

Return the Statue of Liberty to France--She needs it more than we do!

Socialist Call

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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Rally World
Labor Support
for
French General
Strike!

French State Wages War On Labor Movement

By GERRY ALLARD

When Hitler the Terror bows, French imperialism rushes obligingly to appease him; no principle or treaty is too sacred to sacrifice in the name of "peace"—or it gives him Czechoslovakia.

When the French working class resents the Daladier government's decrees which rob them of social conditions won slowly through years of reforms, French imperialism, like Hitler, speedily mobilizes its army to make war on the workers.

Notwithstanding all the talk of Munich pacts, agreements, "war renunciations" and compromises, French imperialism, like other imperialist powers, including the American variety, carries on feverish rearmament production mainly at the expense of the working people.

ATTACK 40 HOURS

It was the military decrees of Daladier which ordered the workers to work more than the legalized 40-hour week, won by French unions in sitdown strike action in 1936, that threatened to hurl France into violent social conflict.

Daladier's regime, kept in power due to a recess of the Chamber of Deputies and definitely a minority government, mobilized French military forces in an attempt to crush a series of strikes involving more than 100,000 miners, metallurgical and other workers in heavy industries.

On the other hand, the French workers' powerful General Confederation of Labor, representing 5,000,000 workers, quickly resorted to the weapon of workers' solidarity—the general strike which is scheduled for Wednesday and, if consummated, will paralyze French industrial life for 24 hours as a protest against the Daladier government's swing toward fascism.

A REAL LESSON

Events in France confirm vividly what the Socialist Party of the United States said for years on the questions of fascism, war, imperialism, collective security and popular front governments. American Socialists repeatedly pointed out that fascism and war were products of capitalism. They cannot be defeated by supporting one group of imperialists against another in international war, or by supporting one section of capitalism against another in national governmental administration and policies. French Socialist and trade union forces appear to have come to the same conclusion.

"Le Populaire," French Socialist Party organ, denounced Daladier's assumption of dictatorial power and called upon his cabinet to resign. It said his cabinet constituted no majority in the chamber or in the country and was following a policy of reaction, a provocation toward labor that was becoming dangerous for the nation and the republic.

HINT BLUM'S ARREST

Rumors were abroad that Leon Blum, Leon Jouhaux and other French labor leaders were to be arrested.

Mass demonstrations were held by Socialists, trade unionists and their allies throughout France during last week-end, protesting the government's war on labor. Striking workers made strategic retreats back to work only to announce that this was done to prepare for the general strike Wednesday. The French masses generally ignored Daladier's edicts and in the Paris region 400 railroad workers were arrested. Workers shouted, "Daladier to the Scaffold," as they were led to prison.

WE MUST ACT

A "New York Times" dispatch stated that the entire cabinet was supporting Daladier's extreme actions. Dissension within the ranks of the Radical Socialists, (Daladier Party),

which is neither radical nor Socialist, was reported among sections of the middle class and peasants although the leadership of the party, including Herriot, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, were reported solidly behind the fascist decrees.

The National Action Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States met in Chicago Saturday and considered the French crisis. An appeal was issued to all sections of the Socialist movement and many trade unions in this country to voice their denunciation of the Daladier government. The Socialist N. A. C. called upon Socialists to picket French consulates to publicize American Socialists' solidarity with the French masses.

A statement issued by the N. A. C. called for "the return of the Statue of Liberty to France—she needs it even more than do we."

Homes for Horses, Pools for Pigs

LANSING, Mich.—Frank Materko, a typical WPA worker, is tired of working for animals. He wants to build homes for people to live in.

Explaining his position, Frank says: "I was sent out on a job at the state laboratory to build some new barns for the horses. Later we were transferred to a job where we built a concrete swimming pool and recreation center for pigs. What I want to know is why we can't build good homes for people to live in."

Workers Defense League Asks Special Jury

NEW YORK.—The Workers Defense League has requested that a special Federal Grand Jury be selected and that the panel for such a jury be drawn from throughout the state of New Jersey when agents of the department resume their inquiry into the violations of civil liberties in Jersey City.

The requests were made in a letter to Attorney General Homer S. Cummings from Morris Shapiro, counsel for the league. The W. D. L. has been active on behalf of Norman Thomas, whose charges initiated the Grand Jury investigation of Mayor Frank Hague.

National Labor Secretary, Socialist Party, U. S. A.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The five day national constitutional convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations met here in what once was the center of the open shop and is now the capital of strong industrial unionism in America. It was a celebration of the advent of a new section of the labor movement based on the most modern part of American industrial life, the vast, power-driven, mass production industries.

As long as these industries are basic to the support of American life the organization created now for the first time

by its workers will be basic to the political, industrial and social life of the nation.

Their strategic positions are now firmly entrenched in the major industries—coal, steel, aluminum, oil, metal mining, rubber, lumber, textiles, clothing, meat packing, autos, electrical goods, shipbuilding, Atlantic coast marine and Pacific coast longshore transport, beginnings in utilities and communications. The C. I. O. unions can, at any time they can cooperate with the independent railroad brotherhoods and the teamsters union of the A. F. of L., determine the course and fate of the American working class and with their fate the future of America.

LABOR UNITY

For the Socialists and other advanced workers certain things stand out in surveying this first real congress of industrial workers. It was made clear in the brief statement of the convention on its second day that the leadership of the C. I. O. admits labor unity as its goal but for the present puts its continued leadership in the drive for advancement and consolidation of industrial unionism in the mass production industries before any production in the drive for unity.

Good omens of a genuine attempt to maintain a good measure of peace within labor ranks were the lack of any backbiting or denunciation of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for its inevitable decision to remain independent of any permanent labor center rival to the A. F. of L. and the relatively small amount of denunciation of the A. F. of L. as such.

ORGANIZATION DRIVE

The organizing program adopted, emphasized consolidation thru clean-up drives on Little Steel, textiles as an industry, the south as a region, the Ford empire in auto and the packing-house workers. It indicated no intention of provoking dubious

The Farmers' Convention

By PAUL PORTER

MADISON, Wis.—Though many thousands of farmers returned to the Republican ticket in this autumn's elections, this fact does not support the oft-made claim that most farmers desire more conservative governmental policies, that they are fundamentally hostile to organized labor, or that the farm vote is primarily dependent upon the price of agricultural products.

Each of these claims is in part true, but far less true than was the case not many years ago.

Important changes in the viewpoint of the farm population are taking place, especially so among the men and women who cultivate family-sized farms in the great basin that lies between the Alleghenies and the Rockies.

34TH CONVENTION

Nowhere has the abandonment of the old individualism among rural folk been more evident than at the 34th annual convention of the Farmers Educational and Co-operative Union of Amer-

ica, generally known as the National Farmers Union, which was held here recently.

The convention recorded a membership of 120,000 in 36 states—a steady and substantial growth over previous years. These figures do not include the women active in auxiliaries or the youth in the Juniors and Junior Reserves; they swell the total membership to nearly a half million.

NEW LEADERSHIP

Much more significant than this increase in membership, however, was the consolidation of the new leadership, which came into power in 1936, and the victory of radical policies. The Populist leaders who sought a solution to complex farm problems in the panacea of cheap money are disappearing. They are now largely replaced by a new generation of farm leaders who advocate a cooperative or socialist society in place of capitalism, and already have to their credit the establishment of many flour-

ishing co-ops; who are pro-labor and are militantly anti-war.

BASIC AIMS

The fundamental aim of the Farmers Union is set forth in its declaration of principles, adopted at the 1937 convention in Oklahoma City, and reaffirmed this year. It reads:

"We believe that the farm problem is only a part of a gigantic economic problem; and that this economic problem has been created by, and must become more serious (under the 'profit system' by which our business is operated. A profit system must be predicated upon the theory of scarcity, which necessitates controlled production and controlled distribution, for the specific purpose of fixing price.

"We believe that a system of cooperative business, owned by producers and consumers, is the only means by which the potential abundance of this nation may be made available to all its people and by which true democ-

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The First Step Towards Stopping
"Fascist Aggression."



CIO CONGRESS PUSHES MASS UNION DRIVE

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL

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Honored

Workers will long remember Joe Shoemaker, who was murdered by Florida Ku Kluxers. This week the Workers Defense League of New York, courageous champion of workers rights and trail blazer for civil liberties in the South, held memorial services commemorating the anniversary of Joe's martyrdom.

Shoemaker was an active champion of the labor movement. An idealist, he rebelled against the corrupt political machine of the Democratic Party in Tampa, Florida, organized unemployed and trade unionists to oust the infamous Legions of the Ku Klux Klan and as a consequence he fell victim to the foulest murder ever committed in this country.

He died on Nov. 30, 1935, nine days after he, Dr. Samuel Rogers and Eugene Poulnot, both members of the Socialist Party, had been kidnapped, tortured, beaten, burned and tarred by night riding sadists.

Only the stubborn efforts of the Workers Defense League, the Socialist Party and liberal friends succeeded in preventing the horrible crime from passing unnoticed. Nine men—six policemen and three Klansmen—were indicted for the kidnap-murder, and later five of them were convicted. But another Florida court reversed the conviction on a technicality. After having aroused nationwide indignation, the case dragged on for more than two years, with Florida machine politicians succeeding in obstructing the course of justice. Last spring the last of those indicted were acquitted.

The fire of indignation has not ceased to burn in the hearts of men and women of the Workers Defense League. The memorial featured moving addresses by Norman Thomas, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Herman Matson, Noah A. C. Walters and Brendan Sexton.

Thomas chose as his theme "Don't Mourn For Me—Organize!" the last words of the IWW poet, Joe Hill, executed by the state of Utah in 1916 on framed-up charges.

Joe Shoemaker died for the labor movement. And sensitive people who prize liberty fongathered to pay a hero's tribute to one had made the supreme sacrifice for freedom and human decency.

Doctors

The sharpening struggle between the common people and reactionary forces in American life is penetrating the sciences. Reactionary hatchmen of special privilege who adorn multifarious governmental and controlling boards of the medical

A WORKER'S REVIEW OF THE NEWS

profession, for instance, have dangerous powers. This was glaringly revealed in Detroit recently where a number of doctors of pro-labor sympathies were preemptorily removed from the city's list of practicing physicians.

Scene of titanic conflict between billionaire corporations and a highly exploited working class, political bosses led by Mayor Reading made hay with the Dies Committee's pack of lies fabricated while the witch hunters were investigating "un-American" activities in Detroit.

The edict ordering the dismissal of the doctors came from Mayor Reading and was summarily enforced by the Board of Health. Both the mayor and the board forgot an important detail: the dismissed doctors were never given a hearing nor specifically informed of what professional ethics or rules they had violated, if any.

This has added fuel to the controversy, the doctors and their liberal and labor friends are fighting back and the reactionaries must be forced to face the issue before the public.

One of the dismissed physicians, Dr. Frederick C. Lendrum, Director of the Medical Research Institute of the United Automobile Workers of America, has distinguished himself by painstaking work in the field of industrial disease. He made a creditable showing in discovering tuberculosis in its early and curable stages especially among auto workers, his special field.

Workers who were virtually murdered by the poisons, acids, fumes in industry found a champion in Dr. Lendrum. The UAWA put him in charge of this important work. Besides, Dr. Lendrum had been attacked by anti-labor forces because he had publicized police brutality toward pickets, the inadequate welfare budget and the horrible conditions in foundries, storage battery plants and other slave industries.

Dr. Lendrum is one example. The other dismissed doctors have equally meritorious records. They are the victims of the bosses' open and surreptitious campaign of undermining labor organizations and its allies. Labor cannot afford to let this challenge go by without a fight. These doctors must be reinstated to a profession to which they contributed generously and also dignified. And in the course of the battle if labor can find an ashean for Dies odorous infamies that, too, will be a noble contribution.

Mooney

Several years ago Clinton B. Ballard, Wisconsin Socialist, former superintendent of public property and former member of the state legislature, vowed he would never set foot in California as long as Tom Mooney remained in prison. Now that Gov. Elect Culbert Olson has indicated that he will pardon the world's most famous prisoner, Ballard plans to go to California and hopes to crown his long fight for Mooney's liberation by shaking his hand when the steel jaws of San Quentin release a man who was framed by the corporations of California.

Although Ballard has never met Mooney, the two men have established a friendship through correspondence of several years standing. Ballard was a leader among the progressive and Socialist forces of Wisconsin, who remained loyal to Mooney throughout the 22 years of his incarceration.

Ballard's tender regard for Mooney epitomizes the feeling of millions of people throughout the world. Civilized man will rejoice over Mooney's freedom—the forces of reaction will be too calloused to bow their heads in shame.

Patriarch

Orson Bacon Greene died two weeks ago at the age of 104 years. His death followed a brief illness at his home in Jackson County, Mo., site of the 160-acre worked by the patriarch since 1869.

Greene attracted national attention several weeks before his death by publicity which revealed that he was the oldest living follower of Socialism, further dramatized by the fact that he was born during Andrew Jackson's turbulent administration, voted for Abraham Lincoln in the ominous days of 1860, for Bryan and bi-metalism, supported Debs and Thomas, Socialist presidential candidates and opposed war as egregious folly and terra waste.

In 1833, he wrote: "I was born July 8, 1834, in a log cabin eleven miles west of Fremont, Ohio. It was fashionable to be born in log cabins then. I was graduated from one, then taught school in Ohio, Illinois and Missouri.

"I voted twice for Abe Lincoln, landed in Jackson County in 1869, was crashopped, chinebrined and dried out several times, and I am now an author."

to call United States bonds. Stop the millions of interest, and issue greenbacks to transact business and set ball rolling, and thus surely bless and please the people."

Greene clung to the old-fashioned ideas but always there beat in his heart a genuine, instinctive love for mankind and for the morals and principles of Socialism.

Gag Law

A. F. of L., C. I. O. unions and the American Civil Liberties

Union have united to test the constitutionality of the recently enacted anti-picketing statute in Oregon. The new law was favorably voted on as an initiative proposal in the Nov. 8 election.

The measure forbids picketing in labor disputes not defined in the statute. It excludes all industrial controversies except those relating to wages, hours and working conditions and those in which the parties are in the direct relation of employer and employees. Unions are prohibited from collections of dues beyond the "legitimate requirements" of the organizations. The law also forbids all interference with trade and manufacture, even in connection with "trade disputes."

Similar proposals were defeated in California and Washington. In Los Angeles, which recently adopted an anti-picketing ordinance, the first test case came on for hearing before Municipal Judge H. B. Landreth, who postponed decision until early this month. Another test case, in the Superior Court, was argued on Nov. 4. The unions and the C. L. U. filed a joint petition to argue the case.

Pogrom

By NORMAN THOMAS

Very slowly mankind developed a sense of justice for the individual as sometimes distinct from the interest of the tribe as its chiefs interpret it. Now in fascist countries all that is lost. Nazi Germany's treatment of Jews and other minority groups is worse than a reversion to medievalism. It is a sin against the light.

Torquemada had a better excuse for his cruelty than Hitler. The tactics of the middle ages at least could bear witness to their beliefs. The martyrs were not anonymous victims of concentration camps, mobs and executioners.

Short of international war which would only extend the range of cruelty, every possible pressure should be put on the dictators to end this new reign of stark brutality. Above all, the underground movements in Germany and Italy must be aided. So far American protests from the President to the press against Hitler's crimes have been all to the good.

The first desire of decent men must be to stop the processes that make refugees; the next to take care of them. We must work as never before:

(1) to liberalize our own immigration policy and make American once again an asylum for the oppressed;

(2) to put pressure on other nations so that they may cooperate in opening their doors and in creating desirable havens for the oppressed, perhaps in Africa or South America and

(3) in bringing the U. S. S. R. into the picture. At least Stalin should open his doors to those who want to go to Russia.

At least the U. S. S. R. should liberalize its own policies so that minorities can expect toleration so far as they are not disloyal, which minorities heretofore have

sadly lacked in the U. S. S. R. There were, I was told in Russia, plenty of German refugees in the prisons and work camps in 1937. And now Russia's doors are closed. It is about time for the workers of the whole world to challenge Stalinite hypocrisy at this point.

Youth

The call to the National Youth Anti-War Congress was published last week. "Youth Challenges the War Makers," is the inspiring banner under which it calls together all youth who would "build a new world of justice, peace and brotherhood." To be held in Columbus, Ohio, December 27 to 30, under the auspices of the Youth Committee Against War, the Congress is intended to plan youth's part in the campaign to:

"Keep America from collaborating with other nations for protection of empires; keep America from participating in war preparations of other governments by keeping America out of war trade.

"Start the fight against militarism and oppression at home to lay the basis for a peaceful world order.

"Stop the War Department plans for Industrial Mobilization, which will suppress civil liberties and smash trade unions on the outbreak of war; prevent dictatorship by keeping America out of war.

"Cooperate with movements of the people to relieve war victims, to provide asylum for refugees, to free colonial peoples, and to liberate European workers from dictatorship."

Young people all over the country are now hard at work making arrangements to send delegates to the Congress. There are Youth Committees Against War in most large cities and on very many campuses preparing the technical details of the sending of delegates.

The program of the Congress, which will open on Tuesday evening, Dec. 27, includes a panel discussion under the title, "The Fight Against War and Oppression Begins at Home"; a Town Hall type of discussion on "Behind the Scenes in International Politics"; a mass meeting; subject commissions to discuss the many different aspects of the fight against war; interest commissions to discuss work through various types of group and cooperative recreation.

Spain

American workers, particularly those who made possible the sending of 8,000 tons of food and medical supplies to Loyalist Spain, were happy to hear that the American relief ship docked safely at Barcelona, Nov. 18.

The ship completed its voyage in record time despite a heavy bombardment and attempts of a fascist trawler to stop the S. S. Erica Reed in the Strait of Gibraltar. The ship flew American colors and was manned by an American crew, under the leadership of Capt. Harry Johnson of Oregon.

The eight thousand ton freighter was filled with food, clothing and medical supplies, including five thousand tons of wheat purchased from the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, made possible by the contributions of the American people.

A plea for lifting the embargo on Loyalist Spain was made from the decks of the American freighter and the thanks of the Spanish people to all Americans for their gift was given by a number of government officials and workers' representatives who took part in celebrating the occasion of the ship's arrival.

Meanwhile Socialist, progressive and liberal forces in America rallied their forces for a concerted drive, seeking to lift the embargo against the Loyalists. Telegrams, letters, delegations, etc. bombarded various agencies of the U. S. government, asking that the embargo be lifted.

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CIO CONGRESS PUSHES MASS UNION DRIVE

BY ARTHUR McDOWELL
(Continued from Page 1)

conflict further in sections actually covered by A. F. of L. organizations.

A good scattering of food workers, bakery workers and paper workers among the local industrial unions represented would have furnished a base should there have been any intention of engaging in reckless dual unionism against the vigorous A. F. of L. groups in those jurisdictions.

CONSTITUTION

The constitution adopted created a highly centralized organization with immense power in the hands of President Lewis and of the small group of heads of the big organizations of miners, steel, clothing and textile workers who alone have a decisive share of the votes which they can cast in a bloc at meetings of the Executive Board for their entire membership.

Great powers of discipline over affiliated organizations will threaten desirable international union autonomy but will also

prevent the central body's evasion of responsibility for malpractice as has been the case in the A. F. of L.

In only one respect is the constitution an advance over that of the A. F. of L. That is the prohibition of suspension or expulsion of an affiliated union by the executive council between conventions. Even at conventions a 2-3 vote is required. This one clearly democratic feature is a progressive inheritance from the conflict over the illegal suspension between conventions of the C. I. O. unions by the A. F. of L. executive council.

LEWIS RUNS SHOW

That the convention was run from the top by Lewis and his associates with machine like precision goes without saying. That there was no major force present in the convention more advanced than the top leadership and seeking or denied expression was equally clear. The distinctly Socialist current in the working class is weak and just rebuilding in the United States. Should

it have sought independent expression at this convention of industrial forces it would have come directly in conflict with the official Communist forces.

The latter's extreme opportunism and responsiveness to Stalin's Soviet diplomacy rather than to working class needs placed them in the convention to the right of John L. Lewis' nationalistically capitalistically limited views.

C. P. BLOC

The one clash in the convention, and that a healthy one for the future of the C. I. O., was between the Lewis-Hillman leadership and the communist manipulated bloc led by Harry Bridges, Mervyn Rathbone and Joseph Curran. On the constitution committee they sought to protect themselves (their record indicates that no general principle or general concern for minority opinion moved them) by inserting a specific bar to discrimination against political affiliation which is still standing against them in the United Mine Workers constitution.

The committee refused and when the constitution reached the floor Bridges et al moved to get it back in committee where they hoped to make "a deal." They did not dare to raise a principled issue openly.

Bridges called his cohorts into session and the following morning Lewis called Bridges to the platform and told him in plain Anglo-Saxon terms which the SOCIALIST CALL does not quite feel it can quote direct, that there would be no deals with the Communists as a power group in the C. I. O. and that if they wanted to fight and get licked to go ahead.

TAKE BACKWATER

Bridges subsided and the incident hit the West Coast with such a bang that on the last day of the convention Lewis found it necessary to go out of his way to bolster up Bridges by a special speech expressing approval of his policies and entirely proper detestation for the American Legion's demand for the deportation of both Bridges and Pritchett.

Nevertheless the incident was the hand-writing on the wall for any hopes of indefinite continuance of the disproportionate power of the C. P. in the C. I. O. thru a power deal with Lewis and his lieutenants.

That honey-moon is over. The Communist press is silent on the incident and its significance, and the stooges for them among the liberal intellectuals like Heywood Broun and Bruce Bliven, Jr. are trying to explain it away with straight cock and bull stories made out of the whole cloth.

POLITICAL COMPLEXION

The weaknesses of this new C. I. O. movement, in spite of the outstanding personal leadership qualities of men of the Murray, Hillman, Lewis type and the impressive youthfulness, vigor and vitality of the great body of delegates, correspond to the more tragically treacherous of the present Communist Party policies and that is their strength.

On the critical issues of political action within the nation and choice of allies in the struggle against world fascism the convention falls in behind Roosevelt with his militarization plans in the nation and his fake democratic front against fascist imperialism in Latin America.

It is devoutly to be hoped and fought for that on the international scene the moves of the convention to support the new Latin American Federation of Labor Unions, the expression of solidarity to the militant French Confederation of Labor, the direction of the executive board to seek affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions will develop into a current which will bring the C. I. O. into alliance with its true class and democratic allies, the exploited masses of the Latin Americas and against the home-grown dictators and the American imperialist interests.

HOLD THAT LINE

Stolberg and the C. I. O.

By LILLIAN SYMES
THE STORY OF THE CIO,
by Benjamin Stolberg. Viking Press. \$2.

Ever since Ben Stolberg's articles on the CIO—with special reference to the role of the Stalinists within it—appeared in the Scripps-Howard papers, "liberal" and radical reviewers all over the country have been sharpening their knives in anticipation of their expansion into book form.

There were few toes—with the possible exception of Homer Martin's—upon which Mr. Stolberg failed to stamp. Stolberg's reputation as a "destructive critic" is probably as dear to his heart as the characterization applied to him by Isabel Patterson—"a oneman mass movement"—and I imagine that his chagrin was equal to his surprise when he discovered a partially favorable review of his book in the New Republic.

The critics who expected a mere expansion of the previous exposé of Stalinism have been set back on their heels. The exposé is there—rounded out and brought up to date with characteristic acidity—but this is by no means the whole book. The added chapters on the AFL background, the rise of the CIO, the battle in Little Steel, the New Vigilantism give the book a balance which the articles by themselves lacked and make it a volume which no student of the labor movement—whether he agrees with Stolberg or not—can afford to miss.

That Stolberg has definite biases—personal and political—he would be the last to deny. In the present book he seems to be recovering from a few of the former. His black and white interpretation of the very complicated Michigan auto situation is, of course, an over-simplification.

His main thesis in this situation—that the Stalinists were and are a disruptive element in the auto unions, does not need to be labored to the point where all administration critics become Stalinist stooges. Stolberg's political aloofness from any Party line may have certain advantages for an observer of the revolutionary labor scene but it may also be responsible for the fact that the author is not as well informed as he should be on the internal politics of the Left Wing.

The opposition of the convention to any cuts in WPA, to any subtraction of military needs from relief funds, to contracts for the anti-union munitions trust and to any militarization of the youth in CCC, NYA or WPA will if persisted in mean eventual increased conflict with Roosevelt and stimulation towards real independent political action by C. I. O. forces beyond the frail need of Labor's Non-Partisan League's strength and limits.

For better or for worse the C. I. O. will be the main channel of expression of the powerful section of the American working class for a long time to come.

Socialists must certainly play their part here as thruout the working class for unity, for democracy, for independent political action.

His picture of the Socialist Party and its labor policy sounds like a distillation of information garnered from Louis Waldman, Jay Lovestone, Jim Cannon and the L. I. D.—in short a melange of both right and left criticism, which is highly inconsistent. References to the Social Democrats, Lovestonites, Trotskyists are cursory and scarcely more complimentary. This section of the book, though brief, indicates that Stolberg needs to give a little more serious thought and investigation to the radical political scene in its current phases.

All of this is incidental, however, to the main theme of the book and this main theme is essentially sound. It should silence effectively—though it probably won't—those Stalinists and their sympathizers who have denounced Stolberg as a "stoop-pigeon" and his work as "an attack upon the CIO."

Stolberg's contempt for the AFL leaders and their policies, his passionate concern for the CIO as the hope of the labor movement is apparent on every page of the book. The book is essentially honest—in spite of certain errors of fact and judgment—because the author makes no pretense of being "objective."

He wades in with—or rather peels—his refreshing after "objective" hash on this subject that has been handed out by Mary Heaton Vorse, Bruce Minton (a wealthy young man who serves as "labor editor" of The New Masses) and other devotees of the Party Line.

Stolberg's portraits of leading labor figures are masterpieces of characterization. He seems to be one of the few journalists who understand or are willing to publicize both the strength and weaknesses of John L. Lewis as a labor leader. His disillusionment with John Brophy, though a little belated, is complete. His characterization of Heywood Broun, the gentleman "who knows all the right people with the left touch," is one of the most brilliant and acid pieces of portraiture in contemporary journalism. Together with the columnist pictured in a current New York stage hit, it should do much toward deflating the Broun legend.

The book is certain, in spots, to make almost every reader angry. It should be read and heeded, nevertheless.

JOIN THE CALL ASSOCIATION!

Party members, CALL Boosters and friends are cordially invited to become members of the CALL ASSOCIATION.

This truly worth-while organization entitles you not only to a place of honorary distinction, but also a handsomely bound volume of the 1938 issue of the CALL.

The membership is \$5.00 per year. There are no assessments.

The quota for membership is 200! Thus, we urge you to act NOW—join the CALL ASSOCIATION today!

THE SOCIALIST CALL
549 W. Randolph St.
Chicago, Ill.

Build the CALL!

SUBSCRIPTION BOX SCORE

	Received Since Last Issue of the CALL	Total Received Thus Far
"Recovery" Subs	2	35
"Recession" Subs	138	1,320
"Depression" Subs	86	1,592
New Bundle Orders	158	970
Totals	384	3,917

Cheerful news. Beginning with this issue the SOCIALIST CALL will return to a regular schedule. It will be published every Tuesday in time to reach all sections of the country before Saturday. This was made possible by the prompt response of Socialist Party locals and CALL boosters to our urgent appeal of two weeks ago.

We had put the crisis facing the CALL straight up to the Party membership, the verdict of whether or not we were to continue publication was placed in their hands and the response thus far is an unanimous YES—the CALL must go on!

To back this decision, several locals and individuals sent contributions, purchased prepaid sub-cards and remitted subscriptions. Several locals began payment on their back bills. Others pledged contributions. And still others notified us that special CALL affairs were being held.

Now we have some bad news. It was necessary for the CALL to retrench so that it could ease the terrific strain caused by its financial difficulties. We had to lay off our business manager, Harold Magin, the talented Kenosha, Wis., artist who had worked diligently to further the CALL's publication. This is a loss to the CALL and our Party comrades. Comrade Magin is still available and if our comrades and friends will speed their work to build the CALL we can restore Comrade Magin to his post. More than that, we can resume publication of an 8-page newspaper instead of a 4-page.

This decision, too, is in your hands and we know that you will fire your efforts to put the CALL back on a normal functioning basis!

Top honors for remittances this week goes to the Jewish Branch of Pittsburgh, which remitted a total of \$30.75 for membership in the CALL Association, 5 prepaid annual subs, 60 recession subs and \$5.75 of the total to pay up the Branch's regular bundle order.

Our hat goes off, too, to the Chicago Ex-Coal Miners Club, which sent in, through George Reid, its secretary, a \$5 donation. The club announced that it had also sent a donation to

the International Solidarity Committee and Christmas presents to the miner prisoners of Illinois. Great guys, these miners!

Henry Weiss of New York came through with \$7.50 for membership in the CALL Association and an extension of his sub.

Leonard Woodcock, Socialist organizer of California, remitted \$7.50 for subscriptions.

P. H. Hansen, Nevada miner, renews his sub, included \$1 for a donation and blessed the Socialist movement, although he reports that regular Socialists are few in the sparsely populated state of Nevada.

Rose Peotta, able organizer of the International Ladies Garment Workers, came through with her coin card donation. Angelica Balabanoff also sent in her coin card donation several weeks ago.

The S. P. of Ohio remitted \$5 for membership in the CALL Association. Henry Meltzer, organizer, Upper West Side branch, New York City, responded with \$8 for subs and payment on bundle orders.

The 2nd A. D. Branch, New York City, forwarded a donation of \$3 and reported that a special affair was held Sunday for the CALL.

Without comment, Charles Flooding, Lisbon, Ohio, remitted his renewal card and a \$5 bill.

The S. P. of Washington, D. C., remitted its monthly payment of \$7.50 and announced that henceforth payment would be raised to \$10.

Other contributions came in from the Flint, Mich., Branch, \$3; Berea, Kentucky, Local, \$5; Racine, Wis., S. P., \$10; Emil Kesselring, Erie, Pa., \$10; Mrs. Roy Radschweit, Tulsa, Okla., \$3; Herman Erickson, Minneapolis, Minn., \$5; Green County (Ohio), Branch, \$5.

We extend the thanks of the National Office to the Party units, comrades and friends listed in the foregoing, as well as to scores of others which lack of space prevent listing. Forward with the CALL and the SOCIALIST PARTY!

Where To Dine IN NEW YORK

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Sam Baron's Testimony

The appearance of Sam Baron before the Dies Committee is regrettable. Ordinarily when one becomes a Socialist he learns to understand more than the scientific tenets of a philosophy which purports to free the working class from the miseries and injustices of a capitalist society. One's conversion to Socialism brings with it positive loyalties to the workers' cause. Baron renounced this principle.

Baron erred when he made himself available to the Dies Committee. That he was hounded, jailed and persecuted by Communists for his beliefs is a matter of record. A six months' tour of Loyalist Spain to further ideals which he has consistently championed caused him to rebel against the horrible crimes perpetrated by the Stalinist forces in that country. His bitterness, however, was no justification for testifying before a political shyster whose purpose certainly is not the promotion of real democracy or the kind of democracy that will eliminate the evils Baron complains about. In fact, Congressman Dies and the Communist Party have more in common than either side cares to admit.

Both are intolerant of differing points of view.

Both are busy ferreting "reds."

Dies sees the C. P. in every nook and corner of America. The C. P. wages relentless warfare against the militant forces within the labor movement.

Both are striving to impose their credo upon our country to the exclusion of all others.

To the Dies Committee itself, its methods of establishing facts, its rule of evidence, its partiality, one can only compare the recent Moscow trials.

Baron's error is not so much in what he said but his strong hatred for Bolshevism which was unfortunately misdirected gave comfort to an element that is equally as reprehensible as a menace he sought to expose.

There Is Poison In That Honey

(A letter written on hearing of Roosevelt's appointment of Kathryn Lewis for C. I. O. and Dan Tracy of A. F. of L. to represent labor at Lima Pan-American Conference.)

DEAR FELLOW WORKERS:

By this time you have gotten over the first dazzlement at the Presidential appointment and may have begun to ask questions of yourselves about this Pan-American Conference which is supposed to rally a solid phalanx of Western Hemisphere Democracy against the advancing forces of European Fascism. Perhaps you would like to know just how that can be accomplished in Lima, Peru, where the conference meets and where trade union freedom has been abolished and all labor or Socialist movements are illegal and a dictator rules by military force.

Of course some of the dictators may have their faces washed for the occasion. It would be embarrassing if they did not, for at this conference of "democracies" if the roll were called it would be found that out of twenty nations to be represented only five moderately democratic governments are represented, namely, the United States, Mexico, Costa Rica, Colombia and maybe Chile. The remaining fifteen are military or semi-military dictatorships, suppressing labor politically and economically such as do Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and the Mikado in Japan.

If either of you delegates read or paid any attention to the Communist press we would fear that you might be taken for a ride by some of the state department's staging. For to the Communist Party and press of Cuba and the United States go the credit for changing overnight the Bloody Batista, army sergeant sping Corporal Hitler as Cuban dictator for American financial and sugar interests, into a champion of democracy and of the oppressed.

First came the secretary of the recently legalized (for the time being) Communist Party of Cuba to assure American workers that he was but a humble John the Baptist making way for an even greater champion of democracy who turns out to be none other than Batista, whose favorite indoor sport as late as the Tampa Convention of the A. F. of L. was recognized as the bloody suppression of the Cuban labor movement.

It was not so bad to have Batista feted by the U. S. Army General Staff and received at the White House. The West Pointers never hated anyone for suppressing a labor movement and after all Roosevelt did permit his Navy and State Departments to overthrow the democratic and pro-labor Cuban regime (which succeeded the National City Bank's bloody Machado) and then to bolster the tough army sergeant on his throne. It was a little thick to have Mayor La Guardia pictured shaking hands (did you wash them right away, Major?) with the dictator and the disguised Communist paper, the "People's Press," simpering about Batista having become "a leader among the island's progressives."

Fortunately, as we say, you represent workers and are not the kind who will play Judas Iscariot to a whole working class like that of Cuba's because some remote bureau in another country is pulling strings. We hope you will not be taken in further by the Sunday School manner and sweetness of Secretary Hull. Remember that while Roosevelt is pro-labor in the U. S. A. now that he and Landon agree when you get beyond the border. That the state department is strangling republican and workers Spain, permitting large scale aid to Japan's war machine in China and helping anti-union British and American oil interests make difficulties with workers and peons' democratic Mexico.

Remember this and find your allies not among the business



At the Front

WITH NORMAN THOMAS

French Crisis

To the other perils of a mad world is now added a French swing to fascism or a reaction almost equally hurtful to the cause of the workers. It is a swing not inspired from Germany or by pro-German sympathy; a swing which justifies itself in the name of a national defense against Germany which requires further sacrifices primarily from the workers.

Be it noted that it is a Premier whose party was—and nominally still is—part of the Popular Front who now acts like the head of a totalitarian state. The evolution from Blum and his reforms to Daladier and his decrees against labor has been without any election. It has been the product of the capitalist system which the Popular Front tried to reform!

It is the duty of American as of other workers and true foes of fascism to give to Blum, the French Socialists, and C. G. T. all possible sympathy and support in this new crisis.

Baron's Testimony

Sam Baron went to the Dies Committee, without consulting any Socialist. He went gladly, nominally under a subpoena which he could have nullified by warning the Committee that he would be a hostile witness. (This was done by Liston M. Oak).

Whatever Baron's intentions, and however earnest might be his protestations of loyalty to the anti-fascist cause, his appearance at this time, before this committee, with the fanfare heralding him which appeared in several papers, was disastrous. It was, they think in Wash-

ington, the last straw to weigh down the scale against any governmental action, like lifting the embargo, which might have done justice to the Loyalists. Moreover, Baron defeated his own cause which was, I presume, turning the light on Communist crimes and blunders.

Aroused Opposition

He aroused an indifferent position which is naturally intolerant to any truth in what he might say. He made it harder for us to maintain our Socialist position which is of course unchanging; devotion and all possible aid to the Loyalist cause which is consistent with stalwart defense of civil liberties and workers' rights in Spain, everywhere, and general sympathy with Caballero and other left wing Socialists.

Spanish left wing Socialist would, I think, be among the first to condemn Baron's act, and to second the obvious action of our Spanish sub-committee in repudiating testimony heralded in advance in some New York papers by downright falsehood about Americans rotting in Spanish dungeons.

P. O. U. M. Trial

Actually the cause of liberty and justice has supporters in the present Spanish government. Whatever was wrong with the trial of the Poumists, it wasn't at all like a Russian purge.

The Dies Committee has long since passed the bounds of outward decency in its efforts to discredit, not fascists or communists, but every liberal or progressive cause or leader. I have written to the LaFollette Committee asking it to initiate inquiry into the source of the Dies Committee's funds. Surely its \$25,000 original appropriation was long since exhausted. I knew no better way than by this request to focus public attention upon a shocking situation.

Jewish Refugees

The idea of colonies in Africa or South America for homogeneous groups of refugees, Jewish and Gentile, is good. The idea that such colonies can take the place of a more liberal immigration policy in the U. S. and other countries is bad. To plan to send Jews to former German colonies isn't clever. It's potentially disastrous to the whole scheme, a plan to further madden Hitler without helping the Jews.

Lima Conference

This Pan American conference at Lima will bear watching. In the name of American fraternity, we may find ourselves giving a blank check on one hand to South American dictators and on the other to our own militarists and imperialists. Arthur Krock, head of the New York Times Washington Bureau, sees in "continental defense" (better hemispherical defense) a "fourth New Deal," the President's new baby, to which, let me add, some of these others are likely to be sacrificed to the hurt of America.

C. I. O. Conclave

We greet the new CIO, rejoice in its achievements, and hope for its future. This we do at the same time that we insist on peace in the labor movement as the inescapable necessity for progress on any front.

These are days when the motto "Every Socialist at work, democratically and fairly, in some mass organization in behalf of Socialism" is more important than ever before. It is the way in which our Party must be organized for maximum efficiency.

FARMERS' CONFAB

(Continued from Page 1)
racy may be maintained and safeguarded."

MOVE TO LEFT

The resolutions condemned capitalism without a quibble, urged socialized and co-operative medical care, supported collective bargaining for industrial workers, directed the executive board to establish a permanent committee to promote collaboration with organized labor, condemned vigilante activities, condemned persecution of minority religious and racial groups, opposed further armament expenditures, and favored a national referendum before the declaration of war except in case of invasion.

A resolution on imperialism and war read:

"Both democracy and co-operatives suffer under war and dictatorship. Modern war always means dictatorship.

FLAY IMPERIALISM

"We realize that the competitive, profit-taking system, together with the desire for imperialistic supremacy, is the basis of all wars, and that war is futile and does not solve any problems. We oppose the so-called 'collective security' program, which is actually nothing but favoring one set of imperialistic nations as against another.

"We oppose the further increase of armament expenditures because they are neither protection against war, a guarantee of international peace, nor a solution for the problems of unemployment and the business decline."

SUPPORT LABOR

Concerning labor the convention of farmers said:

"Certain organizations, financed by the big trusts and pretending to speak for farmers, are trying to incite farmers to un-American, vigilante action against labor, leading to bloodshed and the violation of basic democratic liberties. The forcible denial of elementary democratic and civil rights to any section of our people cannot be tolerated at a time when fascism is becoming a threat to democracy the world over.

"The Farmers Union endorses

the principle of collective bargaining, and will co-operate with other progressive groups in supporting the efforts to make permanent the senate civil liberties (La Follette) committee.

"In the light of the 1938 election results, the entrenched forces of economic privilege may be expected to redouble their efforts to use false and malicious propaganda seeking to drive a wedge between farmers and workers, thus defeating the progressive aims of both."

RIGHT WING FAILS

These developments have not been achieved without serious internal struggles. The older Populist leaders have fought both the co-ops and the friendly approach to organized labor, but these leaders, grouped around former president E. E. Kennedy, who has been closely allied with the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin and his Union party, were finally vanquished this year. They mustered only six votes at the convention.

The Michigan and Minnesota Farmers Union, however, were wrecked in the struggle. The Madison convention revoked their charters this year and directed the national executive board to "rebuild them."

NEW LEADERS

The present leaders include some veterans like President John Vesecky of Kansas, Secretary J. M. Graves of Oklahoma and George Nelson of Wisconsin, who was the Socialist candidate for vice-president in 1936. But most of the leaders are young men, many of them in their early thirties. Some were trained in the Farmers Union Juniors, started twelve years ago by one of the pioneer farm radicals, C. C. Talbott of North Dakota.

Outstanding among these younger leaders are James G. Patton of Colorado, Emil Lorika and Paul Erickson of South Dakota, Morris Erickson and Glenn Talbott of North Dakota, Reuben Miller of Missouri, Kenneth Hones and Warren Nelson of Wisconsin, and Gladys Talbott Edwards, Mary Jo Uphoff and Mildred Kay Stoltz, who direct the work of the Juniors.

men of your own delegation or the veiled dictators of the others but among those who speak for the masses of toilers on land and in factory in these nations who must be aided even against our own state department and against their own dictators. These are the only true forces of democracy and peace and freedom in the Western Hemisphere. Seek them out even though they will not be present in Lima. These struggling peoples and not a line of battle ships of a democracy-dictatorship alliance will block fascism in the Western Hemisphere. Don't forget the best, your fellow workers. Distrust the worst, the generals and the diplomats.

Fraternally yours,
SOCIALIST PARTY, U. S. A.