VOL. 1, No. 10

SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1937

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

'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 Boards which have kept a stranglehold over railroad workers since the war.

And this "benevolent" government interventioncan 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 Acts, 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 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 percenage 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 vere rapidly approaching the levels of 1929 and 1930, one company showing the best net income for any year in its his-

Victory For Workers

Julion Wins Demands Volunteers was the message the After 13-Week Struggle

of militant struggle on the picket lines won for the workers of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. major con-

ment.
7,000 workers were locked out owners of the flat glass industry in- ready qualified. tended to smash the newly-organ-

other basic industries. conclusion. The workers won wage rating and a commission to investi-Pittsburgh Plate and Libbey-Owens-

TRIMBLE TO **SPEAK**

SAN FRANCISCO .- Glen Trimble, State Secretary of the So-January 31, will speak on "More an analysis of the recent trial. Radek-Pyatakoff in Moscow. The meeting will be held at International Hall, 236 Van Ness

PITTSBURGH—13 weeks Raise Funds For to bring to the American workers. He recently returned from a visit to the scene of the civil Debs Brigade

An intensive three-week camcessions and a year's agree- paign of money-raising for the Debs Column has been launched a speaking tour. by the Socialist Party in Califorlast October 25, when officials of nia. Temporarily, no more volthe Pittsburgh Company refused to unteers will be interviewed until consider demands of the Federa- provision has been made to as- to get first hand information as tion of Flat Glass Workers. The sist the volunteers who have al- to

During the three weeks, locals ized F. of F. G. W., and prepare the of the Socialist Party have been way for the wrecking of unions in advised by the State Executive tour in this state: Committee to concentrate on Yet the strike held firm, was ex- three main phases of activity: tended to the Libbey-Owens-Ford mass meetings, appeal to workplants, and reached a successful ing-class and liberal organiza 18, 19, Stockton; Feb. 20, Berketions for financial co-operation, increases, an effective seniority and tag-days. Material has been prepared in the State Office and gate wage inequalities between 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, committee in New York which is supporting the Debs Column procialist Party, on Sunday night, ject. Sponsors of the Friends of the Debs Column include: V. F. Moscow Trials." This will be Calverton, Sidney Hook, Ludwig Lore, Carlo Tresca, Louis Boudin, Dorothy Kenyon, Charles Yale Harrison, and others.

Final arrangements are being Ave., under auspices of the So- made to assist the ten best qualicialist Party of San Francisco. fied volunteers from California to

Socialists Aid Auto Strikers

CLEVELAND - The Socialist of Bert Cochran, M. E. S. A. or-Party of Cleveland completed its ganizer; John Jurkanin, Amalganner party reorganization in time mated Meat Cutters Organizer, and to lend significant aid to the Fisher Louis Golden of the Office Workers Body strikers here. This party re- Union. This committee has conorganization established on a func- tacted the officers of the striking tioning basis a Socialist Labor Auto Workers local who have wel-League composed of its members comed the aid of the Socialist who are also members of some la- Party. bor union. In this way unions and fraternal organizations were con- Socialist Labor League, has just

ed a directive committee composed M. E. S. A.

Bert Cochran, Chairman of the Chicago. tacted for donations, for food, and returned from Detroit where he for aid on the Fisher Body picket took part in successfully negotiating a settlement of the Michigan The Socialist Labor League elect- Tool Company strike called by the

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 Roosevelt Shows



Flat Glass Push Drive Erber Meetings Scheduled Here To Finance we fight for a Workers'

r, National Chairman of the Young Peoples Socialist League

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

The civil war in Spain is of vital importance to the workers in the U.S. Here is a chance what is really taking place there without the censorship of the Capitalist press. Below is the schedule of his

Feb. 12, San Diego; Feb. 13, 14. 15. Los Angeles: Feb. 16. Bakersfield; Feb. 17. Fresno: Feb. ley; Feb. 21, 22, 23, San Francisco: Feb. 24, Palo Alto.

this country to affiliate with the International Workers' Brigade under the banner of the Debs

Readers of Labor Action are 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

A large majority of the editorworkers of the Times, the Herald - Examiner, International News Service and the City News 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

ten Philadelphia unions. 19 182 to plant sets for a celebration how this policy had resulted in donation of thirty-five dellars.

Spy Policy Of Bosses Shown Up

Clearing House For Human Rif-raff

WASHINGTON - Organlabor 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 was investigated.

The industrial relations policy carried out by this association of employers, and the character of that policy is amply demonstrated by the use of scabs, ex-conjoin with the first group from victs 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. urged to send funds to 236 Van 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 crecessary pretext to call the troop initials of unions on the rail gerrymandering of the workers'

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, Con-Bureau are members of the guild, necticut, Pennsylvania and New

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 PHILADELPHIA-A local branch strike. One spent a solitary

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

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

Tool Men Win Strike

Force Reinstatement And Get Wage Increases

DETROIT — The five day sitdown strike of the Michigan Tool Co. ended this Thursday, when one hundred of the inside men and four hundred Michigan Tool employees on the outside voted to accept the agreement negotlated by their union committee, it was announced by Bert Cochran, general organizer of the Mechanics' Educational Society of

Michigan Tool is the largest cutting tool manufacturer of Detroit and supplies tools to both

The agreement included reinstatement of twenty-five union men, time and a half for over-

with the officials of the Ford Motor Co.

ized use of thugs, scabs and troit auto parts plants settled in the campaign and its flowery this manner. Ford has interven- speeches over, calls for "peace" ed in both the Midland Steel and in a hurry.

This brings into sharp relief

Metal Trades Association of General Motors and proves that the basic strategy of the Auto Union in isolating General Motors of 952 firms is formulated and has proven correct. Ford, the ticians who are pledged as Roolast of the industrial individualists, is for the time being, pushsible, to steal the market of the profit." Chevrolet car.

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 At Detroit asked labor to come to his aid and labor helped repel the atand labor helped repel the at-

> "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, illhoused,' he mentioned. We are conscious of the virtue of their position and their right to be ecognized.

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 dash of cold water to the labor men who still hope for workers ald from capitalist politician

An interesting feature of the are moments when statemen negotiations in this strike, it was conversations and headlines are Metal Association Is ed in the fact that all the pre- plainly irritated at a direct class pointed out by Cochran, consist- not in order." Roosevelt was liminary negotiations were con-appeal to him-from the wrong

> Lewis asks presidential help in drawing the anti-labor fangs of This is the third strike in De- economic royalists; Roosevelt, -but overlooks labor's demand Kelsey-Hayes strikes previously for justice collective bargaining, and has used economic pressure an end to the speed-up, a share upon the managements of these in the G. M. profits which in companies to settle the strikes 1936 were larger than the total wage bill. This is no time for statements about "ill-nourished, the general tie up of the plants ill-clad, ill-housed" auto workers, Forget these things "in the interests of peace." That answer is always the answer of the polisevelt is by his own words "to the system of private ownership, ing production as heavily as pos- private initiative and private

(Continued on Page 2)

250 Hear Erber Speak On The Civil War In Spain

CHICAGO.-Two hundred and the capture of Saragossa, one of lifty people filled every available the strongest proletarian centers, 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 made by him on behalf of the

roads they have taken over, he 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 specbankruptcy of the Popular Front government which was incapable of vigorous action and only served to lull the working-class and County of the Socialist Party and peasantry into a false sense of the Chicago District of the Young

security.

by the Fascist militarists. INVEIGLE WORKERS

Once the workers were armed, however, the "democratic" capia recent official visit to Spain talists had only one way to save themselves-to inveigle the work young Socialist national organiza- ers' parties into accepting their class rule because of the "need Erber described in glowing for unity" and entering the popterms the resurgence of a work- ular front governments in Madrid ing-class set into motion by the and Barcelona at the same time present struggle against Fascism. they themselves continued their After depicting the evidences of anti-working class plotting, as proletarian revolutionary spirit exposed by the frustrated coup of everywhere, from the salute with outstanding "liberal" capitalists which workers greet each other in Barcelona. The effect of this, ate violence to serve as the ne- on the street to the significant Erber said, has been the gradual militia, weakening the independtraced the causes and effects of ent workers' plenipotentiary comthe six months of armed struggle mittees, 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 tacular election, into the fighting of the Catalonian anarchist moveinsurrectionary force of last July, ment which could be won over to was laid squarely by Erber on the a revolutionary Marxist position, in Erber's opinion.

The meeting was held under the auspices of Local Cook People's Socialist League. Albert On the day of the insurrection Goldman presided, and also took this government in many cases up a collection for the Debs Brigof the Committee for Industrial honeymoon inside the plant, the denied arms to the anti-fascist ade, in which the Jackson Park Organization has been formed by other, a girl, brought her husband workers, Erber explained, telling Socialist Party branch made a

Roosevelt Shows Colors to Labor In Automobile Crisis

(Continued from Page 1) REAL GUARANTEE

tice, the unbroken and growing closed." ranks of the United Automobile Workers of America, remained firm through the week of Wash- ficials were preparing (as Labor ington maneuvers. Sitdown strik Action goes to press) to attend a ers continued to hold the key conference called by Secretary of first worked in Austrian Poland Revolutionary Committee of the Council of the 2nd, 9th, 13th and Fisher Body plants in Flint, Mich- Labor Perkins after Roosevelt and Galicia (1904-1908). In 1908 18th Army. In 1920, Commissar 8th Armies. In 1922 appointed igan. Homer Martin, union head, washed his hands of the whole announced a program of militant auto situation. Union heads were with Rosa Luxemburg formed the 1920, member of the Revolution (creator of the chervonetz). Same mass pickets at 17 scattered GM doubtful of the value of the Per- left wing in the German social factories. As far away as Oak- kins conference and declared in democracy around the newspaper land, California, Chevrolet and advance that they would refuse Premier Arbeiter-Politik. Inter-Fisher Body assembly plants saw any proposal to return to the nationalist during the war. Partheir first picket lines, and in "Lansing agreement" which ticipated in Zimmerwald and Kiunion offices, other lines of men pledged the unions to remove sit- enthal. On the Bureau of the eager to join the "one big union" down strikers. Lewis correctly Zimmerwald Left. Came to Peof auto workers.

than in his appeal to tion "double-cross." Roosevelt, declared that "We asked for, isn't it? Well, he Washington.

Until General Motors signs an Labor's real guarantee of jus- agreement the plants will stay

> MADAM PERKINS CALLS Lewis and the other union of

The strike will be won in Flint have enough men to close the and the other sites of General That's the test Sloan Motors—unless it gets lost in of Foreign Affairs. After the ous high posts, his last being the CEC from 1917-1919; and

Chinese Communists Offer To "Curb Labor"

lords, merchants and rich peas- leaders of the Salvation Associa- Congresses of the Comintern. In developing the Kuzbas basin ants" is offered by the chart toops) must adopt a tolerant atmember of the Opposition until ing to wreck.

man of the Chinese Soviet Govthe Christian Science Monitor. curb all labor troubles." Ludwig Love, writing in the New comments as follows:

Chinese National Front against never like this! Japanese aggression. Mao Tsetung, 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 SAN FRANCISCO: replying to a manifesto issued over their signatures last July. In this manifesto the association preclaimed its allegiance to the Kuomintang Government and General Chiang Kai-shek in the Fundamentals.

a against Japan. It was that manifesto that the association was not anti-government, but a government support- BERKELEY:

Mr. Mao's letter, says the correspondent, virtually takes the Communism out of the Chinese ergency and expresses the willingness of the Chinese Commununited front against Japan.

osition," the letter reads, in part, STOCKTON: fuse to form a united front with tional meetings. these elements." There is to be no confiscation of "property and OXNARD: enterprises and even help them meetings; second and fourth meetto develop in order to increase ings, social and educational. the material resources available in the Soviet regions for fighting Japan. The land and property of all landowners and militarists actively participating in the anti-Japanese war will not be confiscated. . . .

The Communist leader promises to fulfill the condition of the National Salvation Association, that the Red Army fight shoulder to shoulder with Chiang Kai-shek's HARBOR CITY: troops against the common foe. He pledges his followers to civil at 8 p. m.

An agreement to "curb all la peace in the territories of the work of the Communist Inter the party." A brilliant adminan agreement to curb an la pour la "Chinese Soviet Republic." "In national under Lenin; was re- istrator, he was one of those tolerant attitude toward land- the Soviet regions," the four porter at the II and III World most instrumental in building and is offered by the chair- tion declared "they (the Soviet 1920, secretary of the E.C.C.I. ernment in return for a united titude toward landlords, mer-summer of 1929 when he capitufront against Japan, according to chants and rich peasants. In the lated. Was reinstated in 1930, Shanghai correspondent of large cities they must agree to and served on the newspaper

To these postulates Mr. Mao York Evening Post, January 19, now makes reply. "We agree to quotes from the Monitor and act in the manner you suggest. Indeed, it is in this spirit that The Shanghai correspondent of we have acted in the past. . . ." the Christian Monitor reports Verily, German Social Demoprogress in the formation of a cratic reformism at its worst was 1904. In 1910 joined the social cow uprising in December 1905. of 1917 came to Moscow where he the first C. E. C. and the first Sov-

SOCIALIST **CALENDAR**

OPEN FORUM: Every Sunday,

Monday, 6:45 p. m .- Socialist

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

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

PALO ALTO:

Socialist Party Local: Meets al policies in the interest of a every second an fourth Wednesday of the month at 915 Chaning "We have formulated the prop. Avenue, at 8 p. m.

"that the property and land of Socialist Party Local: Meets rich peasants should not be con- every Monday at 8 p. m., at 234 fiscated in those cases where the N. Sutter Street. First and Third peasants are rising up to fight Monday regular business meetings Japan. Further, we will not re- Second and Fourth, open educa-

Socialist, Party Local: Meets larger and smaller capitalists. On every Monday at 8 p. m. First and the American Civil Liberties Unthe contrary, we will protect such third meetings, regular business

> LOS ANGELES: Socialist Party Local: Meets Thomas, Socialist member of laevery Thursday, 8 p. m., at 1161/2

> West Ninth Street. Meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., at question. The Communist NEW 126 North Saint Louist Street. Sunday, 8 p. m., at 1161/2 West New Masses, like Hearst, declares Ninth Street.

Meets every Wednesday evening

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 al- for six dollars to cover four onelow me to express my opinion re- year subs to Labor Action from garding your paper, Labor Action. railroad unionists who like this I and hundreds along the water militant weekly. front think it is the best labor newspaper anybody has published so far.

picket line along the front, some information to those who toil at YPSL members came along and productive labor, distributed Labor Action, which was appreciated by every honest from the rail workers on your union man except the Communist splendid work. We will be there members who are not satisfied with more subs. with any publication except the Western Worker which we absolutely refuse to accept. More about the Communist Party that and more maritime strikers are whatever union they get hold of convinced that the Socialist Party they will wreck. And you certhe real champion behind la-

of the "Notebook of an Agitator." less leader, Harry Lundeberg, Aid" Dodge I remember a couple of weeks whom we have absolute faith in. ago you referred in your paper

From a Railroader Minneapolis, Minn.

January 19, 1937 Editor, Labor Action:

Enclosed find cashier's check

You comrades in Frisco are surely putting out a fine working class paper, easy to read, easy to Last night when I stood on the understand, and brim full of vital

Well, so long, with compliments

C. R. HEDLUND.

L MELIN SUR

tainly spoke the truth. Am glad to say that we honest union men Say, we certainly get a kick out stand behind our honest and fear-

Roster Of Defendants In Latest Moscow "Trial"

Biographical Sketches of the New Victims of Stalin-Borgia

KARL B. RADEK

condemned this agreement as trograd after October (prevented in charge of the Central Euro. lated and reinstated in 1928. revolution of 1918 in Germany in organizing the first Congress of the German Communist Party ("Spartacists"). Arrested in Ger- viks," Platakov's name was many, Feb. 15, 1919. On his re- among the six mentioned by Lenlease in December of that year in in his Testament, bracketed returned to Russia. One of the with that of Bukharin as one of most active participants in the the "two ablest young men in Izvestya.

GREGORY L. **PIATAKOV**

Born 1890; participated in the democratic student movement in from the university came to Kiev. Arrested in 1912. Exiled in 1913. Escaped abroad in 1914 (through

ed as Chairman of the first So- ovsk peace delegation; signed uary 1930. Since then served in va- 40 more Saturday. Eighty two-Born 1885; in the revolutionary viet Government in the Ukraine. the Brest treaty. 1918-1929 memmovement since the age of 14; In 1919 chairman of the Military ber of the Revolutionary Military went to Germany where together of the Military Academy. May People's Commissar for Finances ary Military Committee of the 16th Army at the Polish front, then of the 6th Army at the Wrangel front. In 1921 head of shortly, capitulating to Stalinthe management of the coal in Bukharin. Since then has held He is one of the legendary heroes dustry in the Donbas. In 1923, very important high posts. In of the Civil War. Expelled from Council of National Economy, Ex. plan (State Planning Commis-Stalin. In exile, in Western Siberia, tour of California, has sent in

> Industry. One of the "younger Bolshe-

GREGORY SOKOLINKOV

which he is now accused of seek-

Born 1888; old Bolshevik. In revolutionary movement since Participated in the armed Mos- Komstromsky Soviet. In the middle worked in the Ukraine. Member of the university. On expulsion Exiled to Siberia in February Committee. After October, member 1919, elected secretary of the All-Japan). Participated in the sia after the February revolut of the C. E. C. (CPSU); and section the Ukraine. Was transferred to issues, a great hullabaloo has Berne Conference of the Bolshe- tion. From April 1917 member retary of the All-Russian Central Moscow, and in 1921 elected to the been raised over "legality" in the viks. After the February revolu- of the Moscow Party Committee; Executive Committee of the Sov- Moscow Executive Committee, announcement of the organiza- contact the Spanish Socialist tion, Chairman of the Kiev Com- member of the editorial board of lets. Active participant in the Civil Member of the "Democratic Cen- tion of the Debs Column of the Party and will have no dealings mittee of the Bolsheviks. After the central organ (after the July War. Member of the Military Revo-tralist Group;" expelled at the 15th International Workers' Brigade. with the Spanish government as October served first as assistant days). After October, directed lutionary Committee of the South Party Congress; capitulated in 1930 "Filibustering laws," "neutrality" Socialist Study Classes: de Every Commissar and their as the chief the nationalization of the banks. ern Front (1921). Then served as and assigned to work in Novosi- laws, and all sorts of ancient is merely helping to furnish trans-

the Ukraine. In Dec. 1918 serve as chairman of the Brest Lit-lated June 1929; reinstated Janyear sent to the Hague Confer- viks. One of the leaders of the Mos-

During 1925-6, supported the "new Opposition" but left it served in the most important posts vice Chairman of the Supreme 1929, vice Chairman of the Gos- the party, but did not capitulate to f auto workers.

Condemned this agreement as trograd after October (prevented pelled for Trotskyism at the Fif. sion). In 1928, Chairman of the since 1929, he apparently withdrew rome coming earlier by the Eu-ropean police). After Brest peace teenth Party Congress; capitu- Oil Syndicate. In 1929 ambas- from all political activity. sador to England.

pean section in the Comissariat Since that time served in vari- Sokolnikov was a member of that of the vice Chairman of the from 1922-1930. At the XVI Conwent there illegally. Participated People's Commissariat of Heavy gress he was elected candidate to

LENOID P. SEREBRYAKOV

Born in 1890; old Bolshevik; a Bolsheviks. Arrested in 1912 in work in Siberia. 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

rious high posts; his last being that bit subs accounted for by a of assistant Commissar for Com- single comrade! This gives a munications.

N. I. MURALOV

One of the oldest worker Bolshein the army during the Civil War.

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 movement at the age of 14, in 1904. the "Democratic Centralist Group;"

MICHAEL S.

BOGUSLAVSKY Born in 1886; old worker Bolthe revolutionary movement since back to Narym. After serving his shevik; in the revolutionary move-1903. Member of the Bolsheviks exile term, came to Tomsk in 1916 ment since 1904, when he was arsince 1905. From 1905-1907 work- and worked there. After the Feb- rested in Kharkov. In 1905, partici-1909. Escaped abroad almost im- of the Praesidium of the Moscow Ukrainian Central Executive Commediately. During the war, an Soviet and secretary of the Mos- mittee of the Soviets, and also of

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

rough idea of what can be accomplished if and when the whole action army swings into line behind this proposition.

Bill Millis, of Palo Alto, the Tom Kerry in this campaign. His We pay the postage. record for the week is 20 subs bought, sold, and 20 more bought.

The Business Manager, on 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.

for four cards on the four-for-aworker metallist he began factory and the Germans. Served on the the story of the first week of the real foundation of the Socialist campaign. Answers are due now Arrested in 1905. Since 1910, a pro- expelled at the 15th Party Con- week, and we are watching every fessional revolutionist; participated gress; capitulated and was rein- mail to see whether the cam- tion Army by sending in that in the Prague Conference of the stated in 1929; being assigned to paign is a go or a flop. The whole idea is to get 1,000 new stick to your guns by turning it subs quickly at the special trial rate. If we don't succeed quickly in the most important fight in we don't succeed at all on this proposition.

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 all-time champion, is crowding card and drop it in the mail box.

> 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 fakers don't support papers like Labor Action. The hundreds of Jimmy Higginses With a few straggling orders without a cent in their jeans but with good feet and a determina-

> first sub card order, and then over every week, you are sharing

The Action Army can win the Just in case you missed this West for Socialism! Let's go!

ed in the Moscow organization. ruary revolution organized the pated in the October strikes. Has Participated in the armed Mos. Komstromsky Soviet. In the middle worked in the Ukraine Member of Arrested in the Autumn of 1907. Served on the Moscow Central iet Government in the Ukraine. In Exiled to Siberia in February Committee, After October, member 1919 elected report of the Debs Column

In the true spirit of the ap-|of the unofficial International internationalist. Returned to Rus- cow Committee. 1919-1920, secretary the Council of People's Commissars plication of capitalist law to class Workers Brigade as a group of Commissar of the State Bank. Elected to the CEC at the Sixth Commissar for Communications. birsk where he has remained until statutes are being diligently inportation to those qualified Amer-During the Civil War served in Party Congress. In 1918 served Expelled in October 1927; capituble his recent arrest. the flow of volunteers to aid the against Spanish Fascism. Obworkers of Spain. Hundreds of viously only those with experience men and thousands of dollars of value are being aided. poured into the support of the wish to fight in support of their Spanish Fascists by citizens of ideals. We offer them no salary this country as well as any other or any other inducement. They

sons who have of their own voli-

The members of the Debs Column will not serve as members of the

this affair were five dollars a Although the Debs column had plate.

In the meanwhile 250 men.

the country. All could be sent at once by

pathizers. The Spanish situa-

free-lance volunteers. They will

been and are daily being "Members of the Debs Column

"We wish to make it clear that the Debs Column does not in any In view of these investigations, way embroil the United States in for such volunteers.

"It is extraordinary that the contemplate taking action against never took against the Friends of Ireland at the time when the against naturalized American citizens of Italian extraction who

official army of the Spanish government, nor will they take any government. They will be part Endorses The

against Ethiopia."

In an exclusive interview granted to Labor Action's reporter, Carl Sandburg, one of America's foremost liberal posts, 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 pathy 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 15e

Sabotaging Aid For Spain Communist movement. It declares that everything must be clares that everything must be looks the other way. The only federal investigation to take place is howevers. Their services are

On the back cover of the liberal Nation of January fighters and technicians, had Masses threw themselves behind

Column drive.

determined to launch a "safe"

competing movement that would

English Communist novelist who

Spain and who happened to be

turn to Captain Bates and to

"Men for Spain"—especially after

a request by the Socialists for a

he has addressed meetings in

tentions were made for him?

Call for Help for

International Brigade

Hollywood later.

the Debs Column, including such Yale Harrison, Ludwig Lore, of the N. Y. Evening Post and Charles Vale Harrison, novelist, Carlo Tresca, anti-Fascist Italian editor, Roger Baldwin, director of famous liberal attorney and others who are members of no radical party—as well as Norman

bor leaders. The liberal Nation accepted Socialist Party Jewish Branch: this paid advertisement without MASSES TURNED IT DOWN. Sunday Evening Forum: Every Why? Because the Communist that it is "illegal" to raise money to transport volunteers to Spain Party Treasurer! and is afraid to compromise itself with the authorities. This, in spite of the fact that this ad- up at the New Masses, with Wil- Ities so sadly lacking in the 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!inheritor 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 ignoble 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 may chill those pretty darlings of theirs whose chief delight it is to dip their daintily manicured toes in the perfumed "revolutionary" bath of the Red dilettante. These people will send "resolutions and jam," hearts and flowers to Spain; but their tender insides would be horribly upset by talk of men to Spain!" The "Technical

By the time this comment had

16th there appeared a full page advertisement calling for the support of the Debs Column volunteering throughout the support of the Debs Column volunteering throughout and has enormously strengthened and has enormously strengthened the United States for service against Fascism in Spain. the morale of the Spanish work- —as outlined in its advertise- New York issued a statement to teers do not expect protection by That advertisement was sponsored by the Friends of ers. The Brigade is made up of ments, is to send "Men to Spain" the press as to the nature of our the United States armed forces well-known figures as Clifton Fa- vious that the Communist Party, ists, anarchists, anti-fascists of Spanish workers in factories, is summed up as follows: diman of the New Yorker, Charles goaded by the flood of criticism all types—from every European shops, hospitals, etc., so that the which followed its attack on the country. Debs Column and by the fact that some of its own members were enlisting with that column, was

while at the same time capitalization in Spain, he reports, has for lack of passage money. ing on the publicity which had reached a point where IT IS NO What Happened greeted the announcement of the LONGER ENOUGH FOR THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING In Hollywood Heaven forbid that any of the CLASS TO SEND "JUST RESO-Party's lucrative, though indi- LUTIONS AND JAM," to aid the as aid to Spain is concerned—of rect, financial contacts among the workers. It aly, Germany and such competing projects and seeminnocents of Manhattan and Hol- Portugal are sending MEN AND ing duplication of efforts was parlywood should be moved to sup ARMS to help the Fascists.

port any movement not under The Debs Column is an answer party control—and without even a to that call. Emphasis in the Column is placed in technical Over-night, a "Committee for training and experience of every Technical Aid to Spain "was set kind, because these are the qualvertisement has been going liam Browder, brother of Earl, hastily recruited peasants' and through the mails in the Socialist as Secretary, and a drive for workers' militias of Spain. Once slogan of "Men for Spain"—the assigned to those tasks for which has lived for several years in services and their lives to the

Why this sudden concern on the instead: Put us where we are it had turned down emphatically pitals or in the machine shops. does an obscure novelist sudden- attempted to volunteer in the ly become a "representative" of Debs Column, after several hunthe International Brigade, after dred from among them had been be representing. carefully picked and examined for New York at which no such pre their qualifications, after these showman, sponsored by an im- a political football. Whatever several hunderd-including avia- pressive Committee of Motion our political differences, our attors, doctors, technical experts of Picture Artists-most of whom titude toward the Spanish govall kinds—were awaiting only the had never heard of him before ernment—Fassism in Spain Through the correspondents of transportation money which but who were easer to help and MUST BE BEATEN. both the daily and weekly press would permit them to leave for to hear about Spain-with all What about it, Mr. Bates and -including Louis Fischer in The Spain, and while the Friends of the facilities (though not the Mr. Browder? You are collect-Nation it has become known that the Debs Column were attempt. formal endorsement) of the pow- ing funds for "technical aid to

volunteers — socialists, commun- who will take the place of the activities. Briefly this statement or diplomatic authorities abroad the poor Spanish devils can go any time attempted, nor shall we Federal Government should now Pietro Nenni, representative of out and fight the Fascists! The attempt to induce anyone to go. the Labor and Socialist Inter- Communist Party must keep its to Spain as a member of the Debs the Friends of Spain, which national at the Spanish Front new respectability, and the New Column. We deal only with per-(whom even the most fanatical Masses its "mailing privilege"-Communist could scarcely label even if aid to the International divert support from the Debs Col- a "Trotskyite") has recently sent Brigade is sabotaged in the procumn, break the solidarity of the out a call for aid in building the ess and the volunteers of the its fight. movement in support of Spain International Column. The situa- Debs Column are kept in New

The waste and tragedy—so far ticularly obvious in Los Angeles during the last week. A repre-Bates arrived in town almost simultaneously.

been under way for two weeks, technicians were awaiting transfunds was launched under the in Spain, these individuals will be portation and efforts were being made to raise part of that ered on this "representative of self-same slogan which the Com, they are most needed. But such transportation money in anti-fasc- the International Brigade." The munist press had been denounce assignment must take place in ist circles in Los Angeles, Mr. take must have amounted to seving for two weeks. Ralph Bates, Spain, not in New York. The Bates who arrived suddenly by eral thousand dollars and Mr. men who have volunteered their air, in a blaze of newspaper pub. Browder's Committee can conlicity, refused either to see or gratulate itself on its enterprise-Spanish struggle through the consult with the representative of and its Hollywood connections. in New York, suddenly became Debs Column do not stipulate to the Debs Column—even after it "captain" in the International the Spanish Government: You had been explained to him that ready to give both their serv: Brigade and flew to Hollywood as must put us in safe berths in the two appeals for what seemed ices and their lives to the strugits representative. We will re- factories and laboratories while to many the same cause, was gle against Fascism are waiting our Spanish brothers face the creating confusion and doubt in New York for nothing more fascist machine guns. They say among the friends of Spain. At than their fare across the At against fascism. "I am in full symthis time, Mr. Browder's Com- lantic. 96 more—including the part of the Communists with needed—whether it is in the mittee had not issued a public brother of Congressman Amlie, front line trenches, in the hos appeal, Mr. Browder's name was are waiting in California. Other discreetly absent from Mr. Bates' groups are waiting throughout It was only after thousands of publicity, and neither the repreunited front on this subject? Why men throughout the country had sentatives of the Debs Column nor the general public knew just the united efforts of all workwhat Mr. Bates was supposed to ing-class forces and their sym-Taken in hand by a first-rate tion is too serious to be made

the International Brigade, com- ing to raise this money—that the erful Anti-Nazi League placed Spain." The technicians in the

is directed against the Socialist purely voluntary and they so Party to keep effective support realize. from reaching the Spanish work-

The purpose of that Committee however, the Socialist Party of the Spanish conflict. The volun-"The Socialist Party has not at

> "We are not enlisting or recruiting anyone on American soil left America to fight for Italy for service in the Spanish army.

oath of allegiance to the Spanish sentative of the Friends of the Debs Column and "Captain" Ralph and Beverley Hills on "I Fought Debs Column for Spain." Dinner tickets for

> A public meeting for the holpolloi followed the next evening. Cocktail parties were also show-

Of the Socialist Party

Tentative Schedule For California

Because the Red Special arrived

been recent appeals for Socialist

organization work in that area.

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 noontide 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

Oh, yes, "I am your shepherd and ye are my mutton." (Laugh-

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 beliwether 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 servi-

tude. . . . 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 the figing workers, and either being laid off getiations, and all

line or chucks them into the

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 kent out of use? It is the people. Who pockets this tremendous accumulation of value? The landlords. And these landlords who toil not and spin not are supreme among American "pa-

In passing I suggest that we stop a moment to think about the term "landlord." "LAND-LORD!" Lord of the Land! The Lord of the land is indeed a super-patriot. This lord who practically owns the earth tells you 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 profiteers at the expense of the people who have been slain and mutiliated 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 you 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 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 situation, an almost idiotic if not criminal state of

In the present system the

miner, a wage-slave, gets down into a nit 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 mineowning 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 captain, 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

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 corporation vassals and paupers.

he might as well own the min-

We Socialists say: "Take possession of the mines in the name of the people." (Applause.) Set the miners at work 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

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 brutehood to brotherhood and to accomplish it we have to educate and organize the workers industrially and polit-

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 function in industry. You can certainly dispense with them in 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 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 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

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

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 and throughout the stroy all enslaving and degrading capitalist institutions and re-create them as free and hu-The manizing institutions. 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

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

archives. The thieves took neither trial being prepared in Moscow."

tion of the Communist International. It contained publications has continued on its amazing caissued in India, Canada, South reer. Africa and other out-of-the-way The reason was that the unusual his business correspondence with sity Socialist group and eventualvarious publishers and translators, ly-against their own will-bigger

Sotsialesticheski Vestnik (for Nov. Footloose Rebel 25, 1936) prints an account of the recent burglary committed in the offices of the Paris headquarters the last report from the Red Spe- California readers of Labor Acinto the offices of the Bureau, materials kept there, but took nothing excepting the archives of Trotsky, all of which were taken states in the West. 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 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 but the agents of the G.P.U., who that they would find among Trotsky's archives, material for a new

already published articles, books,

California

Red Special in

Western Federation

After a very brief tour across Arizona, the Red Special is headed in California sooner than expected, for San Diego as the first stop on some locals will have short notice ts tour of California. At the time to prepare for its arrival. A tenta-Labor Action went to press, the tive outline has been arranged for Red Special was stuck at the bor- the tour in California. Changes may der because of license technicali- have to be made in consultation ties (perhaps "the boys" aren't too with Comrade Anderson. The plan fond of RED Specials), but there was for Comrade Anderson to leave was every indication that the sound | San Diego Friday, January 29. for truck would reach San Diego by San Bernardino where there have Wednesday, January 27.

Between the "great open spaces" and the health resorts of Arizona, From there the truck is to go to there was little organization work Los Angeles, stopping in the smallthat could be done on a brief tour er towns along the way where there of that state. Comrade Anderson are Socialist contacts and opporwrites about Tombstone, Arizona: tunities for street meetings. "A shoemaker came out of his shop Unless the announcement of the while we were getting gas in Tomb-Under the above heading, the everybody was dead in Tombstone."

Volunteers

The most encouraging word in Red Special may be expected.

Red Special came too late for arstone. Seeing the Socialist Party rangements to be made, Comrade name on the side of our Red Spe- Anderson will speak at the Sunday cial, he came over to talk to us and evening Forum in Los Angeles, said he had been a Socialist for January 31. Spending three days in Stolen over 30 years. He was glad to see the Los Angeles area, the Red the Red Special and to hear of its Special will head north Tuesday or the Red Special and to hear of its Special will head north Tuesday or progress across the west. We were Wednesday for Bakersfield and encouraged to discover that not 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

of the International Institute of cial was that two comrades had tion are advised to keep their eyes Social History: "On the night of volunteered to become "Footloose open for the Red Special headed up Nov. 7 (1936) the burglars broke Rebels" to organize in New Mexico the highway! Where local ordinand Arizona this coming summer. ances permit, the sound equipment We hope that they are merely the will be used to let the friends and made a careful survey of all the beginning of a large corps of Foot-sympathizers of Socialism know loose Rebels to spend their time that the Red Special has come to organizing through the various town and the Socialist Party is here to stay.

BOOKS and AUTHORS

SOAPBOX, published by the Uni- | Eastman who gazed with surprise versity of Chicago Socialist Club, from New York and wrote in ex-Faculty Exchange, Box 162, 24 pp.,

When a group of Socialist students at the University of Chicago by its unusually thoughtful intellecwere not ordinary housebreakers three years ago decided to publish tual contents." Sidney Hook dea magazine they had no more in- clared it was "the most intelligent perpetrated the theft, reckoning tention than to provide a printed and intellectually effective underorgan for the Student League for graduate paper I have seen." James Industrial Democracy on that campus. The result was different from According to this article, the 15 their expectations. Instead of a packets contained a collection of small organ they found themselves "various newspapers, periodicals with a magazine with the largest and circulars issued by all sorts of opposition communist grouplets in the University. The old SLID in different parts of the world, has disappeared into the American This collection is of great value Student Union. The original group for the history of the disintegra- of Socialist students have graduated and left school. But Soapbox

etc., other documents of non-than the campus itself. As the political nature, manuscripts of his magazine developed and improved the inevitable happened. A copy fell into the hands of Max

claiming, "You're a sunrise in the west." John Dewey saw another copy and declared himself "struck 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 Marxist Quarterly in some of its philosophic contributions, and with Labor Action in its forthrightness. The current issue, which I men-

tion only in passing, contains an article by Norman Thomas explaincountries—publications of which it and apparently self-perpetuating ing the ambiguous class nature of is impossible to procure duplicates literary and political ability of the the student and the negative efin any library in Europe. Out of Socialist movement on the U. of C. feet of his participation in poli-Trotsky's' correspondence, this campus could not help but produce ties as a group; a Spanish militiasection of his archives contained something bigger than the Univer- man's story of the military shortcomings of the people's front; a review of Gilbert Seldes' Mainland, analysing his misleading "Americanism." by James T. Farrell: an expose of the Mexican governmentcontrolled student movement and another of Negro discrimination at Northwestern University; a treatise on Marxism and the social sciences by Leo Shields intended to ences 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 in the student, labor, and political fields.

This cross-section constitutes

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 of action in the particular em- the publishers of Soapbox are natergency. The united front is a urally anxious to adhere to, do not basis for common action between permit a political University-sancgroups which do not agree on tioned publication to aim at extramural circulation. Fortunately the University cannot prevent offnosed that committees from both campus people from purchasing copies, but the University Socialist ment of purpose and plan of ac- Club confines its own efforts to

The growing natural demand for the publication, particularly from ing 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 pothe Debs Brigade of trained, litical interests of its Board of Trustees. Once again one of these American "centers of enlightment" ers cause." Secretary Schneider- reveals that its interest in culture

> they themselves think of it. But the present writer is certain that, -MELOS MOST

Socialist party expresses the our part. We are inviting-aye 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 deas was done, for example, in Czechoslovakia.

ing class is being ravaged by unemployed situation has not im- the bosses. proved to any appreciable extent. Lebas, the Minister of Labor, reported to the Chamber of Deputies that on December 5 there conciliatory attitude in June. Towere 457,300 unemployed. A supposed improvement over last year intention to break the resistance Compulsory when the number was 9,000 more. of the workers; and the initia-But this clair is contradicted by tive in the second phase of the Jouhaux, the head of the French struggle has been clearly passing at the Congress of the General Federation of Civil Functionaries, Jouhaux said, "While the number Against Strikers of unemployed has decreased, it

New Offensive

delegates, i.e., the most militant strikes were declared during ne- state aligned against them.

or openly fired. In defense, the the will of the majority of the gram, the People's Front Governworkers are resorting to strikes, workers" (Le Temps, Dec. 17, ment can only do the bidding of a second wave of which has been 1936). spreading during the last weeks. This time, however, the strike valuation is being contemplated, wave is being isolated, and the occupation of factories is being fought savagely. In many instances, the workers have been One thing the devaluation has forcibly ejected by detachments achieved: Is has unloaded an in- of armed Fascist gangs. In other creasing burden on the backs of cases, where the workers are too the working class. The cost of numerous or determined, they living has been rising very rap have been induced to leave the idly. At the same time the work- premises by the ruse of "neutralization," that is to say, nobody employment. Despite the official is presumably allowed to enter claim, it is obvious that the un-

The mood of the bosses is strikingly different from their day, they are adamant in their

Press Incitement

The official press is waging a still remains greater at this time violent drive against the strik- tended by him to compel the (France), he will pursue his this project to fill the greatest than during the same period a ers. Occupations of factories are bosses to arbitrate, has been turn course to the end. year ago." (Le Temps, Dec. 15, being reported in much the same ed into a direct strike-breaking Hardly anything has been left metal workers in Lille: "The tration may be gleaned from the of the gains made by the work employes of most of the metalers during the colossal wave of lurgical plants in Lille reported the outset opposed any represent room for illusions as to the actual plants in Lille reported the outset opposed any representation on the colossal wave of lurgical plants in Lille reported the outset opposed any representation of the colossal wave of lurgical plants in Lille reported the outset opposed any representation of the colossal wave of lurgical plants in Lille reported the outset opposed any representation of the colossal wave of lurgical plants in Lille reported the outset opposed any representation of the colossal wave of lurgical plants in Lille reported the outset opposed any representation of the colossal wave of lurgical plants in Lille reported the outset opposed any representation of the colossal wave of lurgical plants in Lille reported the outset opposed any representation of the colossal wave of lurgical plants in Lille reported the colossal wave June strikes, when as many as this morning at the gates to reserve million workers occupied sume work, but everywhere, the plants. In point of the plants in Line reported tation for the French trade untual chances in favor of mediation for the plants. In point of the plants in Line reported tation for the French trade untual chances in favor of mediation for the plants. In point of the plants in Line reported tation for the French trade untual chances in favor of mediation for the plants. the plants. In point of fact, the strike pickets kept them out. The numbers more than five million French workers are now being mobile guards did nothing at all subjected to a concerted attack to intervene" (Dec. 16, 1986). In by the bosses. The collective the senate, the reactionary accepted by Blum. agreements made in June are spokesmen of the ruling class The strikes are continuing. The

taking place as if we were faced they had been lacking up to now. with a two-headed government, one of whose heads represents give all the promises so long as appears as the menacing symbol which it could do nothing. But aggressive power of the 'masses'." editorial appeared under the which is growing day by day, be-

The same newspaper has been carrying articles from its Italian correspondent detailing the "lessons" of the "barbarous prac- The War Danger tice" of occupying factories in the case of the Italian experience.

Arbitration

trade union movement. Speaking into the hands of the ruling class, set in motion to devise a method touchstone for Hitler's real plans, the C. P. leaders refused to come of outlawing strikes—in the name if he really intends to aim his to us. of the People's Front government, blow at the East (the USSR), he Socialists, the hundreds of The compulsory arbitration plan of will retreat on Spanish; but if volunteers for the Debs Brigade, Blum, which was supposedly in his plan is a blow at the West and the thousands who support way that the capitalist press here instrument. Blum's original plan, 14: "It is well known that the swer. has reported the strike of the reactionary as it was, has been German and Italian replies (to the automobile workers. Says le revised beyond all recognition. British plan) were drawn up in tary Schneiderman is plainly and Temps, reporting the strike of the The nature of the proposed arbi- an agreement between Berlin and simply "No!"

itself." (Le Temps, Dec. 15). The Press and attitude of the French press to tation, stirred them not at all, On the war danger in connection with Wednesday, January 20th, the Sothe Spanish situation. The pre- cialist committee, headed by the vailing view may be summar- State Secretary, decided to so The state machinery has been ized as follows: Spain is the to the Communist Party, since

Rome." And further, the Ger-

the capitalists. Le Temps com-In a leading editorial, the same ments upon this fact with some The People's Front was able to one or whose heads represents the promises so long as informed that the Socialist Party united party, not a united front the University of Chicago, which of the dreadful, innumerable and it was given the ability when it at an hour's notice. was given power, and it is suf-(Le Temps, Dec. 17, 1936). This fering from the disproportion, came. The Spanish revolution heading: "In a Conquered Land," tween its designs and the reality concern to the Communist lead-

an interesting dispatch to the ers. The Communist State Secret the familiar Old Guard argument effect that Germany has set May tary sought to justify his post- that, "The masses are to the I as the deadline for the delivery tion by pointing out differences right, not the left, and we Comof munitions orders for which had between the policies of the two munists want unity with them." either being violated, or nullified howl in chorus: "At Lille, 150 coming days will find the work been placed in Italy. May 1 is parties. The Socialist represents. Lenin's books will have to be reby the increased prices. The shop factories have been occupied, and ers faced with the forces of the also the deadline for the delivery tives answered by reminding him edited to strike out the hundreds coast, sufficiently to put any Uniof Argentine grain purchased by that if we were in entire agree- of arguments for revolutionary

Communists Reject I 'nited Front Action Turn Down Socialist Proposal for Joint Authors, and current developments

Action to Aid Spain

Last week Labor Action printed an open letter to the only part of the contents of one Communist Party of California asking united action of the issue. official newspaper of the French irony: "The People's Front was two parties in sending the Western Column of the Debs bourgeoisie says: "Everything is to give men all the joys that Brigade of trained working class fighters to Spain. This letter was delivered to Communist State Headquarters

> Monday, January 18th. They were committee was prepared to meet Hours passed and no word

was not, apparently, an urgent ers. 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 Of particular interest is the financial aid to provide transpor-

immediate need of the embattled Says le Temps for December Spanish workers have their an-

The answer from State Secre-

Schneiderman made it plain the Debs Brigade but on any and the words "workers' cause!" all questions confronting the two The newspaper Oeuvre carries parties and the American work- ture united action he justified by

their full program.

To make this clear, we proparties meet to formulate a statetion on which both agreed. This, purely campus distribution. too, was refused. We then suggested that our major differences on the Spanish question was that faculty and literary sources, is placthe 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

action to finance the sending of trustworthy workers in Spain to defeat Fascism and aid the workthat his unqualified refusal ap man refused because, he said, the Communists could not agree to His general refusal of all fu-

the positive objective of "United

is a secondary one. The Soapbox people are not con-

templating any violation of the University restriction, whatever in case of any further restrictions imposed on the magazine, a storm of protests by outstanding national figures would arise from coast to versity administration to shame.

LABOR ACTION

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SATURDAY, JAN. 30, 1937 VOL. 1, No. 10

Digging the Grave of the Russian Revolution

The 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 knows it.

The execution of the 16 failed in its purpose. The 17 now on "trial"—tortured victims 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 Bukharin's turn. Rakovsky is smeared in the present 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 coworkers of Lenin, revolutionists of the Marxist tradition, had all become individual terrorists overnight. And, this happened, of course, under the "direct instructions of Trotsky." Zinoviev and Kamenev were announced as the ring-leaders, second only to Trotsky in the direction of the terroristic campaign to overthrow the Soviet Union, as they had been second only to Lenin and Trotsky in the revolution which created the Seviet Union.

The miscarriage of this crude frame-up necessitated the present trial of Radek and 16 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 life of Stalin under "direct instructions

from Trotsky." No, the second-line men in the Arabian | against it.

Notes

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

G. W. U. Chorus. There will be

door prizes and union music for

the "friends and fellow-unionists"

who are invited to attend. Tick-

office, will be 35 cents.

son Street.

June of this year.

I. L. G.W. U. San Francisco

Nights fantasy were given different assignments. Theirs was the small job of making a deal, on behalf of Trotsky, with Nazi German and Japan to dismember the Soviet Union! No less!

And Zinoviev and Kamenev, the first lieutenants of Trotsky, didn't even know about the scheme! Not a word was mentioned 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 discredited before the world.

Stalin and his G.P.U. are not only murderers 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 Vanzetti 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- never been without its advocates ter-revolutionary and terroristic conspi- of class collaboration and coaliracy. There is not a shadow of truth in the tion government. They argued accusation that he is in any way connected that "progress" was too slow unwith Fascist Governments, or, indeed, with gram. anybody but revolutionary workers.

Second, it is necessary to involve too class is antagonized, we are iso- is the united front on particular plete program rather than by conmany people in too many plots and the lating ourselves." Watered pro-"confessions"—extorted by torture and grams, compromise with the curpromises of leniency—are bound to get stant concessions to the right—program of any participating full revolutionary Socialist pro-

Third, Stalin's judgment is blurred by his mad passion for revenge against the man who remains faithful to the revolution he mental Socialist principle. has betrayed.

'trials' as frame-ups and forget them. It is 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 criminal to say, "after all, it is not our af- a new phrase in an attempt to vocates are the branch offices of the Communist International.

But beyond this, beyond the human victims of Stalin's blood-thirsty vengeance People's Front stand the still larger issues of world con- Front is that fascism will be vic- to its power from mass, middle cern. The fate of the Soviet Union is the torious unless all anti-fascist ele and working class discontent not a Peoples' Front of comproreal stake in the Moscow Trials. The ments, regardless of class, can be with the status quo. Fascist dem- mise with things as they ought ward to the time when, after a of farm and factory and by their frame-ups, the concentration camps, the united on a common minimum de agogues win the middle class not to be. This is a close parpolice provocateurs—the whole mad sys- fensive program. No group in the and many workers by offering a allel between democratic nations tem of terror perfected by Stalin is only gram beyond the minimum. The seek to offset this by offering—ernment or the leadership which such a radical move, the New gram beyond the minimum. The the very status quo against which tries to represent "all" the people Massas will come out holdly for side is made up of deals with imperialist powers, of allegiance to the League of Naone side of a worked out policy. The other conclusions from generations of tions, of calculated sabotage of every revolutionary movement in every part of the must be crushed out, things as world.

The Stalinists are digging the grave for the Russian Revolution. Behind them stands world imperialism. That is their real base of support and the stands 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 Societies. real base of support against the Russian working class.

And by the same token the Russian work- that the most advanced revoluruthless exposure of counter-revolutionary class conscious "people." Our ob- and he shudders with horror. To-Stalinism and an irreconcilable struggle by compromise with a less than he ever saw, its human denizens ler each left in an amiable mood.

San Francisco Laundry Union Vote On Strike Rally Party In Struggle Laundry Drivers Union No. 256 The Joint Board of the Inter- will vote Wednesday, January 27 national Ladies' Garment Work- on the question of empowering ers' Union of San Francisco, has the executive board to call the

CHICAGO.—Continuing to rally

American workers behind the

Spanish anti-fascist fight, the na-

tional organization of the So-

cialist Party has issued sugges-

national Brigade fighting fascism

the fight against fascism in Spain,

clear. Roy E. Burt, national ex-

Party, made the following state-

"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-

and Italian anti-fascist organiza-

organizations in each community.

etc., otherwise it is used at the

discretion of the national committee set up by the national ex-

ecutive committee of the party at its November meeting com-

posed of Devere Allen. Max Del-

"'Friends of the Debs Column'

party having in its organization

the anti-fascist fight in Spain,

Because of the urgency of the

Spanish anti-fascist fight it is

son and Norman Thomas.

To make the functions of the

in Spain.

planned an open meeting for membership on strike if the Erich Rix, German trade union- Laundry Owners' Association does ist and veteran of a Hitler con- not concede the Drivers' demands centration camp, Thursday eve- by February 1. This is the first time in 17 ning, January 28, at 8 p. m., in the union meeting hall, 149 Ma- years that this union has made demands. Most drivers now getting \$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

area which are due to expire in Slave Conditions In Virgin Islands

by the membership.

WASHINGTON.—The desperate The Grand Annual Ball of the plight of over 4,000 women work- ment: ers of the Virgin Islands is de-I.L.G.W.U. will take place this year at the Trianon Ballroom, at scribed in a report of the Wom-Sutter and Van Ness Avenues, en's Bureau of the Department of Saturday evening, February 6. Labor. "Stranded" by the world The program for the ball, which economic crisis, the women of the is being sponsored by the San Virgin Islands are forced to util-Francisco Joint Board, will in- ize any means to gain a few clude a floor show by the I. L. pennies.

Bunkering ships by hand-carrying coal in baskets from the island to the ship-is the work of more women in St. Thomas than ets on sale now at the I.L.G.W.U. any other occupation except domestic service.

For a "Red Hot" Time—Attend the Labor Action Press Ball SATURDAY NIGHT, JANUARY 30

> 8 P. M. at the

International Hall 236 Van Ness

Admission, 35c—Bring Your Friends

Class Struggle Or The Peoples Front

Two Conceptions of Socialist Policy

By GLEN TRIMBLE

series of articles on issues confronting the March convention are intended as a basis for local and branch pre-convention discussion. We are sure that non-party readers will also find them interesting and educational. Labor Action will welcome articles submitted by party members on all subjects to be considered at the Socialist National Convention.-Editor.

radical movement has The "The masses are not ready," they said, "the middle The alternative to this policy and the sacrifice of every funda-

The story of the failure of class collaboration is too well known to

Theory of the

The argument for the People's threat of Fascism. This menace they are in non-fascist nations

Underlying this particular application is the general theory

The Socialist Alternative

class struggle in all nations.

tactics from the best experience its condition. There are shoe retions and directions to its locals of generations of working class pair shops, and liquor stores; and branches giving complete struggle. Either capitalism or the hotels where a night's lodging support to "Friends of the Debs workers will rule. There are only may be obtained for twenty Column," raising money to aid two choices and the task of So-Column," raising money to aid two choices and the task of Socients; restaurants with menus cialists is to win everyone posprinted on the front windows, sible to their side in the con- where a full course "meal" may flict. This is a minimum program, because only the full So-cialist program con colors. There are employment two committees raising funds for cialist program can solve the agencies where a person may get problems of our day. Socialism information for a fee, which will may be strong medicine but it enable him to secure work—if he ecutive secretary of the Socialist will cure the capitalist disease, is lucky. while the quackery of the People's The corner of Fourth and How-Front will only prolong the agony. and is very respectable-looking.

Vanguard Or Mass Party

that a revolutionary Socialist peaceful. Two policemen are the street, all facing a center Party in the United States, under idling. The first person of in point. Hilarious laughter shakes bers of trade unions. Spanish present pre-revolutionary circum- terest is an elderly man sitting the people. It's the "prophet," a three months. The fink agency stances, must organize as a van- on a paper disposal can. Across clean-shaven, silver-haired, middle- was of great interest to the stiffs tions, liberal and working class guard and not as a mass party, from him is the office of a mariage man, neatly dressed, full of when a dodger was passed out The reason should be apparent time union. Being interested in vigor. He is gyrating over a mys- informing the public that a res-Money raised for this fund can from the fore-going paragraphs. unions, I asked the gent about tic-looking diagram that is printed taurant was to be established. be earmarked "for the Debs To build a mass party in the the place. He answers me with with chalk on the street pave- But there were no free meals Column," "for medical supplies," United States in the immediate disapproval, "That? Oh, that is ment. The "prophet" is explain- served and only four windows future, we would have to operate a scab union and a disgrace to ing the faults of mankind. He broken in the place, so no one er investigation, the group served on the Peoples' Front principle the street. Mister, do you want states that the dollars of the rich pays much attention to it any a temporary restraining order on of reducing our program and act to buy some razor blades, five will pay the way to hell; whereas more. The curb market is in the Hennepin County Welfare tivity to the least common de cents a package?" nominator of present day preju. Next thing that attracted my poor to heaven. This is the Third all the money is. The "prophet" it would have meant a cold windice and confusion.

is a committee separate from the

Land use such vision; the neces- | Socialist Party must stand ready American working class develop- nally cure them. ment must be a miniature People's

Mass Action Through

United Fronts

What then, will be the relation of the Socialist Party, provided that it makes a clear choice of the vanguard role, to less advanced groups and organizations? Acceptance of the Peoples' Front France! principle would mean a choice between isolation and concession of all points of difference as the der a forthright Socialist pro- price of alliances against Fascism or for other purposes.

> issues in which cooperation inmand, civil liberties fight or

talism when faced with a threat cialism. fight for Socialism. A vanguard bership.

Note: This is the third of a sities of a mass party require to give aid in every immediate they are called—that hang above that such vision be suppressed so fight against things as they are, as not to antagonize or frighten while always emphasizing that of the Socialist Party. They away the less far-seeing. A mass the capitalist system causes these party at the present stage of evils and only Socialism can fi-Socialist

Theory

United class struggle action makes every immediate struggle a demonstration of Socialist effectiveness in theory and action; Peoples' Front action makes every inevitable defeat a demonstration of the incompetence of participants. all the

Before leaving this subject I want to return to a further inner- ON CITY. Romantic, ain't it? party application. To repeat: the essence of the Peoples' Front theory is to win numbers by compromise with a less than comstant uncompromising education illustration of that struggle. The developed Marxian Socialist, but workers directly affected know it is even more foolish to choose a full page in the Nation. our leadership, our educational

its present advocates have coined in win So long on the classification which helps them policy, and our activity on a the Nation, when it isn't socialto win. So long as the class basis of concession to the limita- fascist, is the journal of "timid, Let us illustrate by the claimed plan education, organization and in words of one syllable that purpose of the Peoples' Front- activity which will set a Marxian won't endanger the mailing privon playing ball with "economic the fight against Fascism. Fas- revolutionary standard at the van- ileges of Labor Action. cism is the last recourse of capi- guard of the march toward So-

Socialism must be a movement coalition shall press for any pro- drastic change. People's Fronters and democratic parties. The govthe very status quo against which tries to represent "all" the people Masses will come out boldly for shelved, for the duration of the cism" is a continuous retreat! class, so should the party lead-The fight against Fascism is the ers be the vanguard of the mem-

The Other Side of San Francisco

ers and their revolution depend now in the most direct and immediate sense on the gram and tactics to the desires raply "So you have been on the skid-row in San Franwhere Trotsky's son had never been. They didn't concoct terroristic attempts on the This support cannot be given without a less advanced sections of the non cisco." Mention Howard Street to a work-seeking tourist ing to live on incomes so meager Moors.

> correct program rather than by -drunks, dirty, unshaven and This obviously was a curb marconstant uncompromising educa- ragged—a menace to his person. tion toward a correct full pro- Still Howard Street is interest- market vary from a nickel to a gram. Reduced still further the ing, and all types of people can principle of the People's Front be seen there. In an hour's tour is—less than enough is enough of the avenue, an observer can see human character, life. The street is at its best on a warm,

The opposite of this policy is The block between Third and Fourth streets on noward enough." International Socialism world-known and famous for the is the only real alternative to capitalism and Socialism depends that congregate in a single block. on working class victory in the Necessities of life may be obtained at prices suitable to indi-That victory in turn depends vidual purses. There are second on clear-headed leadership that hand clothing stores which buy builds its program and chooses its and sell attirement regardless of

> There are two large hotels where guests may obtain lodging at \$2.00 that? A large crowd is standing In last week's article I argued to \$3.50 a week. Everything looks on the walk and overflowing into

attention as I walked along was Street corner. Only the most advanced indi- a group of men in earnest disviduals—the vanguard—can grasp cussion. One seedy-looking man, Street dairy lunch room that makes the rounds of skid-row long-range conclusions from im spotting me, yells, "Mister, want serves meals on a tray. Eating every day. Regardless of how mediate struggles. They can see, to buy a tooth-brush for a nickel." very slowly, I discovered a pe- many times the Black Maria pasnon-party members sympathetic to or can be trained to see, the pat. It was yellowed with use. As I culiar activity on the part of ses during the day, some winces tern of world-wide capitalist did not answer him, he further some of the patrons. There are missed. raising money for the specific purpose of aiding volunteers in resistance behind the particular There were other salesmen, holdevents in the United States, ing out for inspection cheap tity of food served for a meal Spain, Germany, France, the U.S. watches, used razors, fountain was enormous, and some was al-S. R. and throughout the world. pens, razor blades, various ar- ways left on the tray by a cus- very interesting-if you are just supplementary coal, the holding imperative that this be the im- On that trained vision effective ticles of clothing. There seemed tomer. In the twinkling of an passing by. You'll never know up of clothing needed by Relief mediate task before us, the aiding action depends. The task of a to be considerable haggling about eye, this left-over was consumed San Francisco until you have Clients and WPA workers, and to

ler each left in an amiable mood. ket. The prices of goods on this

Strolling on, you can observe from this point, typsy-sort of folks, and some seem to have been in battle. One man has a black-eye, another a swollen cutlip. Still others have bandages on the heads and hands. There is a man, reposing in a doorway, indescribably 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 servce. 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 Winoes One is sleeping on a car's run ning board. Another is lengthwise on the sidewalk, and the passerby must walk around him. The sidewalks are crowded

with people, some standing, others walking aimlessly and get- maria. It was packed and going ting in everybody's way. What's

vanguard party is to encourage values and prices; but when an by waiting men. One of these seen the skid-row,

SIDELINES

lions.'

ing difficulties in Venezuela and the U.S. Marines may be going into action any day now. The natives down there fail to show proper respect for private property. They swipe those red canvas bags-"air socks" I think 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 missionaries and call out the marines! The "reds" are on the rampage and sewed into those air socks they make one swell target.

Twas In a Little Spanish Town

Newspaper headline: MOON LIGHT IN MADRID-AND REB-EL PLANES DROP 70 BOMBS

Brave New Masses

Hundreds of American workers, technicians, etc., are ready to of your own choosing, you are in with the International Column ident. volves no compromise of the full and action toward a correct and against the Fascists. But the New Masses, Communist organ won offices and ministerial posts group. While only a trained min- gram. It is not an overstatement of "the cultural front," is afraid won offices and ministerial posts ority can appreciate the full in-at the cost of the respect of the ternational sweep of the class nated the Socialist Party of the ileges by reprinting the Debs' Column ad which has been ap-It is foolish to expect that pearing regularly in Socialist paframed court case is a concrete every new recruit will be a fully pers throughout the country and lions for armaments while you which on January 16th occupied

Some day, when there is no embarrassing international crisis, much of it since the electionthe New Masses is going to get while you "see millions lacking its courage back. We look for the means to buy the products stormy editorial session during poverty denying work and prowhich several prominent members ductiveness to many other milof its staff resign in protest over lions." our sacred institutions to their Stalin's Moscow foundations.

So What?

of today call the necessities of sky, was not in Norway at all,

"I see millions of families try- rocco helping Franco recruit his

that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.

"I see millions denied education, recreation and the opportunity 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 productiveness to many other mil-

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 Democratic 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. 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 Mark predicted them decades before you were born. So, even though it may not be

But what we as Socialists are interested in is what you are going to do now that you see

hese things.

We think you are going right on backing appropriations of bil-"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 millions denied education, recrea-

We think you are going right

If at the end of your administration we can see none of these

Art Theatre The Moscow trials are back for a return engagement. Complete-President Roosevelt in his In- ly new cast but the same production with only a few lines "In this nation I see tens of changed. We don't know exmillions of its citizens—a sub- actly what these minor changes stantial part of its whole populare. We expect somehow though lation—who at this very moment that it will be conveyed to the are denied the greater part of audience that the great off-stage what the very lowest standards villain of the piece, Leon Trotbut was down in Spanish Mor-

MINNEAPOLIS LABOR NOTES

Warehousemen

Long underpaid warehouse workers in major Minneapolis industries are pushing an organizational drive that will wind up in

free-eaters was caught in the act and ejected, just as a slowmoving car resembling an ambulance, 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, peering into restaurants. The pedestrians were a clean looking lot. The sleepers and bandaged men were gone. On Fourth Street and Howard. I again saw the black-

places. Yes, I live on the respectable corner. The sitting man is not his plan is a short-cut for the front of a labor market, where Board. If it had remained effective is a fixed institution on the cor-Hungry, I entered a Third ner of Third Street. Apple Ann meager wages make it impossible

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 workers and their demands for better working conditions constitutes another 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 recognition, 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 Workers

For 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 supplementer for WPA workers whose to supply themselves with coal, rent, and the necessities of life.

fore District Judge Vince Day January 12. A mass meeting has

The question will come up be-

fight layoffs on WPA.