

Will Stalin and Hitler Make A Deal?

By HENRY HASKELL

The advocates of collective security are whispering that it is all the fault of that bad man Chamberlain. Prof. Frederic L. Schuman of Williams College, who fought the battle for collective security at the last American Student Union convention, says in the New Republic for Oct. 26: "Chamberlain and his clique planned all, anticipated all, calculated all, including the post-mortem criticisms and the need of pronouncing them 'preposterous' . . . Chamberlain and Co. played the game well and won. The Devil deserves his due."

The inference is obvious. That bad man did it on purpose, so we ought to get rid of him, and get some good man like Anthony Eden or Duff Cooper. Then you'd see. Collective security would really work. Only fascists like Chamberlain oppose collective security. If you oppose it too, you are helping Chamberlain.

FALSE ARGUMENT

The argument is as false as it is cunning. Capitalist imperialism itself is what keeps collective security from working, or makes it work only to defeat the hopes of the workers. Eden in the League of Nations didn't save Ethiopia from Italy any more than Chamberlain saved Czechoslovakia from Germany.

But collective security did work and is working in one field—that of the strangulation of Republican Spain, and this with the misguided help of Soviet Russia. Socialists don't say that imperialist nations cannot cooperate for a common end—only that they never have and never will cooperate for any end that isn't of direct material benefit to themselves. Today, they hardly seem to be able to cooperate even to defend themselves.

VALUABLE EXPERIENCE

Whatever Prof. Schuman may think, Chamberlain never submitted willingly to the humiliation of Munich, and the subsequent exclusion of England from any say in the disposition of the sad remains. He was coerced, and he couldn't help himself. Socialists have always said that bourgeois democracy in itself is not strong enough an instrument to solve the problems of capitalism.

We tried with every weapon at our command to influence the workers to rely on themselves and their own organizations rather than on such treacherous concepts and institutions as collective security and the League of Nations. Perhaps we made mistakes in our manner of presentation. Perhaps the workers had to experience the treason of Chamberlain, Daladier and the League of Nations, before they could understand the folly of relying on them. At any rate, they leaned on collective security, and when it collapsed, became all but buried in the debris.

ANALYSIS VINDICATED

There is too much work to be done for Socialists to waste any time crying "I told you so." History has vindicated our analysis all too completely. But we must foresee and avoid the next pitfalls and calamities being prepared for us.

The "Call" has consistently pointed out the possibility of a Four Power Alliance among England, France, Italy and Germany. (Continued on Page 3)

A VALUABLE BOOK
MY LIFE AS A REBEL, by Angelica Balabanoff, currently selling for \$3.75, is offered free to CALL BOOSTERS. Details on page 3.

Socialist Call

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

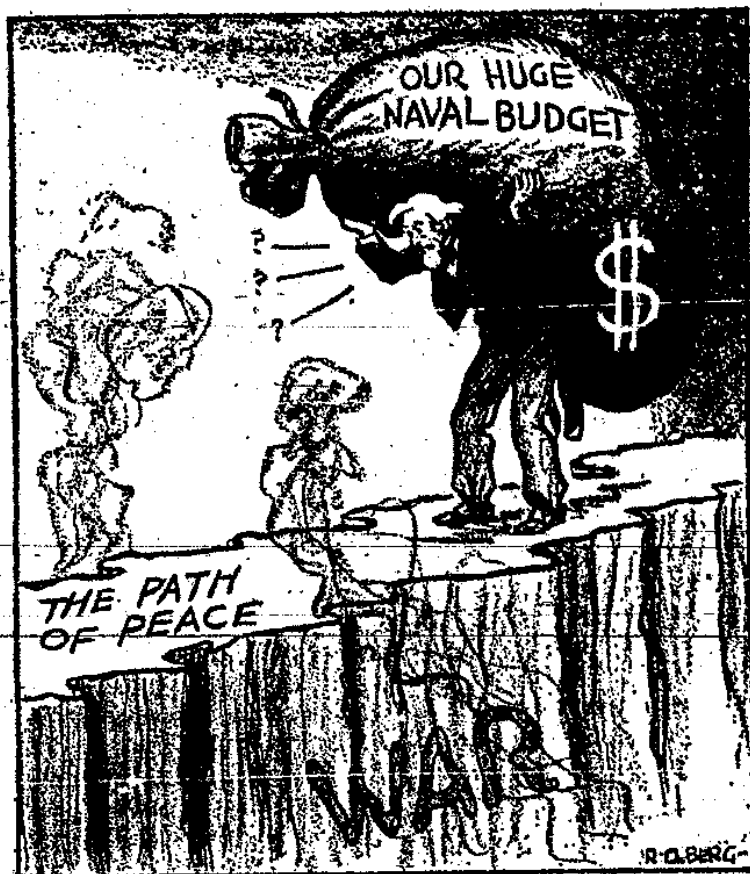
Entered as Second-Class Matter January 4, 1935, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill. Under the Act of March 3rd, 1879

VOL. IV—NO. 43

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1938

PRICE 5 CENTS

HANDICAPPED



On the eve of freedom . . .

Tom Mooney Discusses The Future Of Labor

By JOHN NEWTON THURBER
A Special Correspondent of the CALL

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—Tom Mooney, the world's most famous class war prisoner, incarcerated these past 22 years in California's San Quentin Prison, sends his heartfelt greetings to each and every worker who has kept the faith in his long struggle toward freedom.

Three of us, Murray Baron, New York, former member of the Socialist Party National Executive Committee and vice-president of the Leathersgoods Workers union, Brother McKoewn of the San Francisco Millinery Workers Union, and I made a pilgrimage to San Quentin and talked with this champion of labor for a full hour, the limit which the laws of this state will allow.

—Workers Defense League—

The facilities of the Workers Defense League were offered to Tom Mooney, either independently or in co-operation with other organizations to aid in sponsoring Tom Mooney on a national tour, if and when he is freed from jail, by Murray Baron, on instructions of the national board of the W. D. L.

This offer was graciously accepted by Tom Mooney, who has the greatest confidence that he will receive a full pardon after a re-hearing of his case before Culbert Olson, newly elected Governor of California.

Legalists explain that the hearings before Olson are likely to be in the nature of a show-cause order, with the whole world challenged to say why Mooney should not be set free. No one, neither the outgoing Attorney General, U. S. Webb, the incoming Attorney General, Earl Warren (both died in the wool reactionaries) nor anyone else, seem to be moving toward the enormous task of presenting evidence in case the move were to be challenged, so it is likely that the hearing will be a formality and Mooney given his release.

—Plans—

Tom Mooney, none-the-less is being cautious about making any specific plans about his freedom. He refused to make any specific statements to reporters immediately after the election, nor will he now.

He did declare without qualification that he hopes to work with all the influence which is his as the result of his many years in prison for labor toward the achievement of labor unity, both on the political and the economic fronts.

He is most interested that the breach between the CIO and the AFL will be healed and has a feeling that he can be instrumental in this direction. He was bitter in his denunciation of the reactionaries who head some of the AFL unions, and almost as vigorous in warning against the tendency toward the establishment of a bureaucracy in the CIO.

—Billings—

Warren J. Billings, who was convicted at the same time with the same evidence, for

the bombing of a Preparedness Day Parade in San Francisco in 1916, is in jail in Folsom Prison, across the bay from San Quentin.

In a recent flurry of sarcasm, Westbrook Pegler attacked Tom Mooney after an interview with him, for bringing up the name of Billings.

Tom Mooney told us that his Defense Committee is including Billings in their plans. Billings cannot be freed by the edict of the Governor, due to a prior conviction for another charge. His case must be acted on by the State Supreme Court after a recommendation by the Governor.

Tom told us that after the governor reviews the evidence in his case, and if he makes a favorable decision, he will be asked to re-review the same evidence as it regards Warren Billings. Then his recommendation will be placed before the Court and it will be on the spot.

—Prison Life—

Our first view of Tom Mooney in the visiting room of San Quentin was most impressive. He is working now as an orderly in the hospital. His work was done by about 10 a. m., and he came to us, his first visitors, direct from his work. We filed into the room and saw him standing there behind the barriers in his white orderly's jacket, with the sunlight on him, a beautiful proletarian spirit seeming to suffuse him.

As we had come out to San Quentin the day was bright. We saw many of the prisoners at work in the flower gardens, playing horseshoes, even playing tennis. The waters of San Francisco Bay front the prison. Beautiful Mt. Tamalpais is visible to the west. We came out of a troubled world, a world of strife and confusion, a world growing hourly darker before the prush of fascism, with labor's forces divided throughout the world.

Murray Baron asked Tom Mooney why he wanted to get away from the peace and the sureness and the comparative comforts of San Quentin and out into the troubled and uncertain world. "It's just that reason that I must get out," Tom declared. He wants to get out to throw his lot again with labor, to build toward unity against the onrush of Fascism.

—Contacts—

Tom Mooney seems to have kept in close touch with the world—as close as the state of California will permit him or any other prisoner in this state.

He does get papers from outside the state. The Socialist Call comes to him each week. He gets the Nation, the New Republic, and many other papers and magazines.

Some years ago the authorities clamped down on radical literature reaching the political prisoners in the jails of the state, on the instigation of Hearst. Before that books of a liberal or radical nature were available through the state library. Now these are denied. (Continued on page 3)

Reaction Gains In France; Labor Continues Fight

BULLETIN

The French government ordered its navy to break the shipping workers' strike late Monday night.

The proposition that it is in the interest of the workers to join capitalist parties in coalition or Popular Front governments was again disproved by events in France last week.

A Popular Front government, which had attained power with the support of Socialist and Communist Parties turned out to be a strikebreaking government and threatened to become the hangman of the working class organi-

zations in that country. For American workers the French experience made a contribution because the Congress of the United States will consider an "industrial mobilization plan" at its incoming sessions. How this will work to the detriment of labor was illustrated in France during the general strike of two million workers.

The French general strike was only partially successful. Concentrated military forces in Paris and the government's successful operation of the life line of trade—the railroads—made a heavy dent in the nation-wide demonstration of French labor against Premier Daladier's decrees. The government had imposed severe financial penalties on the workers by a series of 54 decrees. The workers were the main target of the government's desperate effort to stabilize currency and finance the huge super-armorament program which French imperialism has embarked upon in preparation for war.

Labor was most affected by the decrees. Hours of labor were dictatorially increased to forty-four hours or more, a 2% tax was levied on wages, and soldiers, widows and the aged pensions were drastically cut.

Heretofore these matters were subject to the action of the Chamber of Deputies which has a strong working class representation, including the powerful Socialist Party of France—the largest political party in the country. Daladier, who had wrested decree powers from the chamber during the tense Czechoslovakian situation, utilized his power to weaken French labor and drive it further into a lower standard of living.

The general strike was the climax of a series of workers' protests against Daladier's assumption of dictatorial power. Early this week the effects of the strike had by no means eased. Workers at Le Havre and Boulogne were again on strike protesting the firing of 60 of their most militant fellow workers. The strike threatened to spread throughout all of the ports of France.

Eighty percent of the textile industry of Lille was still closed (Continued on Page 2)

Thurber Jailed Over French General Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—John Newton Thurber, state secretary of the Socialist Party, and Jack Cope, San Francisco organizer of the Socialist-Workers Party were jailed by San Francisco police for conducting a picket line in front of the French consulate here, in connection with the 24 hour general strike of French labor.

Two charges were filed against each, dug out of the local ordinance book of unenforced local statutes, failure to move on when warned and displaying a placard on the street.

They were released on bail and are moving for a continuance of their trial until attorneys will have had a chance to prepare fully the case in their defense.

Patriot

Chest-pounding Congressmen and Senators who harangue Congress and the nation with bombastic speeches against "government collectivism," and on how W.P.A. jobs make workers lazy, are outstanding patriots. If you doubt this take a look at Congressman Kleberg of Texas.

Patriot Kleberg voted against the W.P.A. appropriations and the new crop control act limiting benefits to \$10,000. Government reports now show that he received an Agricultural Adjustment Administration (A.A.A.) check for a neat total of \$112,140.04 last year, or more than what 200 W.P.A. workers earn with pick and shovel in one year. Cong. Kleberg's King Ranch in Texas is twice as large as Rhode Island.

Strachey

IN THE GLASGOW FORWARD
Mr. John Strachey in the "New Republic" (New York) definitely repudiates the charge that he is or has been a member of the Communist Party and expresses surprise that members of the Communist Party should have thought so and nominated him for membership of the Party Executive.

He writes:
"Briefly the position is this: I am not and have never been a member of the British Communist Party. Hence it was utterly inconceivable and impossible for me to have been elected at the recent convention of that party, or at any other convention, to its Central Committee. I have now received some very interesting information on this point from Great Britain, however. According to this information, what happened at the Birmingham Convention of the British Communist Party was that a particular local of that party, having seen my name signed to articles in either Communist or left-wing newspapers, had jumped to the extraordinary conclusion that I was a member of the Communist Party and had nominated me for the Central Committee."
"According to my information, one of the spokesmen of the Communist Party at the Birmingham Convention immediately rose and pointed out that this nomination was entirely invalid as I was not even a rank and file member of the Communist Party."

A correspondent, however, sends us a cutting from the "Daily Worker" (29-9-37) which consists of an article "Communist Party and Labour Party" by John Strachey.

In this article Mr. Strachey appealed to his readers to join the Communist Party.

He wrote:
"A sensationallly rapid growth of the membership of the Communist Party is the key for the revival and growth of every other part of the London Movement, including above all the Labour Party itself."

He went on to develop the argument that more members of the Communist Party meant more members helpful to the Labour Party.

He concluded the article with the following words:—

"Let us then devote intense efforts this winter to the building up of the Communist Party precisely because that is the one way by which we can ensure the immediate revival of the Labour Party."

No wonder the rank and file thought he should be nominated for the Executive. Yet when he was writing like this in the "Daily Worker" advising other people to join the Communist Party he was not in it himself.

Iowa

Iowa's National Progressive candidate for governor, John F. Wards, for whom both Gov. Philip La Follette and Sen. Robert M. La Follette made campaign speeches, received only 699 votes in the entire state, a canvass of the unofficial election returns revealed this week.

Iowa was the only state in which Gov. La Follette chose to test sentiment for his new party.

In his home state, where the farmer-labor wing of the Progressives is hostile to the program and procedure of his national party venture, the Wisconsin governor avoided reference to the NPA during his recent unsuccessful campaign. The Iowa Farmer-Labor can-

A WORKER'S REVIEW OF THE NEWS

didate for governor, Wallace M. Shorts, Sioux City editor, polled 4,495 votes. A minimum of about 16,500, representing 2 1/2 % of the total vote, was necessary to qualify for a permanent place on the ballot. Candidates, however, may be nominated by petition.

Control of the Iowa state house now passes to the Republicans. Democratic Governor Nelson Kraschel had alienated much labor support by his use of troops against the Maytag strikers and his threat to use them to halt a National Labor Board hearing.

Miners

Four Harlan County, Kentucky, coal miners doomed to spend their eighth Christmas in the Kentucky State Reformatory have appealed to the workers of America asking them to speed the work of getting their freedom.

The four prisoners, W. B. Jones, 22064, Al Benson, 22052, Chester L. Poore, 22050 and Jim Reynolds, 22051, ask C.A.L.L. readers and their friends to do two things for them immediately:

(1) Write Gov. A. B. Chandler, Frankfort, Kentucky, asking that he pardon them for Christmas.

(2) Contribute to their defense fund through the Kentucky Miners Defense Committee, 75 Fifth Ave., New York City.

More effective still would be resolutions passed by trade unions and other organized groups addressed to Gov. Chandler. Gov. Chandler once toyed with the idea of pardoning the miners but lately there seems to be no indication that he will do so.

The miners were convicted on false charges of "conspiracy to murder" company gunmen who made a machinegun attack on a strike picket line at Everts, Ky., on May 5, 1931. This was one of a series of clashes between the miners and company guards in the struggle to establish the United Mine Workers of America in Western Kentucky.

Three company guards and one union man were slain in the fight. The stubbornness of the mine workers, all natives from way back, evoked the ire of coal companies and the conspiracy charges followed. In resorting to conspiracy indictments the prosecution used a legal device which Clarence Darrow called the modern and ancient dragnet for compassing the imprisonment and death of men whom

A Parable

Once upon a time there was a large pond, inhabited by a few thousand cannibalistic pike, and some 120,000,000 minnows. The pike lived off of the minnows, consuming them wholesale.

The minnows finally became dissatisfied with this exploitation involving their extinction by the pike, and they held a meeting at which a committee was appointed in true democratic style. This committee was asked to protest to the pike.

The ruler of the pike received the committee warmly and offered to "bargain collectively." After several consultations, the pike rendered a decision that thereafter they would allow one out of every five thousand minnows to become pike.

The committee of minnows thanked the pike for their generosity, and went their way, satisfied. From that time on, every minnow expected that he would be the lucky one and might become a pike.

the ruling class does not like."

Seven of forty-three miners were sentenced to life imprisonment. Three of the seven were set free in 1935 by Gov. Ruby P. Laffoon before he left office. He declined to act on the cases of the remaining four saying:

"I've started the ball rolling on the Harlan cases. Let Gov. Elect Chandler show where he stands. He campaigned as a friend of labor."

"Friends of labor" often tend to forget labor when they get in high places. It is the job of labor now to express its wishes for a Merry Christmas to the Harlan victims by writing Gov. Chandler asking that he restore the four fellow workers to their families by Christmas.

Finks

In July, 1938, the Workers Defense League filed with the New York State Director of Licenses a protest against the scab-herding Railway Audit and Inspection Co., one of the most notorious strike-breaking and labor espionage agencies in the country.

The W. D. L. succeeded in getting the backing of the C. I. O. and A. F. L. in this protest. Moreover, the incident made news and there is nothing deadlier for fink agencies than publicity — business men who clandestinely employ gutter rats to wage war

on their workers do not like the publicity either.

The W. D. L. had cited the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee disclosures which exposed the Railway Audit and Inspection Co. as instigating violence in labor disputes and selling munitions and gas to employers.

Upshot of the W. D. L.'s attack was the R. A. & I. Company's withdrawal of its application for a renewal of its license, and the issuance of a statement announcing that it was going out of business in New York.

Encouraged by this swift victory, the W. D. L. has opened a similar barrage against the similarly notorious William J. Burns International Detective Agency, Inc., which recently also applied for a renewal of its license.

Again the W. D. L. pointed to the disclosures of the LaFollette Committee and petitioned the New York Director of Licenses to hold a public hearing at which representatives of the defense organization would air its objections.

The Workers Defense League is rendering yeoman service to the labor movement by this form of attack. It will not abolish labor espionage which is as strong as the capitalist system permits it to be but it does serve to put the fink outfits outside the pale of the law and thus weakens its standing when they tangle with labor.

Congress

The National Youth Anti-war Congress, to be held from December 27 to 30 in Columbus, Ohio, under the auspices of the Youth Committee Against War, has aroused the enthusiastic interest of young people all over the country.

From every section, from every one of the great divisions into which youth organizations fall, will come delegates to take part in the preparations for an extended fight against the war preparations of the national Administration and for the promotion of international peoples' actions for aid to victims of war, for asylum for refugees, for the freedom of colonial peoples and for the liberation of European workers from fascist dictatorship.

Copies of the Call to the Congress are available at the National Office of the Youth Committee Against War, which is the youth section of the Keep America Out of War Congress.

Address Alvaine Hollister, Executive Secretary, at 22 East 17th St., New York, N. Y. for further information. Local committees are working on arrangements for delegates. If you do not know the address of the committee in your locality, write to the above address.

Detroit Affair

DETROIT, Mich.—The annual Detroit Socialist Party Bazaar will take place Saturday, Dec. 10 at the I. O. O. F. Hall, Brush and Bethune Sts. It will be on from 1 p. m. to mid-night. From 5 p. m. to 8 p. m. dinners are served at 50c a plate. Reservations can be made by calling Terrace 2-8238.

The State Executive Committee meets Sunday, Dec. 11 at the Nahum Burnett farm near Charlotte. One of the main problems on the committee's agenda is work among the farmers.

Spirit of Debs

"The Spirit of Gene Debs," a new marchsong, the music composed by John Paulish, director of the 50-piece Young Socialist Band of Milwaukee, words written by Frank Zeidler, will be

France

(Continued from Page 1)

by strikes or lockouts. All metallurgical plants in the northern area were idle. One hundred thousand workers in Marseilles remained off the job. Hundreds were reported arrested and subject to court martial because they defied the employers' and government's orders.

Foreign born workers who constitute approximately eight percent of the French working class population were intimidated by a government threat that they would be deported should they join the walk-out.

REPERCUSSIONS

The general strike had immediate international repercussions. The Italian government took advantage of the internal crisis in France by staging a demonstration of its stooge Chamber of Deputies demanding the French colonies of Tunis and Corsica. Relations between the two imperialist governments became quite strained. Fascist newspapers opened an attack on the French and French bourgeois newspapers retaliated. Meanwhile Daladier strove to appease the French working class by pointing to the threat of complications outside the borders of France. He sought to utilize the international conflict to strengthen his position in the French Chamber of Deputies which convenes Dec. 8.

GERMAN UNREST

In Germany the Nazis utilized the strike situation to point out to their cowed populace the impotence of democracy. At the same time the strike aroused sections of the German workers, particularly in the industrial area of the Ruhr. Scores of former Social Democrats, Republicans and even members of the Nazi movement have taken advantage of the situation.

More discouraging than the weakness of the French general strike was the failure of the labor movements of Great Britain, United States and other countries to express solidarity. The Russian trade unions which are completely dominated by the Stalin government.

"There is no doubt that Daladier is at this stage of economic developments in France the "strong man" of French capitalism and is being groomed by the imperialist rulers for any eventuality that may necessitate a totalitarian government.

From the Archives

The Mansfield Ohio News of October 21, 1918 carried the death of a man in Akron, who had refused to subscribe to the Fourth Liberty Loan. Three men stopped him as he drove along the country road. One held his horse's head and the other two jumped up on the wagon, grabbed his arm and shoved a pencil into his hand. When he resisted, and struck at one of the men, they hit him over the head with a brick and he died a few minutes later. Officials pronounced his death due to a "fit of anger" and the men were publicly lauded for their "patriotism." The headlines in The News reflected the spirit of the incident. They were: "TIGHT-WAD KEPT HIS MONEY—He Has Gone Without Pockets In His Shroud."

This is what the war-makers called patriotism.

secretary of the Socialist Party, has been recently published.

Sheet music is available from Ruth Ritter, S.P. of Wisconsin, 536 W. Juneau St., Milwaukee, Wis. Special rates to organizations and dealers who can use

Gift Suggestions

BY HELEN SALZ

"Why not give HER a fur coat—a glamorous coat, a leopard, a caracul, a smooth shining otter, a golden brown mink?"

Where do you hurry old woman with heavy step and joyless eyes? Will you speak of years in the cotton, hands swollen and cut by the stalks— will you tell of the days when you sorted rags and the fetid smell in the lint-thick air— will you speak of the thousand steps in the office-buildings and the tiled hallways gleaming and icy at night and the hundred offices sharp with stale cigars, mahogany, magnificent, the thundering subway and the wind-curling street?

"Why not give HIM a car—all steel-body, hydraulic brakes? He'll ride cushioned with airplane-type shock absorbers to smooth rough roads."

He has tramped for many decades. Dust storms have blinded him, farm wives hastily closed protective doors. Prison tanks held his indifferent bones on winter nights. He remembers his home and a bed in a damp room (where you picked the green plaster clean off the wall) the gang on the late secret street, the cops, the reform school, the blows and solitary. He has tramped footsore from Maine to California, from California to Maine.

"Why not give THEM a Home Movie Camera? It tells the Precious Story—"

Build the CALL!

SUBSCRIPTION BOX SCORE

Received Since Last Issue of the CALL	Total Received Thus Far
"Recovery" Subs (\$1.50 a year)..... 2	37
"Recession" Subs (\$1.00 a year).....55	1,375
"Depression" Subs (25c for 10 wks.)..... 7	1,599
New Bundle Orders.....	970
Totals.....64	3,981

"My Life As A Rebel"

A comrade who prefers anonymity writes: "Beginning with the month of December and for an indefinite number of months following I will give to the CALL BOOSTER who remits the most subscriptions to the SOCIALIST CALL a copy of 'My Life As A Rebel,' by Angelica Balabanoff. "As one individual I can only get my share of subscriptions from time to time. This, obviously, isn't enough to sustain and build the CALL. Only a mass effort of Socialists everywhere can sustain our press and it is in the hope that this will stir up some action that I make this offer."

This offer comes at an opportune time. At no time since the CALL moved to Chicago have its needs been greater than they are now when it is desperately making efforts to recover the ground lost when it was compelled to miss several issues.

Regular publication, although in limited size, is now assured. We know how you feel about getting subscriptions when the CALL's publication isn't regular. We have cut down its size in order to make regular publication possible. Once confidence is restored subscriptions will again flow in greater volume and that is the tonic any labor newspaper needs to survive.

Balabanoff's widely acclaimed book is now offered to the CALL BOOSTER who remits the most subscriptions. Scores will be computed on the basis of 1 point for a one-year dollar sub, 1/2 point for a fifty-cent six-month sub and 1/4 point for a twenty-five cent ten-week sub.

All subs remitted during the month of December count. Who will win the first free copy of "My Life As A Rebel"?

Three crack labor organizers joined the CALL ASSOCIATION last week raising the total membership to 31. They were: Powers Haggood, Indianapolis, Ind., president, United Shoe Workers of America; Harold Gibbons, Louisville, Ky., organizer, Textile Workers Organizing Committee, and Leon Lazor, organizer, Aluminum Workers of America. The CALL welcomes these new members.

he and his staff struggled to publish the CALL. He remits a check for \$10.

Cook County Local remits \$12 for prepaid sub cards. These cards were purchased by Arthur McDowell, R. Weitz, Jos. Kraus, G. Tracy, Emma Kay and Simon Trojer, all contributed \$2 each.

The Gillespie (Illinois) Socialist miners remit \$2.50 through Craig Easton for subscriptions. "I'll scout around and see other fellow workers; you'll hear from me again soon," writes Miner Easton.

Herta Remshack, East Hampton, Mass., sends in \$9.50 for prepaid sub cards for the local Socialist Party.

E. A. Benson, Lynn, Mass., sends along \$3.91 for bundle orders.

P. B. McGarvey, Dayton, Ohio, remits \$6; \$5 for prepaid cards and \$1 for bundles.

\$2.50 check rolled in from John Williams of Clovis, N. M., which pays up the branch's bundle order to date.

L. Somlo, East Pittsburgh, Pa., heads the CALL's appeal for aid by donating \$2.

The Billingham, Wash., Local of the S. P. remits \$5 for prepaid sub cards through Fern Rants, secretary.

Jugoslav Socialist Br. remits \$1 for payment on its bundle order.

Subscriptions were received from Harry Fleischman, Detroit (2); Waldo Bergen, Spring Valley, N. Y.; Bruce Brown, Nyack, N. Y.; Julius Umansky, N. Y. C.; Rev. E. G. Maxford, Pascoganda, Miss.; F. Vozok, Alton, Ill.; G. Galperin, Brooklyn; H. J. Hilliar, Sound View, Conn.; Comrade Evelyn, Philadelphia; A Comrade, Helena, Mont.; D. Kochler, Wallkill, N. Y.; Eugene McStroul, Wash., D. C.; Jose Castro, N. Y. C.; G. P. Manchester, Berkley, Calif.; Lee Baldwin, Evanston, Ill.; Robert Parkinson, Columbus, Ohio. These are the comrade and friends who made this week's is-

A CHALLENGE TO SOCIALISTS!

Cook County Socialists who met in annual convention Saturday and Sunday took emergency steps to meet the crisis which confronts the SOCIALIST CALL.

The first expression was that of being displeased with the present size of the CALL. "The CALL must be published in 8-pages!" they unanimously ruled, and to realize this objective they took the following action:

The convention asked from 25 to 40 comrades to volunteer to contribute \$1 a week to the CALL for a period of 8-weeks. Twelve pledges were immediately announced. They then challenged the rest of the Socialist Party to raise the ante to a total of 100 comrades who would make a similar pledge, or from 60 to 75 other comrades anywhere else in the United States.

Payment on such pledges should begin Dec. 15 and end Feb. 15. Names and records to be published in the CALL.

Moreover, the comrades voted to assess themselves \$3 a year. Such assessment to pay for an annual sub and two annual prepaid sub cards which can be sold or donated.

The County Executive Committee was also instructed to purchase coin-box collectors to be used by comrades to raise funds for the CALL.

This is a real beginning. The cooperation of other branches along this line of action is earnestly solicited in order to resume a regular eight page publication.

Names of comrades who will volunteer to pledge \$1 a week for 8 weeks will be published in the next issue of the CALL. Accept Cook County's challenge! Send your inf-

TOM MOONEY INTERVIEW

(Continued from Page 1)

Much of what Tom Mooney knows of the outside world reaches him through his visitors. His Defense Committee representatives visit him regularly, and doubtless are most trusted by him in their presentation of the news of the world.

—After?—

Tom had just heard a radio news broadcast when we arrived, so this channel of information must be open to the prisoners there. He displayed a lively interest in discussing the news of the day, and the implications of developments, including the slapping down which was administered to Harry Bridges at the CIO convention. This item had not been related to him by his Defense Committee advisors, nor had he yet a chance to read of it in any of the papers which do reach him.

Tom has been advised that if he is released that those forces who put him in jail will be anxious to ruin and discredit him, and perhaps

return him to jail once more.

He displayed a desire to tread cautiously, so as not to fall into any trap which they may set for him.

He feels that any misstep would result in a kickback against Gilbert Olson and the incoming Democratic administration, and that the San Francisco bankers who have been instrumental in keeping him in jail would pounce on any such misstep and use it for Republican political capital against the "California New Dealers."

This feeling seems likely to prevent Tom Mooney from becoming publicly tied to any section of the labor movement or to any political party.

He says now that even if freed he intends to keep his Defense Committee alive, since he is fearful that he may be framed again. He wants to remain on friendly relations with Socialists, Communists, Anarchists, IWW, AFL and CIO, as long as possible after his hoped-for release.

Will There Be A Deal Between Hitler and Stalin?

(Continued from Page 1)

many, designed to preserve the status quo in the West while leaving the East open to fascist expansion.

Another possibility also exists which we must look into carefully.

HITLER AND STALIN

This possibility is that Stalin may make a deal with Hitler. Right now things are pointing in that direction. Only yesterday Hitler and Mussolini handed 4,000 square miles and over 800,000 unfortunate people to Hungary. This time they dispense with the service of Chamberlain and Daladier. They don't want to wear out these useful tools too soon. They are not needed now. Perhaps they will come in handy some time later.

Czechoslovakia also, just couldn't see the point in asking Chamberlain to bless the robbers. Everyone knows that Hitler's is the voice of Europe—and Chamberlain and Daladier only use their's to echo, "Yes, Sir!" Even Stalin must understand by now that when the conflict between Russia and Germany comes to a head, he can't look for help to the capitalist democracies.

WAR OR A DEAL?

This being so, Stalin would have two alternatives: to fight—or to make a deal. Fighting might mean war both in the Far East and in the West, especially if Japan wins a conclusive victory there, which she cannot do without Chinese treason. Also, war would arrest the internal economic development of the U. S. S. R.

Stalin may well hesitate to fight for other reasons. No one, except possibly Stalin and his henchmen, know how divided and weakened and debilitated Russia has become during the past few years. Perhaps not very much. But it is hard to believe that the change from aggressive revolutionary internationalism, however, extreme and misguided, to conciliatory co-operation with capitalist states, could have failed to divide the revolutionary forces in Russia as it has in the rest of the world.

ARMY WEAKENED

It is hard to believe that the vicious purges have not weakened the army while discouraging aggressive leadership in all fields. It is hard to believe that the ghastly mistakes of the Stalin regime, especially in the field of foreign relations, where he led the people to rely on League of Nations, pacts and non-intervention committees, could have failed to depress the morale of the workers. If all this

is true, Stalin may well prefer a deal to fighting with Hitler.

But Stalin, being a dictator himself, can no more afford to make a humiliating deal with Hitler than any other dictator. Perhaps, there is truth in what Walter Duranty says, in a brilliant dispatch in the New York Times of Oct. 12:

"Suppose Herr Hitler prefers the iron and coal of Alsace-Lorraine to the distant riches of Russia's Donetz basin. There is no reason to believe that Russia would refuse collaboration with Germany or shed tears over the ultimate fate of France and the British Empire."

ANOTHER ZIG ZAG

If that is Stalin's decision, we can look for an abrupt right-about by the Charlie McCarthy's of the Third International. Obedient Browders and their followers—the world-around—will be obliged to denounce bourgeois democratic imperialism as fervently as they have championed it.

The Socialist leaders of the Second International would be blamed for the failures of the popular fronts built by Communists of the Third, and who knows, perhaps the heads of

Yezhov, Voroshilov, and above all Litvinov would roll into the basket, to tell the world once again that the infallible Stalin was made a fool of by his most trusted aides, who had been in the pay and service of the almighty Trotsky ever since he got out of diapers.

WORKERS MUST ACT

In any case Socialists must remain vigilant to expose the frauds and hypocrisies perpetrated in the name of democracy, denounce futile alliances between workers and the capitalist class in popular fronts, conceived in the name of democracy. They must unveil the false base of collective security, which prepares the workers to fight imperialist wars in the supposed interests of democracy.

They must work as never before to prevent either Munich agreements, or Stalin-Hitler deals in the name of peace. And they must remove the influence of Stalin and his puppets wherever their dead hands stifle the hope of Socialism, wherever they try to speak in the name of the Socialism they have defiled.

FOR CHRISTMAS

Workers' Season Greeting Cards for the benefit of the refugees. Order from James Loeb, Committee for International Labor Solidarity, 348 Third Ave., New York City. 3 for 25c. \$1 a dozen.

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At the Front

WITH NORMAN THOMAS

The Armament Program

All reports make it seem probable that the next stage of Roosevelt's New Deal will be a big armament program to which the President himself, as well as a great many business interests, looks to end unemployment.

Recent callers have reported the fact that the President has said that Germany which has a great armament program has no unemployment. The idea is that the appropriations that otherwise would go to W. P. A. will now go to this armament program.

Behind it, the President hopes to unite very incongruous forces; those who want to fight Hitler in behalf of Russia or the Jews or the British Empire; those who would send no American soldier to Europe and want to make an American preserve out of the Western hemisphere; those who want to make America effective in an inevitable war; and those who believe that big armament will avert war; those who want to protect American investments abroad and those who want to protect some ideal called democracy; and above all, those who can be persuaded that employment in rearmament is better than W. P. A. and that we want to emulate the sorry, impermanent and very dangerous prosperity which Europe is finding in the arms race.

Browder for Big Army

The people who talk rearmament cannot agree on a concrete program or a policy. A great

many of them are moved only by emotion and not at all by reason.

The real militarists know what they want. Some of you may have heard Major Simmons who took part with me in an informal dinner table discussion over the Columbia Broadcasting System. He declared frankly that we needed a bigger army to preserve "order" at home and to protect investments abroad.

On the other hand, Earl Browder the other night at Washington is quoted as saying that heretofore Communists had opposed armament but they would no longer oppose it if they were convinced that American arms would be used "against fascism," which means if they could be convinced that American arms would be used somehow for Stalin at a time when it becomes steadily harder to distinguish in very important respects between Stalin's totalitarianism and Mussolini's.

Socialists Fight War

In view of all these things, we shall have to fight when Congress reassembles a vast program of armament backed by Capt. Katerson of the Daily News who wants no American boy to go to Europe, and the Daily Worker, which is certainly far more interested in the defense of Russia than in the defense of Patagonia.

At the head of this motley army, will ride that gallant knight, President Roosevelt, with all flags flying. The danger is

that in foreign affairs, once more, he will ride away rapidly in all directions—as he has been doing.

Socialists in opposing this incongruous alliance for a big army and navy, an alliance which confidently expects, as the President has already told his callers, support from both the A. F. of L and C. I. O., will also have to be prepared to accept a degree of temporary comradeship from men and groups whose opposition to big armies and navies is for different reasons than ours.

Homes, Not Bombers!

Nevertheless, we shall have to make our own position plain and in particular we must be as persuasive as possible in reaching the workers against the propaganda that teaches that the armament race means jobs. So perhaps, it does for some workers, but the process of transferring the unemployed to the work created by new armament will be much harder and slower than many have understood.

If armament is to be substituted for a relief program, hundreds of thousands of people will suffer very sorely before they can be employed. Besides, an armament race is the worst possible long range program for prosperity. It produces nothing to satisfy immediate consumers' wants, and nothing of itself productive. We must insist harder than ever that what we want is houses, not bombers or battle-ships.

Next, we must insist that no matter what other people think, once we get a huge army and navy, it will be used as Major Simmons calmly assumes, in behalf of what he calls "order" at home; that is in suppressing the workers, and in behalf of investments. There is no man who as president of the United States and Chief of the army can be trusted with the forces now thought necessary by the enthusiasts.

George Eliot's Book

Then we must insist that the advocates of the big army and the big navy tell us just what they want and what they think they are going to do with it. While we Socialists will not agree with all the premises of Major George Eliot's new book "The Ramparts We Watch," we can at least rejoice in the cold common sense with which he punctures a lot of arguments for arms.

For instance, Major Eliot insists that no amount of army would make us an important factor in preventing European war because Hitler will not start the European war unless he is fairly well convinced that his preponderance in air force and otherwise would give him so great an immediate advantage that the long term endurance contest wouldn't count. He'd lose that anyhow and we couldn't arm sufficiently to come into the war the first day or the first few weeks. We are pretty well armed for genuine defence.

At any rate, the fight against the President's probable new program ought to engrass every Socialist and give us a peculiarly valuable opportunity to build for Socialism. Each Socialist has got to be a missionary in every mass organization and in all other contacts against a program which means immediate militarism and in the long run probably fascism if not war itself.

One weapon that we can use is popular enthusiasm for a referendum before the declaration

THE SOCIALIST CALL

Published Every Saturday by the Socialist Party of the United States of America

Editorial and Business Office

549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

Telephone Number: State 3250

Advertising Office: 11 West 17th Street, New York

Telephone Number: Chelsea 3-0964

Subscription Rates:

\$1.50 a Year; \$1.00 for 6 Months; Foreign, \$2 a Year

Advertising Rates Upon Request

Gerry Allard, Editor

Editorial Board:

National Action Committee

Roy Burt, Arthur G. McDowell, Al Hamilton, Anton Garden, Maynard Krueger, Paul Porter

231 Saturday, Dec. 10, 1938 Total No. 491

The Fascist Horror

Two hundred frightened Jewish children, some of them barely weaned, left their fathers and mothers in Germany for England last week.

Toting cardboard boxes or battered suitcases the little fellows cried as they boarded an early morning train. Their grief-stricken parents looked on unable to hold back their tears.

Some of the girls tried to escape as the train pulled out, but women custodians told them that "your parents will be happier if they know that you are building up a new life in England."

The youngsters arrived in England the next day where they were placed in camps and then distributed among families which volunteer to give them homes.

This is merely a tiny incident in the horrible tragedy which befell the Jewish folk of Germany. A decrepit capitalist economic system now insidiously bolstered by a fascist political state, resorts to unspeakable brutalities in order to protect the interests of landlords, financiers and industrialists.

Christmas is near. We in America are now planning to celebrate the occasion in the spirit of fellowship and to further our ideals. There never was a real Christmas for the working class, and there will not be much of a holiday for Socialists this year. Our fellow workers, the oppressed masses of the world, our brothers in France, our comrades in Spain, China,

Central Europe, in the colonies, are faced with the menace of fascism and imperialism as never before.

Readers of the CALL are not armchair Socialists. They are people of action who strive day in and day out to do something about the woes which confront their less fortunate comrades abroad. They will want to do something immediately to render succor to the victims of fascism.

The Socialist Party has organized an International Labor Solidarity Committee of which Devere Allen, Sam Romer, Norman Thomas and James Loeb are officers. Funds are needed by this committee to aid Jewish, Socialist, religious and labor refugees of Germany, Czechoslovakia and other countries.

Funds may be remitted to James Loeb, secretary, Committee for International Labor Solidarity, 348 Third St., New York City.

Besides, action is needed to realize immediate objectives:

- 1) Insist that the American government liberalize its own immigration policy and make America once again an asylum for the oppressed;
- 2) Bring pressure to bear on other nations with large areas at their disposal so that they may cooperate in opening their doors and in creating desirable havens for the oppressed;
- 3) Bring pressure on Soviet Russia asking it to open its doors to those who want to go to Russia.

Russia and the Refugees.

In the Swedish Social-Demokraten

In Socialist quarters something should be said also about the attitude of Russia on the refugee question. Even today Russia calls herself a Socialist and Proletarian State. No Party and no country has boasted of her international and proletarian solidarity as often as the Communists and the Russians.

What have they done to assist refugees? Nothing! During 1933 and 1934 they did receive a number of Germans and Austrians. But how did they fare? Either they are in prison or they have been shot or expelled.

Is it not lamentable that there should be any problem of Socialist refugees in view of the exist-

tence of a "Socialist Power" with 180 million inhabitants and practically speaking a continent at its disposal? Why should one be hesitant about a comparison with the attitude of the Third Reich when it was a question of the Nazi refugees from Austria who numbered about 50,000 and during four years were fed and clothed by the Germans?

Whereas the Stalin regime does not even allow the entry of its co-religionists from the neighboring countries, not to mention Socialist or Democratic refugees.

The attitude of the Russian Communist Party to the refugee question must be characterized as a scandal, as a betrayal crying to the heavens.

of war. This is no panacea, but even the agitation for it will act like a brake on the President's grandiose plans.

French Strike

French workers and genuine French democracy both suffered a defeat at the hands of Daladier, their former partner in the popular front, who in the most highhanded fashion used dictatorial powers against them. The defeat was not a complete route and all is not lost in France. But that there was a "defeat," everybody but the Daily Worker recognizes, and the Daily Worker did not recognize the defeat when Hitler took power! Incidentally the Daily Worker has added Daladier to the "traitors" in Russia, Germany, England, France, who now explain all things that happened to the hurt of the workers cause, the march

of economic forces having been forgotten by these pseudo Marxists.

One of the sad features of the French situation is the breakdown of international labor solidarity. French leaders sent no message to American labor leaders and the latter waiting unnecessarily I think, for a message, never sent any greetings or assurance of solidarity at all, nor did they do anything to correct the impression so diligently cultivated in the American press that Daladier somehow was defending French democracy by practicing government by decree.

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LITTLE ESSAYS IN SOCIALISM

By JOHN M. WORK

Again I say that in writing about value I was not speaking of price; for the price of a product, under present conditions, is usually more than its value. It has all kinds of unearned profits added to it.

Under a collective social order, however, with the profit system eliminated, price will tend to be the same as value, and it will not be necessary to enter into complicated calculations. An approximation will be sufficient.

Men and women who expend mental and manual labor in making products and in performing the innumerable services which have to be performed in the process of production and distribution are entitled to receive the full value of their labor, minus their share of the general expense.

Under the present system they are deprived of much of the value of the labor they perform. Many millions are deprived of jobs. And the entire body of useful workers is deprived of the opportunity to produce and distribute an abundance for all.

The primary material object of the Socialist movement is to secure to the useful workers the full value of their labor, steady employment with short workdays, and the opportunity to produce and distribute as much as they choose. This can readily be done, through the socialization of industry.

The ideal object of the Socialist movement is to create a condition of human brotherhood. The socialization of industry in this and other lands will serve as an economic foundation upon which a condition of human brotherhood may be established. To try to build human brotherhood on an economic foundation of competition is mere rainbow chasing. Competition and brotherhood are incompatible. Cooperation, on the other hand, is brotherly in its nature. Socialism is cooperative. A condition of human brotherhood can be built upon it.