of the N. Y. Evening Post and Charles Yale Harrison, novelist Carlo Tresca, anti-Fascist Italian editor, Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, Louis Boudin, noted constitutional lawyer, Dorothy Kenyon, famous liberal attorney and others who are members of no radical party as well as Norman Thomas, Socialist member of labor leaders.

The liberal Nation accepted this paid advertisement without comment. The Communist NEW MASSES TURNED IT DOWN. Why? Because the Communist New Masses, like Hearst, declares that it is "illegal" to raise money to transport volunteers to Spain and is afraid to compromise itself with the authorities. This, in spite of the fact that this advertisement has been going through the mails in the Socialist Call for three weeks and in spite of the clear legality of paying transportation for individual volunteers who wish to go to Spain.

"This excuse," comments the Call, "from the New Masses—inheritors of the tradition of the old Masses, which in the mad years of the last war did not fear to face the wrath of the courts and the postmen. What ignominious corruption of a tradition made glorious by men who stood trial in court for the Masses—a Max Eastman, an Art Young, etc. . . ."

"The Communists are trying so hard to be respectable. They fear that a campaign for men for Spain will chill those pretty darlings of theirs whose chief delight it is to dip their dainty manouevred toes in the perfume of 'revolutionary' bath of the Red dilettante. These people will send 'resolutions and jam,' hearts and flowers to Spain; but their tender sides would be horribly upset by talk of men to Spain."

The "Technical Aid" Dodge

By the time this comment had appeared, however, it was supposed of trained and experienced Communists. Party and the New

fighters and technicians, had much to do with turning the Fascist tide at the gates of Madrid and has enormously strengthened the morale of the Spanish workers. The Brigade is made up of volunteers—socialists, communists, anarchists, anti-fascists of all types—from every European country.

Pietro Nenni, representative of the Labor and Socialist International at the Spanish Front (whom even the most fanatical Communist could scarcely label out a call for aid in building the International Column. The situation in Spain, he reports, has reached a point where IT IS NO LONGER ENOUGH FOR THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS TO SEND "JUST RESOLUTIONS AND JAM," to aid the workers. Italy, Germany and Portugal are sending MEN AND ARMS to help the Fascists.

The Debs Column is an answer to that call. Emphasis in the Column is placed in technical training and experience of every kind, because these are the qualities so sadly lacking in the hastily recruited peasants and workers' militias of Spain. Once in Spain, these individuals will be assigned to those tasks for which they are most needed. But such assignment must take place in Spain, not in New York. The men who have volunteered their services and their lives to the Spanish struggle through the Debs Column do not stipulate to the Spanish Government: You must put us in safe berths in factories and laboratories while our Spanish brothers face the fascist machine guns. They say instead: Put us where we are needed—whether it is in the front line trenches, in the hospitals or in the machine shops.

It was only after thousands of men throughout the country had attempted to volunteer in the Debs Column, after several hundred from among them had been carefully picked and examined for their qualifications, after these several hundred—including aviators, doctors, technical experts of all kinds—were waiting only the transportation money which would permit them to leave for Spain, and while the Friends of the Debs Column were attempting to raise this money—that the

Masses threw themselves behind a "Technicians' Committee" for Spain.

The purpose of that Committee—as outlined in its advertisements, is to send "Men to Spain" who will take the place of the Spanish workers in factories, shops, hospitals, etc., so that the poor Spanish devils can go out and fight the Fascists! The Communist Party must keep its new respectability, and the New Masses its "milling privilege"—even if aid to the International Brigade is sabotaged in the process and the volunteers of the Debs Column are kept in New York for lack of passage money.

What Happened in Hollywood

The waste and tragedy—so far as aid to Spain is concerned—of such competing projects and seeming duplication of efforts was particularly obvious in Los Angeles during the last week. A representative of the Friends of the Debs Column and "Captain" Ralph Bates arrived in town almost simultaneously.

Although the Debs column had been under way for two weeks, technicians were awaiting transportation and efforts were being made to raise part of the transportation money in anti-fascist circles in Los Angeles. Mr. Bates who arrived suddenly by air, in a blaze of newspaper publicity, refused either to see or consult with the representative of the Debs Column—even after it had been explained to him that the two appeals for what seemed to many the same cause, was creating confusion and doubt among the friends of Spain. At this time, Mr. Browder's Committee had not issued a public appeal, Mr. Browder's name was discreetly absent from Mr. Bates' publicity, and neither the representatives of the Debs Column nor the general public knew just what Mr. Bates was supposed to be representing.

Taken in hand by a first-rate showman, sponsored by an impressive Committee of Motion Picture Artists—most of whom had never heard of him before but who were eager to help and so hear about Spain—with all the facilities (though not the formal endorsement) of the powerful Anti-Nazi League placed

The Action Army

The campaign announced last week for 1,000 new trial subscriptions at 25 cents each is off to a start as we go to press, but that's about all. We will have to have more action in the coming week if this special proposition is to have any real effect.

Tom Kerry, of Oakland, is away out in front in the campaign. He bought 40 prepaid cards a week ago, sold them during the week and bought 40 more Saturday. Eighty two-bit subs accounted for by a single comrade! This gives a rough idea of what can be accomplished if and when the whole action army swings into line behind this proposition.

Bill Mills, of Palo Alto, the all-time champion, is crowding Tom Kerry in this campaign. His record for the week is 20 subs bought, sold, and 20 more bought.

The Business Manager, on a tour of California, has sent in about 20 subs so far.

Chester Johnson, the old reliable literature agent of the Minneapolis local bought 40 sub cards and wrote: We are very much pleased with the campaign to sell sub cards at 25 cents each. We expect to sell quite a few at the Erber meeting.

With a few straggling orders for four cards on the four-dollar offer, this just about tells the story of the first week of the campaign. Answers are due now on letters sent out during the week, and we are watching every mail to see whether the campaign is a go or a flop. The whole idea is to get 1,000 new subs quickly at the special trial rate. If we don't succeed quickly we don't succeed at all on this proposition.

Just in case you missed this

corner last week, here's the idea in a nutshell. Send in \$1, or \$2, or whatever you can spare for the cards. Sell them to your friends, shop mates, the corner grocery at 25 cents each. Send in the proceeds for more cards. Just write the name and address on the space provided on the card and drop it in the mail box. We pay the postage.

One hundred comrades of the Action Army selling eight cards a week will guarantee Labor Action a long life and a fighting one. Two hundred pluggers collecting just four two-bit pieces weekly can do the same thing.

And speaking of armies, old timers know that it takes an army of young hustlers, aged nine to ninety, to keep a red-hot Socialist paper going. Bosses and pink tea liberals and labor fakery don't support papers like Labor Action. The hundreds of Jimmy Higgines without a cent in their jeans but with good feed and a determination to "spread the word" are the real foundation of the Socialist Press.

When you volunteer for the Action Army by sending in that first sub card order, and then stick to your guns by turning it over every week, you are sharing in the most important fight in the world.

The Action Army can win the West for Socialism! Let's go!

Party Statement on the Legal Aspect of the Debs Column

In the true spirit of the application of capitalist law to class issues, a great hullabaloo has been raised over "legality" in the announcement of the organization of the Debs Column of the International Workers' Brigade. "Filibustering laws," "neutrality" laws, and all sorts of ancient statutes are being diligently investigated in the effort to stop the flow of volunteers to aid the workers of Spain. Hundreds of men and thousands of dollars have been and are daily being poured into the support of the Spanish Fascists by citizens of this country as well as any other capitalist country. But congress looks the other way. The only federal investigation to take place is directed against the Socialist Party to keep effective support from reaching the Spanish workers.

In view of these investigations, however, the Socialist Party of New York issued a statement to the press as to the nature of our activities. Briefly this statement is summed up as follows:

"The Socialist Party has not at any time attempted, nor shall we attempt to induce anyone to go to Spain as a member of the Debs Column. We deal only with persons who have of their own volition decided that they wish to aid the Spanish working class in its fight.

"We are not enlisting or recruiting anyone on American soil for service in the Spanish army. The members of the Debs Column will not serve as members of the official army of the Spanish government, nor will they take any oath of allegiance to the Spanish government. They will be part

of the unofficial International Workers' Brigade as a group of free-lance volunteers. They will contact the Spanish Socialist Party and will have no dealings with the Spanish government as such. The Socialist Party here is merely helping to furnish transportation to those qualified Americans who are desirous of fighting against Spanish Fascism. Obviously only those with experience of value are being aided.

"Members of the Debs Column wish to fight in support of their ideals. We offer them no salary or any other inducement. They will receive no financial or other reward for their aid to the Spanish workers. Their services are purely voluntary and they so realize.

"We wish to make it clear that the Debs Column does not in any way embroil the United States in the Spanish conflict. The volunteers do not expect protection by the United States armed forces or diplomatic authorities abroad for such volunteers.

"It is extraordinary that the Federal Government should now contemplate taking action against the Friends of Spain, which it never took against the Friends of Ireland at the time when the Irish were fighting England for freedom; and which it never took against naturalized American citizens of Italian extraction who left America to fight for Italy against Ethiopia."

Carl Sandburg Endorses The Debs Column

In an exclusive interview granted to Labor Action's reporter, Carl Sandburg, one of America's foremost liberal poets, then in San Francisco, affirmed his sympathy to the cause of the Spanish Loyalists. "Were I younger," he said, "I should be at Madrid fighting shoulder to shoulder with the workers against Franco."

Labor Action's reporter asked Sandburg's opinion of the Debs Column which has been organized to aid those sympathetic enough with the workers' cause in Spain to join them on the battlefield against fascism. "I am in full sympathy with such an endeavor," Sandburg said.

MORE MOSCOW TRIALS
Lecture by
Glen Trimble
Secretary Socialist Party of California
International Hall
236 Van Ness Ave.
Sunday, January 31
Admission 15c

DEBS' HISTORIC SPEECH AT CANTON

The Leader of American Socialism Spoke Against Imperialist War

(This is the concluding installment of Eugene V. Debs' historic speech delivered at Canton, Ohio, during the World War. The first part of the speech was printed in our issue of Jan. 2. The continuation was omitted from last issue due to limitation of space.—Ed.)

To turn your back on the corrupt republican party and the corrupt democratic party—the gold-dust lackeys of the ruling class (Laughter) counts for something. It counts for still more after you have stepped out of those popular and corrupt capitalist parties to join a minority party that has an ideal, that stands for a principle, and fights for a cause. (Applause.) This will be the most important change you have ever made and the time will come when you will thank me for having made the suggestion. It was the day of days for me. I remember it well. It was like passing from midnight darkness to the noonday light of day. It came almost like a flash and found me ready. It must have been in such a flash that great, seething, throbbing Russia, prepared by centuries of slavery and tears and martyrdom, was transformed from a dark continent to a land of living light.

There is something splendid, something sustaining and inspiring in the prompting of the heart to be true to yourself and to the best you know, especially in a crucial hour of your life. You are in the crucible today, my Socialist comrades! You are going to be tried by fire, to what extent no one knows. If you are weak-fibred and faint-hearted you will be lost to the Socialist movement. We will have to bid you good-bye. You are not the stuff of which revolutions are made. We are sorry for you (Applause) unless you chance to be an "intellectual." The "intellectuals," many of them, are already gone. No loss on our side nor gain on the other.

"Intellectual" Shepherds

I am always amused in the discussion of the "intellectual" phase of this question. It is the same old standard under which the rank and file are judged. What would become of the sheep if they had no shepherd to lead them out of the wilderness into the land of milk and honey?

Oh, yes, "I am your shepherd and ye are my mutton." (Laughter.)

They would have us believe that if we had no "intellectuals" we would have no movement. They would have our party, the rank and file, controlled by the "intellectual" bosses as the republican and democratic parties are controlled. These capitalist parties are managed by "intellectual" leaders and the rank and file are sheep that follow the bellwether to the shambles.

The capitalist system affects to have great regard and reward for intellect, and the capitalists give themselves full credit for having superior brains. When we have ventured to say that the time would come when the working class would rule they have bluntly answered: "Never! It requires brains to rule." The workers of course have none. And they certainly try hard to prove it by proudly supporting the political parties of their masters under whose administration they are kept in poverty and servitude. . . .

Capitalist Brains

It is true that they have the brains that indicates the cunning of the fox, the wolf, but as for brains denoting real intelligence and the measure of intellectual capacity they are the most woefully ignorant people on earth. Give me a hundred capitalists and let me ask them a dozen simple questions about the history of their own country and I will prove to you that they are as ignorant and unlettered as any you may find in the so-called lower class. (Applause.) They know little of history; they are strangers to science; they are ignorant of sociology and blind to art but they know how to exploit, how to gouge, how to rob, and do it with legal sanction. They always proceed legally for the reason that the class which has the power to rob upon a large scale has also the power to control the government and legalize their robbery. I regret that lack of time prevents me from discussing this phase of the question more at length.

They are continually talking about your patriotic duty. It is not their but your patriotic duty that they are concerned about. There is a decided difference. Their patriotic duty never takes them to the firing

line or chucks them into the trenches.

And now among other things they are urging you to "cultivate" war gardens, while at the same time a government war report just issued shows that practically 52 per cent of the arable, tillable soil is held out of use by the landlords, speculators and profiteers. They themselves do not cultivate the soil. They could not if they would. Nor do they allow others to cultivate it. They keep it idle to enrich themselves, to pocket the millions of dollars of unearned increment. Who is it that makes this land valuable while it is fenced in and kept out of use? It is the people. Who pockets this tremendous accumulation of value? The landlords. And these landlords who toll not and spin not are supreme among American "patriots."

In passing I suggest that we stop a moment to think about the term "landlord." "LANDLORD!" Lord of the Land! The Lord of the land is indeed a super-patriot. This lord who practically owns the earth tells us that we are fighting this war to make the world safe for democracy—he, who shuts out all humanity from his private domain; he who profits at the expense of the people who have been slain and mutilated by multiplied thousands, under pretense of being the great American patriot. It is he, this identical patriot who is in fact the arch-enemy of the people; it is he that you need to wipe from power. It is he who is a far greater menace to your liberty and your well-being than the Prussian junkers on the other side of the Atlantic ocean. (Applause.)

Idiotic System

Fifty-two per cent of the land kept out of use, according to their own figures! They tell of that there is an alarming shortage of flour and that you need to produce more. They tell you further that you have got to save wheat so that more can be exported for the soldiers who are fighting on the other side, while half of your tillable soil is held out of use by the landlords and profiteers. What do you think of that? . . .

Let us illustrate a vital point. Here is the coal in great deposits all about us; here are the miners and the machinery of production. Why should there be a coal famine upon the one hand and an army of idle and hungry miners on the other hand? Is it not an incredibly stupid situation, an almost idiotic if not criminal state of affairs?

In the present system the

miner, a wage-slave, gets down into a pit three or four hundred feet deep. He works hard and produces a ton of coal. But he does not own an ounce of it. That coal belongs to some mine-owning plutocrat who may be in New York or sailing the high seas in his private yacht; or he may be hobnobbing with royalty in the capitals of Europe, and that is where most of them were before the war was declared. The industrial capitalist, so-called, who lives in Paris, London, Vienna or some other center of gayety does not have to work to revel in luxury. He owns the mines and he might as well own the miners.

Workers' Blindness

That is where you workers are and where you will remain as long as you give your support to the political parties of your masters and exploiters. You vote these miners out of a job and reduce them to a condition of vassals and paupers.

We Socialists say: "Take possession of the mines in the name of the people." (Applause.) Set the miners at work and give every miner the equivalent of all the coal he produces. Reduce the work day in proportion to the development of productive machinery. That would at once settle the matter of a coal famine and of idle miners. But that is too simple a proposition and the people will have none of it. The time will come, however, when the people will be driven to take such action for there is no other efficient and permanent solution of the problem. . . .

Of course that would be Socialism as far as it goes. But you are not in favor of that program. It is too visionary because it is so simple and practical. So you will have to continue to wait until winter is upon you before you get your coal and then pay three prices for it because you insist upon voting a capitalist ticket and giving your support to the present wage-slave system. The trouble with you is that you are still in a capitalist state of mind.

Slavery To Freedom!

Lincoln said: "If you want that thing, that is the thing you want"; and you will get it to your heart's content. But some good day you will wake up and realize that a change is needed and wonder why you did not know it long before. Yes, a change is certainly needed not merely a change of party but a change of system; a change from slavery to freedom and from despotism to democracy, wide as the world.

(Applause.) When this change comes at last, we shall rise from brotherhood to brotherhood, and to accomplish it we have to educate and organize the workers industrially and politically. . . .

There are few men who have the courage to say a word in favor of the I. W. W. (Applause.) I have. (Applause.) Let me say here that I have great respect for the I. W. W. Far greater than I have for their infamous detractors. (Applause.)

It is only necessary to label a man "I. W. W." to have him lynched. War makes possible all such crimes and outrages. And war comes in spite of the people. When Wall Street says war the press says war and the pulpit promptly follows with its Amen. In every age the pulpit has been on the side of the rulers and not on the side of the people. That is one reason why the preachers so fiercely denounce the I. W. W.

Industrial Power

Political action and industrial action must supplement and sustain each other. You will never vote the Socialist republic into existence. You will have to lay its foundations in industrial organization. The industrial union is the forerunner of industrial democracy. In the shop where the workers are associated is where industrial democracy has its beginning. Organize according to your industries! Get together in every department of industrial service! United and acting together for the common good your power is invincible.

When you have organized industrially you will soon learn that you can manage as well as operate industry. You will soon realize that you do not need the idle masters and exploiters. They are simply parasites. They do not employ you as you imagine but you employ them to take from you what you produce, and that is how they tune in industry. You can certainly dispense with them to that capacity. You do not need them to depend upon for your jobs. You can never be free while you work and live by their sufferance. You must own your own tools and then you will control your own jobs, enjoy the products of your own labor and be free men instead of industrial slaves.

Organize industrially and make your organization complete. Then unite in the Socialist party. Vote as you strike and strike as you vote.

Vote As You Strike

Your union and your party embrace the working class. The Socialist party expresses the

interest, hope and aspiration of the toilers of all the world.

Get your fellow-workers into the industrial union and the political party to which they rightfully belong, especially this year, this historic year in which the forces of labor will assert themselves as they never have before. This is the year that calls for men and women who have the courage, the manhood and womanhood to do their duty.

Get into the Socialist party and take your place in its ranks; help to inspire the weak and strengthen the faltering, and do your share to speed the coming of the brighter and better day for us all. (Applause.)

Unity Wins

When we unite and act together on the industrial field and when we vote together on election day we shall develop the supreme power of the one class that can and will bring permanent peace to the world. We shall then have the intelligence, the courage and the power for our great task. In due time industry will be organized on a cooperative basis. We shall conquer the public power. We shall then transfer the title deeds of the railroads, the telegraph lines, the mines, mills and great industries to the people in their collective capacity; we shall take possession of all these social utilities in the name of the people. We shall then have industrial democracy. We shall be a free nation whose government is of and by and for the people.

And now for all of us to do our duty! The clarion call is ringing in our ears and we cannot falter without being convicted of treason to ourselves and to our great cause.

Do not worry over the charge of treason to your masters, but be concerned about the treason that involves yourselves. (Applause.) Be true to yourself and you cannot be a traitor to any good cause on earth.

Sweep Into Power!

Yes, in good time we are going to sweep into power in this nation and throughout the world. We are going to destroy all enslaving and degrading capitalist institutions and re-create them as free and humanizing institutions. The world is daily changing before our eyes. The sun of capitalism is setting; the sun of Socialism is rising. It is our duty to build the new nation and the free republic. We need industrial and social builders. We Socialists are the builders of the beautiful world that is to be. We are all pledged to do our part. We are inviting—aye

challenging you in the name of your own manhood and womanhood to join us and do your part.

In due time the hour will strike and this great cause triumphant—the greatest in history—will proclaim the emancipation of the working class and the brotherhood of all mankind. (Thunderous and prolonged applause.)

(THE END)

Trotsky Archives Stolen

Under the above heading, the *Sotsialisticheski Vestnik* (for Nov. 28, 1936) prints an account of the recent burglary committed in the offices of the Paris headquarters of the International Institute of Social History: "On the night of Nov. 7 (1936) the burglars broke into the offices of the Bureau, made a careful survey of all the materials kept there, but took nothing excepting the archives of Trotsky, all of which were taken away, the entire 15 packets. All the circumstances surrounding the theft indicate that it was painstakingly prepared, and pursued only one aim: to steal Trotsky's archives. The thieves took neither the valuables on the premises of the Institute, nor even the money lying on the table in one of the rooms. Under these conditions, it is hardly possible to doubt that the authors of this thieving raid were not ordinary housebreakers but the agents of the G.P.U., who perpetrated the theft, reckoning that they would find among Trotsky's archives, material for a new trial being prepared in Moscow."

According to this article, the 15 packets contained a collection of "various newspapers, periodicals and circulars issued by all sorts of opposition communist grouplets in different parts of the world. This collection is of great value for the history of the disintegration of the Communist International. It contained publications issued in India, Canada, South Africa and other out-of-the-way countries—publications of which it is impossible to procure duplicates in any library in Europe. Out of Trotsky's correspondence, this section of his archives contained his business correspondence with various publishers and translators, etc., other documents of non-political nature, manuscripts of his already published articles, books, etc."

The reason was that the unusual and apparently self-perpetuating literary and political ability of the Socialist movement on the U. of C. campus could not help but produce something bigger than the University Socialist group and eventually—against their own will—bigger than the campus itself. As the magazine developed and improved the inevitable happened. A copy fell into the hands of Max

Red Special in California

After a very brief tour across Arizona, the Red Special is headed for San Diego as the first stop on its tour of California. At the time Labor Action went to press, the Red Special was stuck at the border because of license technicalities (perhaps "the boys" aren't too fond of RED Specials), but there was every indication that the sound truck would reach San Diego by Wednesday, January 27.

Between the "great open spaces" and the health resorts of Arizona, there was little organization work that could be done on a brief tour of that state. Comrade Anderson writes about Tombstone, Arizona: "A shoemaker came out of his shop while we were getting gas in Tombstone. Seeing the Socialist Party name on the side of our Red Special, he came over to talk to us and said he had been a Socialist for over 30 years. He was glad to see the Red Special and to hear of its progress across the west. We were encouraged to discover that not everybody was dead in Tombstone."

Footloose Rebel Volunteers

The most encouraging word in the last report from the Red Special was that two comrades had volunteered to become "Footloose Rebels" to organize in New Mexico and Arizona this coming summer. We hope that they are merely the beginning of a large corps of Footloose Rebels to spend their time organizing through the various states in the West.

Tentative Schedule For California

Because the Red Special arrived in California sooner than expected, some locals will have short notice to prepare for its arrival. A tentative outline has been arranged for the tour in California. Changes may have to be made in consultation with Comrade Anderson. The plan was for Comrade Anderson to leave San Diego Friday, January 29, for San Bernardino where there have been recent appeals for Socialist organization work in that area. From there the truck is to go to Los Angeles, stopping in the smaller towns along the way where there are Socialist contacts and opportunities for street meetings.

Unless the announcement of the Red Special came too late for arrangements to be made, Comrade Anderson will speak at the Sunday evening Forum in Los Angeles, January 31. Spending three days in the Los Angeles area, the Red Special will head north Tuesday or Wednesday for Bakersfield and visit the locals up through the valley, holding street meetings in unorganized towns when possible. Locals will be notified a few days in advance of specific dates when the Red Special may be expected.

California readers of Labor Action are advised to keep their eyes open for the Red Special headed up the highway! Where local ordinances permit, the sound equipment will be used to let the friends and sympathizers of Socialism know that the Red Special has come to town and the Socialist Party is here to stay.

BOOKS and AUTHORS

SOAPBOX, published by the University of Chicago Socialist Club, Faculty Exchange, Box 162, 24 pp., 10c.

When a group of Socialist students at the University of Chicago three years ago decided to publish a magazine they had no more intention than to provide a printed organ for the Student League for Industrial Democracy on that campus. The result was different from their expectations. Instead of a small organ they found themselves with a magazine with the largest circulation of any published by or in the University. The old SLID has disappeared into the American Student Union. The original group of Socialist students have graduated and left school. But Soapbox has continued on its amazing career.

The reason was that the unusual and apparently self-perpetuating literary and political ability of the Socialist movement on the U. of C. campus could not help but produce something bigger than the University Socialist group and eventually—against their own will—bigger than the campus itself. As the magazine developed and improved the inevitable happened. A copy fell into the hands of Max

Eastman who gazed with surprise from New York and wrote in exclaiming, "You're a sunrise in the west." John Dewey saw another copy and declared himself "struck by its unusually thoughtful intellectual contents." Sidney Hook declared it was "the most intelligent and intellectually effective undergraduate paper I have seen." James T. Farrell saw it and promised articles.

Soapbox grew up into a magazine which can compare with the *Nation* and the *New Republic* in appearance, with any left wing cultural publication in poetry and literary style, with the *Merrill Quarterly* in some of its philosophical contributions, and with *Labor Action* in its forthrightness.

The current issue, which I mention only in passing, contains an article by Norman Thomas explaining the ambiguous class nature of the student and the negative effect of his participation in politics as a group; a Spanish militia man's story of the military shortcomings of the people's front; a review of Gilbert Seligson's *Mainland*, analyzing his misleading "Americanism" by James T. Farrell; an expose of the Mexican government-controlled student movement and another of Negro discrimination at Northwestern University; a treatise on Marxism and the social sciences by Leo Shields intended to demonstrate that "the social sciences in their present state do not permit of a rational analysis of any doctrine and thus of Marxism."

There are also special sections of poetry, art criticism, Books and Authors, and current developments in the student, labor, and political fields.

This cross-section constitutes only part of the contents of one issue.

CONFINED TO CAMPUS

Soapbox, however, differs from other magazines, most of which are inferior to it, in one important if technical respect. The rules of the University of Chicago, which the publishers of Soapbox are naturally anxious to adhere to, do not permit a political University-sanctioned publication to aim at extra-campus circulation. Fortunately the University cannot prevent off-campus people from purchasing copies, but the University Socialist Club confines its own efforts to purely campus distribution.

The growing natural demand for the publication, particularly from faculty and literary sources, is placing Soapbox in the paradoxical position of being penalized by its own excellence to be unable to fulfill the demands made upon it.

BASIS OF RULING

A publication good enough to create an extra-mural demand for itself must necessarily be one which can only increase the prestige of a University whose students are so adept. The U. of C. ruling on publications can therefore only be interpreted as based on the political interests of its Board of Trustees. Once again one of these American "centers of enlightenment" reveals that its interest in culture is a secondary one.

The Soapbox people are not contemplating any violation of the University restriction, whatever they themselves think of it. But the present writer is certain that, in case of any further restrictions imposed on the magazine, a storm of protests by outstanding national figures would arise from coast to coast, sufficiently to put any University administration to shame.

—MELOS MOST

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN FRANCE

1. The Economic Crisis and the New Strike Wave

The devaluation of the franc has failed to resolve the economic crisis that has been raging in France since 1932. Rumors are current that a second devaluation is being contemplated, as was done, for example, in Czechoslovakia.

One thing the devaluation has achieved: it has unloaded an increasing burden on the backs of the working class. The cost of living has been rising very rapidly. At the same time the working class is being ravaged by unemployment. Despite the official claim, it is obvious that the unemployed situation has not improved to any appreciable extent. Lebas, the Minister of Labor, reported to the Chamber of Deputies that on December 5 there were 457,300 unemployed. A supposed improvement over last year when the number was 9,000 more. But this claim is contradicted by Jouhaux, the head of the French trade union movement. Speaking at the Congress of the General Federation of Civil Functionaries, Jouhaux said, "While the number of unemployed has decreased, it still remains greater at this time than during the same period a year ago." (Le Temps, Dec. 15, 1936).

New Offensive Of Bosses

Hardly anything has been left of the gains made by the workers during the colossal wave of June strikes, when as many as seven million workers occupied the plants. In point of fact, the French workers are now being subjected to a concerted attack by the bosses. The collective agreements made in June are either being violated, or nullified by the increased prices. The shop delegates, i.e., the most militant

or openly fired. In defense, the workers are resorting to strikes, a second wave of which has been spreading during the last weeks. This time, however, the strike wave is being isolated, and the occupation of factories is being fought savagely. In many instances, the workers have been forcibly ejected by detachments of armed Fascist gangs. In other cases, where the workers are too numerous or determined, they have been induced to leave the premises by the ruse of "neutralization," that is to say, nobody is presumably allowed to enter the plant, neither the workers nor the bosses.

The mood of the bosses is strikingly different from their conciliatory attitude in June. Today, they are adamant in their intention to break the resistance of the workers; and the initiative in the second phase of the struggle has been clearly passing into the hands of the ruling class.

Press Incitement Against Strikers

The official press is waging a violent drive against the strikers. Occupations of factories are being reported in much the same way that the capitalist press here has reported the strike of the automobile workers. Says Le Temps, reporting the strike of the metal workers in Lille: "The employees of most of the metallurgical plants in Lille reported this morning at the gates to resume work, but everywhere, the strike pickets kept them out. The mobile guards did nothing at all to intervene" (Dec. 16, 1936). In the senate, the reactionary spokesmen of the ruling class howl in chorus: "At Lille, 150 factories have been occupied, and strikes were declared during negotiations, and all this against

the will of the majority of the workers" (Le Temps, Dec. 17, 1936).

In a leading editorial, the same official newspaper of the French bourgeoisie says: "Everything is taking place as if we were faced with a two-headed government, one of whose heads represents the legal power, while the other appears as the menacing symbol of the dreadful, innumerable and aggressive power of the masses" (Le Temps, Dec. 17, 1936). This editorial appeared under the heading: "In a Conquered Land."

The same newspaper has been carrying articles from its Italian correspondent detailing the "lessons" of the "barbarous practice" of occupying factories in the case of the Italian experience.

Compulsory Arbitration

The state machinery has been set in motion to devise a method of outlawing strikes—in the name of the People's Front government. The compulsory arbitration plan of Blum, which was supposedly intended by him to compel the bosses to arbitrate, has been turned into a direct strike-breaking instrument. Blum's original plan, reactionary as it was, has been revised beyond all recognition. The nature of the proposed arbitration may be gleaned from the fact that the bourgeoisie from the outset opposed any representation for the French trade union federation (C. G. T.), which numbers more than five million workers, on the arbitration board! The exclusion of the C. G. T. was accepted by Blum.

The strikes are continuing. The coming days will find the workers faced with the forces of the state aligned against them.

gram, the People's Front Government can only do the bidding of the capitalists. Le Temps comments upon this fact with some irony: "The People's Front was to give men all the joys that they had been lacking up to now. The People's Front was able to give all the promises so long as it still remained in a position in which it could do nothing. But it was given the ability when it was given power, and it is suffering from the disproportion, which is growing day by day, between its designs and the reality itself" (Le Temps, Dec. 15).

The Press and The War Danger

Of particular interest is the attitude of the French press to the war danger in connection with the Spanish situation. The prevailing view may be summarized as follows: Spain is the touchstone for Hitler's real plans. If he really intends to aim his blow at the East (the USSR), he will retreat on Spanish; but if his plan is a blow at the West (France), he will pursue his course to the end.

Says Le Temps for December 14: "It is well known that the German and Italian replies (to the British plan) were drawn up in an agreement between Berlin and Rome." And further, the German reply, "leaves hardly any room for illusions as to the actual chances in favor of mediation."

The newspaper *Oeuvre* carries an interesting dispatch to the effect that Germany has set May 1 as the deadline for the delivery of munitions orders for which had been placed in Italy. May 1 is also the deadline for the delivery of Argentine grain purchased by the Hitler government.

Communists Reject United Front Action

Turn Down Socialist Proposal for Joint Action to Aid Spain

Last week Labor Action printed an open letter to the Communist Party of California asking united action of the two parties in sending the Western Column of the Debs Brigade of trained working class fighters to Spain. This letter was delivered to Communist State Headquarters

Monday, January 18th. They were informed that the Socialist Party committee was prepared to meet at an hour's notice.

Hours passed and no word came. The Spanish revolution was not, apparently, an urgent concern to the Communist leaders. The fact that hundreds of trained workers in California had volunteered their lives to the cause of their Spanish brothers and awaited only the necessary financial aid to provide transportation, stirred them not at all. On Wednesday, January 20th, the Socialist committee, headed by the State Secretary, decided to go to the Communist Party, since the C. P. leaders refused to come to us.

Socialists, the hundreds of volunteers for the Debs Brigade, and the thousands who support this project to fill the greatest immediate need of the embattled Spanish workers have their answer.

The answer from State Secretary Schneiderman is plainly and simply "No!"

Schneiderman made it plain that his unqualified refusal applies not only to united action on the Debs Brigade but on any and all questions confronting the two parties and the American workers. The Communist State Secretary sought to justify his position by pointing out differences between the policies of the two parties. The Socialist representatives answered by reminding him that if we were in entire agreement we would be discussing a

united party, not a united front of action in the particular emergency. The united front is a basis for common action between groups which do not agree on their full program.

To make this clear, we proposed that committees from both parties meet to formulate a statement of purpose and plan of action on which both agreed. This, too, was refused. We then suggested that our major differences on the Spanish question was that the C. P. favored a completely uncritical support of the Spanish Peoples' Front Government while Socialists, knowing that the government included capitalists and liberals as well as Socialists, supported the government in its fight against Fascism but reserved the right of criticism and set socialism as the goal of the struggle against Fascism.

This being the case we offered the positive objective of "United action to finance the sending of the Debs Brigade of trained, trustworthy workers in Spain to defeat Fascism and aid the workers' cause." Secretary Schneiderman refused because, he said, the Communists could not agree to the words "workers' cause!"

His general refusal of all future united action he justified by the familiar Old Guard argument that, "The masses are to the right, not the left, and we Communists want unity with them." Lenin's books will have to be re-edited to strike out the hundreds of arguments for revolutionary

LABOR ACTION

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Digging the Grave of the Russian
RevolutionThe grave diggers of the Russian Revolution
are busy again in Moscow.Last summer Zinoviev and Kamenev, the
closest co-workers of Lenin, were put to
death, together with 14 others, on fantastic
charges of terrorism. Their "trial" was a
crooked frame-up, and all the world
knew it.The execution of the 16 failed in its pur-
pose. The 17 now on "trial"—tortured vic-
tims of a modern Borgia who have been
spiritually dead for years—have to make
good for Stalin's failure in the first trial.And the end is not yet. After Zinoviev
came Radek. After Radek comes Bukhar-
in's turn. Rakovsky is smeared in the pres-
ent trial in preparation for his execution
after the next. And thousands more are
yet to come—if Stalin-Borgia continues to
hold sway.His purposes cannot be fully served until
every one of the Bolsheviks of the old
guard are buried in the cemetery of the
G.P.U., and with them the revolution of
which their names are reminders and
symbols.The trial of the 16 last Summer, it will
be remembered, was designed to convince
an incredulous world that the closest co-
workers of Lenin, revolutionists of the
Marxist tradition, had all become indi-
vidual terrorists overnight. And, this hap-
pened, of course, under the "direct instruc-
tions of Trotsky." Zinoviev and Kamenev
were announced as the ring-leaders, second
only to Trotsky in the direction of the ter-
rorist campaign to overthrow the Soviet
Union, as they had been second only to
Lenin and Trotsky in the revolution which
created the Soviet Union.The miscarriage of this crude frame-up
necessitated the present trial of Radek and
15 others, subordinate figures in the fake
"conspiracy."The "confessions" of the first 15 failed to
convince. The second batch of victims are
rehearsed in an entirely different story.
They didn't meet with Trotsky's son in the
non-existent Bristol Hotel in Copenhagen
where Trotsky's son had never been. They
didn't concoct terrorist attempts on the
life of Stalin under "direct instructions
from Trotsky."

No, the second-line men in the Arabian

Nights fantasy were given different assign-
ments. Theirs was the small job of making
a deal, on behalf of Trotsky, with Nazi
German and Japan to dismember the So-
viet Union! No less!And Zinoviev and Kamenev, the first
lieutenants of Trotsky, didn't even know
about the scheme! Not a word was men-
tioned about it in the trials last summer.
Why? Obviously, because neither Zinoviev
nor Radek nor Stalin knew anything about
it. The story about the deal with Hitler to
cede him the Ukraine and the deal with
Japan to turn over the eastern sections of
the Soviet Union was cooked up only after
Zinoviev was dead and the whole trial
which preceded his death had been dis-
credited before the world.Stalin and his G.P.U. are not only mur-
derers of innocent men. They are not only
frame-up organizers. They are crude
bunglers who make the police agents who
framed Tom Mooney and Sacco and Van-
zetti look like efficiency experts.Stalin bungles for three reasons. First,
because there is not a shadow of truth in
the accusation that Trotsky directs a coun-
ter-revolutionary and terroristic conspi-
racy. There is not a shadow of truth in the
accusation that he is in any way connected
with Fascist Governments, or, indeed, with
anybody but revolutionary workers.Second, it is necessary to involve too
many people in too many plots and the
"confessions"—extorted by torture and
promises of leniency—are bound to get
mixed.Third, Stalin's judgment is blurred by his
mad passion for revenge against the man
who remains faithful to the revolution he
has betrayed.It is not enough to dismiss the Moscow
"trials" as frame-ups and forget them. It is
criminal to say, "after all, it is not our af-
fair." The fate of the victims is of concern
to us. The right of Trotsky to find a secure
asylum is of paramount concern to all who
value revolutionary truth and human in-
tegrity.But beyond this, beyond the human vic-
tims of Stalin's blood-thirsty vengeance
stand the still larger issues of world con-
cern. The fate of the Soviet Union is the
real stake in the Moscow Trials. The
frame-ups, the concentration camps, the
police provocateurs—the whole mad sys-
tem of terror perfected by Stalin is only
one side of a worked out policy. The other
side is made up of deals with imperialist
powers, of allegiance to the League of Na-
tions, of calculated sabotage of every rev-
olutionary movement in every part of the
world.The Stalinists are digging the grave for
the Russian Revolution. Behind them
stands world imperialism. That is their
real base of support against the Russian
working class.And by the same token the Russian work-
ers and their revolution depend now in the
most direct and immediate sense on the
support of the international working class.
This support cannot be given without a
ruthless exposure of counter-revolutionary
Stalinism and an irreconcilable struggle
against it.Class Struggle Or
The Peoples Front
Two Conceptions of Socialist Policy

By GLEN TRIMBLE

Note: This is the third of a
series of articles on issues con-
fronting the March convention
of the Socialist Party. They
are intended as a basis for lo-
cal and branch pre-convention
discussion. We are sure that
non-party readers will also find
them interesting and educa-
tional. Labor Action will wel-
come articles submitted by
party members on all subjects
to be considered at the Socialist
National Convention.—Editor.The radical movement has
never been without its advocates
of class collaboration and coalition
government. They argued that
"progress" was too slow un-
der a forthright Socialist pro-
gram. "The masses are not
ready," they said, "the middle
class is antagonized, we are iso-
lating ourselves." Watered
programs, compromise with the
current prejudices and illusions, con-
stant concessions to the right-
wing offices and ministerial posts
at the cost of the respect of the
best and most militant workers
and the sacrifice of every funda-
mental Socialist principle.The story of the failure of class
collaboration is too well known to
need repeating here. It is a dis-
credited policy; so much so that
its present advocates have coined
a new phrase in an attempt to
increase the saleability of this
shoddy goods. The phrase is "The
Peoples Front" and its chief ad-
vocates are the branch offices of
the Communist International.Theory of the
Peoples FrontThe argument for the Peoples
Front is that fascism will be vic-
torious unless all anti-fascist ele-
ments, regardless of class, can be
united on a common minimum de-
fensive program. No group in the
coalition shall press for any pro-
gram beyond the minimum. The
conclusions from generations of
working class struggle must be
dropped overboard, or at least
shelved, for the duration of the
threat of Fascism. This menace
must be crushed out, things as
they are in non-fascist nations
maintained, and only after this
is achieved can those who are
not at all satisfied with capitalist
things as they are return to the
road to Socialism.Underlying this particular ap-
plication is the general theory
that the most advanced rev-
olutionary workers, the Marxian So-
cialists, must sacrifice their pro-
gram and tactics to the desires
and the popular prejudices of the
less advanced sections of the non
class conscious "people." Our ob-
jective must be to win numbers
by compromise with a less than
correct program rather than by
constant uncompromising educa-
tion toward a correct full pro-
gram. Reduced still further the
principle of the Peoples Front is
less than enough is enough.The Socialist
AlternativeThe opposite of this policy is
of course, "Only enough is
enough." International Socialism
is the only real alternative to
capitalism and Socialism depends
on working class victory in the
class struggle in all nations.That victory in turn depends
on clear-headed leadership that
builds its program and chooses its
tactics from the best experience
of generations of working class
struggle. Either capitalism or the
workers will rule. There are only
two choices and the task of So-
cialists is to win everyone pos-
sible to their side in the con-
flict. This is a minimum pro-
gram, because only the full So-
cialist program can solve the
problems of our day. Socialism
will be strong medicine but it
will cure the capitalist disease,
while the quackery of the Peoples
Front will only prolong the agony.Vanguard Or
Mass PartyIn last week's article I argued
that a revolutionary Socialist
Party in the United States, under
present pre-revolutionary circum-
stances, must organize as a van-
guard and not as a mass party.
The reason should be apparent
from the foregoing paragraphs.
To build a mass party in the
United States in the immediate
future, we would have to operate
on the Peoples Front principle
of reducing our program and ac-
tivity to the least common de-
nominator of present day prej-
udice and confusion.Only the most advanced indi-
viduals—the vanguard—can grasp
long-range conclusions from im-
mediate struggles. They can see,
or can be trained to see, the pat-
tern of world-wide capitalist
failure and growing working class
resistance behind the particular
events in the United States.
Spain, Germany, France, the U. S.
S. R. and throughout the world.
On that trained vision effective
action depends. The task of a
vanguard party is to encourageand use such vision; the neces-
sities of a mass party require
that such vision be suppressed so
as not to antagonize or frighten
away the less far-seeing. A mass
party at the present stage of
American working class develop-
ment must be a miniature Peoples
Front.Mass Action Through
United FrontsWhat then, will be the relation
of the Socialist Party, provided
that it makes a clear choice of
the vanguard role, to less ad-
vanced groups and organizations?
Acceptance of the Peoples Front
principle would mean a choice be-
tween isolation and concession of
all points of difference as the
price of alliances against Fascism
or for other purposes.The alternative to this policy
is the united front on particular
issues in which cooperation in-
volves no compromise of the full
program of any participating
group. While only a trained min-
ority can appreciate the full in-
ternational sweep of the class
struggle, every strike, labor de-
mand, civil liberties fight or
framed court case is a concrete
illustration of that struggle. The
workers directly affected know
they are in a fight and welcome
united action which helps them
to win. So long as the class
struggle is a fact those who re-
cognize and act upon the basis of
struggle need not compromise in
order to stay on the battle-front.Let us illustrate by the claimed
purpose of the Peoples Front—
the fight against Fascism. Fas-
cism is the last recourse of cap-
italism when faced with a threat
to its power from mass, middle
and working class discontent
with the status quo. Fascist de-
magogues win the middle class
and many workers by offering a
drastic change. Peoples Fronters
seek to offset this by offering
the very status quo against which
popular discontent is directed. No
wonder the "defense against Fas-
cism" is a continuous retreat!
The fight against Fascism is the
fight for Socialism. A vanguardSocialist Party must stand ready
to give aid in every immediate
fight against things as they are,
while always emphasizing that
the capitalist system causes these
evils and only Socialism can fi-
nally cure them.Socialist
TheoryUnited class struggle action
makes every immediate struggle
a demonstration of Socialist ef-
fectiveness in theory and action;
Peoples Front action makes
every inevitable defeat a demon-
stration of the incompetence of
all the participants. Witness
France!Before leaving this subject I
want to return to a further inner-
party application. To repeat: the
essence of the Peoples Front
theory is to win numbers by com-
promise with a less than com-
plete program rather than by con-
stant uncompromising education
and action toward a correct and
full revolutionary Socialist pro-
gram. It is not an overstatement
to say the former line has domi-
nated the Socialist Party of the
United States for many years.It is foolish to expect that
every new recruit will be a fully
developed Marxian Socialist, but
it is even more foolish to choose
our leadership, our educational
policy, and our activity on a
basis of concession to the limita-
tions of the more backward mem-
bers. It lies in the power of the
delegates to the Cleveland con-
vention to choose leadership and
plan education, organization and
activity which will set a Marxian
revolutionary standard at the van-
guard of the march toward So-
cialism.Socialism must be a movement
not a Peoples Front of compro-
mise with things as they ought
not to be. This is a close paral-
lel between democratic nations
and democratic parties. The gov-
ernment or the leadership which
tries to represent "all" the people
ends by representing none. As
the party is the vanguard of the
class, so should the party lead-
ers be the vanguard of the mem-
bership.

HOWARD STREET

The Other Side of San Francisco

Mention Howard Street to a hobo in New York City,
Chicago or New Orleans, and you will receive a prompt
reply, "So you have been on the skid-row in San Fran-
cisco." Mention Howard Street to a work-seeking touristand he shudders with horror. To
him the street is the most filthy
he ever saw, its human denizens
—drunks, dirty, unshaven and
ragged—a menace to his person.
Still Howard Street is interest-
ing, and all types of people can
be seen there. In an hour's tour
of the avenue, an observer can
see human character, life. The
street is at its best on a warm,
sunny day.The block between Third and
Fourth streets on Howard is
world-known and famous for the
great numbers of social outcasts
that congregate in a single block.
Necessities of life may be ob-
tained at prices suitable to indi-
vidual purses. There are second-
hand clothing stores which buy
and sell attire regardless of its
condition. There are shoe re-
pair shops, and liquor stores;
hotels where a night's lodging
may be obtained for twenty
cents; restaurants with menus
printed on the front windows,
where a full course "meal" may
be bought at ten and fifteen
cents. There are employment
agencies where a person may get
information for a fee, which will
enable him to secure work—if he
is lucky.The corner of Fourth and How-
ard is very respectable-looking.
There are two large hotels where
guests may obtain lodging at \$2.00
to \$3.50 a week. Everything looks
neat. Two policemen are
idling. The first person of in-
terest is an elderly man sitting
on a paper disposal can. Across
from him is the office of a mar-
riage union. Being interested in
unions, I asked the gent about
the place. He answers me with
disapproval, "That? Oh, that is
a scab union and a disgrace to the
street. Mister, do you want
to buy some razor blades, five
cents a package?"Next thing that attracted my
attention as I walked along was
a group of men in earnest dis-
cussion. One seedy-looking man,
spotting me, yells, "Mister, want
to buy a tooth-brush for a nickel."
It was yellowed with use. As I
did not answer him, he further
says, "I throw this comb in."
There were other salesmen, hold-
ing out for inspection cheap
watches, used razors, fountain
pens, razor blades, various ar-
ticles of clothing. There seemed
to be considerable haggling about
values and prices, but when anarticle was sold, buyer and seller
each left in an amiable mood.
This obviously was a curb mar-
ket. The prices of goods on this
market vary from a nickel to a
dollar.Strolling on, you can observe
from this point, typist-sort of
folks, and some seem to have
been in battle. One man has a
black-eye, another a swollen cut-
lip. Still others have bandages
on the heads and hands. There
is a man, reposing in a doorway,
indiscreetly filthy. His head is
resting on one side of a door-sill,
while his legs are resting on the
other side, as if he were dead.
The doorway is the entrance to
a soul-saving mission where free
meals are given after the service
of. There are groups of men
drinking out of single bottles;
others are pooling money. An
individual collects, rushes into a
liquor store and out again with
a bottle. These are California's
wine drinkers, known as Winos.
One is sleeping on a car's run-
ning board. Another is length-
wise on the sidewalk, and the
passerby must walk around him.The sidewalks are crowded
with people, some standing,
others walking aimlessly and get-
ting in everybody's way. What's
that? A large crowd is standing
on the walk and overflowing into
the street, all facing a center
point. Hilarious laughter shakes
the people. It's the "prophet," a
clean-shaven, silver-haired, middle-
age man, neatly dressed, full of
vigor. He is grating over a mystic-
looking diagram that is printed
with chalk on the street pave-
ment. The "prophet" is explain-
ing the faults of mankind. He
states that the dollars of the rich
will pay the way to hell; whereas
his plan is a short-cut for the
poor to heaven. This is the Third
Street corner.Hungry, I entered a Third
Street dairy lunch room that
serves meals on a tray. Eating
very slowly, I discovered a pe-
culiar activity on the part of
some of the patrons. There
seemed to be two kinds of cus-
tomers in the place. The quan-
tity of food served for a meal
was enormous, and some was al-
ways left on the tray by a cus-
tomer. In the twinkling of an
eye, this left-over was consumed
by waiting men. One of these

SIDELINES

By Jonathan Doe

Trouble In Venezuela

Pan American Airways is hav-
ing difficulties in Venezuela and
the U. S. Marines may be go-
ing into action any day now. The
natives down there fail to show
proper respect for private prop-
erty. They swipe those red can-
vas bags—"air socks" I think
they are called—that hang above
air ports to show pilots which
way the wind is blowing, and
transform them into pants. Pan
American agents have already
erected barbed wire enclosures
at Cumarebo. Call in the mi-
sionaries and call out the mar-
ines! The "reds" are on the
rampage and sewed into those
air socks they make one swell
target.'Twas In A Little
Spanish TownNewspaper headline: MOON-
LIGHT IN MADRID—AND REB-
EL PLANES DROP 70 BOMBS
ON CITY. Romantic, ain't it?

Brave New Masses

Hundreds of American workers,
technicians, etc., are ready to
risk their lives in Spain fighting
with the International Column
against the Fascists. But the
New Masses, Communist organ
of "the cultural front," is afraid
to risk its precious mailing priv-
ileges by reprinting the Debs'
Column ad which has been ap-
pearing regularly in Socialist pa-
pers throughout the country and
which on January 16th occupied
a full page in the Nation.According to the New Masses,
the Nation, when it isn't social-
fascist, is the journal of "timid,
milk-and-water liberalism." But
just what its refusal to reprint
the Debs' Column ad makes the
New Masses is difficult to say
in words of one syllable that
won't endanger the mailing priv-
ileges of Labor Action.Some day, when there is no
embarrassing international crisis,
the New Masses is going to get
its courage back. We look for-
ward to the time when, after a
stormy editorial session during
which several prominent members
of its staff resign in protest over
such a radical move, the New
Masses will come out boldly for
two cars in every garage and a
chicken in every pot. That will
be an occasion which will shake
our sacred institutions to their
foundations.

So What?

President Roosevelt in his in-
augural Address:
"In this nation I see tens of
millions of its citizens—a sub-
stantial part of its whole popu-
lation—who at this very moment
are denied the greater part of
what the very lowest standards
of today call the necessities of
life.""I see millions of families try-
ing to live on incomes so meagerthat the pall of family disaster
hangs over them day by day.""I see millions denied educa-
tion, recreation and the oppor-
tunity to better their lot and the
lot of their children.""I see millions lacking the
means to buy the products of
farm and factory and by their
poverty denying work and pro-
ductiveness to many other mil-
lions."All right, Mr. President, we
take you at your word. You see
these things in this year of grace,
1937. Daniel De Leon, a pioneer
Socialist, saw these same things
in 1889. Eugene V. Debs, left to
rot in jail by your great Demo-
cratic hero and predecessor,
Woodrow Wilson, saw them all
during the 1890's and up to the
day of his death in 1926. Big
Bill Haywood saw them. Tom
Mooney saw them. The Hay-
market victims and Sacco and
Vanzetti saw them. Norman
Thomas saw them back in the
days when you were Secretary of
the Navy and still sees them.
And Karl Marx, predicted them
decades before you were born.
So, even though it may not be
of your own choosing, you are in
distinguished company, Mr. Pres-
ident.But what we as Socialists are
interested in is what you are
going to do now that you see
these things.We think we know.
We think you are going right
on backing appropriations of bil-
lions for armaments while you
"see millions of families trying
to live on incomes so meager
that the pall of family disaster
hangs over them day by day."We think you are going right
on cutting relief and government
expenditures while you "see mil-
lions denied education, recrea-
tion," etc.We think you are going right
on playing ball with "economic
royalists"—your own term, you
know, though we have not heard
much of it since the election—
while you "see millions lacking
the means to buy the products
of farm and factory and by their
poverty denying work and pro-
ductiveness to many other mil-
lions."If at the end of your admin-
istration we can see none of these
things, we may apologize to Mr.
Browder for not helping to elect
you.Stalin's Moscow
Art TheatreThe Moscow trials are back for
a return engagement. Comple-
tely new cast but the same pro-
duction with only a few lines
changed. We don't know ex-
actly what these minor changes
are. We expect somehow though
that it will be conveyed to the
audience that the great off-stage
villain of the piece, Leon Trot-
sky, was not in Norway at all,
but was down in Spanish Mor-
occo helping Franco recruit his
Moors.

MINNEAPOLIS LABOR NOTES

Warehousemen
OrganizeLong underpaid warehouse
workers in major Minneapolis in-
dustries are pushing an organiza-
tional drive that will wind up infree-eaters was caught in the
act and ejected, just as a slow-
moving car resembling an am-
bulance, was passing the place.
A blue-coated attendant motioned
to the free-eater who, without a
word, walked into the wagon.The passing black-wagon
aroused my curiosity. I wanted
to see what happened on Howard
Street. The street seemed to be
changed. An old lady, disheveled,
with a basket of apples and
candy, passed. Someone hands
her a coin but takes no apple.
There were noticeable a few
young, timid-looking boys, peer-
ing into restaurants. The pedes-
trians were a clean looking lot.
The sleepers and bandaged men
were gone. On Fourth Street and
Howard, I again saw the black-
maria. It was packed and going
places.Yes, I live on the respectable
corner. The sitting man is not
a bum. He has been on the same
spot almost every day for the last
three months. The fink agency
was of great interest to the stiff
when a dodger was passed out
informing the public that a res-
taurant was to be established.
But there were no free meals
served and only four windows
broken in the place, so no one
pays much attention to it any-
more. The curb market is in
front of a labor market, where
all the money is. The "prophet"
is a fixed institution on the cor-
ner of Third Street. Apple Ann
makes the rounds of skid-row
every day. Regardless of how
many times the Black Maria pas-
ses during the day, some winos
are missed.Mister, if you're one of those
well-laundered dollar-makers who
want to see everything come out
and see Howard Street. It is
very interesting—if you are just
passing by. You'll never know
San Francisco until you have
seen the skid-row.a mass meeting of all inside and
warehouse workers to be held in
the hall of General Drivers, Local
544, Wednesday, January 13.
The drive begun recently by
newly chartered Federal Union,
No. 20316, of the A. F. of L.
features widespread wage and
hour demands.Organization of these work-
ers and their demands for better
working conditions constitutes an-
other threat to the labor-hating
Minneapolis employers. Harbored
in the stronghold of the labor
movement, Drivers Local 544
headquarters, the new union
seems certain to advance the
cause of unionism in the Twin
Cities.Demands call for union recog-
nition, establishment of seniority
rights, 8-hour day, a 25 per cent
wage increase, and paid vaca-
tions.The scheduled mass meeting
will hear Farrell Dobbs, Local No.
544, Miles Dunne, William Brown,
Roy Wier of the Minneapolis labor
movement.Would Freeze
WPA WorkersFor the time being the Federal
Workers Section, Local 544, has
frustrated an attempt by a group
which calls itself the "Tax Payers
of Minneapolis" to deprive the
WPA workers of Supplementary
coal and relief.On the excuse that supplemen-
tary coal was issued without prop-
er investigation, the group served
a temporary restraining order on
the Hennepin County Welfare
Board. If it had remained effective
it would have meant a cold win-
ter for WPA workers whose
meager wages make it impossible
to supply themselves with coal,
rent, and the necessities of life.The question will come up be-
fore District Judge Vince Day
January 12. A mass meeting has
been called by the Federal Work-
ers Section, Local 544, for Jan-
uary 8, to take action on the Cit-
izens Alliance injunction against
supplementary coal, the holding
up of clothing needed by Relief
Clients and WPA workers, and to
fight layoffs on WPA.I. L. G. W. U.
NotesThe Joint Board of the Inter-
national Ladies' Garment Work-
ers' Union of San Francisco, has
planned an open meeting for
Erich Rix, German trade union-
ist and veteran of a Hitler con-
centration camp, Thursday eve-
ning, January 28, at 8 p. m., in
the union meeting hall, 149 Ma-
son Street.The Executive Board of the
Pacific Coast Federation of the
I.L.G.W.U. meets in San Fran-
cisco, Saturday and Sunday, Jan-
uary 30 and 31, to discuss recom-
mendations on union agreements
with shops in the Pacific Coast
area which are due to expire in
June of this year.The Grand Annual Ball of the
I.L.G.W.U. will take place this
year at the Trianon Ballroom, at
Sutter and Van Ness Avenues,
Saturday evening, February 6.
The program for the ball, which
is being sponsored by the San
Francisco Joint Board, will in-
clude a floor show by the I. L.
G. W. U. Chorus. There will be
door prizes and union music for
the "friends and fellow-unionists"
who are invited to attend. Tick-
ets on sale now at the I.L.G.W.U.
office, will be 35 cents.San Francisco
Laundry Union
Vote On StrikeLaundry Drivers Union No. 256
will vote Wednesday, January 27
on the question of empowering
the executive board to call the
membership on strike if the
Laundry Owners' Association does
not concede the Drivers' demands
by February 1.This is the first time in 17
years that this union has made
demands. Most drivers now get-
ting \$30 a week will be raised
to \$40 if the union demands are
granted. The owners have met
the union representatives and
have made counter-proposals,
most of which were voted down
by the membership.Slave Conditions
In Virgin IslandsWASHINGTON.—The desperate
plight of over 4,000 women work-
ers of the Virgin Islands is de-
scribed in a report of the Wom-
en's Bureau of the Department of
Labor. "Stranded" by the world
economic crisis, the women of the
Virgin Islands are forced to uti-
lize any means to gain a few
pennies.Bunkering ships by hand-car-
rying coal in baskets from the
island to the ship is the work of
more women in St. Thomas than
any other occupation except do-
mestic service.Rally Party
In Struggle
For SpainCHICAGO.—Continuing to rally
American workers behind the
Spanish anti-fascist fight, the na-
tional organization of the So-
cialist Party has issued sugges-
tions and directions to its locals
and branches giving complete
support to "Friends of the Debs
Column," raising money to aid
volunteers in joining the Inter-
national Brigade fighting fascism
in Spain.To make the functions of the
two committees raising funds for
the fight against fascism in Spain,
clear. Roy E. Burt, national ex-
ecutive secretary of the Socialist
Party, made the following state-
ment:"The Spanish Solidarity Fund
committee of the Socialist Party
raises money for general aid to
Spanish anti-fascists and is com-
posed of Socialist Party mem-
bers of trade unions. Spanish
and Italian anti-fascist organiza-
tions, liberal and working class
organizations in each community.
Money raised for this fund can
be earmarked "for the Debs
Column," "for medical supplies,"
etc., otherwise it is used at the
discretion of the national com-
mittee set up by the national ex-
ecutive committee of the party
at its November meeting com-
posed of Devere Allen, Max Del-
son and Norman Thomas."Friends of the Debs Column"
is a committee separate from the
party having in its organization
non-party members sympathetic to
the anti-fascist fight in Spain,
raising money for the specific
purpose of aiding volunteers in
getting to Spain," stated Burt.
"Because of the urgency of the
Spanish anti-fascist fight it is
imperative that this be the im-
mediate task before us, the aiding
of this committee."For a "Red Hot" Time—Attend the
Labor Action Press Ball
SATURDAY NIGHT, JANUARY 30
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