

Socialist Call

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Forward
To An 8-Page
Socialist
Call!

SEE PAGE 3

Monopoly Quiz Shows Waste Of Capitalism

By SAM LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A searching inquiry into the structure and functions of our modern economy by the temporary National Economic Committee, the so-called Monopoly Investigating Committee, was indicated by Leon Henderson, the committee's executive secretary, in testifying at preliminary hearings.

Henderson, who will be in general charge of the studies, outlined the "basic assumptions of the American competitive capitalist system" and discussed at length the changes which have occurred to alter the conditions upon which these assumptions are based.

He emphasized the passing of the frontier, the leveling off of population growth, the decline of competition, and the growing disparity between savings and investment.

As the principal topics to be studied by the Committee, he listed concentration of control, the price system and the effect of monopolistic price policies, and the effect of government policies of taxation, patents, spending, social security, and national economy.

Henderson's testimony concluded the three-day preliminary hearings of the Committee. Previous witnesses were Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics and member of the Committee, and Willard Thorp, loaned from Dun and Bradstreet to head the Commerce Department's section of the TNEC study.

Out of the tremendous volume of charts and statistical material presented by Lubin and Thorp, here emerged a few rather simple points.

DEPRESSION COST

Lubin emphasized the tremendous cost of the depression to the American people. He pointed out that the total loss of working time resulting from unemployment since 1929 is equal to more than a full year's employment for the entire working population. Similar comparisons for losses in national income, salaries and wages, dividends and farm income yielded equally staggering totals.

RAISE QUESTIONS

Thorp devoted himself to an analysis of the structure of the economy and the growing tendency toward concentration. At the same time he emphasized the tremendous complexity of the economy and the diversity of the problems to which it gives rise.

In summarizing the testimony of the two preceding witnesses, Henderson declared, "The overall question seems to be — why have we not had full employment and full utilization of our magnificent resources? Is the lack of self-adjustment in the national economy due, wholly or in part, to decline in competition? Can this country rely in the future on competition as the main-spring of its economic activity? If so, what changes are necessary in public and private policy to make competition effective? If not, what are the alternative organizing forces available? Is the choice necessarily between full competition and full planning?"

KING SABOTAGES

Most interesting sidelight in

Labor Moves For Unity on Two Fronts

The labor movement of Oklahoma made refreshing news last week although it was not widely reported. The Oklahoma City Trades and Labor Council voted to call a conference of all CIO and AFL organizations for the purpose of uniting labor's forces in that state.

Reports are that William Green scotched the plan in the end. The sentiment is there, however, and no official in high or low places within the labor movement can stop an idea that is sound, sane and responsive to the basic desires of the organized masses.

How the idea of labor unity is penetrating the rank and file was shown in Portland, Oregon, where a CIO union assessed its members 50c per capita to aid 1,100 striking furniture workers affiliated with the AFL United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners who have been on strike for more than a month.

Although President Lewis of the CIO swapped punches with President Hatcher of the AFL carpenters' union at the AFL convention a couple of years ago, the rank and file of both unions appreciate the value of "united we stand, divided we fall," especially after Labor's defeat at the polls Nov. 8 when the anti-picketing law was carried in a referendum.

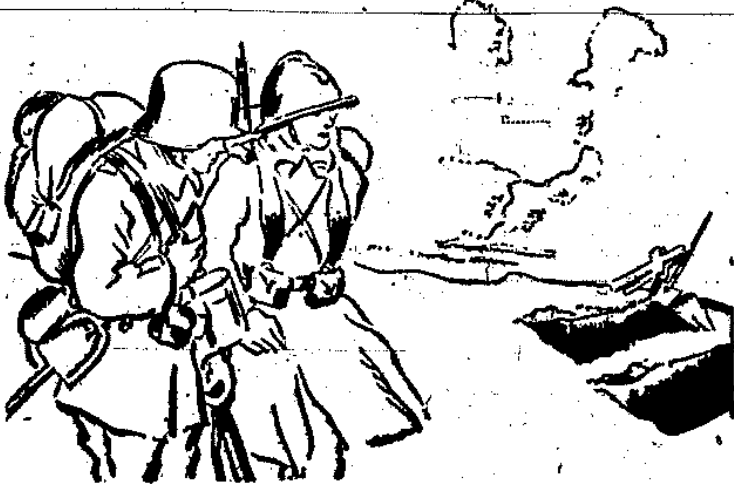
The Guy With A Lame Leg

The Staff Officer addressed his troops: "Men," he said, "the enemy will attack us tomorrow in overwhelming force. We shall require to retreat at daybreak. But, as I have sprained an ankle, I'll be starting now."

the hearings was the performance of the reactionary Sen. King of Utah, who persistently interrupted the witnesses in the attempt to confuse and embarrass them.

The other members of the Committee seem, however, to be unanimous in their desire to conduct an objective investigation of the facts, and it is probable that Sen. King's attempts at sabotage will succeed only in wasting the Committee's time and trying the patience of its members.

"The Open Door"



—La Patrie Humaine, Paris

Defeat The War Program!

Each week brings hundreds, even thousands, of appeals to Washington from cities and towns from coast to coast in need of further governmental help to stave off suffering and privation. San Francisco and Detroit and Birmingham need new hot lunch projects for school children, not new \$4,000,000 superdreadnaughts, Cleveland, Atlanta and Denver need hundreds of miles of new road construction, nor guns that will throw a \$7000 shell 24 miles.

New sewage and water systems are needed in Boston, Spokane, Louisville and Baltimore. Sewing projects are needed in New York, Houston, Los Angeles and Jersey City. Thousands in the south need the extended protection of the WPA malaria control project. Every large city in the nation needs new tuberculosis and syphilis clinics. Thousands of blind are waiting for new books to be translated into Braille.

Above all hundreds of new housing projects are desperately needed. Schools, public buildings, and scores of other types of public works are needed, and can provide useful employment for our 12,000,000 unemployed.

If Fascism comes to the United States it may very well be because the public funds needed for extension of the works relief program have been perverted to the construction of a great military machine—not because of a crazy housepainter—3000 miles across the Atlantic.

Unemployed Bear First Brunt Of War Preparations

By the Washington Bureau, Socialist Call.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—It was probably inevitable from the first that the war mongers and militarists would stretch out their bloodstained hands toward the Federal works program.

With M-day blueprints nearing final completion in the war offices of every nation in the world it was only a matter of time before the American dealers in death would sense the opportunities in seizing control of the works program.

Nevertheless, when official discussion of plans to use the WPA to build up the American war machine finally broke into the open last week, liberals and radicals in Washington were startled.

A FRANKENSTEIN

Appallingly ironic is the thought that the beneficent works program that saved millions of workers and their families from starvation saved them only to build a Frankenstein that will eventually crush them savagely underfoot.

It requires no mental feat to understand why the war mongers and profiteers should cast greedy eyes toward relief labor when WPA workers today are being paid less than Wages & Hour Act minimums. And it requires only slightly more reflection to realize

that they will capitalize on this superb opportunity to spread a war psychology. For when a man's bread and butter depends on his job, which in turn depends on the construction of a war machine, he will be more willing to believe that the work he is doing is for "national defense."

EXPLOITATION

Informed people in Washington have known for more than a year that the plan is no longer merely a blueprint; it is in actual execution. The numerous expressions from administrative quarters of the need for building up our "protective armament" against the threat of aggression, and the preparations being made to exploit "national defense" in the 1940 elections is construed as unmistakable proof. The move to incorporate the work relief program into a cheap-labor unit of the military apparatus is evidence that the plan is now in its final stages.

Opposition to the plot is anticipated, for even the most criminally impatient of the war mongers know that millions of workers who saw how much of the world was made safe for democracy by the last international slaughter will be skeptical this time of spilling their lives blood for a similar cause, with the word "Fascism" replacing the word "Hun."

M-DAY PLANS

For that reason the new M-day plans envision the greatest propaganda and hysteria-inducing campaign in history. The abominations of the last war in this respect will appear amateurish in comparison.

Not a little of this propaganda, it is known, will be shaped to lull any suspicion that the real menace of Fascism will be taken to divert attention away from the inevitability (and that it is inevitable every army officer knows) that a military-fascist dictatorship will be clamped down on the U. S. the moment war breaks out. War today can be prosecuted under no other conditions.

Most monstrous of all is the betrayal by the Workers Alliance which, skidding blindly down the greased path of Stalinist New Dealism, has failed even to take cognizance of the plot to make its own membership the tragic goat in the plans of the DuPonts, Bethlehem Steel and the other war profiteers.

It becomes an inhuman paradox: relief workers under the tacit sanction of their own organization producing the instruments of slaughter while the need for a vast expansion of the W. P. A.'s socially constructive work mounts with every day.

Thomas to lead Discussion at Membership Meeting

CHICAGO. — National Chairman Norman Thomas will discuss the future of the Socialist movement here and abroad at a closed S. P. meeting which will be held at the Workers' Lyceum, 2733 West Hirsch boulevard (1400 North), Thursday, December 15, 8 p. m.

All members of the Socialist Party in Cook county and adjacent territory are urged to attend this important meeting.

Socialist Statement On Pan American Conference At Lima

The following is the full text of a statement by Norman Thomas, chairman, and Roy E. Burt, secretary, Socialist Party of the United States, on the Pan American Conference now in session at Lima, Peru:

The Socialist Party of the United States of America watches with eagerness and hope the proceedings of the Pan American Conference in Lima, Peru. It will rejoice in any contribution made by that Conference to the growth of genuine good neighborliness, mutual understanding and the improvement of the standards of justice and democracy on the Western hemisphere. It favors an explicit declaration against the use of force to collect international debts.

It utterly rejects, however, the notion that the citizens of the United States are bound to give implicit approval to the work of

their government's delegation. No theory is potentially more dangerous than the theory that "politics end at the water's end." It is precisely in the field of international relations, where a false step may lead to war, that the policies of principle become most important.

OPPOSE LEAGUE

The Socialist Party is utterly opposed to any attempt at Lima to form a Pan American League of Nations with power inherent in it. The inevitable effect, at present, of such a move would be to increase the power of the dictators who now rule most of the Latin American states. Such organization would tend to give them a blank check for use in their domestic and foreign policy. What we Socialists desire is the democratic growth of an accord between peoples, not a league of governments, many of which are dictatorships.

AGAINST BIG ARMY

The Socialist Party is equally opposed to any guarantees by the United States of what has been called hemispheric protection. No one knows exactly what or how much that means in the terms of an armament race, but everyone knows that it will be an excuse for it. No one can guarantee that an army and navy, big enough for hemispheric protection, will be used only for that end.

Any attempt by the United States to create such an army and navy is bound to be viewed (Continued on Page 2)

The French Trade Union Movement

By Ruth Schechter
Our French Correspondent

PARIS.—The Confederation Generale du Travail (C. G. T.), the national trade union organization of France, is a powerful group in the political, as well as in the economic, life of France. While the eyes of the world are focused on the political developments arising out of the general strike, it would be well, in examining the role of France in world events, to have a picture of the organization, problems, and groupings in the C. G. T.

Before the great war, the C. G. T. was a revolutionary organization; its cardinal principle, the class struggle; its aim, the amelioration of the daily lot of the working class with a view to its final emancipation by the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system; its methods, direct mass action of the workers in fields, mills, and foundries culminating, at the revolutionary moment, in the general strike.

RESEMBLE I. W. W.
Like the American Wobblies and in accordance with its syndicalist philosophy, the C. G. T. dissociated itself from all political parties and parliamentary elections. During the war, it was swept from its revolutionary moorings into support of national defense.

After the war, the C. G. T. changed in complexion. The internal division on the question of the war, the problems of post-war reconstruction, the schism in its ranks caused by the creation of a rival C. G. T. U. affiliated with the Communist Trade Union International and absorbing its most revolutionary elements, left the C. G. T. a more reformist body. From 1921 to 1934 the two confederations, the C. G. T. and the Communist controlled C. G. T. U., were bitter

rival organizations. In membership, the original C. G. T. increased from 373,478 to 736,836; the Communist C. G. T. U. declined from 500,000 to 280,000.

RISE OF FASCISM
It was the advent of fascism in Germany and the menace of fascism at home that gave renewed vigor to the trade union movement in France. Negotiations for unity of the two rival federations culminated in March, 1936, at the Congress of Toulouse, in a united C. G. T.

The electric effect of that unity, as well as the victory of the Popular Front forces in the parliamentary elections, and perhaps most of all, the introduction of speed-up and the rising cost of living, gave rise to the overwhelming wave of sit-down strikes that changed the C. G. T. from an organization of less than one million members to a mass movement of five million. (Though the C. G. T. has been losing members since its peak in 1937, and though it paid per capita to the I. F. T. U. for only 3½ million, nevertheless it claims to be the largest national body in the I. F. T. U.)

CHANGES
For the first time in its history, the C. G. T. became a mass organization uniting more than 50 per cent of the potentially organizable workers in agriculture, industry and the white collar trades in its ranks.

Today the C. G. T. has revolutionary potentialities but it has changed in many ways from its intransigent syndicalist position.

It has modified its aim from the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system and the inauguration of a collectivist society with the local union as its base, to a limited plan (Henri de Man plan) for collectivization of credit and key industries under

The Piker



—South Slay Herald, Belgrade
"With so much competition around, I would have probably died a corporal if I lived today . . ."

the control of a tripartite group representing workers, consumer, and government.

2. It is one of the participating groups in the Popular Front.

3. From an anti-militarist position, it has shifted to a belief in the necessity for national defense.

4. It is today an organization largely controlled by the Communists.

Some of these changes require further elaboration.

THE POPULAR FRONT

Unlike the British Trade Unions which are a part of the Labor Party, supporting its electoral candidates and subscribing funds from their treasuries, the C. G. T. in France is still faithful to its deep-rooted tradition of independence from political parties. Nevertheless, the shock of the attempted fascist coup in February, 1934, led the C. G. T. into the Popular Front.

The Popular Front in France was organized, not merely as an electoral instrument of three major political parties, the Radical Socialists, the Socialists, and the Communists, but also as a popular federation of many groups, including non-partisan bodies like the League for the Rights of Man, the World Peace Federation (R. U. P.) and the C. G. T.

DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE
The Popular Front was a defensive alliance, limited in program to the preservation of political democracy and the augmentation of the standard of living. It did not include the fundamental plan of the C. G. T. for nationalization of credit and key industries, a plan that far exceeds the program of the Radical Socialists, who represent a middle-class republican element with fringes of labor and big business, and are in no sense socialist.

In the early days of its parliamentary career, the Popular

Front forces were able to achieve notable social legislation. The overwhelming pressure of the sit-down strikes in 1936 resulted in such concrete legislation as the forty-hour week, two weeks paid vacation, collective bargaining contracts, augmented salaries, and nationalization of the munitions industry.

THE RETREAT

When the strikes subsided, at the behest of the Popular Front supporters, who did not wish to embarrass the government, the forces of reaction consolidated. Overwhelmed by the flight of capital, the blackmail of the banks, the devaluation of the franc; the Popular Front government retreated. Under the steady rise in prices, the gains of the Popular Front were submerged.

Since there was no fundamental attack on the trusts, these survived the social legislation and passed on the burden of payment to the consumer. It was the artisan, the trader, the small industrialist, the civil servant, a very numerous group in France, who bore the brunt of the social legislation.

The lower middle class is the very group that historically has constituted the rank and file of fascist forces, and the Popular Front, designed to fight fascism, has, at least partially, alienated this very group because it was fettered by its own limited, reformist program.

(Continued Next Week)

S. P. POSITION ON LIMA CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1)

with suspicion. Latin-American reaction. It may actually encourage that growth of German or Italian influence against which nominally such armament would be directed. It is pure hysteria to claim that there is danger of military attack upon any of the Americas in any near period of time, by nations already deeply absorbed in problems nearer home.

VARGAS' FASCISM

There is, moreover, a great deal of hysteria in the present discussion of the growth of fascist influence as an importation to South America from Germany and Italy. Actually there is much crude and primitive fascism in Latin American countries, but most emphatically it is not pro-Italian or pro-German.

President Vargas of Brazil is himself a rather ruthless dictator, but he used force to put down Nazi sympathizers in his country. Trade competition is not to be fought with armies; and the extent of that trade competition has been exaggerated.

TRADE

Thus, in Peru, where the Conference applied import duties about 10 per cent of the total. A healthy American trade will not be pro-

Let us continue and improve the policy of genuine good neighborliness and we shall not have to resort to panic measures concerning German, Italian or Japanese competition in Latin America. We can do far more to promote this good neighborliness and sound trade relations by ceasing the support of the Anglo-American boycott in Mexican than by a mad rage with the world in naval armament.

Lessons of French General Strike

BY HENRY MERRITT

Wilhelm Liebknecht, in discussing German "democracy" under Kaiserdom, once remarked that "Parliament is the fig leaf of Autocracy." It seems that time has not outmoded this idea. What Liebknecht said of the Germany of his time, can be well applied to the France of our time.

One must remember that Daladier has been granted virtual dictatorial powers by the French Parliament. He has not made a coup d'etat. Parliament upon his request gave him the power to rule by decree back in April of this year. As soon as he received this power, the premier announced that his first use of this power would be to control future strikes. At that time there was no word of protest, nay, not even a word of criticism from the parties of the Popular Front.

RAISE TAXES

Daladier kept his promise. Under the decree power he has raised both direct and indirect taxes 8 per cent. The burden of these taxes has fallen largely upon the backs of the workers. All branches of the military service have been increased by decrees. It was by decree power that the strong man of French capitalism established a censorship over news broadcasts from eleven of France's largest privately owned radio stations.

Other decree acts have been the abandonment of the 40-hour law, the raising of prices of sugar, tobacco, bus and subway fares, the fines placed upon workers going out on strike, and the renewal of sending prisoners, many of whom are revolutionaries, to Devils Island.

WHY STRIKE FAILED

Can anyone say that France

is a democracy while a single man rules without responsibility to anyone? It is true that France has a parliament; but can a parliament be the criterion of a democracy when it is ignored in matters vital to the interests of the bourgeoisie?

The failure of the general strike of Wednesday, Nov. 30, is partly due to the leadership of the C. G. T., the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party.

When Daladier first announced that the 40-hour law was abrogated back in September of this year, spontaneous strikes and demonstrations arose throughout France. Instead of crystallizing this movement into a general strike, the leadership of the three organizations mentioned above told the workers to remain calm and not to threaten the government because of the German-Czech crisis.

WEAKENED MORALE

They told the workers not to unsettle the National Defense of the Fatherland. The morale of the workers was considerably weakened. Only 2,000,000 of the 5,000,000 organized workers responded to the strike call. And, what is more, there was practically no decisive stoppage in the government owned industries and those engaged in armament production.

This is due not only to the fear of reprisals by the government, but to the fact that only two months previous, working class leaders told these workers not to strike as to strike would unsettle the union cause.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

The lesson of the French workers' defeat should be a lesson to the workers of all countries. The French situation has proven that capitalist democracy is class dem-

War Profiteers Prepare for Blood Feast

A St. Louis company offers to make rich people richer. It is a member of the St. Louis Stock Exchange. War is coming—America has to rearm, it confides to a select list of people.

The side that kills the most workers and farmers will win and investors will make money, Money, MONEY!

How? Simply invest in the Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Co. of Hartford, Conn. This company has a 100-year record of profit making, we are told, and it has tremendously increased its dividends since 1928.

More loot is in sight. When ocracy, and when confronted with a threat to its existence, abolishes what limited democracy existed. Therefore, workers must realize that the struggles for democracy must be a struggle for Socialism, for it is only under Socialism that the workers can enjoy true democracy.

Who's The Devil?

By HENRY M. TICHENOR

He's the power that lurks in counting rooms and lives on ten per cent—he's the lord that lets you stay on earth by paying him the rent—he's the cuss that makes you sweat your brow while he rakes in the swag—he's the patriotic plumb line that "loves the dear old flag"—he's the boss that orders the rulers, the courts and the police—he's the gander people follow like a squawkin' squad of geese—he's the peat that builds the crowded slums where whiteplague germs are bred—he's the snake that makes the poisoned food that gathers in its dead—he's the lix in the pulpit that says its God's command that 'servants be obedient to the masters of the land'—he's the hunger-hound of poverty that fills the world with crime—the damned abomination that is working over-time—he's the beast that breathes the lurid fumes that drive men on to war, the swinish beast whose lust for loot swills more and more and more—THE DEVIL? He's the SYSTEM—and anyone can tell that the SYSTEM that has got us is only fit for hell!

COLLECTIVE FARMING IN THE HEART OF DIXIE

By SAM H. FRANKLIN

To all who desire a cooperative economy, one of the bright spots amid the starvation and collapse of the Cotton Belt is the two cooperative farms, Rochdale and Providence, in central Mississippi.

Here, in a region presenting a combination of feudalism and the worst features of capitalism, these two communities are gradually building up a concrete argument for producer-consumer control in agriculture. Manned by ex-sharecroppers and starting with little capital, they have built houses, cleared land, established home industries, and set up a self-governing organization.

MANY PROBLEMS

Though faced by many baffling problems, and compelled at every step to blaze a new trail in evolving an indigenous American pattern of collective farming, they are rendering, both in their successes and in their failures, a kind of preview of the agricultural organization that must come if we are to have a decent way of life for the needy masses of this section.

The Delta Cooperative Farm, on which was later established a post office under the name of Rochdale, was begun in the spring of 1936 at the suggestion of Dr. William R. Amberson, Blaine Treadway, H. L. Mitchell and other comrades in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

Dr. Sherwood Eddy led a campaign to raise the capital necessary for the purchase of land and equipment for the venture. Some of the initial members were men who had been evicted and beaten for their part in an S. T. F. U. strike in Arkansas.

EARNINGS PRO-RATED

Organizing as a producers cooperative, in which the land was to be farmed as a unit and the earnings divided according to contribution in proportion to the acreage and as a Rochdale cooperative to replace the old plantation commissary, ten members embarked at once upon the adventurous task of converting their tents into substantial houses, their overgrown brush land into tilled fields, and their aggregation of illiterate or semi-illiterate victims of the plantation system into a homogeneous community.

A council of five, including representatives of both races, was elected by secret ballot and charged with the task of operating the farm and governing the community. A trustworthy farmer from outside was engaged to advise and supervise. Gradually departments of collective production for use were opened—an irrigated garden, a dairy, a cooperative hog farm, a canning plant, and, most recently, a garment-making department.

RECREATION

A community church was organized, and, with the help of outside friends, a medical unit was established to replace the patent medicines that hitherto had been almost the sole dependence of the members.

New forms of recreation were undertaken—square dances, athletic, with the advent of regular movement equipment using films. By choice of the committee, the program is of 100 per cent Western films. Early this year a second

Individuals have failed. Some have left, finding standards too high—the cooperative expects its members to work regularly, whereas the average sharecropper works intermittently and idles the rest of the time—and others had to be asked to leave. Some had pressure put on them by hostile elements in the community, causing them to leave. Nonetheless, many of the original families remained, and the weight of evidence is that actually sharecroppers are potentially intelligent and industrious citizens when a favorable environment affords.

FARM QUESTIONS

For hours weekly since the beginning of the farm, council members have wrestled with details of farm operation. Earnestness has compensated for lack of fluency as they faced successive challenges of floods, low prices and boll weevils. Despite the emphasis of certain apologists for the existing regime upon alleged immorality and degeneracy of this class, there has probably been no more drinking than in a similar number of families in Park Avenue, and less of other vices.

When theft, fighting or drunkenness has occasionally occurred, the offender has been given a solemn trial by fellow members, and penalties ranging from suspension from the payroll for a day to expulsion from the farm have been imposed.

BUDGETS

Budgets are laboriously prepared and quotas set, and in monthly general meetings each department head strives to bring figures showing that he has done better than he was asked.

Equally important are the financial results of the undertaking. It does not tell the whole story merely to say that the producers' cooperative made money the first year, lost it the second (cotton falling six cents per pound), and will probably do a bit more than break even the third. Living standards throughout have been much higher than on the average plantation.

CAN OWN FOOD

In one month recently ten families at Providence bought 130 pounds of their own butter. The canning plant's production for members' use this year is about 4,000 quarts. Fresh and cured meats, fresh and canned vegetables, home-made syrup, ice cream and candy, and all dairy products are consumed in quantities which would transform Mississippi economy if duplicated on a state-wide scale.

During the first six months of this year the Rochdale cooperative store paid patronage refunds of eight and a half per cent. A credit cooperative has been organized, which takes care

ORANGES FOR SALE

Natural tree-ripened. No sprays or artificial coloring used. Delivered Express Prepaid. Oranges, per bush, \$3.50; Grapefruit, \$3.25; Tangerine, \$3.50; Mixed Fruit, \$3.50. Half bushels, \$2.00. A. H. Burkett Orange Groves, Sebring, Florida.

KAPLAN & BRINDEL RETAIL CLOTHING

—Union Made—

A saving of 20% on national known brands such as Senator and Freeman clothes. We are able to allow this saving because of our small overhead. A special discount to those who mention the SOCIALIST CALL.

3301 W. Roosevelt Rd. (Second Floor) Chicago, Ill.

of all special advances and has not lost a loan so far. The close of the third year finds dependence on cotton greatly diminished, diversified agriculture in operation, and a broader economic base than would be possible under any system, not only of land tenure, but also of small-scale individual farming.

RACE PROBLEM

At the same time new light is being shed on the involved and baffling problem of race. The assumption of the cooperative is simply: if both races can work together on the same plantation for the profit of a landlord, can they not work together on a cooperative for their mutual economic advantage? Economic solidarity, not social equality, is the immediate objective. So far the experiment has been characterized by complete absence of interracial clashes and an evident growth in good will and understanding.

A final question is that of the relation of such a community to the whole movement for social justice. So far it shows no sign of becoming an ingrown "colony." Many are S. T. F. U. members. Some are Socialists. Current issues are vigorously debated in weekly classes and forums. There is a sense of building up physical and mental reserves in preparation for a larger movement toward a better way of life in which the cooperative must play a part.

MECHANIZATION

It is too early to draw final conclusions from this experiment, but no thoughtful person can escape the question: Is there any better alternative for the agricultural South today than the cooperative community? The cotton picker has come to stay; the mechanical chopper is said to be coming soon. But, even without these two inventions, the trend in fertile regions, such as the Mississippi Delta, is toward mechanization. Sharecroppers are decreasing, and wage hands, the lowest-paid group of all, are increasing. Large-scale farming is inevitable. Shall it be for the few or the many?

The decline of cotton makes the necessity for the choice more urgent. The only sure way of salvation for the South is through producing the food stuffs which are now conspicuous for their dearth. The alternatives here are complete decentralization or moderate, realistic collective production.

GREATER COOPERATION

Economic law, which gives the factory an advantage over the individual craftsman, still operates when production is of agricultural goods for use within a community. Other things being equal, the small, well equipped sanitary dairy is more efficient than the back-yard cow shed, and the canning plant than the kitchen stove. Cooperatives of the type described above make possible all the advantages of collective production, with the producers as the largest consumers. Community organization provides immense advantages for handling problems ranging from credit to education and medical care. Is not the next step in seeking human welfare in the South the promotion and extension of the 100 per cent cooperative community?

First Things First

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS



—The Tribune, London
"Seeing that this 'ere war ain't come yet and winter has, we was wonderin' if you could tell us how to make our room rain-proof."

Build the CALL! SUBSCRIPTION BOX SCORE

	Received Since Last Issue of the CALL	Total Received Thus Far
"Recovery" Subs (\$1.50 a year).....	2	39
"Recession" Subs (\$1.00 a year).....	23	1,398
"Depression" Subs (25c for 10 wks.).....	23	1,622
New Bundle Orders.....	—	970
Total.....	48	4,022*

(*Circulation increase since Aug. 1, 1938)

Plans to resume publication of the SOCIALIST CALL in 8-page size picked up momentarily last week under the leadership of the Cook County Committee of the Socialist Party. Working toward this objective in our office were comrades Fannie Schnied, Ina White, Anton Garden and others. The committee has purchased 200 coin collectors which will be used by local comrades for the purpose of raising funds for the CALL.

The coin collectors are small barrels which are painted red and bear the inscription "Banking for the Socialist Call." Comrades who are interested in this method of raising funds are urged to write for more information. Samples will be sent on request.

The Cook County comrades are also pushing the drive to enlist at least 100 comrades who will pledge to donate \$1 a week for 8 weeks for the purpose of increasing the size of the CALL.

A quota of 25 to 40 comrades has been volunteered by the Cook County Socialists. To date 12 comrades have pledged to remit \$1 a week for 8 weeks beginning Dec. 15. They are:

Guiseppi Bertelli, Hymen, Schnied, Roberta Schnied, Anton Garden, Jeanette and Evelyn Miller, John Mill, Emma Kay, Alma Curry, Vernon Runge, Monroe Parker, Ina White, Arthur McDowell and Gerry Allard, all of Chicago.

Our office will send a special letter to party comrades this week urging them to swell the total to at least 100 such volunteers.

But don't wait for a further appeal! Send in your pledge with your initial one dollar remittance!

This week we are going to press on the strength of income we are anticipating between Tuesday and Saturday. We wiped out the deficit of \$50 for last week's issue but have incurred another deficit for this week's issue. Technically speaking we barely held our own.

The following is a summary of remittances last week:

CALL ASSOCIATION

Five comrades and one branch joined the CALL ASSOCIATION. They were: Sid Devin, organizer, Textile Workers Organizing Committee, Chicago; Joseph Goldman, business agent, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Chicago; Paul Preisler, national vice-president, American Federation of Teachers, St. Louis; Doris Preisler, educational director, International Ladies' Garment Workers, St. Louis; Dr. Mary Allen, New Orleans (remitted by Frank McCallister), and the G. A. D. Kings Branch, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Each remitted \$5 which entitles them to a bound volume of the 1938 CALLS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Twelve 10-week depression subs \$3.00 were remitted by George Kaye, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Alfred Percivalle, L. L. New York, sent a dollar for a renewal. The Denver, Colo., Branch of the Socialist Party through Edgar Sherman, state secretary, remitted \$5 for five prepaid sub cards.

The Socialist Review editor, Herbert Zam, sent in \$1 for a sub for Joseph Vreland, Long Island City, N. Y.

"Keep up the swell job," writes Francis E. Davis, Canton, N. Y., who also sends in a \$1 sub.

Two dollars came in from Ronald E. Chinn for two subs. "Here's hoping the financial difficulties of your paper become less pressing," he writes. So do we, Comrade Chinn, and if a couple did we wouldn't have anymore difficulties this month.

Other subs came from Sam Verne, Brooklyn, \$1; Boris Joffe, N. Y. C., \$1 (sent in by Sam Verne); Sam Dojarovich, Chicago, \$1.50 and a 50c donation; H. G. Irion, Washington, D. C., \$1; Marvin Halvorsen, Sioux Falls, S. D., \$2; Mrs. Elizabeth Crafts, W. Springfield, Mass., \$1.

Colman Cheney, Saratoga Springs, N. Y., \$2; Levi Kissinger, Ephrata, Pa., \$1; Nick Rodgers, Kenosha, Wis., \$1.50; George E. English, Flint, Mich., \$1; John Rak, Johnstown, Pa., \$2; Thomas K. Brown, Swarthmore, Pa., \$1; Joseph Klarich, Detroit, Mich., \$1; R. I. Gammon, Caribou, Mo., \$1; A. Newton, Brooklyn, \$1. Bob Nelson, N. Y. C., \$1; D. N. Stroller, Newburgh, N. Y., \$1 (sent in by Ira E. Garrison); A. Comrade, Helena, Mont., \$1; Robert Cullum, Lincoln, Neb., \$1 (sent in by W. H. Uphoff).

BUNDLE ORDERS

Robert Parker, Cleveland, \$3; Andy Sempa, Pittstown, Pa., \$1; Jack R. Hopkins, Spokane, Wash., \$1; Florence Rosen, Bronx, N. Y., \$1.50; Chas. J. Poporelec, JSF Branch No. 1, Chicago, \$3; G. W. Bause, Pittstown, Pa., \$1; Jack Lifschitz, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$1.

DONATIONS

A. M. Lockwood, Tacoma, Wash. remits a donation of \$1.25.

Fred Fischer, Bronx, N. Y., remits his coin card contribution of \$1.70. He writes: "At last I have succeeded to save enough to fill the card. It was ten years ago you would not have waited as long as you have. I am unable to work anymore and it is hard for me to help. Best regards and good luck to the CALL." Thanks a lot, comrade Fischer.

Irving Salert, manager of the Flubush Bookstore, Brooklyn, N. Y., remits a \$1.50 donation.

\$5 check rolled in from Leslie Chimer, Ridley Park, Pa. "Keep up the good work," writes Eugene H. Adelman, Pittsburg, Pa. who sends in a \$3 contribution.

CALL Offers Prize

A copy of Angelica Balabanoff's autobiography, "My Life as a Rebel", will be awarded to the CALL booster who remits the most subs in any given month. This contest will be conducted beginning this month and will continue for an indefinite number of months hereafter. Leaders in this contest will be announced in the next issue of the CALL.

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The Solution

Defeat after defeat dogs the steps of the working class of Europe, until there seems to be no end to the catastrophes. Five years ago Hitler came to power in Germany. Four years ago bloody Dolfuss broke the power of Socialism in Red Vienna. Three years ago the workers of Italy had to pay tribute in their lives and out of their pitiful earnings to Mussolini's imperial ambitions.

Two years ago the Spanish workers, after a great victory, had to devote their entire resources and strength in the struggle to survive fascist rebellion aided by foreign invasion—and that struggle still goes on.

This year has seen Hitler's triumphs in Austria and Czechoslovakia. It has also seen the last of a great series of show trials in Soviet Russia, signifying to those who weren't already aware of it that she would never become Socialist while Stalinism is in the saddle.

Finally, last week, the meager gains of the People's Front in France were more than wiped out when the workers abandoned the leadership which had led them into the People Front blind alley, and instead of turning to more revolutionary and resolute leadership, accepted the dictatorial decrees of Daladier with hardly a murmur.

Every defeat for the workers in Europe is a defeat for the workers everywhere—including us in America. Their discouragements are our discouragements also. Capitalism indeed contains the seeds of its own destruction, but it also threatens to destroy us with it.

The great danger is that in this discouragement the workers will lose sight of the one thing which can save us all; that they will learn too late that only Socialism can bring order out of the present chaos and free the creative energies of the world again. It is this knowledge that bears us up in this tragic hour. We know the solution. We must proclaim this again and again from the very housetops.

We are told that the workers submit to fascism because the fascist leadership claims it has a solution, and single-mindedly drives for power, with the bewildered people following it blindly, glad to be relieved of the responsibility of seeking a solution in the complex maze of world problems.

We have more faith in the masses than this. We cannot and do not wish to hand such a complete and demagogic blueprint to the workers. Socialists can only work with and through the masses—but we know that a united and organized working class with a militant Socialist outlook can create a program which will solve our problems, and can carry the program to a successful conclusion.

Willie Barash

Willie Barash, a member of the SEC of the Socialist Party of California and a delegate to the recent National Convention of the SP at Kenosha, is now under medical care in Colorado. His address is J. C. R. S. Sanatorium, Spivak, Colorado. He will be glad to hear from any of the comrades and friends throughout the movement.

This is no time for hesitation and bewilderment. We understand the problem. We recognize that we have our backs to the wall, that time presses and that the difficulties before we achieve Socialism are tremendous. All the more reason to press resolutely forward.

Let faint-hearted liberals and trembling Communists scurry timidly into their holes and cry for help or abandon the struggle completely. We have work to do. Let us do it so well, with such decision and clean-cut efficiency that the workers everywhere will turn instinctively to us for guidance, and will perform the historic tasks which are necessary in the struggle for Socialism.

Southern Conference Stirred Discussion On Social Issues

By FRANK McCALLISTER BIRMINGHAM, ALA. — Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the outstanding liberal college of the South, was elected head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at the concluding session held here by more than 1200 labor, religious and liberal leaders from thirteen southern states.

A Vice-President was elected from each of the participating states and state "councils" set up to continue the work of the conference.

The meetings, which lasted four days, attracted many government officials, including Aubrey Williams, assistant to Harry Hopkins, WPA chief, who declared in a speech to the conference that he was not sure that "the class struggle was not a good thing."

The largest single meeting was held for Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt who spoke to a packed city auditorium seating 7000 persons. Mrs. Roosevelt made a very inebriated speech coming out strongly for "education."

She did not refer to the many basic economic problems which have earned the South the name of "Economic Problem Number 1." In the question period which always follows Mrs. Roosevelt's speeches one question posed was: "What do you think of the segregation here tonight?" The answer was very evasive and the First Lady missed a fine chance to make a gesture against the caste system of racial discrimination prevailing in the South.

FLAY JIM CROWISM

The high point of the conference was reached in a resolution strongly condemning "Jim Crow"

laws and urging the continuation committee not to call another meeting in a city where such laws exist. This, and the stand of the meeting on lynching, prompted the Alabama State Democratic Women's Clubs to urge the Dies lies committee to "investigate" the conference. Dies announced that investigators were being sent to Birmingham but thus far no subsequent announcements have been made by him as to findings, if any.

SOCIALISTS ACTIVE

The conference adopted stacks of strong resolutions on the basic issues, many of which were drafted by Socialist leaders who took an active part in the meetings.

Leaders of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union literally "stole the show" in the panel on farm tenancy.

The final meeting was a public presentation of a Thomas Jefferson Medal (to be an annual award to the South's leading statesman) to Hugo L. Black, Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The medal was to be presented by Dr. William E. Dodd, noted historian and former ambassador to Germany, but Dodd was suppressed, evidently because in his speech an attack was to be made on the "usurpation" by the Supreme Court of the powers of Congress.

John Temple Graves, Birmingham journalist made the presentation after conference leaders refused to let Dodd make his address. In his acceptance Black eulogized Jefferson. A subversive wag suggested that a good title for the meeting was "local Klansman makes good."

Christmas in Prison

Again this year on Christmas, the iron doors of prisons will close in the faces of Class War Prisoners. Their CRIME . . . none other than the offense of trying their utmost to make this a better world in which to live.

The only ray of sunshine for many of these martyrs comes from you, through your contributions and your support of the Annual Entertainment held by the General Defense Committee.

On Friday evening, December 16th, at 8:30 p. m., the General Defense Committee will hold their Entertainment and Dance for the benefit of the Class War Prisoners, at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, New York. Tickets are 10c. Send all contributions to General Defense Committee, 22 West 17th Street, N. Y.



At the Front

WITH NORMAN THOMAS

Lima Conference

The Pan-American conference has its uses. But let's not get sentimental about it. Face facts! The Pan-American conference is not saving western democracy against European wickedness. By the most liberal depiction only about four Latin American nations are democratic; the rest are dictatorships of one sort or another. Our government wants to fence the hemisphere in for our trade and to reduce as much as possible German, Italian, and Japanese influence. Legitimate enough, unless under talk of good neighborliness we push our own militarism and imperialism. But not the defence of democracy!

Father Coughlin

Radio raises problems about free speech which are different from the ordinary problems of meetings. And much harder to solve. Radio can only be answered over radio. The number of available air channels is limited, and so is time. Broadcast-

ing is expensive. What shall be done?

The bitter feeling raised on the one hand by Father Coughlin's anti-Semitic broadcasts and on the other by WMCA's attempt to censor him, makes this question acute. If you believe in censorship, on what grounds? Who is to control it? The government or the nation or both?

Can censorship be applied against Coughlin and not against any more or less unpopular minority speaker? If you don't believe in censorship—and I don't—how prevent the enormous harm a man like Coughlin can do in stirring up hate? Must decent men pay high radio charges to answer the calumnies and lies of base, racial, rabble rousers?

I am inclined to think that the best way to handle the situation would be along three lines to be incorporated in law:

1. Permit no company to sell time for fierce controversial issues in our social life. This will reduce the advantages of the men with the long pocket book and the demagogue on the make.
2. Require all stations as part of the price of their licenses to give a certain proportion of their time to discussions of political, economic, and social issues with provision that conflicting viewpoints must be presented. Local and regional councils can advise on this.
3. Make speakers and their backers (but not the broadcasting stations) responsible for libel, and deliberate falsehood directed against groups as well as individuals, part of the penalty for proved guilt being exclusion from the air for a period proportionate to the offense.

I recognize some difficulties and dangers in this, but it's the best I can think of. What do you think? Remember: we want no control by a totalitarian state, by advertisers, or profit makers over radio discussion.

Challenging Questions

Freedom of Inquiry and Expression edited by Edward P.

Cheney (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Nov. 1938) is an invaluable manual on the subject. Most of the material dealt with the U. S. A. but there are exceedingly instructive articles on Italy, Germany, and the U. S. S. R.

Unfortunately, the German article deals only with the universities, but one gathers from this book and from Time's account of the press that on the whole the most absolute regimentation of inquiry and expression is Stalin's. Which gives Communist advocates of liberty in America something to explain. While they are about it, our Communist friends might also explain why Russia should close

its doors to refugees, but capitalist America should let them in (It should!) Why the U. S. S. R. should build up its trade with Germany, but the U. S. A. should boycott her, etc.

German Embargo

This complete official embargo on American exportation to Germany, dear to the heart of the Nation and others, looks dubious to me, at least until these questions are answered: (1) Would it help or hinder the one task of keeping America out of war? (2) Would it help or hinder the task of separating the German workers (to whom we must look for the conquest of Nazism) from Hitler? (3) Would it make Hitler more or less eager for conquest to supply what the United States won't sell? (4) Would it make a precedent very hard to carry out of punishing nations by cutting off trade? Where end? If Germany then perhaps some will say Russia? And should the U. S. be punished for lynchings and race discrimination by foreign embargoes?

Of course, we ought to keep America away from Germany as we could by applying existing treaties. But a complete official embargo is another matter. There is a strong emotional drive "to do something." But is this wise?

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