

SOCIALISTS ENROLL TROOPS FOR SPAIN

Union Asks Automobile Showdown

Martin Again Demands Conference With G. M.

DETROIT.—With the eyes of American Labor turned to Detroit the issue of unionization neared a showdown this week as officials of the United Auto Workers asked the General Motors Corporation for "an immediate general conference" for collective bargaining purposes. This request follows a rapid increase in union membership in General Motors plants and a pledge of complete support from the Committee for Industrial Organization of the union's efforts to secure recognition from the company.

General Motors has retaliated by a flat refusal of recognition from President Alfred P. Sloan, and an anti-strike injunction against Homer Martin, union head.

A conference of union delegates at Flint Sunday created a "Board of Strategy" and backed the ultimatum of the union leadership.

The Board has been authorized to call a general auto strike if it deems it advisable. 40,000 workers are out and 135,000 more are likely to be affected by this week-end.

A letter from Pres. Homer Martin of the United Auto Workers sent to Mr. Wm. S. Knudsen, executive vice president to the General Motors Corporation, declares that "bona fide collective bargaining is the only workable instrument for the establishment of satisfactory relationship between the employers and employees."

LETTER CITES ABUSES

The letter, which followed an earlier telegram to the same effect, calls attention to the failure of efforts to negotiate settlements of local strikes with the plant managers; flagrant discrimination against workers for union affiliation; widespread dissatisfaction with the speed-up system; job insecurity through the absence of proper seniority rules; and abuses of the present piece work systems of pay. The letter likewise stated, "In addition to these points we have mentioned, there are many other grievances affecting wages and working conditions that we wish to take up with you in this general conference."

Shortly after receiving the communication from the United Auto Workers, Mr. Knudsen met with President Martin and Secretary George Adde of the United Auto Workers. Mr. Knudsen advised Mr. Martin that the union should take up alleged discrimination cases and grievances with the plant managers or, if necessary, the general managers having jurisdiction in the location involved. Mr. Martin informed Mr. Knud-

THE TENTH WEEK OF THE WEST COAST MARITIME STRIKE

The maritime strike is in its tenth week. With Congress going into session this week, the clamor for Federal legislation to deal with the strike is increasing. Enormous pressure is being brought to bear to force a settlement. It is vitally important for the workers to take stock of the situation and to appraise the new developments correctly.

Victory is within the grasp of the workers, and has been for the past three weeks—ever since the new negotiations began between the shipowners and the unionized groups. If the workers see things as they really stand, and act accordingly, the victory will become a reality.

The west coast ships have been tied up tight as a drum for nearly ten weeks. There hasn't been a break in the ranks of the workers. This remarkable demonstration of the workers' power and solidarity is the main factor in the situation. It fully entitles the unions to count on a favorable settlement and to calculate every move on that basis.

The resumption of negotiations with the unionized groups—whose demands were the main bone of contention—showed a weakening on the side of the bosses. The agreement offered to the Sailors' Union yielded all the basic points. By this the bosses abandoned their fundamental position which caused the strike. That was the time for all the unions to press forward, and demand direct negotiations on the basis of the concessions offered to the Sailors. The failure to do this, and still worse, the effort to discredit the Sailors' agreement, only injured the position of the strikers and delayed settlement. More "politics" of this kind will be very costly indeed.

Now, with Congress convening, and the hue and cry for legislative interference growing louder and more insistent, there is grave danger to the workers in shifting the scene to Washington. What the unions want and need is direct agreements with the shipowners which recognize their fundamental demands.

Such an agreement has already been offered to the Sailors. Despite all propaganda and poppycock on the question it contains the best and most thorough-going provisions for union recognition and control of hiring ever put on paper in this country. Read it and see for yourself. Ask anyone to show you a better contract covering these basic points anywhere. The Sailors' agreement is the key to further negotiations and a victorious settlement.

By conceding the hiring hall and other basic points to the Sailors the shipowners have disarmed themselves before the fundamental demands of the other unions on the same points.

Now is the time to push direct negotiations on this basis.

Now is the time to press with all force to settle the strike on union terms in San Francisco, not on the terms of politicians in Washington!

Offers Self for Sale

Jacksonville, Vt.: William Edward Bird, unemployed, advertised in a Boston newspaper today, offering himself to science as a human guinea pig for \$2,500. I have to tide my family of five through the winter somehow, he said.

sen that the union is awaiting a formal written answer since the matter of a general union agreement, not simply local problems, is involved, and since only through a general conference of company officials and of union representatives can collective bargaining be carried on in a practical way.

Mexican Labor Stands For The Right Of Asylum

MEXICO CITY.—The Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM) has repudiated the attempt to utilize it against the admission of Leon Trotsky to Mexico. Certain officials of the Confederation under the control of the Communist Party had protested strongly and with the usual Stalinist arguments against Trotsky's admission. He was labeled a "Fascist murderer" and the officials promised a fight to the finish against asylum in Mexico.

A storm of protest from inside and outside of the Confederation followed this announcement. Labor bodies throughout Mexico passed resolutions favoring asylum and welcoming Trotsky as a consistent fighter for the working class. So overwhelming was this viewpoint that Toledo was unable to secure a majority in the executive of the CTM.

OPPOSITION ABANDONED

The most recent statement marks a complete abandonment of active CTM opposition to Trotsky's admission and of the "Fascist" line of attack on him. The only remnant of the original position is an insistence that the policy of the CTM and that of Trotsky differ; but it is now

frankly admitted that the difference is one that places Trotsky on the left of the Confederation.

The entire incident is a powerful illustration of the resistance of genuine labor bodies to the Stalinist effort to force down their throats both opposition to political asylum and the latest theory of "Trotskyite-Fascism." While CTM officials still stomach the Stalinist quack medicine of the People's Front as a "defense against Fascism," they have refused to swallow one of its chief supplementary poisons—the attempt to label all revolutionary Socialists as "Fascist mad dogs."

STANDS FOR ASYLUM

The final statement of the General Confederation of Workers, as reported in the Mexican Labor News, "states categorically that it is not opposed to the right of asylum and that on the contrary, it has always been and will continue to be the staunchest upholder of that right which it considers one of the most valuable conquests that international law can boast. The CTM thus leaves the responsibility of Trotsky's presence in Mexico to the government, where it properly belongs."

RUBBERWORKERS ORGANIZATION DRIVE IN L. A.

LOS ANGELES.—As part of a general committee for Industrial Organization campaign to organize the mass production industries on the west coast, the International Rubber Workers' Union has opened offices in this city.

Frank Grillo, secretary of the international union, predicted 100 per cent organization of the thousands of California Rubber Workers within the year in a speech before the Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

Grillo is one of many CIO organizers recently sent to the west coast. Most of these men will remain until the workers in the basic industries are won for labor under the industrial union banner.

Canadians Back Waterfront Strike

The official backing of organized labor was thrown behind the Vancouver waterfront strike last Tuesday night when the Trades and Labor Council voted unanimous endorsement. Many local unions had already endorsed the strike, including the Lumber and Sawmill Workers, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Piledrivers and Bridge Builders' Union, Stationary Engineers and the Fishermen's Union.

Silicosis Victims Awarded Damages

MEXICO CITY.—The Board of Conciliation and Arbitration has decided the case of eleven miners, victims of silicosis, brought by the Miners and Metal Workers Industrial Union against the American Smelting and Refining Company.

The eleven workers are to receive immediate compensation of 2,000 pesos, with the additional right to institute further claim against the company should their ailment continue to get worse.

The Line-up In Spain - - By Carlo



Steel Union Advancing In Midwest

Progress Recorded In Organization Drive In Chicago Area

CHICAGO.—The organization drive of the steel workers is taking the Chicago-Calumet district by storm. Aggressive union tactics are responsible for sweeping advances all along the line.

A flying squadron of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee descended on the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp. South Works plant here and distributed some 14,000 copies of Steel Labor.

Every representative of the S. W. O. C. in the Carnegie-Calumet area, together with volunteer workers, was on duty at the half-dozen entrances to the huge plant, which extends for a mile and a half along the Lake Michigan shore line.

OTHER PLANTS

Later in the same day smaller flying squadrons posted themselves at Republic Steel and Wisconsin Steel plants in the same area and handed out several thousand more papers. Each paper carried a pasted leaflet announcing an S. W. O. C. mass meeting at which Congressman R. S. McKeough and Van A. Bittner, regional director of the steel drive, were to speak.

Meanwhile, additional reports of progress throughout the mid-west area were being made at Chicago headquarters. Seven new charters for lodges in the Amalgamated Assn. of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers sent the total in the mid-west district close to the hundred mark.

At St. Louis, the S. W. O. C. signed a contract with the management of the Sterling Steel Co. providing for a large number of improvements in working conditions, together with a 5 per cent wage raise. The pay boost is in addition to a 10 per cent raise announced in mid-November.

Profits of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company and subsidiary companies during the month of October 1936, according to the Weekly Commercial News amounted to \$253,750.03 after bloated salaries of officials had been paid.

Drug Clerks In 'White Collar' Strike In L. A.

"Thrifty Drug Stores" Hear From The Men Behind Counters

Something in the way of a milestone in union organization has been reached when that most backward of labor groups, the white-collar workers, actually go on strike in that backward labor city, Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Pharmacists' Union, Local 340, is on strike at all thirty of the chain of Thrifty Drug Stores in Los Angeles. The strike is under the leadership of T. G. Jake-man, vice-president and president-elect of the union.

According to Jakeman, the pharmacists are asking for a 48-hour week rather than the present 54 to 75-hour week for all pharmacists, a maximum salary of \$40 a week with time and a half for overtime, two Sundays and 15 evenings a month leave, equal salaries for men and women pharmacists, registered pharmacists for storemanagers, and recognition of the union. The Thrifty stores were selected for the strike because the union considers that it has its best case against them, not only with regard to their treatment of all their workers, but also with regard to their observance of drug laws.

This is the first strike of white-collar workers in Los Angeles and the membership of the union is, as a whole, inexperienced in strike and labor work but well aware of that fact and learning fast. So far they have drawn blood to the extent of a nice, thick injunction and a Red Squad man on duty at every store.

Employers are attempting to recruit scabs, but Los Angeles unions are aiding the strikers with help on the picket line and relief contributions.

Pacifist Talk And War-like Actions

In a recent article appearing in the Santiago, Chile, press, the "practical" statesmanship of President Roosevelt is praised, pointing out that while pacifist declarations were being made in Buenos Aires tremendous increases were being made by the

Civil Rights Program Is Announced

A.C.L.U. Lists Measures at Issue Before Legislature

SAN FRANCISCO.—In view of the opening of State Legislature Sessions, Ernest Besig, Northern California director for the American Civil Liberties Union, has announced the 1937 legislative program of his organization.

The ACLU will concentrate support on five measures: (1) Repeal of the criminal syndicalism law; (2) The appointment of an Assembly committee to investigate vigilantes and the denial of civil liberties in California; (3) Optional drill to replace compulsory R.O.T.C. at the University of California; (4) Municipal responsibility for personal injury suffered by mob and vigilante victims (the present law makes a municipality liable merely for damages to property); and (5) Extension of the use of schools as public meeting places.

The Union will not only organize support for civil liberties measures but will fight a host of red-baiting and restrictive measures, sponsored by such organizations as the Associated Farmers, including:

- (1) Compulsory fingerprinting of all automobile drivers;
- (2) Removal of proscribed political parties from the ballot;
- (3) Establishment of a state police;
- (4) Establishment of a border patrol to prevent certain people, particularly immigrants, from entering the state;
- (5) Prohibiting organization and strikes by state and municipal employees;
- (6) Prohibiting the employment of alleged illegal entrants, and requiring employers to keep employment records.

United States in her army, navy and air forces.

Denying that any contradiction really exists, or that Roosevelt's sincerity can be questioned, the article concludes that the South American countries must utilize the same statesmanship, adopting every peace proposal, but never neglecting to build their own war machine.

Now Enlisting For Western Division Of Debs Brigade

Socialist Party Calls for Volunteers to Fight Against Fascism With Spanish Workers For Socialist Spain

The Socialist Party of California is calling for volunteers to form a Western Column of the Debs Brigade, initiated by the New York organization of the Socialist Party for service in Spain. The Brigade is to sail as soon as possible to join forces with the workers of Spain in their heroic fight against the fascist foreign regions and for a Socialist Spain.

Red Hunt In Full Swing In Gulf Port

By Louise Stevens Jessen

Since last April, when the Sons of the American Revolution staged an anti-red banquet in New Orleans, this city has been the center of some of the most vicious red-baiting in the entire country. The activities have taken the form of strike breaking, persecution of individual Socialists and Communists, efforts to curb academic freedom at Tulane University, and the passage of city ordinances which make it practically impossible for citizens to as-

semble in public places. The administration wishes to prevent such assembly.

RESTRICTS PUBLIC ASSEMBLY

In August an ordinance was passed by the commission council making it necessary for any group wishing to hold a public meeting to pay ten dollars for a permit. This law has not been enforced against churches, parent teachers organizations or civic and educational clubs as yet. It was invoked when striking seamen were meeting in their own hall. When a hundred and thirty-six strikers were recently arrested, one of the charges made against them was "illegal assembly."

Slipped into the same ordinance is a tax of five-hundred dollars for a yearly license to sell newspapers, books, or magazines. This has not been enforced. We don't expect it to be enforced against news boys who sell the Times Picayune or the New Orleans Item. The law is a splendid club to hold over workers to prevent them from selling labor and Socialist literature.

The reign of terror has reached such proportions that a capitalist newspaper, the St. Louis Post Dispatch, recently sent a reporter to the city, to investigate conditions. He spent a week here and the outcome of his visit was a full page feature article in the Dispatch. It was afterwards copied by the Milwaukee Journal.

RAID STRIKE HEADQUARTERS

On Dec. 23, strike headquarters at 321 Chartres St. was raided and over three hundred men were arrested and booked with "loitering." When taken to the Third Precinct Station, twenty-five and thirty men were jammed into cells ten by eight in size. The fact that they were in their own hall for which they are paying rent did not prevent the police from booking them on this absurd charge. When they were brought to trial in Recorder's Court, all were dismissed.

It seems that the ship owners had become desperate. Their ships were loaded with Christmas cargo. The New Orleans Steamship Association with the help of the Association of Commerce put forth this last minute effort to intimidate the strikers in the hope of getting the cargo unloaded before Dec. 25. Their efforts were unsuccessful.

The crew of Del Sud, Mississippi Shipping Co. joined the strike this week. This brings the number of struck vessels up to seventeen.

While Big Business, represented by the Association of Commerce, is making every effort to break the strike, the small business men, grocers, bakers, butchers (Continued on Page 2)

Volunteers are urged to come in person or write at once to San Francisco Socialist Headquarters at 236 Van Ness Avenue. Men will be chosen on the basis of special engineering or technical skill, aviation and artillery experience or distinguished combat records. Questionnaires will be furnished on request to Socialist locals and out of town applicants. All applicants must pass a thorough physical examination.

OVER 200 ENLISTED

The Debs Brigade was initiated by Local New York of the Socialist Party and within a few days more than two hundred specially skilled combatants had been chosen. First sailing from New York is scheduled for January 19. The American Column will join the famous International Brigade of Workers from all countries who are fighting on all Spanish fronts against Franco's Moors and Hitler conscripts, Eastern Headquarters is at 21 East 17th Street, New York City.

Throughout the country the response to the Socialist Call's announcement has been immediate and enthusiastic.

A fund of \$50,000 to finance the expedition has been appealed for. Westerners who cannot themselves join the Spanish workers can participate by sending funds to the Western Division, Debs Brigade, 236 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco.

LETTERS FROM RECRUITS

Letters are pouring in from many sections. Typical extracts follow:

Sullivan County, N. Y.—"I am a striking seaman, formerly a Staff Sergeant in the Regular Army of the United States. I was a radio operator and in charge of artillery engineers office—a graduate of U. S. Coast Artillery School—my age is 33, excellent physical condition. (Continued on Page 2)

Ghost Of Epic Walks Again In Legislature

William Mosely Jones Rides Democratic Tiger—Inside

The California State Legislature began its fifty-second session at Sacramento Monday of this week. The Legislature with a Republican Senate (25-15) and a Democratic House (47-33) has a glorious opportunity for passing the buck and rolling up political records without danger of making any change which will affect the steady process of the rich getting richer while the poor get—sales taxes.

The election of William Mosely Jones, Democrat, as speaker of the House brings a ghostly reminder of the once mighty Epic movement to "win Socialism by calling it production-for-use, and capturing the Democratic Party."

Epic is gone, and Jones, former Epic leader, takes the Speakership with the blessing and program of super-reactionary Senator William Gibbs McAdoo. This virtually concludes the Epic ride on the Democratic Tiger. Epic is not only inside, it is so thoroughly digested that both ex-Epics and McAdooites share the same smile.

Indications are that the smile will be safely and sanely liberal at the present sessions. The Democrats can go a long way in this direction, since they are sure of a Senate veto. These "records" will be used to woo labor votes next year so that the Democratic Party can take its turn at acting as the majority party to keep California safe for capitalism.

Socialists Support Workers' Alliance Marches on Capitol

By FRANK N. TRAGER

Labor and Organization Secretary of the Socialist Party
The Socialist Party of the United States has instructed its state and local organizations to give all possible aid to the unemployed and WPA workers in their demonstration against the Roosevelt administration on January 15, in Washington, D. C. The Socialist Party officially endorses the "On To Washington" mobilization of the Workers' Alliance of America, which will begin right after the first of the year with a series of nationwide protest meetings in every important city of the country and will wind up with a mass meeting and a parade through Washington on January 15.

Struggling against mass WPA lay-offs, these workers and members of the Workers' Alliance are now feeling the full brunt of the Roosevelt policy which, despite vague promises during the first administration and before the present election, has consistently sacrificed the interests of workers everywhere to those of the class the president represents. The threat of reaction, which was supposedly defeated in the election of Roosevelt, has become a tragic actuality in the lives of so many thousands of families since November 3.

The Socialist party, during the campaign, repeatedly warned against the policy of the lesser evil by which many workers' organizations and progressives gave their support to the Roosevelt boom, under the illusion that the smiling president would better protect them than London.

The unemployed in the Workers' Alliance can afford to have no illusions about the relief policy of Mr. Roosevelt. In March, 1934, when they demonstrated in Washington to prevent the wholesale dismissals of the CWA (they then called themselves the Eastern Federation of Unemployed Leagues) they were refused a hearing by Mr. Roosevelt and were forced into a period of virtual starvation until the fall of that year. Then the great humanitarian herded them on jobs with wages ranging from \$19 to \$93 a month, which undermined the union scale of wages.

The unemployed launched the vigorous Workers' Alliance as a national organization in the Spring. Socialist David Lasser as national president. This organization has succeeded in unifying the ranks of the unemployed, securing the endorsement of organized labor, and since its inception has defended the interests of the unemployed and relief workers throughout the nation.

Time after time they have gone to the White House with legitimate protests and with constructive policies but not once has Mr. Roosevelt seen fit to confer with the leaders of this workers' organization despite the fact that they represent the duly recognized collective bargaining agency of workers engaged on projects in 44 states of the union. Roosevelt found time to meet with the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, National Manufacturers' Association, United States Bankers Association, but never to meet with the organized unemployed. The last time they tried, in October, 1933, they were summarily arrested by the White House guards.

The Socialist Party of the United States urges the workers and all friendly farm groups to support this demonstration. And in giving support to the demands of the Workers' Alliance the Socialist party reminds workers everywhere that if they had some remnant of hope in the "liberalism" of Mr. Roosevelt, they must change that hope and place it where it belongs: in a militant struggle through their own economic organizations, and as rapidly as possible through their own independent, working class, political organization.

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Red Hunt In Full Swing In Gulf Port

New Orleans Bosses Conduct Reign Of Terror

(Continued from Page 1)
and others are daily sending bread, meat, canned foods, etc. to strike headquarters. On Christmas Day, several restaurant keepers invited the seamen to a free dinner.

COLLEGE PAPER SUPPRESSED
When the Tulane Hullahaloo, campus student weekly, attempted to reprint a part of the Post Dispatch article, the presses were ordered stopped, and six hundred copies already off the press were destroyed. The University authorities piously deny that there is any censorship of the Hullahaloo. They also deny that books on labor problems have been removed from the shelves of the library. The fact remains that new books and pamphlets ordered by the department of economics have not been cataloged although they have been in the possession of the librarian for some months. Dr. Clarence Bonnett, head of the department of economics, tells a news reporter that when he inquired why the books which he had ordered were not on the shelves, the librarian stated that she had been ordered not to place them in circulation. When interviewed, the librarian stated that this was a mistake, that the long delay in cataloging these particular items was the normal procedure. All we know is that the books are not there.

LIBERALS UNDER FIRE
The Coalition of Patriotic Societies Inc. which is the group responsible for the orgy of red baiting and labor persecution in the city, is at present directing its attention against liberals on the faculty of Tulane University and Newcomb College. It happens that there are several professors, mainly in the departments of history and sociology, who have dared speak and write on the subject of tenant farming in the South, who have attended liberal and pacifist meetings, who have taught classes of workers without receiving pay for their services, and have even done such "un-American" things as to travel to Russia as a tourist and to read "Das Kapital."

The Louisiana Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Inc. has solemnly drawn up formal accusations against these professors, and the professors have been forced to appear before the board of administrators of the university with attorneys and witnesses to "defend" themselves against these "crimes."

STUDENTS HIT BACK
The fact that the board of administrators is not supposed to administer anything but the funds of the institution, and the further fact that the Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Inc. is a self-appointed board of censorship over the opinions and actions of teachers has not prevented the university board from listening to the absurd charges, and subjecting the instructors of the college to a degrading and humiliating experience.

The only effective protest so far to all of the red baiting has come from the students of Tulane. They are making use of one of the most powerful weapons of the world, ridicule. A recent mass meeting was held on the campus, where the Tulane Coalition of Red Hunters was formed. The purpose of the organization is to eliminate the hated and dangerous color from the entire vicinity of the university. All agreed that the first bits of red to go must be the red ink and red pencils used by professors to correct examination papers. All books with red bindings are to be removed from the library. Especial vigilance must be exercised against textbooks with red bindings.

DEFEATED 136-99
Arrayed against them, Socialist and militant students including Harold Draper, Albert Hamilton, Molly Yard, Jefferson Campbell, and other leading figures, stood out against this forestate of war hysteria. They insisted on pointing out that advocacy of collective security logically led to support of armaments, militarism, and eventually war. This they demonstrated so irrefutably that in the face of the large bloc of social-patriotic Communists and of League of Nations lovers who desperately clung to a "way out of war under capitalism," they were able to muster 99 votes against 136 which defeated the resolution.

PLAN HUNGER STRIKE
In connection with the Student Anti-War Strike, the convention voted to undertake a pacifistic 24 hour hunger strike simultaneously with the nationwide campus demonstration, proceeds from food savings to go to anti-war work. It also endorsed the national march on Washington for the American Youth Act, which will occur February 19.

Incorporate Two Vigilante Groups

During December two vigilante groups filed incorporation papers with Secretary of State, Frank C. Jordan. On December 7, America's Civic Better Business Bureau filed incorporation papers for "The Vigilantes." The group describes itself as a patriotic organization which is sworn to uphold in a "lawful and orderly manner" the provisions of the federal constitution. On December 9, the "Civilian Army of Bluecoats, Ltd.," was incorporated. It emphasizes plans to combat radicalism, and in its expressed purposes also lists activities in behalf of pensions, stricter immigration laws, and the deportation of alien disloyal to the established government.

Now Enlisting For Western Division Of Debs Brigade

Socialist Party Calls for Volunteers to Fight Against Fascism With Spanish Workers For Socialist Spain

(Continued from Page 1)

Los Angeles, Calif.—"Just a line to let you know I want to be in the 1st Brigade to fight for the Madrid Government. I made Chief Petty Officer in a short while in the U. S. Government during the World War and will be a great help in my line for Spain."

Milwaukee, Wis.—"I am thirty-two years of age, have been a Socialist all my life, emigrated from Germany in 1923, participated in the Ruhr rebellion and am a tool and die maker with considerable experience in guns, rifle scopes and ballistics. Am a member of a rifle club, do all the reloading of ammunition and testing. Am also an expert rifle man (U. S. Army Medal) and do the coaching of all new members in rifle shooting in our club."

Whitewater, Wis.—"I have been doing free lance work in the design and reconditioning of aircraft and engines—in addition to regular participation in general flying activities. For your further information I am 30 years of age, started flying in 1925 on World War surplus equipment."

Washington, D. C.—"I was very much interested in your announcement of the formation of a Socialist column for Spain. There are two of us here in Washington who are ready to go now. I am going down to Richmond this week but they are old service buddies of mine who are experts in their line, radio, machine gun, flying, etc."

"And finally, may I organize my own company. I know darned well that I can line up enough ex-Marines along to pretty near make a company. How about it? That's not important, just an idea. The important thing is how soon?"

New York, N. Y.—"Three and one-half years, 1906-1909, Czarist army sharpshooter."

Brooklyn, N. Y.—"During my sojourn in China, I went through more actual combat experience than the average soldier got in the World War. I have always had a very definite hatred for the fascists. My father was a personal friend of Eugene Debs. When I saw the article in the paper announcing the 'Debs Battalion,' it struck a responsive chord in me immediately. I am an expert with the rifle, automatic rifle, and the bayonet. I have photos to substantiate the above statements."

CALL OF INTERNATIONALISM

These men understand that the war in Spain will go far toward deciding the fate of the workers in all countries for many years to come. Workers' victory in Spain can stop the fascist surge which has bathed Italy, Germany and Austria in workers' blood. It can open a new and far more hopeful period in the world drive which began when Karl Marx wrote the fateful words:

"Workers of the world unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains — you have a world to gain!"

The Debs Brigade is answering that call. Enlist or send your contribution TODAY!

GREATEST DANGER

War and the War Mongers

By WILLIAM TAUBIN

In 1917 we entered the World War to make the world safe for democracy.—We were told. As an aftermath of that war, the "democratic" system has disappeared in many European countries.

We see clearly today that the last war was fought not for ideals but for profit—not for the "nation united" but for the rulers of the nation, the capitalists. When they set out to drag the masses into their slaughter-fest for profits, they clothed that objective in the noblest and most unselfish of ideological raiment; they deliberately and calculatingly exploited in the basest fashion the progressive, the humane sentiments of the masses.

Now, a new and greater war is in preparation and the workers must ask themselves: What will be the catchword to mislead the masses and who will be the new assistant of the war mongers. What sentiments abound in the masses which lie most fruitfully awaiting the new-style demagogues? The anti-fascist sentiments of the masses.

HATE FASCISM
The workers loathe and despise fascism with all their being. The proletariat, bitterly oppressed even under the most liberal democracy will make the greatest sacrifices to fight against fascism, which brings untold destruction of human life and values.

The capitalists are well aware of the anti-fascist sentiments of the masses. It is the business of the bosses to know just such things. Not only this, not only does their ruling position supply them with all the needed avenues of information—but, at the same time, it places at their collective disposal the most variegated supply of assistants—conscious and unconscious. The politicians of the big capitalist parties, headed by Roosevelt—may be said to be their direct representatives. But a far greater service is given them by their agents in the ranks of the oppressed class itself. These latter come under three main headings: (1) The Trade Union Bureaucracy, (2) The "Communist" Party, (3) Old Guard "Socialists," Farmer-Laborites, et al.

"AT YOUR SERVICE"

Of these three groups, the most aggressive, the most vicious, and the most useful of all is the American "Communist" Party. If we say that the war danger is the greatest danger facing the American proletariat, we may also say that the work of American Stalinism for the present period consists basically in recruiting the masses to support the U. S. government in a war on the side of the Soviet Union. Every strategy of the C. P. is strictly subordinated to this ever-present objective. In point of cold fact, we can only understand their entire political line if we realize

that it flows from the above premise. How does Yankee Stalinism behave these days?
1. The C. P. itself is shoved into the background. The C. P. sees its job as that of a "left-wing" of a coalition of the workers and liberal capitalists in defense of the "status quo" nationally and internationally. In view of the imminence of the next war, it would be "ultra-leftist" to strike out for power—the best thing is to safeguard what we have by uniting with any and all who care to join us. But what does the American working class have to lose—but its chains? Very true—but what about the Soviet Union? The workers have that to lose, says the C. P. Therefore, let us join hands with "our" government and "defend" the Soviet Union.

Spanish War Is Subject Of Erber Talks

Ernest Erber, National Chairman of the Young People's Socialist League who recently returned from several months in Spain, was scheduled to speak under the auspices of the Cook County Socialist Party and YPSL, Thursday, January 7, at the Cafe Iroquois in Chicago on "What I Saw in Spain."

Comrade Erber was sent by the Young People's Socialist League as a delegate to the Anti-War Conference at Brussels, Belgium, and from there he went to France where he spent a little time meeting the workers and learning about the political lineups in that country. A major part of his time, however, was spent in Spain where he was an eye-witness to many of the struggles of the Spanish workers against the Fascist rebellion.

January 8, Comrade Erber was billed to speak at a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Young People's Socialist League in the City Club of Cleveland. His subject for this meeting was "Behind the Spanish Struggle." California Socialists and YPSL members are making plans to tour Comrade Erber through this state as soon as possible.

Butte Labor Calls Lay-offs "Inhuman"

BUTTE, Mont.—Characterizing the WPA lay-off in Montana as "inhuman," the Butte Trades and Labor Council condemned the national administration's relief policy in a telegram sent to the State's representatives in Washington, and to Harry Hopkins.

The telegram reads: "Slashes in WPA inhuman. Unions deplore Federal action and register our bitterest condemnation. We urge you to have National Administration modify its former order curtailing employment."

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The Action Army

By FRANK STERN
By now many of you have received our communication concerning the sustaining fund that has been set up to keep Labor Action on a firm financial basis. The importance of a regular sustaining fund can not be over-estimated.

So in making out your budget from now on, include us on your list for a contribution of anywhere from two-bits up per month. That's the only thing that will keep Labor Action going strong.

Our sub-getters around themselves from their holiday lethargy this week with some of the results as follows—

Tied for first place we find John Williams of Clovis, New Mexico and Helen Ekerold of Riverside, California. Both of you are entitled to an original of Carlo's drawings, comrades. So let us know which one you want and we'll send them toot-sweet.

In second place is our erstwhile San Francisco official circulation booster, Raul Leon whose brace of subs was paid with in U. S. postage. Raul also holds the proud distinction of having boosted the San Francisco bundle to 1,500 copies. Looks like Frisco has the edge on Los Angeles. Tch, tch.

A comrade whose name cannot be published, of Toronto, Canada, comes through with a juicy order and says "Congratulations on the paper. It is certainly refreshing to read after being deluged with all sorts of Stalinist papers here in Toronto."

And we have to mention another Canadian comrade in Montreal, who is active in the Co-operative Commonwealth Youth Movement and in the unemployed and trade union movement of that city. He not only increases his bundle order (and pays in advance) but also says "Labor Action is sure a great paper and it certainly puts across the message of revolutionary Socialism."

Charlie Beckett of Chicago plunks down cash for a bundle of sizable proportions and promises "I'll do the best I can to build up a circulation and appreciation of Labor Action."

We're cutting down on the backslapping this week to let you in on some news. Labor Action has moved to a spacious suite of offices in the new Socialist headquarters at 236 Van Ness Ave. in San Francisco. Due to the increase in the amount of work to be done this move was absolutely necessary.

We have also added and are still adding to our office equipment, and this week we hope to

be able to buy a desk for the editor and for yours truly. Already we have acquired an addressograph, some variegated filing equipment, a few rubber stamps and a secretary.

In order to make all this possible . . . in order to keep the new headquarters going . . . in order for the machinery of publication and distribution to run smoothly we must have adequate finances. Send in your contribution now and become a regular contributor to our sustaining fund.

And get plenty of subs and bundle orders to help build Labor Action.

Living Costs Forge Ahead of Wages At An Alarming Rate

Living costs are forging ahead of family income at a rate that cannot be ignored by conservative economists.

The Northwestern National Life Insurance Company disclosed this week that during the first week in December wholesale food prices jumped 3.7 per cent, while rent, clothing, and other essentials continued their advance on a wide front.

Meanwhile, the company said, average earnings are falling with a shrinkage of \$2.21 in the average family income during the third quarter.

Reclaim Scrapped Ships for Navy Use

WASHINGTON.—Digging into the scrap-heap of the old Shipping Board's reserve fleet—long rotting at their moorings—the Maritime Commission will dry dock in navy yards all but four of the 197 ships hurriedly built during the war-time boom.

These ships, many of which were condemned in the past as good for scrap only, and less than 40 considered fit for commercial use, will now be put in dry dock in preparation for their use as naval auxiliaries, or for utilization in case of a national emergency.

The California Youth Bill

By FRANK STERN
In 1935 the American Youth Congress, a united front of progressive and radical youth organizations in the United States, drew up a bill called the American Youth

Act in which were listed the demands of a locked out generation of youth for a minimum of economic security. Though organizations of young people with memberships running into the millions appeared at an open congressional hearing on the bill to urge its adoption, the Roosevelt-controlled legislative machine took no action. Though many powerful trade unions sent representatives to Washington to point out the necessity for ameliorating the plight of young people, the liberal capitalist government paid no heed.

Force Down Standards
The effect of these two government agencies, the NYA and the CCC is to force down the accepted union standards of wages by using young people to do work for almost nothing that would ordinarily be done by trained workers at union rates. This condition is a club over the heads of the trade union movement and a potential source of organized scabbardry.

Roosevelt and Youth
In contradistinction to the government setup the American Youth Congress posed the American Youth Act. This died in the Congressional Committee. However, in order to obtain some relief for the youth a California Youth Bill has been drafted and will be presented to the California legislature in January. The Business and Professional Department of the YWCA is responsible for the present draft of the California Youth Bill, and it is surprising to note that the demands listed in this bill are lower than the minimum requirements set by the American Youth Act, and that instead of exposing the role of the National Youth Administration as one which lowers union standards, it invites NYA co-operation.

A Dangerous Tendency
The Young People's Socialist League is the only organization behind the California Youth Bill which exposes the treacherous role of the government and its betrayal of the unemployed youth. The tendency in the youth movement and in the American Youth Congress to pat the liberals on the back and to "play ball" with the government—a tendency fostered by the Young Communist League—is a dangerous one. It should be fought by all organizations really interested in presenting to the legislature a bill which makes adequate demands for youth and

fight it. Stalinism can succeed in dragging the radical workers into support of the coming war only to the extent that it strangles and removes the influence of revolutionary socialism. This is the objective behind all their vicious attacks, treacherous maneuvers and hypocritical "advice" to the Socialist Party.

which embodies the principle that the bill should be administered by the youth organizations themselves.

In the preliminary discussions on ways and means of getting a California Youth Bill passed, many young people, obviously under the influence of the Young Communist League, proposed that a committee be sent to Sacramento to "pull strings" and carry on a lobbying campaign among liberal legislators. The Young People's Socialist League is ready, anxious, and willing to co-operate with all youth organizations in a real fight for a California Youth Bill. But we demand that this bill maintain at all times the standards set in the American Youth Act. And we insist that the only way to get action out of the capitalist legislature in Sacramento is by carrying on extra-parliamentary activities for the bill. By mass demonstrations of youth, by pressure from the organized labor movement, by petition campaigns and other such devices the young people can make known their needs and their demands very plainly to the fat-bellied boys.

Futility of Lobbying
Lobbying and pussyfooting win nothing. The only thing it can gain is the "good will" of the capitalist class who are ready and willing to make promises. If the youth take action the legislators will have to give more than promises; they will have to give relief.

The Young People's Socialist League wishes to take this opportunity to invite all organizations of youth and all trade unions to participate in the drive for youth legislation in California and in the United States. You have but to write to the YPSL, 236 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco, California, and all information including copies of the draft bill and the American Youth Act, will be forwarded to you.

The pressing need for such legislation is apparent. A powerful and active united front with proper leadership can bring concessions from the capitalists. It is your duty to participate in this drive.

DEBS' HISTORIC SPEECH AT CANTON

The Leader of American Socialism Spoke Against Imperialism War

(Sunday afternoon, June 16, 1918—in the midst of America's participation in the World War—Eugene V. Debs stood up at Canton, Ohio, and delivered his historic speech against the war. With the world on the verge of another imperialist slaughter it is well to remember what the grand old revolutionary fighter said and did in 1918. The speech is reprinted here from the pamphlet, "The Heritage of Debs," published by the National Office of the Socialist Party.—Ed.)

DEBS' HISTORIC CANTON SPEECH

Sunday Afternoon, June 16th, 1918. (The speech as printed in this pamphlet is an abridgement of the original. Omissions consist of local and out-of-date references and repetitions.)

Comrades, friends and fellow-workers, for this very cordial greeting, this very hearty reception, I thank you all with the fullest appreciation of your interest in and your devotion to the cause for which I am to speak to you this afternoon. (Applause.)

To speak for labor; to plead the cause of the men and women and children who toil; to serve the working class, has always been to me a high privilege; (Applause) a duty of love.

I have just returned from a visit over yonder (pointing to the workhouse) (Laughter), where three of our most loyal comrades are paying the penalty for their devotion to the cause of the working class. (Applause.) They have come to realize, as many of us have, that it is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe in the world. (Applause.)

Can't Jail A Movement

I realize that, in speaking to you this afternoon, there are certain limitations placed upon the right of free speech. I must be exceedingly careful, prudent, as to what I say, and even more careful and prudent as to how I say it. (Laughter.) I may not be able to say all I think; (Laughter and applause) but I am not going to say anything that I do not think. (Applause.) I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than to be a sycophant and coward in the streets. (Applause and shouts.) They may put those boys in jail—and some of the rest of us in jail—but they can't put the Socialist movement in jail. (Applause and shouts.) Those prison bars separate their bodies from ours, but their souls are here this afternoon. (Applause and cheers.) They are simply paying the penalty, that all men have paid in all the ages of history, for standing erect, and for seeking to pave the way to better conditions for mankind. (Applause.)

If it had not been for the men and women, who, in the past, have had the moral courage to go to jail, we would still be in the jungles. (Applause.) ***

Compromise Brings Trouble

There is but one thing you have to be concerned about, and that is that you keep foursquare with the principles of the international Socialist movement. (Applause.) It is only when you begin to compromise that trouble begins. (Applause.) So far as I am concerned, it does not matter what others may say, or think, or do, as long as I am sure that I am right with myself and the cause. (Applause.) There are so many who seek refuge in the popular side of a great question. As a Socialist, I have long since learned how to stand alone. (Applause.) ***

I never had much faith in leaders. (Laughter.) I am willing to be charged with almost anything, rather than to be charged with being a leader. I am suspicious of leaders, and especially of the intellectual variety. (Applause.) Give me the rank and file every day in the week. If you go to the city of Washington, and you examine the pages of the Congressional Directory, you will find that almost all of those corporation lawyers and cowardly politicians, members of Congress, and misrepresentatives of the masses—you will find that almost all of them claim, in glowing terms, that they have risen from the ranks to places of eminence and distinction. I am very glad I can not make that claim for myself. (Laughter.) I would be ashamed to admit that I had risen from the ranks. When I rise it will be with the ranks, and not from the ranks. (Applause.) ***

Capitalist Press Lies

They who have been reading the capitalist newspapers realize what a capacity they have for lying. We have been reading them lately. They know all about

the Socialist party . . . except what is true. (Laughter.) Only the other day they took an article that I had written—and most of you have read it—most of you members of the party, at least—and they made it appear that I had undergone a marvelous transformation. (Laughter.) I had suddenly become changed—had in fact come to my senses; I had ceased to be a wicked Socialist, and had become a respectable Socialist. (Laughter) a patriotic Socialist—as if I had ever been anything else. (Laughter.)

What was the purpose of this deliberate misrepresentation? It is so self-evident that it suggests itself. The purpose was to sow the seeds of dissension in our ranks; to have it appear that we were divided among ourselves; that we were pitted against each other, to our mutual undoing. But Socialists were not born yesterday. (Applause.) They know how to read capitalist newspapers; (Laughter and applause) and to believe exactly the opposite of what they read. (Applause and laughter.)

Why should a Socialist be discouraged on the eve of the greatest triumph in all the history of the Socialist movement? (Applause.) It is true that these are anxious, trying days for us all—trying days for the women and men who are upholding the banner of labor in the struggle of the working class of all the world against the exploiters of all the world; (Applause) a time in which the weak and cowardly will falter and fail and desert. They lack the fibre to endure the revolutionary test; they fall away; they disappear as if they had never been. On the other hand, they who are animated by the unconquerable spirit of the social revolution; they who have the moral courage to stand erect and assert their convictions; stand by them; fight for them; go to jail or to hell for them, if need be—(Applause and shouts) they are writing their names, in this crucial hour—they are writing their names in fadeless letters in the history of mankind. (Applause.) ***

Wipe Out Militarism

Are we opposed to Prussian militarism? (Laughter.) (Shouts from the crowd of "Yes, Yes") Why, we have been fighting it since the day the Socialist movement was born; (Applause) and we are going to continue to fight it, day and night, until it is wiped from the face of the earth. (Thunderous applause and cheers.) Between us there is no truce—no compromise.

But, before I proceed along this line, let me recall a little history, in which I think we are all interested.

In 1897 that grand old warrior of the Social revolution, the elder Liebknecht, was arrested and sentenced to prison for three months, because of his war, as a Socialist, on the Kaiser and on the junkers that rule Germany. In the meantime the Franco-Prussian war broke out. Liebknecht and Bebel were the Socialist members in the Reichstag. They were the only two who had the courage to protest against taking Alsace-Lorraine from France and annexing it to Germany. And for this they were sentenced to 2 years in a prison fortress charged with high treason; because, even in that early day, almost fifty years ago, these leaders, these forerunners of the international Socialist movement were fighting the Kaiser and fighting the junkers of Germany. (Great applause and cheers.) They have continued to fight them from that day to this. (Applause.) Multiplied thousands of Socialists have languished in the jails of Germany because of their heroic warfare upon the despotic ruling class of that country. (Applause.) ***

Parasites At Home

I hate, I loathe, I despise junkers and junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the junkers in the United States. (Thunderous applause and cheers.)

They tell us that we live in a great free republic; that our institutions are democratic; that we are a free and self-governing people. (Laughter.) This is too much, even for a joke. (Laughter.) But it is not a subject for levity; it is an exceedingly serious matter.

To whom do the Wall Street junkers in our country marry their daughters? After they have wrung their countless millions from your sweat, your agony and your life's blood, in a time of war as in a time of peace, they invest these untold millions in the purchase of titles of broken-down aristocrats, such as princes, dukes, counts and other parasites and no-accounts. (Laughter.) Would they be sat-

isfied to wed their daughters to honest workmen? (Shouts from the crowd, "No!") To real democrats? Oh, no! They scour the markets of Europe for vampires who are titled and nothing else. (Laughter.) And they swap their millions for the titles, so that matrimony with them becomes literally a matter of money. (Laughter.)

Scoundrel's Refuge

These are the gentry who are today wrapped up in the American flag, who shout their claim from the housetops that they are the only patriots, and who have their magnifying glasses in hand, scanning the country for evidence of disloyalty, eager to vilify the brand of treason to the men who dare to even whisper their opposition to junker rule in the United States. No wonder Sam Johnson declared that "patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel." He must have had these Wall Street gentry in mind, or at least their prototypes, for in every age it has been the tyrant, the oppressor and the exploiter who has wrapped himself in the cloak of patriotism, or religion, or both to deceive and overawe the people. (Applause.) ***

Mooney's Crime

What is Tom Mooney guilty of? I will tell you. I am familiar with his record. For years he has been fighting bravely and without compromise the battles of the working class out on the Pacific coast. He refused to be bribed and he could not be brow-beaten. In spite of all attempts to intimidate him he continued loyally in the service of the organized workers, and for this he became a marked man. The henchmen of the powerful and corrupt corporations, concluding finally that he could not be bought or bribed or bullied, decided he must therefore be murdered. That is why Tom Mooney is today a life prisoner, and why he would have been hanged as a felon years ago but for the worldwide protest of the working class. (Applause.) ***

Who appoints our federal judges? The people? In all the history of the country, the working class have never named a federal judge. There are 121 of these judges and every solitary one holds his position, his tenure, through the influence and power of corporate capital. The corporations and trusts dictate their appointment. And when they go to the bench, they go, not to serve the people, but to serve the interests that place them and keep them where they are.

Our So-Called Democracy

Why, the other day, by a vote of five to four—a kind of craps game—(Laughter) come seven, come seven—(Laughter) they declared the child labor law unconstitutional—a law secured after twenty years of education and agitation on the part of all kinds of people. And yet, by a majority of one, the supreme court, a body of corporation lawyers, with just one exception, wiped that law from the statute books, and this in our so-called Democracy, so that we may continue to grind the flesh and blood and bones of puny little children into profits for the junkers of Wall Street. (Applause.) And this in a country that boasts of fighting to make the world safe for democracy! (Laughter.) The history of this country is being written in the blood of the childhood the industrial lords have murdered. ***

How stupid and short-sighted the ruling class really is! Cupidity is stone blind. It has no vision. The greedy, profit-seeking exploiter cannot see beyond the end of his nose. He can see a chance for an "opening"; he is cunning enough to know what graft is and where it is, and how it can be secured, but vision he has none—not the slightest. He knows nothing of the great throbbing world that spreads out in all directions. He has no capacity for literature; no appreciation of art; no soul for beauty. That is the penalty the parasites pay for the violation of the laws of life. ***

Suppression Helps Us

Every move they make in their game of greed but hastens their own doom. Every blow they

strike at the Socialist movement reacts upon themselves. Every time they strike at us, they hit themselves. It never fails. (Applause.) Every time they strangle a Socialist paper they add a thousand voices proclaiming the truth of the principles of Socialism and the ideals of the Socialist movement. They help us in spite of themselves.

War Makers Make "Peace"

And here let me emphasize the fact—and it cannot be repeated too often—that the working class who fight all the battles, the working class who make the supreme sacrifices, the working class who freely shed their blood and furnish the corpses, have never yet had a voice in either declaring war or making peace. It is the ruling class that invariably does both. They alone declare war and they alone make peace.

That is their motto and we object on the part of the awakening workers of this nation.

What a compliment it is to the Socialist movement to be persecuted for the sake of the truth! The truth alone will make the people free. (Applause.) And for this reason the truth must not be permitted to reach the people. The truth has always been dangerous to the ruler of the roost, the exploiter, the robber. So the truth must be ruthlessly suppressed. That is why they are trying to destroy the Socialist movement; and every time they strike a blow they add a thousand new voices to the hosts proclaiming that Socialism is the hope of humanity and has come to emancipate the people from their final form of servitude. (Applause.) ***

Hate Only The System

We do not attack individuals. We do not seek to avenge ourselves upon those opposed to our faith. We have no fight with individuals as such. We are capable of pitying those who hate us. (Applause.) We do not hate them; we know better; we would freely give them a cup of water if they needed it. (Applause.) There is no room in our hearts for hate, except for the system, the social system in which it is possible for one man to amass a stupendous fortune doing nothing, while millions of others suffer and struggle and agonize and die for the bare necessities of existence. (Applause.) ***

Hearts With Russia

Yes, my comrades, my heart is attuned to yours. Aye, all our hearts now throbs as one great heart responsive to the battle-cry of the social revolution. Here, in this alert and inspiring assemblage (Applause) our hearts are with the Bolsheviks of Russia. (Deafening and prolonged applause.) Those heroic men and women, those unconquerable comrades have by their incomparable valor and sacrifice added fresh lustre to the fame of the international movement. *** The very first act of the triumphant Russian revolution was to proclaim a state of peace with all mankind, coupled with a fervent moral appeal, not to kings, not to emperors, rulers or diplomats but to the people of all nations. *** When the Bolsheviks came into power and went through the archives they found and exposed the secret treaties—the treaties that were made between the Czar and the French government, the British government and the Italian government, proposing, after the victory was achieved, to dismember the German Empire and destroy the Central Powers. These treaties have never been denied nor repudiated. Very little has been said about them in the American press. I have a copy of these treaties, showing that the purpose of the Allies is exactly the purpose of the Central Powers, and that is the conquest and spoliation of the weaker nations that has always been the purpose of war.

Wars of Plunder

Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder. In the middle ages when the feudal lords who inhabited the castles whose towers may still be seen along the Rhine decided to enlarge their domains, to increase their power, their prestige and their wealth they declared war upon one another. But they themselves did not go to war any more than the modern feudal lords, the barons of Wall Street go to war. (Applause.) The feudal barons of the middle ages, the economic predecessors of the capitalists of our day, declared all wars. And their miserable serfs fought all the battles. The poor, ignorant serfs had been taught to revere their masters; to believe that when their masters declared war upon one another, it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another and to cut one another's

throats for the profit and glory of the lords and barons who held them in contempt. And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives. (Applause.) ***

History Makers

They are making history that will light up the horizon of coming generations, for their mission is the emancipation of the human race. They have been reviled; they have been ridiculed, persecuted, imprisoned and have suffered death, but they have been sufficient to themselves and their cause, and their final triumph is but a question of time.

Do you wish to hasten the day of victory? Join the Socialist party!

Enroll your name without fear and take your place where you belong. You cannot do your duty by proxy. You have got to do it yourself and do it squarely and then as you look yourself in the face you will have no occasion to blush. You will know what it is to be a real man or woman. You will lose nothing; you will gain everything. (Applause.) Not only will you lose nothing but you will find something of infinite value, and that something will be yourself. And that is your supreme need—to find yourself—to really know yourself and your purpose in life. (Applause.) ***

You need to know that it is your duty to rise above the animal plane of existence. You need to know that it is for you to know something about literature and science and art. You need to know that you are verging on the edge of a great new world. You need to get in touch with your comrades and fellow-workers and to become conscious of your interests, your powers and your possibilities as a class. You need to know that you belong to the great majority of mankind. You need to know that as long as you are ignorant, as long as you are indifferent, as long as you are apathetic, unorganized and content, you will remain exactly where you are. (Applause.) You will be exploited; you will be degraded, and you will have to beg for a job. You will get just enough for your slavish toil to keep you in working order, and you will be looked down upon with scorn and contempt by the very parasites that live and luxuriate out of your sweat and unpaid labor.

Socialists Are Men!

If you would be respected you have got to begin by respecting yourself. (Applause.) Stand up squarely and look yourself in the face and see a man! Do not allow yourself to fall into the predicament of the poor fellow who, after he had heard a Socialist speech concluded that he too ought to be a Socialist. The argument he had heard was unanswerable. "Yes," he said to himself, "all the speaker said was true and I certainly ought to join the party." But after a while he allowed his ardor to cool and he soberly concluded that by joining the party he might anger his boss and lose his job. He then concluded: "I can't take the chance." That night he slept alone. There was something on his conscience and it resulted in a dreadful dream. Men always have such dreams when they betray themselves. A Socialist is free to go to bed with a clear conscience. He goes to sleep with his manhood and he awakens and walks forth in the morning with his self-respect. He is unafraid and he can look the whole world in the face. (Applause and laughter) without a tremor and without a blush. But this poor weakling who lacked the courage to do the bidding of his reason and conscience was haunted by a startling dream and at midnight he awoke in terror, bounded from bed and exclaimed: "My God, there is nobody in this room." (Laughter.) He was absolutely right. (Laughter and applause.) There was nobody in that room.

How would you like to sleep in a room that had nobody in it? (Laughter.) It is an awful thing to be nobody. That is certainly a state of mind to get out of, the sooner the better. (Continued Next Week)

Every way to make its work permanently valuable to Socialist organization and growth in the west.

Leaving Oklahoma, where organization work and meetings resulted in renewed activity and effectiveness in Tulsa and Oklahoma City locals, the Red Special sound truck, piloted by Douglas Anderson, is now covering the main centers in Texas.

With all but a brass band of welcome, the Red Special held a triumphant first meeting in Dallas Saturday, Dec. 26, where, writes Comrade Anderson, "they blocked off an entire street for us in the middle of the downtown section, and for one hour we held forth." The sound equipment was "tuned in" on a recording of the international, and when the crowd gathered, Comrade Anderson spoke at length about the Socialist Party program and organization.

On Sunday, December 27, Comrade Anderson spoke at an evening Forum of the Socialist Party local in Dallas. Plans were to hold street meetings in Fort Worth on the following day, and in the evening to assemble party members and sympathizers for a meeting to re-organize and activate the local there.

The Red Special was due in Waco Thursday, December 31, where, after conference with the State Secretary of Texas, plans are to be laid for the rest of the stay in that state. The tour of that state will probably include the following cities: Austin, San Antonio, Houston, Beaumont, San Angelo, from whence the Red Special will probably go into New Mexico via Clovis.

Party members interested in the project of enlisting Footloose Rebels to take the road for Socialism, should be interested to know that the Red Special carries, besides Comrade Anderson and his wife, their oldest daughter—aged ten! The Western Federation is honored to have this youthful addition to the personnel of the Red Special. We hope she enjoys her adventure and that this will be for her the initiation into a lifetime of activity for the Socialist cause. If the truth were known, there are probably a lot of comrades who envy her—both for the opportunity to be one of the pioneers in the rebirth of Socialism in the west, and for the years of youth and activity she has ahead of her.

The Federation tour of the Red Special has been well started. Comrades in the west are urged to watch for the coming of the "Red Special" and cooperate in

The Party At Work

Palo Alto Plans Big Drive

Glen Trimble, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of California, is scheduled to speak at the first meeting of the organization drive being launched by the Palo Alto local. Comrade Trimble will speak on "The Future Facing the Socialist Party" at 8 P. M., at 915 Channing Street, in Palo Alto, Wednesday evening, January 13, 1937.

Cowan At Forum On Agriculture

A sensational expose, giving details of the vicious anti-union organization campaign of the growers of California, will open the regular Sunday evening Forum program of the Socialist Party of San Francisco at the new headquarters, 236 Van Ness Avenue, Sunday, January 17, at 8 P. M. Walter Cowan, Vice-president of the State Federation of Labor, will give the facts and documentary proof showing that a thoroughly organized and well-financed campaign is being planned against agricultural union organization.

It is particularly important at this time that these facts be heard by trade unionists in every field and by all interested in the organization of labor for collective bargaining. This campaign by the growers is only an opening wedge in a concerted drive to stifle union organization in this state.

This Forum is open to the public. Questions and discussion will be permitted. Admission will be 15 cents. Unemployed workers will be admitted free.

San Francisco

Initiated by the New Year's Eve party, the Socialist Headquarters of San Francisco is now taking on the appearance of a busy Socialist center. Office equipment for the Local, State Office, and Labor Action editorial and business departments have been moved into the four front offices this past week. Paint buckets are being replaced by files, literature supplies, and general party material which are being sorted and arranged, so that work can go ahead to develop the headquarters into a thriving center of Socialist activity on all fronts. The large hall, fully equipped for dances, parties, and meetings is available for rental to unions and other organizations. Everyone interested may inquire at 236 Van Ness Avenue, where the hall is located, or call HEMlock 7986.

All mail for the State Office, Labor Action, or Local San Francisco should be addressed to 236 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco.

NOTICE
Locals—don't forget to get nominations for National Convention delegates to the State Office not later than January 20. Be sure your nominee is qualified and that he will accept before you send in the nomination.

Western States Federation Of the Socialist Party

Red Special "Takes" Texas

Leaving Oklahoma, where organization work and meetings resulted in renewed activity and effectiveness in Tulsa and Oklahoma City locals, the Red Special sound truck, piloted by Douglas Anderson, is now covering the main centers in Texas.

With all but a brass band of welcome, the Red Special held a triumphant first meeting in Dallas Saturday, Dec. 26, where, writes Comrade Anderson, "they blocked off an entire street for us in the middle of the downtown section, and for one hour we held forth." The sound equipment was "tuned in" on a recording of the international, and when the crowd gathered, Comrade Anderson spoke at length about the Socialist Party program and organization.

On Sunday, December 27, Comrade Anderson spoke at an evening Forum of the Socialist Party local in Dallas. Plans were to hold street meetings in Fort Worth on the following day, and in the evening to assemble party members and sympathizers for a meeting to re-organize and activate the local there.

State Labor Secretary Re-elected in Kansas

H. R. Rentfrow, 2715 N. Early, Kansas City, has been re-elected Labor Secretary for trade union work of the Socialist Party in Kansas.

Kansas Greet Labor Action

From the December issue of "The Kansas Socialist":—"The Oklahoma comrades have bravely started a weekly newspaper, Labor Action. Several issues are now out of the press, and the material contained therein make the paper worthy of our best support. It should be of particular interest to those whose work keeps them in close contact with labor unions and the problems of the unemployed."

SENSATIONAL EXPOSE

How California Growers are Organizing Against AGRICULTURAL WORKERS
Facts and Documentary Proof Will Be Presented

H E A R
WALTER COWAN
Vice-President State Federation of Labor
SUNDAY, JANUARY 17, 1937—8:00 P. M.

at
INTERNATIONAL HALL
236 Van Ness Avenue

Questions and Discussion
Auspices: San Francisco Local Socialist Party
Admission, 15 Cents Unemployed Admitted Free

LABOR ACTION

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Capitalism—At All Costs!

The seventy-fifth Congress is in session. With a 5 to 1 Senate and a 3 to 1 House of Representatives, President Roosevelt has a free hand and ample power to secure whatever program he desires.

The first item on that program will be legislation to prevent private shipment of arms to the regularly elected Spanish Government. Germany and Italy are pouring troops into Spain.

This they do in the name of world peace and liberals and pacifists applaud. How wilfully blind they are! Roosevelt makes no pretense of pacifism.

The move to block arms shipment to the workers of Spain has nothing to do with peace. It is the declaration of the United States Government that Fascism in Spain is preferable to the threat of Socialism there.

On this ominous note the seventy-fifth Congress opens. Let workers beware! What is true of Congressional attitude to Spanish capitalism is a thousand times more true of capitalism here at home.

Suspended?

The A. F. of L. Convention is gone and forgotten. The pages of the press are filled with labor news, but it is not the stodgy "releases" of outworn labor press services in Washington that accounts for that.

The news of American labor is the steady march of the organization which the Tam-

pa convention tried to bury under a scrap of paper.

General Motors is being "bottled up" and its 69 plants employing 135,000 workers in 14 states may be closed by the time this paper leaves the press.

The remarkably effective "sit-down" strikes challenge the sacredness of all sacred cows—the right of the employer to use scab workmen in "his" factory.

For all this the credit belongs to the militant temper of the workers expressed through the Committee for Industrial Organization and its hundreds of aggressive organizers.

Who said they were "suspended?"

Still Dodging

Two weeks ago Labor Action published a challenge by the State Secretary of the Socialist Party, Glen Trimble, to the Communist Party for a series of open public debates on the following propositions:

- 1. That the 1936 election policy of the Socialist Party advanced the real interests of American workers, while that of the Communist Party did not.
2. That the trade union policy of the Socialist Party is progressive, that of the Communist Party reactionary.
3. That the Socialist Party program is the only genuine defense of the Soviet Union.
4. That the "Peace Policy of the Soviet Union" is a defense of the status quo and a betrayal of the cause of world socialism.
5. That the war policy of the Comintern is worse than that of the "Social Democratic" betrayers of 1914.
6. That the Communist Party is opposed to revolutionary unity of the working class.
7. That the Communist Party has abandoned Marx, Lenin, the class struggle and world revolution.
8. That the Socialist Party program provides the only road for smashing capitalism and winning workers' power.

So long as the Communist Party chooses to ignore this challenge, that organization will stand indicted on all eight counts and on the additional count of failure to make even the first step toward workers' unity—a full, frank discussion of the problems before us.

Analysis of Spanish Military Situation

Journal of P. O. U. M. Estimates Forces

(The following analysis of the military situation in Spain is reprinted from "The Spanish Revolution," the weekly English bulletin of the workers' party of Marxist Unification (P.O.U.M.), published at Barcelona.—Ed.)

The fascist generals continue to encircle Madrid. According to information supplied by the General Staff of the government forces, five fascist columns are operating on the various fronts in the center of Spain. These columns have been made up of picked men and are furnished with the best war equipment with which their fascist allies, Germany and Italy, can provide them.

Surrounding Madrid We must recognize that the fascists have had a certain success in their tactic of surrounding Madrid, but this success of theirs has been largely due to a lack of discipline and military cohesion on our part.

During these last weeks the fascist generals have exerted a very strong pressure on the Central front. Madrid is the principal objective not only of the militarist and fascist reaction in Spain, but in Europe.

The Spanish proletariat understood from the very beginning the political and strategic importance of Madrid. Precisely for this reason the proletariat of all Spain go to the Madrid front to offer their services as practical proof of their solidarity in the struggle.

Our Offensive Last week our big offensive began on all fronts. The only adequate means of defense is to attack. Our armament factories are working night and day for the front as a reply to the foreign aid which the fascist are securing.

The proletarian armies now have tanks, aeroplanes and cannon, thanks to the untiring efforts of the workers and their spirit of sacrifice.

An attempt is being made by the friends of Spain fascism to charge the anti-fascist forces with receiving foreign help. They maintain that the war machinery which we have provided by our Russian comrades. They know this to be quite untrue, but make this claim in order to justify the German and Italian aid to General Franco.

What has been the immediate result of the offensive on all fronts? On the Aragon front the workers are at the gates of Huesca, and their encirclement of this city is almost complete. They have entered the Alcañiz Mountains and are driving the fascists back. Desertions of soldiers coming over to join our forces, bringing their arms with them, have become very frequent.

Breaking Through On the northern front our offensive has broken through the reinforced columns which were marching to join Aranda and the fascist troops in Oviedo. The victorious advance of the miners' forces moves like a wave through the Asturias.

At the Southern and Center fronts around Madrid the militias have attacked with the help of armored trains and tanks specially built by the workers, and have succeeded in driving back the fascists from various positions which they had conquered near Madrid.

Our military advance has had great moral repercussions throughout the country. The hand of the fascists has been forced and they have been obliged to attempt many spectacular feats in order to save their prestige in the eyes of their allies.

Fascist Reprisal A few days ago the town of Rosas was bombarded by the rebel cruiser, Canarias. As soon as this information was received in Figueras, a mixed column was mobilized, composed of elements of the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T., together with some of the U.G.T.

On arriving at Rosas the black-shirts of the fascists manning the cruiser were visible. The fascists were not able to land and their bombardment made no victims. At 5 o'clock the next afternoon, the warship "Combe Mar Vell" also entered the bay.

The ill-fated action of the fascists at Rosas, as is now known, was meant as propaganda for the enemy's colleagues in Italy, Germany and Portugal, to show what they thought they could do in reply to our bombardment of Seville.

International Issue The struggle taking place in Spain is no longer a civil war confined to one country. On the out-

come of the Spanish struggle depends not only the fate of the proletariat in Spain, but throughout Europe. A fascist victory in Spain would mean a fascist future for Europe. Hitler and Mussolini realized this long ago; they realized it in time to foment the military rising before the 19th of July. It has taken Stalin three months to understand this simple fact and Leon Blum has not yet grasped it.

Russia has realized that the neutrality pact consisted in practice of allowing the intervention of fascist countries. A fascist Europe would menace the existence of the Soviet Union. Russia cannot stand passively aside when her own fate is bound up in the fate of the Spanish proletariat.

Alliance Wins Concessions In Colorado

Members Increased Ten-fold In State-wide Drive

PUEBLO, COLORADO.—With Socialists holding many of the key positions in both state and local organizations, the Colorado Workers Alliance has multiplied ten times its membership in the state, according to reports to the Alliance State Executive Board meeting at Pueblo.

J. Austin Beasley, executive state secretary, Harley Murray, assistant executive and recording secretary, Clifton Johnson, secretary of Workers Alliance, Denver Local one, and William Blue, financial secretary of the Alliance in Longmont, second oldest local in the state, are among the comrades in the State Alliance carrying on the militant and effective fight.

RECORD OF PROGRESS Six new locals organized, five of which have a mass membership, and three in the three largest cities in the state.

Exertion of mass pressure in Denver to secure an additional relief allotment over the state of \$284,000, money that was "found" by the state relief officials after reports had gone out that all money was exhausted.

Announcements by state officials that WPA lay-offs would stop were followed by unofficial statements that "those laid off would be put back on soon." This preceded the statements of the National WPA office.

Emergency checks were issued to 164 needy cases reported by the Workers Alliance in Denver without investigations.

MASS MEETING IN DENVER A mass meeting called by Organized Labor groups in Denver was participated in by the Alliance officially, and a resolution of cooperation with the Trade Unions adopted.

PROGRAM PLANNED A program of action adopted by the Executive Board for December and January included: Continued pressure against WPA officials, with mass picketing by every local.

Delegations to Congressmen and Senators and to State Representatives and Senators will be sent to demand enlarged WPA and adequate relief legislation.

SIDELINES

By JONATHAN DOE

How's Your Phraseology, Comrade?

Radical lingo has always fascinated us. Time was when we used to want to crush our enemies, overcome our weaknesses and all that sort of thing. For years now, though, we haven't had the slightest impulse in that direction.

Ever since the Russian Revolution one of our main purposes in life has been that of liquidation. We liquidate foes right and left, liquidate right deviators, liquidate left deviators, liquidate capitalists, and even sometimes liquidate liquidators.

Besides our liquidating efforts, we've gone in heavily during recent years for "masking" activities. Masking right deviations under a leftist phraseology has long been one of our favorite pastimes.

1937 Marches On Happy New Year! We have started out very well. The third big airplane crash in a month took twelve lives; a ten-year-old boy was kidnapped in Washington; the Spanish Fascists celebrated New Year's by bombing

Madrid civilians who had gathered to eat the traditional grapes for good luck during the coming year; Carl von Ossietzky has disappeared from his Nazi-guarded hospital bed since expressing his inability to comment on the winning of the Nobel Peace Prize; literary criticism is forbidden in Germany; Trotsky is somewhere on the high seas wondering where he can live in Mexico without inviting assassination by Fascists or Stalinists; perhaps we had better not mention the maritime strike; and coffin-makers in China are rejoicing as they get ready for the trade in executed opium-addicts. There is no danger of anyone's dying of boredom during the next three hundred and fifty days, especially in view of the fact that we now have three radio chains instead of two over which to hear about tooth-paste and laxatives.

Swing, Davie, Swing

Edward the VIII's abdication speech is now available on phonograph records. So far the only introduction, before the present Duke of Windsor speaks his piece, is the deep-throated striking of Big Ben. This can easily be remedied however, and give the transcription the atmosphere of a fresh broadcast every time you play it. First Big Ben, "Bang! Bang!" (Ten Bangs.) Then an announcer: "It is exactly 10 a.m. BULLOVA Watch Time. This program comes to you through the courtesy of the BULLOVA Watch Company. Spelled B-U-L-L-O-V-A. Friends and little lads and lassies of radio-land—the King, God bless 'im! Swing it, Davie!"

Family Quarrel Of The French Patriots

In the Dec. 12 issue of Labor Action, we called attention to a "letter" carried in Moscow Izvestia for Nov. 11, and expressed our conviction that it presented an "official" viewpoint, i. e., political directives to the French C. P. The entire line pursued by the French Stalinists since that time has confirmed this to the hilt. It is the line of "unofficially" condemning the People's Front while maintaining it "officially" at all costs.

The reports carried in the French press of the proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies at the beginning of this month illuminate this new policy in the highest degree.

Blum, upon taking the floor, defended his foreign policy as being based "on a simple principle which puts first and foremost the interests of France and the interests of peace." The only possible road is not "to meddle in Spanish affairs." He attacked the position of the Stalinists, pointing out their contradictory stand, and insisting that their policy would precisely bring about what they said they opposed, i. e., military intervention in Spain.

With the Stalinists abstaining, the Government was sustained in its foreign policy (i. e., on Spain) by a vote of 350 to 171.

Immediately thereafter the C.P. issued an official statement vowing its "loyal support to the Government" and explaining away its action of abstention on the grounds of refusing to approve "a blockade of the Spanish Republic." This same policy of "unofficially" condemning and attacking the policy of "blockading Spain," and publicly calling for a breach of that blockade, while "officially" continuing to remain loyal to Blum's Government is still being continued. How long can this last?

one purpose: to break the majority of the People's Front!

In conclusion, Thorez said: "The Government policy on the Spanish question is not the policy of the People's Front" and the Communists would abstain from voting against the Government only in order "not to break the front which alone can give the people 'Bread, Peace, and Liberty!'"

SPEECH OF BLUM

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ONE CONSISTENCY

On one question there has been no change. The Stalinists are as loud as ever in their support of national defense for French imperialism, and miss no opportunity to make their position clear. Thus when at one of the sessions, the arch-reactionary de Kerillis, Franco's champion, arose to announce that "if war breaks out, we will all go, as one man, behind our Government, even if it is the Government of the 'People's Front' of socialists and communists!" he received a long and stormy ovation from all the benches—including, it is reported, the "extreme left," i. e., the Stalinists.

PEARLS FROM THE PRESS

By CARL O'SHEA

Advertisement in a San Francisco paper:

Exclusive Importations for Gentlemen: Silk dressing gowns, \$185; handkerchiefs, \$15 each. Let's go down and stock up. Butch. Or maybe that first crack about "gentlemen" lets us out.

Whitesburg, Kentucky, news item: Judge Harlan yesterday sentenced Birdie Lee Thurmond to drink a 3-ounce bottle of castor oil in his presence. The judge will try the method on hardened criminals and believes it will prove quite effective.

That's what comes of reading those German newspapers.

Oakland, Calif., news item: The Rev. Robert Rehkugel has launched a movement, the Suicide Prevention Society of America, Inc., to create a nationwide organization for prevention of suicide.

The Reverend has a fighting heart, indeed—for he is going up against the greatest team in the world—Misery and Starvation. Offhand, I'd say the best prevention for suicide would be a strong fighting trade union and unemployed movement.

Los Angeles Times editorial: The innocent victims of the strike should, of course, be cared for at public expense, but to give strikers the same treatment—is to encourage lawlessness out of the public purse.

Purse on them!

Daily Doubt, from the San Francisco Examiner: Last night the coast committee for the shipowners announced the launching of a comprehensive campaign of public information concerning the strike issues.

What the hell do the gentlemen want, anyway. They've got the press, the pulpit, the radio and the schools now.

But that is at it should be. These organs of the bosses know us and we know them. Between us there is no misunderstanding.

New York News item: Wage increases and bonuses for workers at the General Motors plant this year will total \$12 million dollars. . . Total dividend payments by General Motors in 1936 will reach \$195 million dollars.

Washington news item: The Bureau of Agricultural Economics today forecast a wheat crop in 1937 considerably in excess of domestic needs.

What dreadful news. Looks like another tough year for the farmers and the workers. Yes, this is capitalism we live under.

Paul Scharrenberg, officer of the International Seamen's Union: Manipulation by communism, in the design of capturing the Seamen's Union for the illicit distribution of propaganda throughout the world, is at the bottom of the maritime strikes on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

Ya, the maritime workers don't

give a darn whether or not they retain control of the hiring halls and other union conditions.

Headline in C. S. Monitor: DIVERSIFIED CROPS FOR CUBA PUSHED BY U.S.

I bet our government is recommending a big harvest of corpses of Cuban labor and progressive leaders.

New York news item: Winthrop Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank, urged business and industry to adopt a code of behavior but to keep it unwritten.

If I behaved like business and industry, I'd keep my code unwritten too.

A Few Side Remarks On "Public Opinion"—How It Doesn't Work

By CRARY TRIMBLE

In these days of glorification for "John Public" when the shipowners take down their hair and tell the public about what fine up-standing Americans they are and how

they want to do right by their "loyal" workers; when the Communists are playing up to the prejudices of the "peepul"—it is well to find out just how much weight that "public" has in influencing the decisions of the mighty.

A great new safety valve for public opinion has now been in existence for about a year—the Institute of Public Opinion—and its discoveries are being printed in the San Francisco News with long blurbs about how wonderful it is to have a means of finding out what public opinion wants.

We now know what "public opinion" thinks of a third term for President Roosevelt. We even know that "public opinion" overwhelmingly favors government ownership of all munitions plants so as to take the profit out of dealing in mass production death. So what?

OLD STORY Public opinion speaks, and its representatives in Washington continue to represent the boys who paid their fare to Congress. Public opinion calls for public ownership of munitions industries.

equipment—sh! unless we get cash.

So now, boys and girls who think dear old Congress has made the United States and its little South American brothers safe for something or other, scratch the cobwebs out of your heads and put the old thinking machinery to work. The press came out last week with news of foreign gold reserves (or their equivalent) being piled up in this country to provide the cash in advance against such time as they may need to provision their armies.

Pause in your song of triumph, oh pacifists, and find out how you have been sold down the river again. Look again, John Public, at the record of what YOU want and what Congress does about it. It's a great racket, this capitalist "democracy."

RADIO P. O. U. M. The P.O.U.M. broadcasting station is Radio Barcelona E.C.P.2, wave length 42 meters. There are broadcasts in English every evening except Sundays, from 6:40 p.m. to 7 o'clock.

All comrades who listen in to P.O.U.M. broadcasts are cordially invited to send comments and criticism to this office. It will help the organizers to know how the P.O.U.M. radio program is received in other countries.