

Workers Of  
The World  
Unite!

# LABOR ACTION

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The Voice Of  
Socialism  
In The West

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## Heroic Spanish Workers And International Troops Hold Fascist Beasts At Bay

Fighting against terrible odds, the heroic Spanish workers' militias withstood three weeks of the most murderous siege in all modern history.

After a disastrous retreat of a hundred miles, which at times almost developed into a complete rout, the armed proletariat has dug in at the outskirts of Madrid, and is holding the fascists at bay.

The story of the matchless heroism of the Spanish workers is already inscribed forever in the pages of history. Against them is arrayed a Fascist army armed with every new weapon that Hitler and Mussolini are turning out. Entirely new forms of destruction which have never before been used in warfare—calcium-sodium bombs spreading fires that water cannot extinguish, aerial bombs with delayed percussion-caps which do not explode until the weight of the bomb has carried it through the floors of a house to the cellar, precision instruments which enable airplanes to drop bombs aimed with the accuracy of a machine gun—are used against the civilian population by Italian and German army officers. But despite all this, the Spanish worker-soldiers continue to stand fast.

### MADRID IN HOURLY DANGER

Madrid remains in hourly danger. The fascist generals will go to any lengths to capture Madrid. In order to justify the official recognition of their "government" by Hitler and Mussolini. The only connection between Madrid and Valencia is by a single motor highway, for the Madrid-Valencia railway is still cut between Madrid and Aranjuez.

The decision to evacuate the women and children from Madrid indicates that the insistence of the workers' parties and unions, to fight in Madrid from street to street and house to house, if necessary, has prevailed over the proposal of President Azana and the Right Wing Socialist leader, Prieto, to retreat from Madrid. This decision should be hailed by workers everywhere, for to hold Madrid for any length of time, perhaps thereby saving Madrid altogether, is a tremendous blow to the prestige of General Franco and his Italian and German allies.

**INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE**  
Almost in the nick of time there arrived in Madrid and immediately took over the most important sector of fighting, an International Brigade composed of revolutionary Socialist and Communist workers from abroad, mostly either World War fighters or skilled technicians in artillery and machine-gunning, many of them refugees from fascist Germany, Italy and Austria.

At the same time, there arrived thousands of seasoned Catalonian worker-soldiers, fresh from a series of victories on the Aragon front. These militiamen of the C. N. T.—the powerful anarcho-syndicalist trade union federation—were led into battle by the noted anarchist, Buenaventura Duruti, who himself was killed while successfully stemming the fascist offensive.

Every day highly-skilled technicians, artillerymen, aviators, military engineers and trained soldiers—members of proletarian parties—(Continued on Page 2)

### Soviet Government Stops Byedny Opera

Press reports state that in Soviet Russia, the ruling bureaucracy condemned a comic opera that lampooned certain phases of Christianity in pre-revolutionary Russia. Particularly objectionable to the bureaucracy, according to press reports, was one scene depicting a baptism scene as a drunken farce.

The play which opened with a great fanfare of publicity had been approved by the preliminary censorship, and it was not until leading members of the bureaucracy saw the first or second performance that the opera was denounced as "an insolent misrepresentation of the country's history."

The author, Demian Byedny, has been a revolutionist since 1906. His satires of the clergy, of Czarism, and of the landowners before the Bolshevik revolution had been so cleverly written that they escaped the Czarist censorship.

At one time he was in such favor with the bureaucracy that he was given an apartment in the Kremlin, but a few years ago he lost that special privilege.

## CIO Group Suspended By AFL Vote

The most reactionary national convention in the entire history of the American Federation of Labor is in session at Tampa, Florida. Almost as significant as the continued suspension of ten of the most aggressive and successful unions in the Federation are the moves to abandon the fight for national 30-hour week legislation, to boycott the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' label and to break the strike of East coast and Gulf seamen.

All pretense of progressivism in the group centered around the Executive Council has been dropped at these sessions. For several years, under heavy pressure from the industrial union bloc, A. F. of L. leaders have paid lip service to such proposals as organization of the unorganized, an aggressive legislative program, and solidarity of world labor expressed through the "Labor Chest" against Fascism. Today, with nearly a half of the voting strength of the A. F. of L. under unconditional suspension, and without voice in the convention deliberations, the ultra-reactionaries feel free to revert to type.

**30Hour Bill Dropped**  
Most astounding and revealing instance is the dropping of the campaign for a congressional 30-hour week bill. This demand was first on the list in almost every speech or press release coming from the Green headquarters in the last few years. At Tampa without even an explanation or apology this advanced proposal is scrapped and in its place is a pious plea to American business to volunteer the thirty-hour week out of kindness of the business heart!

This approach is identical with that of the campaigns to organize the south and the auto industry begun in 1928. Organization was sought by speeches to Chambers of Commerce and Rotary Clubs and secret sessions "around the table" with the employers. The campaigns were a dismal failure. The bosses proved more class-conscious than William Green, and the workers, never having been asked, ignored the whole performance.

**Down the Toboggan**  
Changing tactics in the campaign for a shorter work week could be written into the saga of the degeneration of the craft leadership of the A. F. of L. The Federation was born 50 years ago in the midst of a campaign for the 8-hour day by means of worker-power expressed in a call for a general strike on May 1, 1886. One of the earliest A. F. of L. actions was a similar general strike call for May 1, 1890. From reliance on economic strength the labor leadership turned to political action for a shorter work week and now, in the twilight of their outworn bureaucratic power, they are reduced to throwing themselves upon the tender mercies of the bosses. Craft unionism—there she stands!

**Ignorant**  
Additional proof of the bankrupt leadership in the craft ranks is the handling of the request from the Spanish Ambassador that a representative of the Spanish government be given the floor at Tampa. A year ago "the boys" humored the needle trade and other progressive workers by condemning fascism and nazism. This year with Fascist-hired Moors shooting down the workers in Spain the program committee decided that "they did not know enough about the conflict in Spain to take sides!"

**Wise**  
However they did know enough about two conflicts in the United States to take sides and in both cases they took the employers' side. While Tampa cigar makers, members of one of the oldest craft unions, were donating hun-

(Continued on Page 2)

## No Help From France For Spanish People

That the French People's Front government has failed miserably in helping the Spanish Loyalists is confirmed again by a dispatch appearing in the November 16 issue of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party.

Not only has the Blum government prevented arms from going to the Loyalists, but it has failed in stopping arms from going to the Rebels.

According to the dispatch, the Brussels dock workers passed a resolution to refuse to unload any arms coming from French plants and destined for the Spanish Rebels.

The open support of the Soviet bureaucracy for the Blum government which thus underhandedly supports the Spanish Rebels has drawn much cynical comment from the Fascists concerning the kind of communism practiced by the Soviet bureaucracy.

## Soviet Denies Charge It Ships Spain Arms

Confirming the notorious fact that Soviet Russia has sent no arms to help the Spanish Loyalists despite Italian and German arms being sent to the Spanish Rebels, a Moscow cable to the Daily Worker for November 16, reports that the Soviet bureaucracy has been sending aid to Nazi Germany.

Obviously reporting that the tanker was seized by Spanish rebels, the Daily Worker dispatch vehemently denies that the ship was destined for Spain, gives the lies to Hearst's report that the bureaucracy is shipping arms to the Spanish Loyalists, and states that the ship was enroute to a Nazi port.

The Moscow cable indignantly denounces the "slandering dispatch" in the Hearst press to the effect that the Soviet tanker, seized by the Spanish fascists, contained "a large cargo of ammunition for the Spanish government."

The revolutionary workers of the whole world can only regret that it really is a slander.

## Blum Announces Big Navy Plan for France

As part of her preparation for the approaching world conflict, France's Peoples Front government under Leon Blum has announced a huge navy construction program, according to a dispatch appearing in the November 16 issue of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party.

During recent years, according to the announcement, the French have been building battleships and have neglected the smaller craft which are necessary as auxiliaries to bring a fleet to complete fighting efficiency.

This oversight on the part of previous capitalist governments will be taken care of by the Leon Blum government through the immediate construction of 51 craft totaling 40,000 tons.

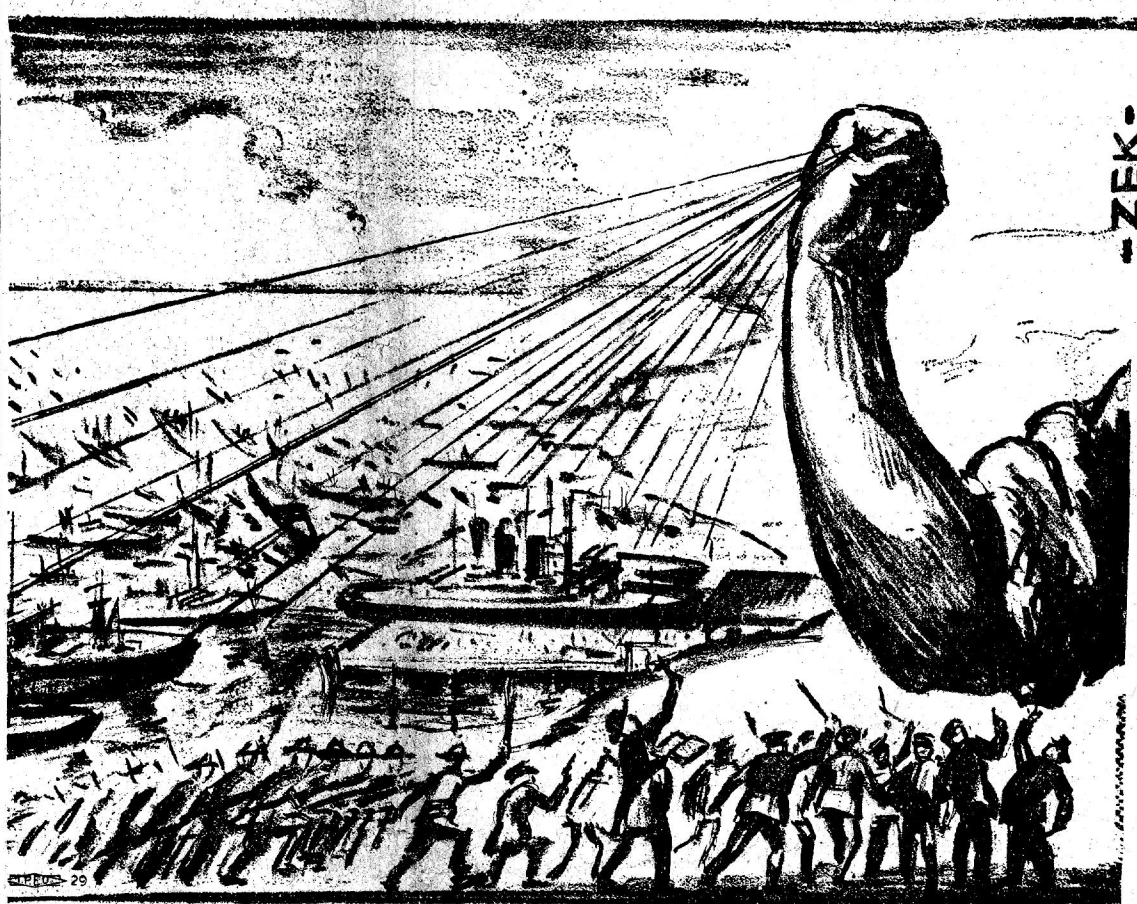
## Cleric Appeals For War On Communism

Declaring that there could be no compromise in the fight between Christianity and Communism, the Reverend Dr. John O'Hara, C.S.C., president of Notre Dame University, spoke before an audience of 1,000 in New York last week and denounced both those who follow a materialistic philosophy and those who waver between that philosophy and mysticism.

"You will have to make the decision," declared Dr. O'Hara. "I have no army to force you to choose, but I am willing to stand as a minor prophet to warn you that you must choose."

The Reverend called upon his listeners to fight against the "materialistic view of life that threatens to engulf us" and denounced all who follow the premises of materialism to their logical conclusion.

# MARITIME STRIKE DEADLOCK



## The Maritime Strike (EDITORIAL)

The maritime strike of the Pacific Coast, now four weeks old, is still stalemated and is clearly becoming a test of strength and endurance. A good deal is said about strike "strategy"—and that has its uses within certain clearly defined limits—but when you get down to cases, this strike, like every other strike, is simply a "bull-headed struggle between two forces whose interests are in constant and irreconcilable conflict. The partnership of capital and labor is a lie. The immediate issue in every case is decided by the relative strength of the opposing forces at the moment. The only strike strategy worth a tinker's damn is the strategy that begins with this conception.

The problem of the strikers consists in estimating what their strength is, and then mobilizing it in full force and pressing against the enemy until something cracks and a settlement is achieved in consonance with the relation of forces between the unions and the organizations of the bosses. That's all there is to strike strategy. You cannot maneuver over the head of the class struggle.

We pass over here entirely the question of who is "right" in the maritime strike, for we believe with Ben Hanford that the working class is always right. From our point of view the workers have a perfect right to the full control of industry and all the fruits thereof. The employers on the other hand—not merely the shipowners; all bosses are alike—would like a situation where the workers are deprived of all organization and all say about their work and are paid only enough to keep body and soul together and raise a new generation of slaves to take their places when they drop in their tracks.

Any settlement in between these two extremes is only a temporary truce and the nature of such a settlement is decided by power; "justice" has nothing to do with it. The workers will not have justice until they take over the world. The demands of the workers in a strike are to be judged solely by their timeliness and the way they fit realistically into the actual relation of forces at the time.

The demands of the maritime workers in the present strike are perfectly reasonable from this standpoint. In standing pat for the union hiring hall they are only asserting their determination to safeguard the organizations which they have already won in struggle and maintained in struggle. The fight for the hiring hall is in essence the old familiar fight for union recognition; when the unions supply workers from the union hall they have union recognition in its best form. The demand of the bosses for the re-establishment of the practice of hiring and firing whom they please is a proposal to substitute individual bargaining and the black list system for collective bargaining and a reasonable protection to the worker against discrimination.

This issue is perfectly clear to every unionist. The maritime workers are strong enough—as they have demonstrated in the past and in the present strike—to assert

this demand and to refuse to "arbitrate" it, that is, to let some supposedly "neutral" body decide the question whether they should have unions or not. The other demands of the unions, such as the demand for the 8-hour day for cooks and stewards, are surely modest and realistic enough in this age when even a section of the most far-sighted capitalists are advocating the universal 6-hour day.

The resources of the workers in the present struggle are far superior to those with which they entered the historic strike of 1934. They have strong organizations forged in the battle of two years ago and continually tested in the running fight with the ship owners ever since. In the meantime they have bound the various craft organizations together into a federation pledged to the common action of all crafts on the old principle of the Knights of Labor that an injury to one is the concern of all. The Maritime Federation of the Pacific is a new and most formidable weapon in the hands of the strikers, even if it falls far short of the effectiveness and power of one industrial union in the industry, the most modern instrument of struggle. The increased self confidence that has come with the experiences of the past two years, and the habit of co-operation in the federation all spell the same thing—greater strength and greater solidarity in the labor camp and better chances for success.

The strikers have other resources also. The organized labor movement in the west is on the upgrade. This is due in no small degree to the influence of the maritime example. The upsurge of militancy on the waterfront, and the tangible proofs that this policy pays big dividends in the form of strengthened organization and better conditions, have inspired unorganized workers to organize and fight and older unions to grow and to gain. Throughout the labor movement there is a feeling of deep gratitude to the maritime workers and a warm sympathy for them in their present fight. This is a real asset which might easily be the deciding factor to tip the scale in favor of the strikers on the final showdown.

In addition, the maritime federation has in the "Voice of the Federation" an admirable organ of publicity and propaganda—one of the very best trade union papers in the entire labor movement in fact—which can, and in our opinion should, be converted into a Daily for the duration of the strike. The art of strike publicity consists primarily in getting the facts and the union side of the story daily to the strikers and to the working class public.

The experience of the Minneapolis truck drivers with their strike Daily in 1934 shows that strikers who are onto their business don't have to worry much about what the daily capitalist press prints—they can't control or influence that anyway. If they publish their own daily paper the workers will read it and believe it and hold a solid wall of sympathy and support around the strike. For publicity that counts, that is,

## Workers Dig In For Hard Fight In Defense of Unions

The end of the fourth week of the maritime strike on the Pacific Coast finds all shipping completely tied up and the situation still frozen in a deadlock. No definite signs of an early settlement are in sight. The ship owners have made no moves toward settlement, and the workers are not moving any ships. So great, in fact, is the solidarity of the workers, welded together in the Maritime Federation, that the shipowners have not even attempted, as yet, to move a single ship.

## Bomb Homes Of Workers In Tire City

## Terror Campaign Fails to Stop Growth Of Rubber Union

By B. J. WIDICK

AKRON, Ohio.—Terrorism of the Black Legion variety is the latest weapon being employed by the rubber barons in a futile attempt to curb the growth and power of the militant United Rubber Workers of America.

Homes of two rank-and-file members of the General Local, U.R.W.A., were bombed this week by company agents, endangering the lives of 20 people. Another bomb failed to shatter the home of a tire union man because it was misplaced.

Organized Labor seethed in anger over the outrages and forced the police department to make arrests of the bombers despite the opposition of the company and the pressure it exerted on city officials.

The rubber barons have tried every other method of union-busting but, failed dismally because of the attracting power of the program of the U.R.W.A.

### GREEN'S STRANGLE-HOLD BROKEN

It was only a year ago that progressive rubber workers broke the stranglehold of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and established an International Union after a terrific battle against William Green at the rubber workers' convention.

The International Union was founded on a program of class struggle as the only way possible to combat the giant rubber companies successfully and build strong industrial unions.

Gradually the once large rubber workers' union began to rebuild themselves after the International was formed.

Then the rubber companies retaliated by arrogantly refusing any workers' demands and announcing a policy of wage cuts and lay-offs.

Resentment of the workers led to sit-downs during which union strength grew everywhere. Over 25,000 rubber workers here participated.

The sit-downs at Goodyear culminated into the five-week strike that built the Local from a scant few hundred members into a solidly entrenched organization, having the majority of the 15,000 Goodyear workers.

### DALRYMPLE MOBBED

Mobbing of President S. H. Dalrymple of the URWA and eight organizers in Gadsden, Ala., was Goodyear's answer to an attempt to organize outside plants.

A 24-hour protest sit-down that shut down Goodyear's three Akron plants effectively stopped further mobbing.

Since wages, hours and working conditions have been vastly improved in the Akron area by the URWA, workers everywhere are willing to join as the new Locals testify.

Unless the solid back-bone of the Akron rubber workers can be broken, the rubber companies will face a nation-wide union organization.

That is why the spy-systems, the mobbing, the bombings have been employed. But the effect has always been the opposite desired by the companies. Each attack of the companies solidifies the workers more strongly. It keeps them alert and makes them realize that the class struggle is a constant and never-ending battle.

The constant warfare of the shipowners against the nation's maritime industry broke spectacularly into the open when at midnight, October 29, after two months of exhausting effort to negotiate agreements with ship barons intent upon smashing every vestige of unionism, the meeting of Joint Negotiating Committees exercised the power vested by a referendum vote, and called for strike action.

**Strike Hits All Ports**  
Within a few minutes of that decision picket lines were forming upon the docks of every major port in the nation, on the West Coast in order to bring from rapacious shipowners the elementary rights of unionism, on the East and Gulf Coasts because the strike action gave every progressive unionist an opportunity to express his solidarity and present their own demands.

As the strike a unity the firm indications of the shipowner intention to throttle the maritime unions became apparent. They hailed with satisfaction the signing of the vicious maritime law, known as H. R. 8597, H. R. 8555, and H. R. 8599 by President Roosevelt. These laws, intended to semi-militarize the American merchant marine, established a Maritime Commission that has full authority to regulate wages, hours, and working conditions as well as to administer the \$100,000,000 annually poured into the treasuries of the shipowners by the government.

That a lock-out was intended by the shipowners was shown in addition by the significant speeding up of all waterborne shipments, the storing of huge supplies in strategic industries—even newspapers putting in enormous reserves of paper, and there were persistent rumors of the organization of a huge spy system and the recruiting of scabs which was finally brought into light with the exposure of Tanker Smith's activities in the Northwest.

### Owners Demand "Arbitration"

At first announcing their intention to revise the award and agreements which resulted from the 1934 strike, the shipowners specified that they had definite proposals but that before they submitted these proposals the maritime unions must consent in advance to arbitrate all issues (Continued on Page 2)

## British War Program Hidden From Voters

That he had not disclosed before election his plans for completely converting Great Britain into a war camp over night, was admitted by Premier Stanley Baldwin in upholding his war program before the House of Commons last week. As his reason for hiding his plans for war, he gave the fact that the nation at that time was overwhelmingly opposed to war and that the disclosure of his plans might have entailed the defeat of the government at the elections.

Revealing that he had compiled a secret "war-book" containing full details for transforming Great Britain into one of the world's most efficient war machines, Baldwin stated, "There can be no peace in Europe unless every country knows we are ready for war."

When he was attacked by over-anxious members of the House of Commons for delaying the war preparations unnecessarily, Baldwin responded with arguments defending his policy for maintaining secrecy and for keeping the public, which was voting for a government of peace, ignorant of his design to send them to the battlefields of the next war.



# The Notebook of an Agitator

### California Socialists In Action; Spirit and Technique of the Pioneers; the Heritage of Modern Socialist Youth; a Poor Man's Movement; the Road Ahead

At the Thomas meeting in Los Angeles during the campaign William Velarde, leader of the agricultural workers' union in Southern California, out on bail furnished by the Non Partisan Labor Defense, made a speech in which he frankly stated, "The Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League were the backbone of our strike." In San Francisco, two months before the waterfront tie-up, the Socialist Local held a public mass meeting under its own auspices, with prominent leaders of the maritime unions on the platform, to popularize the labor side of the controversy with the ship owners and state the position of the party, and newly recruited young Socialist militants are on the waterfront picket lines today. Socialist activists were in the forefront of the Salinas battle and won a secure place for themselves and their party in the hearts of the militants there.

Throughout this period the party in California found time to conduct a fairly active general agitation—the writer alone spoke at nineteen meetings throughout the state; Glen Trimble and other party leaders were on the firing line—and the YPSL conducted a successful summer school at which the weighty problems of revolutionary theory and practice were elucidated by young Marxists who know what they are talking about. On top of this the Workers Defense League has been firmly established as a bonafide non-partisan defense organization mainly through the initiative and participation of Socialists.

This combination of activities, this combination of energetic agitation, theoretical inquiry and resolute, courageous participation in the mass struggles of the workers was organized and conducted under the general head of what the revitalized party in California understands as an election campaign. Net results: It didn't succeed in stemming the Roosevelt landslide when it came to vote—the Socialist campaign lacked the forces and resources and the Roosevelt movement was too strong and too deep for such a result—but the party and the YPSL increased their membership, strengthened and tempered their organizations and telescoped the closing of the election campaign into a drive to launch a weekly socialist paper.

And that's what counts. Short-sighted people, snivellers and vote-catchers can talk all they want to about socialist "defeat and disintegration" in the elections. We haven't noticed it here. We don't know yet how matters stand in other parts of the country, but here in California the party is not groggy, but up on its toes and fighting. Our election campaign was only a training school of all-round socialist activity and a prelude to deeper and broader struggles. That's primarily what election campaigns are for anyway.

I've been around and seen a lot since I first joined the I. W. W. in 1911 and, soon afterward, became one of the "voluntary organizers" who, got their training in Vincent St. John's school of learning by doing, but it seems to me that the California socialists, especially the YPSL, have as much of the militant crusading spirit of the old movement as any group I have worked with throughout that fairly long stretch of years.

The "Saint" of affectionate memory, was a wonderful man to learn from. He was short on palaver and had some gaps in his theory, but he was long on action and he was firmly convinced that the water is the only place where a man can learn to swim. His way of testing, and also of developing, the young militants who grew up under his tutelage was to give them responsibility and shove them into action and see what happened. Those who acquired self-confidence and the capacity to make decisions under fire on the spot, which are about 90 per cent of the distinctive quality of leaders and organizers, eventually received credentials as voluntary organizers and thereafter enjoyed a semi-official status in the strikes and other actions which marked the career of the I. W. W. in its glorious hey-day. The shock troops of the movement were the foot-loose militants who moved around the country as the scene of action shifted.

As is more or less chronically the case in revolutionary organizations, which are historically fated to be poor until they win the final victory and have no need of money, there was very little cash in the treasury in those days. That's why the organizers' credentials as a rule were marked "voluntary"—so that they would not get ridiculous ideas into their heads about the responsibility of the organization for their food and shelter from wind and rain. True, St. John's first thought was

always for the man in the field and he had a marvelous and un-failing ability to dig up a couple of dollars in a pinch. But for the most part, the voluntary organizers foraged, producing activity wherever they went and finding sustenance one way or another, preaching the gospel in the manner of the early Christians and, like them, living by the gospel. By and large this was the story also of the pioneer Socialist agitators of the time.

I think to this day that the spirit, method and technique of the pre-war socialist and I. W. W. movements belong naturally and necessarily to a genuine proletarian movement growing indigenously in the soil of America. This tradition is a rich heritage which the new generation of revolutionary militants must make their own.

It is imperative, of course, that our youth deeply ponder the great lessons to be derived from the world experience of the working class since 1914. Then they will be able to see clearer and work with a better sense of direction than the pioneers of their stand. But the makers of the new movement, if they really want to make it move, must be fired with the spirit of the pioneers, with the courage, self-sacrifice and purposeful activism for which the names of Bill Haywood and Gene Debs and Ben Hanford and Vincent St. John are unforgettable and inspiring symbols.

The Socialist movement, if it is really socialist, is a poor man's movement, which operates every day in defiance of the rules of book-keeping and the bankruptcy laws and cannot hire high-priced experts to bring about the socialist society. Those who have gone before us have shown how to make out in spite of all that. Debs campaigned for the presidency for the party wage of three dollars a day, and in 1917 they had to take up a collection in New York to send Trotsky to Russia to organize a revolution. We have no subsidy to draw on, and that is very probably a good thing. Subsidy is all too easily converted into a corrupting influence, as the sorry degeneration of Stalin's jumping-jack parties so eloquently testifies. Better for the movement to stand on its own feet and pay its own way as best it can. Better to draw on the hidden and financially intangible resources of enthusiasm, conviction and self-sacrifice of party militants who dare to "storm the heavens."

These are the main resources which have sustained the party in California during the recent months and finally nerved it to undertake such a heroic enterprise as the launching of a weekly paper on the heels of the election campaign. If the party, a numerically small organization weakened by the mass exodus of Epic utopians and still further attenuated by new desertions since the Old Guard split, could develop a healthier and more rounded activity during the election campaign than ever before, and grow stronger and more cohesive in the process, then we have a right to conclude that we are on the right track and to calculate that the coming months will bring new successes and increased strength.

—J. P. C.

# Y. P. L. S.

The Young People's Socialist League of California since the first of the year has experienced a period of solid growth which is unparalleled in its history. At the beginning of 1936 the Yipsels had but 62 members divided between Los Angeles and San Francisco. At the present time the League has 150 members in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Berkeley, Stockton, Fresno, Pasadena, Domingus Hills and groups being formed in Palo Alto, Redwood City, and San Diego.

A convention held by the California District of the Y.P.S.L. in September brought out the facts that the organization had developed politically and industrially far beyond the fields usually gone into by youth organizations. The discussions covered the range of world developments from the People's front to the C.I.O. The decisions arrived at were proof that the Y.P.S.L. had achieved political maturity.

**Activity in Strikes**

A brief survey of the activities of the League in the past year shows a tremendous increase in industrial activity. In the early spring the Y.P.S.L. threw all its forces in the southern part of the state into the strike of agricultural workers in Los Angeles and Orange counties. For months Yipsels spent their time organizing picket lines, relief and legal defense for the strikers. Many members were arrested in the course of the strike. William Velarde, president of the C. U. C. U. M., Mexican field workers union, stated that without the work of the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League the strike would have been hopelessly lost.

The Salinas strike again found members of the Young People's Socialist League active in organizing the Filipino field workers in the lettuce fields. Yipsels served on the joint strike committee and on the strike strategy committee there, and were respected by the militants in the struggle for their active work and progressive policies.

During the strike of the International Longshoremen's Association against the Woolworth stores many Yipsels, some of them students at the University of California, were arrested for violation of the Berkeley anti-picketing ordinance. A few of these were sentenced to 60 days in jail and at present their cases are being appealed by the Workers' Defense League.

At present we find members of the Young People's Socialist League among the most active rank and file militants in the maritime strike. On the picket lines and in the strike halls of the many unions involved in the strike there are fighting Yipsels carrying their share of the struggle. Almost daily there are new recruits to the ranks of the Y.P.S.L. from these workers who are making labor history.

**In Schools and Colleges**

But the activities of the Young People's Socialist League of California are not confined only to industrial struggles. On the campus the Yipsels are fighting against compulsory military training, against scab recruiting and against the militarist propaganda being spread there by government and administration agencies. In every college and in many high schools the Yipsels are agitating for Socialism and pointing out to the students that their struggle should at all times be bound up with the struggles of the working class.

Two summer schools were held by the Young People's Socialist League this year for members and sympathizers. At these schools young comrades received training in Socialist theory and in methods of organization so that when they returned to their workday tasks in shops and schools they could more readily turn their knowledge to organization of workers and organizers for revolutionary working-class activity.

**Speaking Tours**

At present the California Y. P. S. L. is touring two speakers in the state who are speaking on the Maritime Strike and acquainting the youth of the state with the issues involved. Meetings are being held in every large city and town to arouse public sympathy for the strikers and to tell the truth about the collaboration of the government and the ship-owners in the present struggle.

Besides these activities, the Y.P.S.L. regularly has classes in political questions and in Marxism and carries on a program of cultural activities covering the entire field of youth interests from sports to music and the arts. There is a place in the Young People's Socialist League for every young worker and student who is ready to enroll in the struggle for a better world. No matter what personal interests a young person may have he can find an outlet and expression in the ranks of the Y.P.S.L.

**Write for Literature**

For information regarding the organization, for literature on the role of youth in the struggle for Socialism, for a free copy of our monthly paper "The Challenge of Youth," write to Howard Rosen, state secretary, Young People's Socialist League, Room 334, 628 Montgomery St., San Francisco, California.

# International Notes

### "National Front"—Stalinists Offer Unity To Fascists—Second International On the Moscow Trials—Elections In Scandinavia

The Communist International is seeking to avoid war and to maintain the status quo by supplanting the opportunist policies of the "People's Front" with the arch-reactionary policies of the "National Front." The policy of the National Front consists in the reconciliation of the entire people against a handful of large monopolists and warmakers. It is they who are the real enemies of the nation and not the entire class of capitalists; it is they who, in a conspiracy with the German Nazis, breed war. The workers must struggle not for Socialism but for "peace, freedom and prosperity"—and compel their respective nations either to conclude or to maintain "peace pacts" with the Soviet Union.

In France the Communists have been advocating for months the "reconciliation of the French people" against the "200 families," in support of the Franco-Russian pact, against the German Nazis, and, of course, for a "strong, happy and free France."

**Italy**

In Italy the Communists urge the reconciliation of Fascists and non-Fascists which "shows the way to the salvation of Italy and of peace through the reconciliation and the unification of the whole people—Fascists and non-Fascists—in the common fight against the real enemy of the people and of the nation: big capitalism." (Manifesto of the Italian C. P., Inprecor, August 22, 1935.) The Communists propose "reconciliation" not for the purpose of overthrowing Socialism but "to make Italy strong, free and happy."

The Manifesto says: "Let us reach out our hands to each other, children of the Italian nation, Fascists and Communists, Catholics and Socialists, people of all opinions, and let us march side by side. . . . We have the same ambition—to make Italy strong, free and happy."

The basis of this Italian Front on which the Fascists and non-Fascists are to be "reconciled" is nothing else than the Fascist program of 1919. "Addressing itself to the fascists of the Old Guard, as well as to the fascist youth (the Manifesto declares): 'We proclaim that we are prepared to fight, together with you and the whole Italian people, for the carrying out of the fascist programme of 1919 . . . .'

In short, the Stalinists pledge to be a loyal and peaceful opposition to Mussolini in return for an alliance with the Soviet Union (and its allies). "We want our country to conclude mutual assistance pacts with all our neighbors and especially with France . . . and, further, for Italy to make a pact accordingly with the Soviet Union."

**Germany**

The German Communist Party has issued under the date line "Berlin, October, 1935" a Manifesto which is a mere restatement of the Italian Manifesto. In Germany, too, the Stalinists advocate the "reconciliation of the German people against the 3,000 millionaires, and the war makers." Once again, the Nazis and the non-Nazis are to unite not to overthrow Hitler but to make Germany "strong, (free) and happy."

The Manifesto says, "We wish our fatherland to be strong and happy through peace and not miserable through war."

Further, "You, National Socialist, you, Social Democrat, you, Catholic, you, Communist, you, Worker, you, Peasant, you, Artist, and you, Intellectual—haven't we all, children of the German nation, the same ambition to live in freedom, peace and prosperity? Haven't we all the same needs today? . . . Nazi and non-Nazi toilers have heretofore fought bitterly against each other, Nazi brothers! You believed that in this way you would gain German Socialism. Four years have passed. What has been fulfilled of your program? . . . Let us reach out our hands to each other and unite!"

As may be easily gathered from the above, this unification is to be effected on the basis of Hitler's "unfulfilled program." The Stalinists are ready to be a loyal opposition to the Fuehrer. One of the slogans raised in the Manifesto reads as follows: "For Germany! This means for order and sobriety in the country!" Hitler need have no fear of being overthrown by the Stalinists provided he is ready to say with them that "We are prepared to conclude a peace pact with all other peoples." (All of the above quotations are from a reprint of the Manifesto in *Detsohe Volks-Zeitung* Oct. 18, 1935; the latter paper is the Czechoslovakian Stalinist organ.)

It is only a question of time before similar Manifestos are issued in every country. In Austria, for example, Otto Bauer reports that the Stalinists have been seeking a rapprochement with the far "left wing" of the Austrian

# Produce Germs As War Weapons

A new field for profit-making in the coming war will be the production of disease germs, says an article in "Contact," an aviation news weekly published at Fort Lee, New Jersey. Already a plant has been constructed at an unnamed spot in the United States for the manufacture of bombs that will be loaded with disease germs. The corporation which erected this plant six years ago, owns two similar plants in Europe.

"The airplane has been turned into the third horseman of the apocalypse, the rider of pestilence," the article in "Contact" reads. "Most planes, particularly those developed in Europe as long range reconnaissance planes, are built with an eye to the possibilities of germ warfare. Germ bombs, weighing only a few ounces, with a deadliness greater than tons of explosives, may be carried unbelievable distances by these flying gas bombs."

**Fat Germs**

"Self-infecting powder, consisting of exploded gas and ground silicon dioxide, is impregnated with germs and a food paste, capable of keeping them alive 60 to 80 hours under the severest conditions. This is blown out behind the planes through the exhaust and makes its own minute cut and infection, filtering through the clothing and breathed in with the dust."

"Crops and cattle are not immune from the germ raiders from the sky. The spores of grain and fruit diseases have been cultured in order to destroy the food supply of the enemy. Cattle diseases are introduced just as the human elements are."

"This is to be one of the functions of planes in the next war. There will be more profit in growing germs than in making shells. According to the scale, most germ culture will sell for over \$300 a pound. The cost of production, including salaries and expenses, is less than \$6 a pound."

a single mandate. The Communist Party likewise made a miserable showing. The Norwegian Social Democrats (Labor Party) now hold a total of 71 seats out of 150.

**DENMARK**—The Danish Socialists scored considerable gains in the partial elections to the Landsting (the upper chamber); and are now the largest single party in Denmark, having gained 2 additional mandates and now holding 31 out of a total of 76.

The Fascists while increasing their vote from 1,019 to 2,018 failed to obtain a mandate. The Communists failed even to run candidates.

**SWEDEN**—The Swedish Social Democrats increased their vote, in the election to the Swedish Chamber of Deputies from 1,039,349 in 1932 to 1,336,854, gaining 11 new mandates and now holding 112 mandates out of a total of 230 (4 short of an absolute majority). Together with the Independent Communists (Kilboen) and the official C. P., the parties representing the working class hold an absolute majority (the former holding 6 mandates and the latter 5).

**Poland**

The swing of the masses to the left that is reflected in the elections in Scandinavia is also to be noted in Poland. In the recent municipal elections held in September in Lodz, the second largest city in Poland and its biggest industrial center, the Socialist parties (Jewish and Polish and affiliated German federations) obtained an absolute majority of the total votes and mandates. The Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) together with affiliated labor organizations increased its vote from 22,284 in 1934 to 95,115 (increasing the mandates from 5, in 1934, to 34); The Bund and the Left Poale Zion increased their vote from 8,311 to 23,762 (now holding 6 mandates instead of the previous 3). The two Nazi parties receive no mandates. Neither did the Communists. A similar shift to the left is evidenced in the results of other municipal elections in Poland.

**The Edinburgh Conference of the British Labor Party**

The recent Edinburgh Conference of the British Labor Party marked a further swing to the right of the Laborites. The reactionaries dominated the Conference on every issue. The affiliation of the Communist Party was rejected by a vote of 1,728,000 to 592,000. The proposal for a united front with other working class organizations (on the very "mild" program proposed by the I.L.P.) was rejected by a vote of 1,805,000 to 435,000. The difference in the votes between the affiliation of the C. P. and the united front proposal is to be explained by the fact that the leaders of the miners were bound by a definite mandate from their own Conference to cast the block of 400,000 votes in favor of accepting the Stalinists, but they were not bound with respect to the united front proposal, and cast their 2,000 votes, and failed to obtain

# The Party At Work

### S. F. Dinner Nets Labor Action \$219

Marking the birth of the militant Socialist weekly, Labor Action, a dinner, dance and entertainment was held at the Socialist headquarters, 1057 Steiner Street, Sunday evening, November 22. The affair was a rousing success in every way and netted \$219 for the Labor Action fund.

Joan London, a member of the Socialist Party and the daughter of Jack London, gave a brief description of the aggressive spirit which guided Jack London in both his writings and his activities and said she felt sure that, were he alive today, he would greet Labor Action with enthusiasm because of the promise it gives of being a fighting organ of the working class.

Barney Mayes, Editor of the Voice of the Federation, welcomed the launching of Labor Action as a new force in the struggle for a militant labor movement. Clarence Rust, a member of the Editorial Board; Glen Trimble, State Secretary of the Socialist Party and Associate Editor of Labor Action; and James P. Cannon, Editor, all spoke with enthusiasm of the splendid work done by Socialists in California and throughout the west to make possible the establishment of this weekly Socialist paper.

**Foundation Fund Raised**

To an eager audience, Comrade Cannon broke the news—that the \$1,000, which was required by the State Executive Committee of the California Socialist Party as a safeguard to the first few weeks of life for Labor Action, had been topped the day before the dinner. He emphasized the fact that in less than six weeks of the campaign to raise the money, rank-and-file Socialists had made the inspiring sacrifices which produced \$1057 before the launching of the first issue.

Because of the necessary expenditures for postage and printing to advertise Labor Action and give it advance promotion, which cut into this initial fund, friends at the dinner were asked to contribute in cash or pledges so as to make a clear \$1000 before the first issue came off the press, and to start the sustaining fund toward the \$2000 mark.

Response from the hundred and fifty people at the dinner produced \$104 in pledges—all payable within a short period—and \$65 in cash. About \$50 was cleared on the dinner itself, bringing the total net proceeds to \$219.

**Performers Live! All!**

High spot in the evening entertainment was the spontaneous Polka, danced by Louis Mazer and Millie Goldberg.

Coins began ringing to the floor to keep the dancers going. Business Manager of Labor Action, Frank Stern, was immediately on the spot, and before the "smoke cleared" four more dollars were added to the Labor Action fund in contributions of pennies, nickels, and dimes which the crowd tossed onto the floor to persuade various comrades to perform. A real "gold mine" was Jim Cannon's rendition of some old "Wobbly" songs, and the crowd joined lustily in the choruses.

Great credit is due the talents and hard work of the Italian members and friends of the Socialist Party who planned and cooked a fine Italian meal and furnished music for the merry-making after the dinner. The Young People's Socialist League of San Francisco and East Bay put a lot of hard work into the decorations and table service for the dinner. Undaunted by hard work, they livened up the course of the dinner with organized singing of Socialist songs.

# Western States Federation Of The Socialist Party

The election is over, but for the Western Federation of the Socialist Party of the U.S.A. the campaign is just begun. Plans for an intensive organizational tour aboard Red Sound Truck No. 1 have met enthusiastic response throughout the western states. Labor activity and labor influence are definitely on the upgrade from reports sent to the Federation secretary, Crary Trimble, Room 334, 628 Montgomery, San Francisco. Minnesota has been added to the list of states affiliated to the Federation which already includes California, Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Washington, and Wyoming.

Original plans for the Federation were laid by delegates from the western states at the Cleveland National Convention. The organization was formally launched at a September conference in Red Feather Lakes, Colorado. "Organized for the sole purpose of increasing socialist education, activity and organization in the West by cooperation among the western states," the delegates dedicated themselves to the building of a "lasting, confident, aggressive fighting party proud to speak and work for revolutionary Socialism in every field of the class struggle."

**14 Out of 12**

One evidence of the spirit in the West that has made the Federation possible, is the fact that of the twelve states leading in contributions to the National Fund Drive, eleven are west of the Mississippi. This same energy has been thrown into the initial enterprise of the Western Federation. Beside the Sound Truck tour plans are launched to revive a tradition of the pre-war Wob-

bles by the organization of "Foot-loose Rebels"—a band of comrades willing to sacrifice economic security and devote full time to work for socialism wherever and whenever they are needed. Just as the footloose members of the I.W.W. pulled up stakes and hit the road for any part of the West where a strike, a free speech fight, or an organization campaign was on, these modern Footloose Rebels will carry the socialist message into every spot where the class war flares.

**Big Field**

The Federation plans to promote inter-state cooperation in dealing with the special problems of western industrial workers. These include those of the transient agricultural workers from Montana to California, the maritime workers on the West Coast and Gulf, the mine workers in the Rockies, Spanish speaking workers in the Southwest, lumber workers in the Northwest, beet workers in Colorado, share-croppers in Arkansas and the harvest hands in the prairie states. Simply listing these groups gives some idea of the tremendous responsibilities and opportunities for socialist service in the West.

Readers of Labor Action who wish copies of the monthly Federation Bulletin, or who have information or suggestions on the problems outlined are urged to write to the Federation secretary in San Francisco. States not yet affiliated are urged to do so and send in their dues (\$1.00 per month) at once. Volunteers for the Footloose Rebel army are coming in fast. JOIN NOW!

Watch Labor Action for weekly news of Western Federation activity and accomplishments.

# March of the Locals

**San Francisco:**

Plans are being made for the opening of the new Socialist headquarters on Van Ness near Grove, December first. With local activity increasing in scope, Young People's Socialist League membership and strength growing, the old headquarters at 1057 Steiner Street have become inadequate.

Local San Francisco decided that the time was ripe for the establishment of a Socialist center which could house the local offices, the State Office, and the editorial and business offices of Labor Action, in addition to meetings, forums, dances, entertainments, and possibly a book store.

**Los Angeles:**

Los Angeles is planning to celebrate the birth of Labor Action with a series of dances, dinners and mass meetings, the first of which will be a whooping big banquet to be given on Friday, Dec. 4, 1936 at 7 p. m. Good speakers, good food and good company will be the order of the evening. The place: Melody Inn, 939 N. Western Ave. CALL VA. 2-0000 AND MAKE YOUR RES-

**ERVATIONS NOW!**

A Thanksgiving Party is being planned by the Central Branch in Los Angeles, to be held at Innes Gardens, Saturday, November 28.

A class for training Socialist Party members in the methods of teaching Socialist principles, Labor History, and other subjects is being organized for the purpose of increasing the number of teachers available for evening classes during the winter and for the regular Socialist summer schools.

David Stevens, organizer for Los Angeles, has been assisting in the work of organizing the local in Harbor City. An organizational meeting was held Thursday, November 12. Socialist cooperation in the maritime workers' strike was discussed at this meeting.

**Note to Socialists:**

This column should have weekly NEWS from all locals. Reports should be sent to the Editor of Labor Action by the end of each week. Especially urgent matter will be taken if it reaches the office NOT LATER than the FIRST MAIL Monday morning.

LABOR ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CALIFORNIA

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Labor Action

The editors feel that the statement of policy drawn up by the editorial board and unanimously endorsed by the California State Executive Committee is our best possible introduction to our readers.

We want you to know what we're after and how we plan to proceed right at the start.

"As the official organ of the Socialist Party of California, Labor Action is to be conceived as an aggressive exponent of the position of revolutionary Socialism on all important questions of the day.

"The paper will publicize the activities of the party and the Young People's Socialist League, as a rule in special departments, but will not give the appearance of a 'house organ.'"

Is Everybody Happy?

The tumult and the shouting dies and the smoke—to say nothing of the fog—of the election clears away and leaves the bright sun shining down on a free, happy and prosperous America.

Of course, the thousands of WPA workers who got lay-off slips in their envelopes in the past two weeks are not taking a conspicuous part in the general jubilation.

That question will have point and meaning and may spell the beginning of a great awakening if it is directed to the right place—to the false advisers and misleaders in the labor ranks who told the workers that salvation lay in supporting the candidate of a capitalist political party who swore allegiance to the system of "private enterprise, private ownership and private profit."

To Tom Mooney

Labor Action takes the opportunity of its first issue to send fraternal proletarian greetings to Tom Mooney and through him to all the class war prisoners whom he represents and symbolizes.

Old time fighter for labor's cause, Tom Mooney has given his life to preserving and carrying on the militant spirit of Western workers.

In greeting Tom Mooney we greet, too, Warren K. Billings and the thousands of other class war prisoners in America and throughout the world.

To them we pledge that their fight is our fight. We shall not rest until the doors of privilege, power and class injustice are battered from their hinges forever.

Too Much Unanimity

An illuminating sidelight on the Roosevelt re-election is the unanimous chorus of approval from the foreign press.

"In Paris, fiercely-wrangling rightists and leftists were momentarily united in expressions of satisfaction," says the Associated Press.

From officials in Rome, "There is general satisfaction, where the theory of continued opportunity for leaders is ingrained."

People's Front Foreign Minister of France, Yvon Delbos, sees "a triumph for democratic tendencies" and feels "great joy at the tremendous backing given to Roosevelt's policy of peace."

Lord Beaverbrook, England's Hearst, thinks Roosevelt is "grand;" the Berlin Tageblatt sees "the eruption of the Fuehrer idea within the democratic system."

"In Moscow, Soviet quarters frankly expressed approval, because Roosevelt showed friendship towards Russia and insured no change in Russo-American relations," while Tokio "welcomed the re-election of President Roosevelt, declaring they believed it would favorably affect Japanese-American relations."

In Europe—as in America—everybody won! Everybody, except the workers. The dispatches are smashing evidence of the class-awareness of the right from Beaverbrook to Hitler, and the pitiful muddle-headedness of the official left from Paris to Moscow.

It has long been common knowledge that both sides of an argument cannot win. If Japan is happy, the Soviet Union should find cause for grief. If French rightists are satisfied, French leftists should not find cause for rejoicing.

Leading parties of the Communist and Socialist Internationals have ceased to think in terms of the struggle of the workers to win the world. They launch "People's Fronts" so that the middle class may "save" the workers from fascism by soothing them into a false security, and "National Fronts" or unity with capitalist-fascists—again in the name of a false promise of safety.

What is really significant about the unanimous world "huzzahs" over the re-election of Roosevelt is that there is no longer a middle road between capitalism and Socialism.

THE STRIKE

By COVINGTON HALL

Say what ye will, ye owls of night, The strike upholds the cause of right; The strike compels the Judge to pause, The Statesman to remold the laws.

Say what ye will, yet without ruth, The strike drives home the word of truth; The strike tears off the mask of things, To Mass and Class the issue brings.

Say what ye will, the strike is good; It clears things long misunderstood; It jolts the Social Mind awake; It forces men a stand to take.

Say what ye will, all else above, The strike is war for bread and love; For raiment, shelter, Freedom, all The human race can justice call.

Sidelines

By JONATHAN DOE

On a Park Bench He was lying there on the park bench, stretched out on his back in the sun. He had one shoe and one sock off and was striking his bare toes across the slats on the back rest as if the slats were the strings of a lyre.

"What are you doing?" I asked. "Practicing, so I can play when the town burns," he said. There was a wild glint in his eye.

"Nero fiddled," I said. "Well, I'm fiddling, too," he replied. "Nero fiddled with a fiddle. What's the dif? The lyre's more difficult. I'm out to out-Nero Nero."

"Why don't you strum with your fingers?"

"This makes it even more difficult," he answered. "I don't want any questions about this out-Neroing Nero business."

"You're crazy," I told him.

He didn't deny it. He sat up and made room for me to sit down. I hesitated and then thought, "Oh, what the hell!"

"Well, it was a great victory," I said.

"What was?" he enquired.

"The election. The landslide."

"Oh, that. Who won?"

"For Pete's sake! The Democrats won. Roosevelt and Garner won. The capitalists as represented by Vanderbilt, Astor, Young, Giannini and some of the Morgan partners, won. The workers as represented by the American Labor Party, the Labor Non-Partisan League, the Old Guard Social Democrats and the Communists won. The American people won."

"Hurrah," said my companion. "Everybody won. Nobody lost. That was a victory."

"You're crazy," I said. "The Fascists—Landon, Hearst and the Liberty League—lost."

"That's too bad," he said. "It would have been nicer if everybody had won, wouldn't it? If the Fascists had won too that would have made it unanimous."

"Nicer, my eye. Browder says—"

"Who's Browder?" he inquired.

"Why Browder was the Communist candidate. Everybody from here to Terre Haute knows that."

"And he won?"

"No," I was getting mad. "He lost."

"But you said—the Communists won."

"Now listen here. I'll explain this. Browder was the Communist candidate and he lost. However, Browder and the Communist Party were out to defeat Landon at all costs and Landon and the Fascists lost. Therefore, Browder and the Communists while losing, won. Their defeat would have been a smashing victory only for Browder got fifty or sixty thousand votes. But these votes were not for Mr. Browder. They were for a farmer-labor party, for a People's Front, for a free, happy and prosperous America."

"Hurrah. Everybody won then," said my companion.

"What do you mean?" I was getting pretty sore. "I don't see any use in talking to a bird like you. Didn't I tell you the Fascists lost?"

"Oh, I get it. The fifty or sixty thousand who voted against Fascism won. But they were Communists and the Communists, while winning, lost. On the other hand, Hearst and the Liberty League who voted against Communism lost too. But they were Fascists and as the fifty or sixty thousand who voted against Fascism lost while winning, the Fascists, while winning, lost."

"Now, look here," I said. "I've wasted about all the time on you I'm going to. Thomas—"

"Thomas? Who's he?"

"He was the Socialist candidate for president and he lost," I shouted. "And furthermore, he lost while losing and while losing he lost. But, by God he won and I'm damn proud of him!"

"You're crazy," said the man on the park bench, putting on his shoe.

I didn't deny it. I began taking off mine.

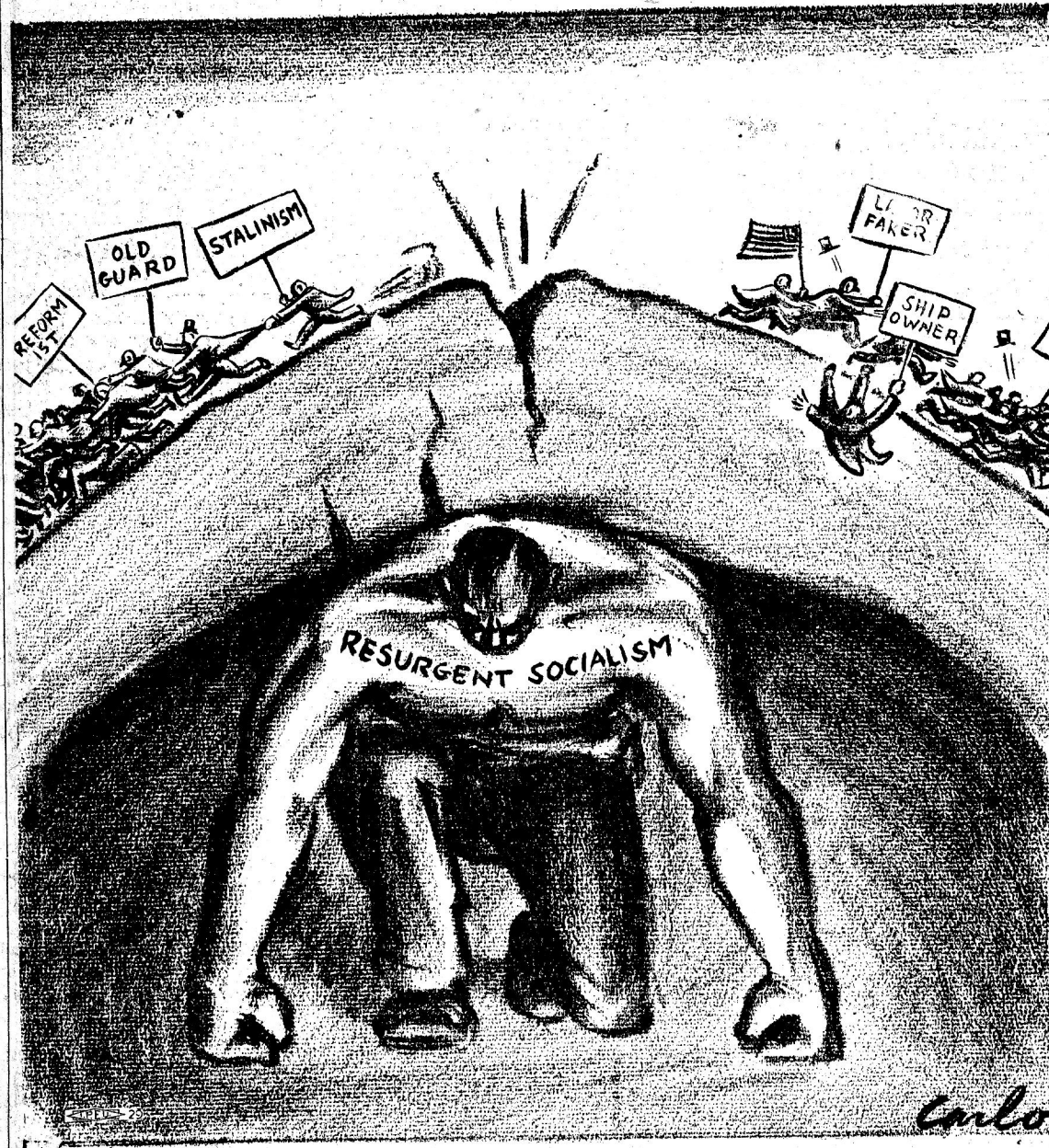
Bananas

With ship loads of bananas lying in Pacific Coast harbors, a striking maritime worker was asked to speak from a Los Angeles broadcasting station on the perishable cargo issue.

The radio announcer said that his talk would be prefaced by music and asked him to name a selection. He did, and the orchestra played it. It was "Yes, We Have No Bananas."

Social Note On The United Front

It is rumored that the Communist Party, which believes in keeping the Liberty League out of the White House at all costs, is preparing a tremendous nationwide mass-pressure campaign to protest the engagement of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., to Miss Ethel Dupont, niece of Irene Dupont, Liberty League founder. The slogan will be: "Cupid is a Stooge for Hearst."



Another San Francisco Earthquake

Election Results and Lessons

By GLEN TRIMBLE

The sham battle of the presidential election is over. Already Republicans and Democrats, business men and politicians, are exchanging compliments like the old friends that they have always had.

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for clean, fighting, progressive trade unionism. Membership and organization were increased, tested under fire, shorn of the opportunists and the weak-kneed liberals, tempered by the class struggle of labor against capital which goes on in and out of election years.

What Happened? Every analysis of the actual returns bears out one point. By averages the choice between Roosevelt and Landon was for most Americans a class choice.

One thing is certain, they thought that it meant a great deal. For the great mass of Americans the election was a choice between "progress and reaction," between a new deal for the working man and the threatened return of another Hoover.

The greatest vote in the nation's history went overwhelmingly for Roosevelt as against Landon. In the tidal wave not only Republicans but Socialists and Communists found a large part of their fair weather backing swept away.

The Communists There was a significant difference, however, between the campaigns of the two working class parties. The Communists went with the tide; even did their futile best to help it along. They accepted the Farley-made slogan of "progress or reaction," urged the defeat of Landon at all costs and paid the costs by promising salvation to workers, farmers and youth from poverty, exploitation, war and fascism "under the present capitalist system."

The Socialists The Socialist Party, alone among the significant working class parties, stood on firm ground in regard to the main issue. In spite of the many million-dollar propaganda which recruited Walter Chrysler and Louis Waldman, Governor (Hoosier) Hitler McNutt and Earl Browder, A. P. (Bank of America) Giannini and Harry Bridges, Alfred (General Motors) Sloan and David Dubinsky, the Socialist Party stood firmly in a position which the whole world must face. "The issue is capitalism or Socialism!"

As a consequence the Socialist Party emerges from the campaign as the only clear-cut anti-capitalist party with a revolutionary future in the United States. It has shorn off the dead and rotten "Social Democracy" which pulled down the Red Flag and flew a faintly yellow one on the Roosevelt handwagon. Clearly and unmistakably, the one to two hundred thousand votes (it will be months before we know the exact total) given to the Socialist standard bearers are votes for socialism.

The Socialist Party won far more than votes in this campaign. In California and in many other sections of the country Socialists increased their militant activity

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ministration needed its votes, it is not likely to get any action (though it will get plenty of promises) now that votes won't be needed for four long years.

Politicians pay off on future deliveries; never on gratitude for past favors. Labor is due for the biggest "morning after" headache of all.

Labor Party?

What is more both the proportions of the landslide and the unqualified labor support for the Democratic ticket from Roosevelt to McAdoo and Robinson make the chances of independent political action through most present labor leadership very slim.

The "American-Labor Party" in New York and the Minnesota "Farmer-Labor Party" acted as stooges for Farley and absolutely nothing more. The New York outfit did not even offer a single candidate or a single platform plank aside from the Democratic ticket and "platform."

If the Democratic Party a la Roosevelt is one hundred per cent satisfactory to the labor bureaucracy, Communists and liberals can get blue in the face talking about a Farmer-Labor Party but the only kind they will get is one stamped and sealed with the Farley O. K. While that may make them happy and look good in reports to the Comintern, it will be only one more means for corraling worker votes for capitalist exploitation.

Certainly, the election brings one question out clearly. Is there any room between Roosevelt's liberal capitalism and clear cut socialism for a Farmer-Labor or Labor Party that is not simply a tail to the Democratic kite?

Future opposition to the Democratic Party must be sharply from the right or from the left. The right is more likely to follow in the footsteps of the Lemke outfit than in the outmoded "back to the impossible" of the Republicans. The Lemke menagerie of ill-sorted spell binders has collapsed. But out of its ashes a much more definitely and consistently fascist movement will rise. Remember that they laughed at Hitler for years. America, like Germany, must choose between Fascism and Revolutionary Socialism, and Roosevelt represents neither of the possible alternatives.

Roosevelt cannot save capitalism nor prevent the ravages of poverty and war that it guarantees. Roosevelt, capitalist by birth, by training, by purchase, will cling to democratic capitalism while he can. But Roosevelt and all his kind, forced in time to a choice between the open, armed rule of capitalism and the threat of a workers state, will choose the fascist movement. This is not a guess; it is as certain as is the record of history.

The Left The course of the right is clear but what is to happen on the left? Is it to follow the Stalinist-social-democratic-liberal line of choosing greater and greater "lesser evils," of sacrificing the offensive against capitalism for a world-wide defensive retreat from fascism? Is this defeatist policy to be the left's only offering when popular disillusion follows Roosevelt's failure to revive a dead system? Is hopeless retreat to be set against the unlimited promises and color of rising fascism? If so the choice will be fascism.

But the Socialist Party must give another answer. We are at last advancing on solid ground.

BOOKS

Off the Mainland

Reviewed by JAMES T. FARRELL

Mr. Gilbert Seldes was once editor of the Dial in the days when it was flourishing as an organ of aesthes. Later, he was a contributor to The Saturday Evening Post. Now he is a columnist on Hearst's New York Evening Journal. He writes a rather self-illuminating column. For instance, picking it up today I observe that he complains because of a slogan which is being used in connection with the amusement section of the World's Fair being planned for New York in 1939. The slogan is: "A Mile of Mirth." Says Mr. Seldes, none of us will walk a mile, and mirth isn't an American word. I cite this as a suggestion of the intellectual makeup of Seldes. He has just written a book, Mainland, which is one of the howls of the year.

In Mainland Gilbert Seldes is arguing for a definite class government in America. He is making himself the spokesman for the American middle class. He calls his book a defense of American Democracy, and also poses himself as a defender of the "common man," and of the middle and the far west against the east. He presents the Saturday Evening Post view of Americanism as the true brand, and complains because, while the "intellectuals" have been criticizing America, no book describing the "nobility of the businessman" has been written. He argues that America and Americanism have been betrayed by the "intellectuals" and the finance capitalists. He declares that because of this betrayal, America now lies exposed to alien European ideas, and we are finding ourselves menaced by Communism and Fascism.

Wants Middle Class Rule

The alternative of these two systems is, according to Seldes, middle class rule. He writes, "Any one who, at the age of twenty, read the more romantic works of Friedrich Nietzsche is theoretically capable of viewing the misery or destruction of millions of human beings without a quiver. I am one of them. If the waters rise and destroy half a million Chinese citizens, I am, I fear, more struck by the spectacle of brotherhood with every other human being. It is, in fact, because all men are not (Italics Seldes' my brothers, that I would prefer to live in a society which treated them honorably and decently. He would like, in other words, to see the worker treated decently because of a sense of dignity on the part of a superior class.

Seldes also defends the economics of Henry Ford. He makes a distinction between an industrialist like Ford, and a finance capitalist. This distinction is, in his eyes, one of kind. He believes that the Henry Fords can save America—Seldes' America. He views such men as typical Americans. Seldes further arrives at the interesting conclusion that the proletariat in American consists merely of the unskilled worker. He argues that the proletariat is disappearing. Therefore he asks, how can the proletariat be the dominant class in society when it is disappearing?

Seldes is the man who used to discuss the philosophical implications of the funny papers. He is now carrying the equipment necessary for such weighty thinking into the whole range of the social and economic problems of the present. And he gets results such as those I have cited. He is a highbrow trying his damndest to be a low brow, and just never making the grade. He is a Hearst columnist attempting to solve social and economic problems. He is a shallow aesthetic trying to be a social philosopher.

Shabby Apologist

He ends up as a shabby apologist for an absolutized conception of America and Americans which he must have gotten out of story books.

In defending such a conception he even goes to the extent of arguing that Horatio Alger, as a writer, is truer to American life than Theodore Dreiser. To repeat, his book is one of the howls of the year. Its thinking is flabby and its tone is garrulous. And he sets himself up as the defender of the "common man." I think that there are plenty of workers who can tell Mr. Seldes that they have their own sense of dignity, and that they are not interested in his pleas that our Fords give them good wages in order that men like himself can prate about their own honor and dignity.

We have lost the Dubinskys and Hillmans but we are winning real socialists from the ranks of labor. We have lost the "protest" voters but we have gained revolutionary votes, membership and activity. We have lost "municipal socialists" but we have won the vanguard of a working class army to fight in every battle of labor's war. Ours must be an army of uncompromising advance not of stodgy contentment or of vacillating retreat. We have lost the past; we can make the future!