

Socialist Call

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500,000 WPA Workers To Be Fired After Nov. 8 Elections

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Bad news for the workers and farmers of America. Tragic news for hundreds of thousands of WPA workers.

Confident that labor vote is "in the bag," Roosevelt has taken an unprecedented pre-election step in ordering WPA retrenchments that will mean discharge orders (pink slips) for about 500,000 WPA workers.

Of course the layoffs won't actually begin until after the elections are over, and Roosevelt's action in ordering them has been given very little publicity. Evidently the anti-New Deal press doesn't wish to give Roosevelt's retrenchment plans wide publicity, and the pro-New Deal press would be embarrassed. To date the Com-

munist press, New Deal vanguard, has kept the secret well.

ROOSEVELT ORDER

As in previous years, the W. P. A. officials had found the money appropriated by Congress entirely inadequate, and had been forced to go over their budget. Continuing at the present rate of expenditure, they would have had to ask for a deficiency appropriation immediately upon the opening of Congress.

Last week, however, Roosevelt and Hopkins promised to make his remaining funds last to the end of the fiscal period, February 28.

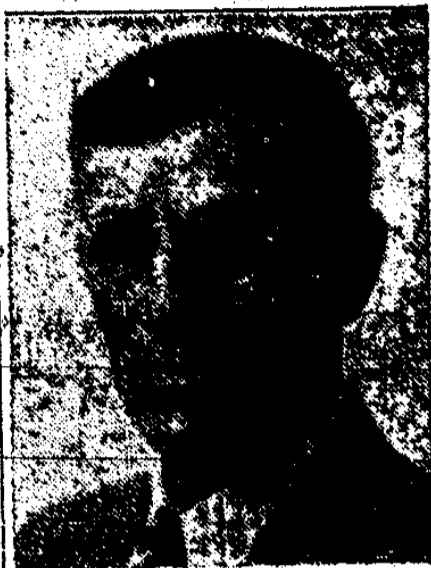
ATTACK ON WAGES

In order to do so, WPA will have to fire about 500,000 W. P. A. workers. Industry is re-

hiring, but certainly not to the extent that would warrant relief reductions unless the aim is to give industry a larger army of desperate unemployed to pit one against the other, for the few jobs offered and bring wages down.

Unless the organized unemployed and WPA workers, and organized labor, rally their forces to nip this retrenchment in the bud, stop these layoffs, now, more and more political deals at the expense of the unemployed will follow, creating a disillusioned mass that will lose confidence in the Workers Alliance and other labor organizations which have placed labor off guard on the eve of another serious crisis. (See editorial page 4).

For Lt. Governor of Wisconsin



GEORGE A. NELSON

Norman Thomas' running mate in the 1936 presidential campaign who is the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation candidate for Lt. Governor of Wisconsin.

For Governor Of New York



NORMAN THOMAS

National Chairman of the Socialist Party of the United States.

Labor Unity Big Issue At Coming CIO Convention

By ARTHUR McDOWELL

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The National Constitutional Convention of C. I. O. Unions, summoned to build a permanent new central labor structure, meets here beginning on November 14th and will have the most important word to say on the question of labor unity for many months to come, if not for years.

The official formula of chairman J. Lewis and his top family of important leaders with the exception of David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers, is that the founding of the C. I. O. on a permanent basis will be a contribution to labor unity by putting the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. on an equal basis as permanent and relatively democratically sanctioned organizations.

After that, the argument runs, the A. F. of L. will have to surrender any hope of the dissolution of the C. I. O. set up without concessions by the A. F. of L. to industrial unionism, and is likely to come to terms much more rapidly.

DUBINSKY'S STAND

Past experience seems to indicate that President Dubinsky has the best of the argument in insisting that this gain will be a slight one compared with the brake which will be put on unity movements by crystallization of the separate estate of the big in-

dustrial unions, as against the A. F. of L. and its widespread miscellaneous strength.

It will nevertheless be a matter of profound regret to progressive unionists, Socialists and every friend of labor and labor unity and the C. I. O. if the powerful and progressive garment workers union does not take part in the coming convention.

A REAL LOSS

It will mean the absence of the most powerful and the most sincere advocate of trade union unity from among the original C. I. O. founding unions. It will subtract the most intelligent and progressive single unit from the deliberations, and will double the danger from such essentially disruptive and adventurist intriguers as the Communist Party forces constitute today.

At present the stage of events is better set for some effective moves toward labor unity than at any previous time, as far as forces outside the labor movement are concerned. The Roosevelt administration from essentially selfish and therefore reliable and continuing motives opened the question of unity wide at the Houston convention of the A. F. of L. Since that time it has followed up with fairly constant though not consistent pressure on leaders on both sides.

PERKINS' PLAN

Secretary Perkins, although distinctly not the best person for the A. F. of L. side, came forth with the first concrete plan which, although open to criticism in that the actual decision was left in the hands of non-labor people, was a vast improvement over the highly inadequate proposal of Militarist Columnist Heywood Brown for an independent non-labor fact finding commission.

The Catholic church hierarchy, with considerable influence on the conservative elements in both labor movement followed the administration up with an unusual appeal for labor unity. General

(Continued on Page 4)

Michigan Socialists Call For War On Poverty, Insecurity

DETROIT—Offering the only fundamental program for abolishing depressions, poverty, low wages and unemployment, the Socialist Party of Michigan expects to roll up an impressive vote November 8 for its candidate for governor, Nahum Burnett, and the other Socialist nominees.

Burnett, a dirt farmer and native of Michigan, has been a leading figure in the Farmers' Union and has assisted in the organization campaign of the United Automobile Workers union. His neighbors in Eaton County have learned to come to him for information and interpretations of current affairs.

UNION LEADER

His running mate for lieutenant-governor is Kermit Johnson, former chairman of the Chevrolet division of the Flint U. A. W. A. and active union member.

The other state Socialist candidates are Jean Seidler, member of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.), for secretary of state; Frederick A. Halstead, Bay City doctor, for state treasurer; Edward Maskiewicz, Detroit auto worker, for auditor general; and Emanuel Seidler, Detroit attorney, for attorney general.

RAP CAPITALISTS

Both the Republican and Democratic parties are assailed in the Socialist platform for their failure and inability to cope with the major problems facing the workers and farmers.

The present depression, the platform reads, "proves once again that there can be no real security for the American people, especially the workers and farmers, until our economic order is based on human needs instead of profit.

ialized ownership of the means of production and distribution, so that our great industrial machinery can be operated for the benefit of all . . . Short of this, there is no permanent solution to our economic ills.

"The Democratic and Republican parties, despite their apparent difference and their attacks on each other, are joined together in their determination to maintain the present economic system and to oppose all efforts to change the system.

WAR DANGER

The Socialist platform warns against the possibility of war, forced on the American people in order to divert them from the immediate problems of unemployment and diminished production.

Congratulating the labor movement of Michigan for the progress made on the economic field, the Michigan Socialists urge the formation of a farmer-labor party as the next necessary step for labor to protect and extend its gains.

RECORD PROGRESS

"The labor movement in Michigan has made enormous strides in the last two years. A stronghold of the open shop in the mass production industries—auto—has been largely organized. The militancy of the auto workers created a spontaneous wave of union building in all trades.

(Continued on Page 3)

Union Candidates

More than 70 per cent of the Socialist candidates running on the state and county tickets are members of A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, a larger number of labor union candidates than were nominated on any other party ticket.

Attention Michigan

Tucker P. Smith, secretary of the National Labor Anti-War Committee, debates with Quincy Wright, professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, Armistice Day, Friday, Nov. 11, 8 p. m., at the Detroit Art Institute on the question of "Collective Security."

Organized labor throughout the world has been keenly divided on this question. No issue in recent times has provoked more controversy and discussion than the question of whether workers should support their governments in collective action against aggressor nations or whether world labor should develop and use its independent force against all imperialist wars.

The two speakers are experts in this field of thought. A real stimulating evening is in store for those who attend the debate.

Union Growth

The largest labor union on the North American continent is the United Mine Workers, with a membership of 612,113, of which John L. Lewis is president, and is affiliated with the C. I. O.

The largest single union in the A. F. of L. is the Teamsters' Union, with a reported membership of over 300,000.

RADIO BROADCAST

NORMAN THOMAS

Speaks Over the Columbia Network
Tuesday, Nov. 1, 1938

Eastern Standard Time.....10:45 P. M.
Central Standard Time..... 9:45 P. M.
Mountain Time..... 8:45 P. M.
Pacific Time..... 7:45 P. M.

CALL readers are urged to write local CBS stations asking for broadcast.

The SOCIALIST CALL will also appreciate comment on the broadcast, even if it is only a postal card.

Unity

No single act in recent months has so spurred Socialist forces on to Socialist unity as the action of the official organization of the Social Democratic Federation of Reading, Pennsylvania, to support the regular candidates of the Socialist Party in the coming state elections.

A special campaign paper, the Pioneer, issued by the Reading Social Democrats, carried the names of Socialist Party candidates along with the local Social Democratic candidates.

Able editor Raymond Hofses of the peppy Reading Labor Advocate, George Rhodes, president of the Reading Federated Trades Council and Darlington Hoopes, former Pennsylvania assemblyman and candidate for the same office, said that true Socialist convictions, undaunted through the hectic years, made the decision inevitable.

Said Rhodes: "To think that a lousy WPA job is the end of all things is a pretty crummy program for a party that calls itself Democratic."

Meanwhile in Baltimore, Maryland, Socialist chiefs named a committee consisting of Devere Allen, Norman Thomas, Gus Tyler, Paul Porter and David H. H. Felix to represent the Socialist Party of the United States in a unity confab with representatives of the Social Democratic Federation of America after November 8.

Miners

Thousands of mine folks assembled in Mt. Olive, Ill., Oct. 12, to pay tribute to the Virden strike martyrs of 1898, the eccentric "General" Alexander Bradley and the heroic Mother Jones, stormy petrel of early coal miners history. Erected to their memory by the unforgetting miners is an impressive monument which towers over all tombstones in the neatly kept local cemetery.

Speakers, all hand picked by the reactionary leaders of the Progressive Miners of America, now AFL, extolled the radical glories of the heroes of the past but for the present satisfied themselves with very conservative utterances. The affair, used for propaganda against the CIO, left the miners with mixed feelings even though many of them still hold Lewis' past against him.

October 29 (John Mitchell Day) the miners of the anthracite field of Pennsylvania will have an opportunity to hear the sonorous voice of John L. Lewis boom in parts about Mt. Carmel. Lewis is scheduled to colorfully expose the Progressive Mine Workers who in recent weeks have opened headquarters in Shamokin and planted the Anti-Semite Joe P. Goett, erstwhile editor of the "Progressive Miner," in charge of the already completely unionized hard coal region.

Goett, pressured out of the editor's job because of left wing opposition and an innerfamily quarrel, is Lewis' former provisional vice-president of Illinois, now picked up by William Green and his AFL cohorts to harass the United Mine Workers within their legitimate jurisdiction.

Aiding Goett and the Progressive Miners in the eastern section of Pennsylvania are John Hollister, Lester Koble and Arthur O'Gara, recently outlawed by UMWA District President Martin F. Brennan. Brennan is reported to have disqualified Donahue from running against him in coming elections. This has poured fuel on the constant smoldering feuds within the miners union.

From Illinois comes reports that Local No. 1, Progressive Miners, Gillespie, voted 787 to 238 against moving the state headquarters of the union to Springfield. Gillespie, where PMWA offices are now located, has long been a thorn in the side of the reactionary ambitions of Claude Pearcy, Joe

A WORKER'S REVIEW OF THE NEWS

Ozanic and William Keck, perennial office holders or candidates.

Elected

In the University of Michigan Student Senate elections, candidate Jack Sessions, Socialist, expounded a vigorous Marxist program as the basis for his candidacy.

Said Sessions:

"I believe students should express through the Senate their refusal to support the government in the event of war; military appropriations should be used for a housing program, aid for youth, genuine social security, decent medical care, social planning of our national resources. I believe in an independent party of labor. In our immediate campus situation I support low cost dormitories, racial equality in restaurants, dormitories, and in education, opposing discrimination and segregation in education, etc."

On the campus ballot Sessions was listed as a Socialist candidate. No one was more surprised than Sessions to learn that out of a field of 60 candidates with 16 Senators to be named he was elected by a safe margin.

Charlatan

A man about 5 foot seven, light brown hair, Stalin-moulicked front teeth, slightly stooped toward one side, and claiming to be anywhere from 27 to 33 years old, is on tour in America making suckers out of good-hearted Socialists and radicals.

In Denver he victimized a worker with a rubber check and in San Francisco pilfered money from purses and pockets of several Socialists in spite of the fact that he was under suspicion there and carefully watched. He left San Francisco hurriedly when he realized that his stories had been checked by local Socialists.

In the East and Midwest, he claimed to be a friend of Lillian Symes—who had never heard of him—and in the West claimed friendship with Aron Gilmartin, Sam Baron and Albert Goldman.

He has apparently used the names of Hirsch, Griswold, David Gordon and David and Moses Abarbanell, the last in California.

It is the belief of comrades that he is a mental case needing the services of a psychiatrist rather than police attention. Readers of the CALL are forewarned of this man's mysterious and dangerous conduct.

Red Hunt

The Dies Committee is hitting a new low. It is being used now more openly than even in its earliest stages to slander labor organizations and to prepare the road for reaction. The committee has moved its attentions to Detroit and Michigan; it is digging deep into the great 1937 strike wave in Michigan for its material.

The purpose of the Dies' concentration on Michigan is twofold. Dies hopes to be able to discredit Governor Frank Murphy and help elect the Republican candidate, Fitzgerald. If this were all, the danger of the committee would not be alarming. But in addition to this, the committee is attempting to smear every labor and progressive movement as "Communist" and "alien." Not because the committee fears the Communists or Communism but because the reactionaries are preparing to make Michigan the battle ground

for a vigorous drive against labor militancy.

Stool pigeons, labor spies, crackpots, disgruntled union members who did not get the jobs and such miscellaneous assortments are furnishing the committee with its material. Most every person active in the labor movement in a leading capacity in Michigan has been called a "Communist" in the hearings. One of the most amusing and yet outrageous phases of Dies hearings is the large number of active Socialists who have been "exposed" as Communists.

The usual yarn about the Reuther boys has been told. No effort has been made by the committee to determine the truth; it would be simple enough to find out that the Reuther boys are members of the Socialist Party and that one of them is on the National Executive Committee of the party.

Emil Mazey, president of the UAW Briggs local, has been in for a large share of the accusations. He has been named as a Communist. A reactionary unionist whom Mazer replaced in the union election for the local presidency explained, however, that Mazey was a "revolutionary Socialist," even "more dangerous" than the Communists.

The capitalist press does not tire of repeating all these stories and countless others over and over. The harm that the committee is doing in slandering the labor movement cannot be discounted; in the face of the Dies Committee and the other reactionary plans of the employers labor needs greater unity and greater militancy than ever before. Workers in Michigan are seeing this more and more clearly. When the drive against labor is moved from the Dies Committee hearings in Washington to the shops in Michigan, labor must be prepared.

Thomas

The Independent Committee for Norman Thomas for Governor of New York made public October 18 a list of prominent citizens, writers, clergymen, artists and educators who have endorsed the Socialist candidate.

Among those listed are: Cyrus L. Baldrige, artist; Louis Bromberg, artist; Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, journalist; V. F. Calverton, author; David M. Cory, clergyman; John Dewey, educator and philosopher; Sherwood Eddy, author; Lewis Gannett, literary critic.

Louis M. Hacker, historian; John Haynes Holmes, clergyman; Sidney Hook, philosopher and author; Edwin C. Johnson, of the Committee Against Militarism; John Paul Jones, clergyman; Margaret Marshall, editorial staff of the New Republic; Ernest L. Meyer, columnist; Darwin J. Meserole, economist.

Carl Raushenbusch, economist; James Rorty, author; Arthur Suffern, of Federal Council of Churches; Anna Strunsky Walling, writer; Rev. and Mrs. Eliot White, of the New History Society.

Labor Education

Thirty trade unions in Western Pennsylvania, including a sizeable delegation from the Allegheny Valley, participated in a conference for labor education on Saturday, October 15. Called by the Workers' School in Western Pennsylvania, which organization has been conducting labor education programs in this section for

the past three years, sixty delegates and as many observers sat around the conference table to plan a concerted educational project for this part of the country.

The call was signed by Dr. Bernard C. Clausen, Chairman of the Workers' Schools, John J. Kane, Allegheny County Commissioner and head of the printing Pressmen's Union, Clinton S. Golden, SWOC regional director, and Patrick T. Fagan, district No. 5 president United Mine Workers of America. Headquarters of the International Ladies Garment Workers in Pittsburgh, which headquarters is also shared by the schools, provided a particularly appropriate meeting place. The ILG girls and members of SWOC auxiliaries prepared an excellent dinner which followed the afternoon deliberations.

The Federated Labor School in Western Pennsylvania (FLS) is the organization the delegates created and which will hereafter serve as a center for educational and recreational activities. The supreme governing body of the organization will be a council in which each affiliated union will be represented by two delegates. The Workers' Schools, which will merge most of their activities into the federation; will nevertheless retain their identity in order to accommodate as members interested individuals who by reason of their calling or profession are not directly a part of the labor movement. These individuals, in turn, will be represented on the council by a number of delegates in no case greater than two for every three delegates from trade unions.

Elected was an executive board of 25 of which Dr. Bernard C. Clausen is chairman. Clinton S. Golden, John J. Kane, and Patrick T. Fagan vice chairman. Rose M. Stein is executive secretary, Sarah Limbach, financial secretary, and Mrs. L. J. Reizenstein treasurer. The board includes 17 representatives from labor and 8 from non-labor.

The Federated Labor Schools will maintain headquarters both for their administrative work

and central study courses in the ILG House, 122 Ninth street, Pittsburgh.

Co-ops

Several hundred delegates from 38 states met at the eleventh biennial Cooperative Congress at Kansas City, October 12, 13 and 14, to take stock of the present status of the cooperative movement in this country, and to chart the course of cooperatives for the next two years. The Congress was a convention of the societies comprising the Cooperative League of the U. S. A.

Cooperatives are in healthy financial condition and are growing, it was shown by the report of Dr. James P. Warbasse, president of the league. He reported that the league now has 1770 local cooperatives affiliated; that the membership is 965,000, as compared with 704,000 two years ago, and that the league cooperatives are doing an annual retail business of more than \$100,000,000. Yet the league, it should be noted, represents less than half the two million members of cooperative societies in this country.

Significant was the report that in the nine depression years not one cooperative wholesale had failed.

Among the speakers at the sessions were James P. Warbasse, E. R. Bowen, E. L. James, Jacob Baker; observers were present from various government departments.

Resolutions were passed favoring proper labor standards, collective bargaining for workers, promotion of cooperatives within trade unions, cooperative banking system.

Biggest shock of the Congress occurred when Florence Parker of the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that a survey in 1936 showed that private establishments are paying higher wages than cooperatives. In retail, the weekly wages in private stores was \$20.17, as compared to \$19.40 for cooperatives.

The cooperative movement is today essentially a farm movement in this country, and more far-seeing cooperators are becoming increasingly concerned about expanding the movement into the great urban centers through trade union contacts.

RETURN FROM SPAIN



Samuel Romer, former editor-in-chief of the SOCIALIST CALL, who was captured by Spanish insurgents while fighting for the Loyalists, and his wife, Edna, who served as a nurse while her husband was at the front, are back in the United States.

Romer was a prisoner in the fascist concentration camp at Burgos since March of this year. Together with thirteen other American volunteers, he was released two weeks ago in an exchange of prisoners negotiated by American Ambassador Claude Bowers.

The Socialist journalist was initiated into the Spanish civil war even before his ship reached Spanish soil. The ship on which he sailed, Ciudad de Barcelona, was torpedoed in the Mediterranean but he was rescued after swimming for half an hour.

Comrade Romer, interviewed by the editor of the SOCIALIST CALL in New York, promised to write a series of articles on his Spanish experience. His stories will make their appearance in this newspaper at an early date.

To the Socialists of America

Comrades:

Your National Executive Committee has been listening to reports of the present campaign, future plans and urgent needs of your Party.

Irrespective of the election results, it is clear that only the Socialist Party is urgently reminding the American people that America can be kept out of war by keeping the government out of imperialism, militarism and all the paths which logically lead to war; that world wide peace can only be secured in a federation of cooperative commonwealths; that no alliances of capitalist nations but only the collective action of the workers of the world can achieve this glorious end.

Only the Socialist Party is fighting for a genuine nation-wide labor or farmer-labor party free from entangling alliances and deals with the old capitalist parties; only the Socialist Party is insistent that the great issue upon which plenty, peace and freedom depends is Socialism against capitalism. Deliverance from reaction or fascism will only be found in positive struggle for a system which does not contain within itself the seeds of war and fascism. Ask yourself, who if not an effective Socialist Party, will carry on for the ideals of Gene Debs, the ideals which have meant so much to you and to which you have given your devotion?

For World Socialism

Socialism is the hope of the world. What sacrifice is too great to serve it?

The NEC has prepared plans by which we may far more efficiently meet our great opportunities. It has authorized negotiations looking toward peace in Socialist ranks and the reunion of all Socialists in America, on the basis of aggressive struggle for Socialism and the principles laid down by our conventions. Again it has pledged all Socialists, to work for an end of suicidal strife in the American Labor movement and the achievement of peace between the C. I. O. and A. F. of L.

These and other goals cannot be achieved merely by the perfection of formulas or the zeal of our small staff of party officers. The Socialist Party is weak except as you make it strong!

Immediate Tasks

There we urgently summon each of you to definite tasks upon which the usefulness if not the very life of the party depend:

(1) Strengthen the national office! Build the circulation of the CALL! Our effectiveness in large part requires the development of a staff of responsible, full-time organizers and workers. Within the next six months we must add a staff of at least three trained workers, connected with the national office and made available in cooperation with states for organized work in the field.

(2) No official can do it all! Our goal is every Socialist at work for Socialism. That means more than loyalty to the mutual work of the party. It means every Socialist must be active in organizations with which he has natural connections and at tasks for which he has aptitude. It is the business of locals to cooperate with the national office in directing the work and in setting up within unions and other organizations, in which they may be appropriate, Socialist leagues, not to play power politics, but to uphold and advance Socialist ideals.

Socialist, long in the vanguard in the struggle for civil liberties, are reminded of the urgent importance of joining and supporting the Workers' Defense League.

(3) Socialism is international in outlook! Every Socialist should help support our Committee for International Labor Solidarity to which the NEC has committed the task of aid for Socialist refugees, help to underground Socialist movements and cooperation with the principles of our comrades in all lands.

Watch the CALL for news on International Solidarity!

(4) The NEC has instructed the national office, under direction of the National Executive Committee, to study the result of the elections with reference to the development of independent working class political action; to prepare and report not only its findings, but recommendations concerning Socialist Parties as we look toward 1940; and in particular to submit to the party and the labor movements plans for defeating the dangerous tendency in our States to impose upon new or minority parties impossible conditions for getting or staying on the ballot. This is a denial of democracy and a menace to any Socialist or Labor Party movement.

ALL THIS WORK REQUIRES FAR BETTER SUPPORT THAN WE HAVE BEEN GIVING THE PARTY!

Build the Party, Press

There can be no effective national party which starves its national office; no self-respecting party which is irresponsible in meeting its financial obligations. The minimum budget for the national office to attempt the essential work in hand must be raised. That, and more can be raised if we build up the party membership, pay dues promptly, settle bills for literature at once, enlarge the

Wisconsin Candidate



ANDREW J. BIEMILLER
Farmer-Labor Progressive candidate for the state assembly of Wisconsin.

Kautsky, Foremost Socialist Thinker, Dies At Age of 84

Acknowledged theoretic leader of social democracy throughout the world, Karl Johann Kautsky, author and economist, is dead. A contemporary and disciple of Marx and Engels, his influence on the development of Marxian thought has been great. In two historic conflicts—with Bernstein, in defense of Marx; with Luxemburg and Leibknecht, against the "direct action" theory of revolutionary Socialism and again with Lenin, defending the social democratic approach to workers' power. With his death, the last of the Socialist thinkers who lived and worked with Marx is gone.

Kautsky died in Amsterdam, at the age of 84, an exile from Vienna since Hitler's conquest last spring, and a naturalized citizen of Czechoslovakia.

RAPPED COMMUNISTS
Affected personally by the ad-

vent of Hitler and the spread of fascist power, he was more deeply hurt politically by the victory of fascism over powerful social democratic movements in Hungary and Bavaria immediately following the war, in Italy and Germany later, and within the past year, in Austria and, in part, Czechoslovakia. The victory was attributed by Kautsky to the splitting tactics of the Communists and the Third International.

Always a leader in the Second International, Kautsky was in the ranks of the few who stood out against the World War, isolated from the majority of his party and removed from posts of responsibility because of his opposition. Even in this opposition, however, Kautsky continued to differ from Luxemburg, Leibknecht and the German Spartacists over tactics to be followed, and with Bernstein founded the Independent Socialist Party. Thus it was easier for him to work for and to be instrumental in achieving the unity of the party again in 1922.

BOYHOOD

As a boy, Kautsky was influenced by the movements for national liberation and upsurges toward Socialism which characterized the century. Kossuth and Garibaldi, the Paris Commune, began to mold his opinions, and his education was concentrated on history, economics and the natural sciences.

Kautsky worked closely with and collaborated with Engels in research and publications, and their correspondence has been published recently. The greatest of Kautsky's works have been critiques of Marx, or have appeared as the result of his varied ideological conflicts.

The attack on Bernstein's revisionism produced "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History," "The Social Revolution" and "The Road to Power" were studies of Russia, while "The Political Mass Strike" was a refutation of Luxemburg.

OTHER WORKS

Kautsky's opposition to Leninist thought is exemplified in a number of works: "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," "Terrorism and Communism," "From Democracy to State Slavery," "The Proletarian Revolution and Its Program," "Bolshevism in a Dead-lock," and various publications on war and socialism. "Historical Materialism" is his final summary of and contribution to Marxian thought, including developments since the death of Marx.

Kautsky lived to see the bolshevism he considered a reactionary force triumphant in Eastern Europe, while the socialist movements of the great western European countries remained social democratic in ideology, and his influence in the Second International was unquestioned. But he also saw German fascism evolve as the greatest force in Europe, the strongest Socialist movements go down before it, and the revaluation of all his work begun.

lished, the Socialist Party will continue its uncompromising stand against capitalism and capitalist party candidates.

The Socialist Party will continue its campaign against all exploitation of labor and will vigorously work for a new social order based upon production for use and not for profit.

Vote for independent political action!

Vote for a Workers' World!

Vote Socialist!

All war funds to the unemployed!

list of contributors to our sustaining fund.

The CALL is as indispensable to the life of the party as the national office itself. It is published at minimum cost. It has not been supported as it ought. The NEC instructs every local to fulfill the convention directions; every employed member a subscriber; every local branch or unit of the party is instructed at once to appoint CALL agent and become an active agency for selling the CALL!

The NEC reminds locals that recent failures of the CALL to appear regularly would have been prevented if locals had paid for CALLS that in past time they have ordered. It directs all locals to arrange some sort of affair for the CALL between November 15th and 30th to help raise funds to save and improve the CALL. It is and must be sold below cost. No paper of the sort can run without subsidy. A substantial subsidy must be raised within the next six months. Join the CALL Association and raise this fund!

These tasks are not beyond our strength. Let this be our slogan for the next six months:

- Put every member to work.
- Add at least 5,000 new members to our ranks.
- Raise the minimum necessary budget for the national office and the CALL.

This is the last proof we can give of our loyalty to the cause in which is all our hope of plenty, peace and freedom!

Fraternally Yours,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Socialist Party of the United States

WHY WORKERS, FARMERS SHOULD BUILD THEIR OWN POLITICAL PARTY

(Continued from Page 8)
tional movement for the building of a genuine farmer-labor or labor party to represent it on the political field.

Many will agree that we must build our own labor party, but some say, "We can't start now, because if we do, the reactionaries will win out in the election." They also say we can at least elect "friends" of labor. That might be a real argument if we didn't know what these "friends" of labor did when a show down came.

THE RECORD

Let's look at the record:
1. Ohio workers were told that "New Deal" Democrat Gov. Davey was a true friend of labor. Organized labor in Ohio today knows better since Davey's state troopers shot down strikers in the Little Steel strike.

2. Pennsylvania workers were told that "New Deal" Democrat Gov. Earle was a true friend of labor. During the 1938 primaries, Pennsylvania workers heard Earle attack and condemn John L. Lewis and the entire C. I. O.

FALSE "FRIENDS"
No, workers cannot depend on "friends" of labor who are in either of the old parties, because it is the party that decides the policies, not the individual who personally may be or wants to be friendly to labor.
The Republican Party has its

Readings, its Vandenburgs.

We must remember that the Democratic Party of the Daveys, the Earles and the Murphys is the same Democratic Party that has as its national vice chairman the notorious anti-labor, Boss (I-am-the-Law) Hague of New Jersey. It is the same Democratic Party that on January 1, 1932, owed John J. Raskob, its then multi-millionaire national chairman, three-quarters of a million dollars.

EXPERIENCE TEACHES

Detroit workers learned from first-hand experience during the strikes and during the Vote Labor campaign that labor could depend only upon its own strength. Even though the Detroit election was non-partisan, Detroit labor knows that both the Democratic and Republican party machines combined forces to defeat labor at the polls.

The Socialist Party of the United States and of Michigan will continue to support and cooperate with labor in its day to day struggles on the economic front. Within labor's ranks, Socialists will urge labor to act independently on the political front.

FOR WORKERS SOCIETY

The Socialist Party shall work for and support a genuine farmer-labor party based upon trade union and farm groups, but until such a party is estab-

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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Labor Unity Big Issue at Coming CIO Convention

(Continued from Page 1)
public opinion was so strong in its approval of the idea of internal labor peace that very few newspapers cared to take less than a favorable position.

GREEN'S ANTICS

Most important, of course, was the fact that the A. F. of L. convention which struck a screaming keynote of hatred and C. I. O. baiting led by President Green and vigorously seconded by the philosophically reactionary group of spokesmen of the entrenched building and allied crafts, Woll and Frey, saw their hymn of hate stick in their throats when Dan Tobin of the teamsters threw down his demand for a new approach to labor unity by initiative of the A. F. of L.

The Old Guard had a chance to draw their forces together be-

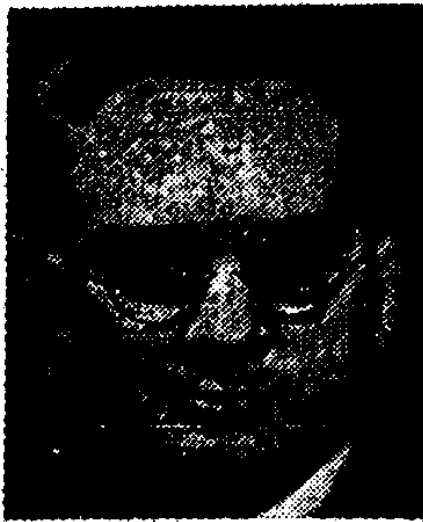
fore the convention closed and head off Tobin temporarily, but the executive council anti-unity front was broken and the teamsters represent the largest single chunk of that front and the most rapidly growing of all.

It was through this break in the line that the bulk of the convention broke at the last minute to turn down the reactionary drive of an alliance of corrupt reactionary Republican labor politicians with the old capitalist spokesmen Frey and Woll, intent on turning the clock of Federation policy on social and reform legislation back to that of fifteen years ago.

NLRB ATTACKED

This belated revolt was too late to stop the most dangerous possible attack on the Wagner Labor Relations Act by the A. F.

For Governor of Connecticut



DEVERE ALLEN

of L., an attack planned by General Counsel Padway, who, if he is not on the National Manufacturers Association payroll secretly, is certainly the victim of gross ingratitude from that quarter.

The attack on the National Labor Relations Act if successful will open the way for a reactionary drive on organized labor which will come close to meaning its destruction. If any greater proof were needed that the continuance of the division between C. I. O. and A. F. of L. means political disaster for the entire labor movement the attack of the A. F. of L. on the labor act supplies that proof. The time has passed when the split even has progressive results on the economic field.

FAKE UNIONS GAIN

The internal war in labor has given the reactionaries real hope of pushing through their referendums No. 1 in California, No. 317 in Oregon and No. 130 in Washington which will cripple and maim labor organizations up and down the Pacific coast. Company unionism is on the way up again as a result of this same division. And the very unions in the metal trades whose leaders have been bitter in the anti-unity group of the A. F. of L. have just lost a Mediation Board election among the shop employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad to the one big company union, the Brotherhood of R. R. Shop Craftsmen.

The vote was an absolute majority against the A. F. of L. Railway Employees Department (reformed craft unionism), 10,000 as against 17,000, with only 32,000 eligible to vote. The Railways will now push even more savagely for the wage cut to make the workers pay the cost of railroading's disorganization and decline.

MUST PUSH UNITY

An aggressive move toward labor unity must come out of the C. I. O. convention if that convention is to be recorded as historically progressive. No formula of words or phrases however clever will conceal the failure of the convention if such a move is not forthcoming with a willingness to make as well as take concessions as the price of peace.

Any leaders or groups of leaders who stand in the way of unity can easily be spared by the rank and file of the American labor movement. In the A. F. of L. the live and growing unions furnish the supporters of unity, the stagnant and declining ones all the opponents.

MUCH AT STAKE

Of thirty international unions of the A. F. of L. which have grown since 1930, eight are on the unity list including the teamsters. Of twenty-four internationals, including the bulk of the building trades which have declined since 1930, not one save possibly the printing pressmen have spoken out for unity.

The problems of unity will be many. They will not involve the clothing trades, the textile workers, the auto workers, oil, aluminum and rubber or steel. Tough nuts will be the Shipbuilders' Industrial Union as against the boilermakers and other metal crafts, the electrical and radio versus the Electrical Brotherhood, etc., but these particular problems can and must be met and solved, if labor and any social progress is to prosper in the United States.

VOTE SOCIALIST!

On the eve of the 1938 congressional and state elections, the workers and farmers of America may well reflect on the economic and political state of their country and weigh the balance sheet in the light of things to come.

Here are some of the current headaches which confront the nation:

About 500,000 WPA workers are to lose their jobs soon after the elections.

Relief allocations are to be curtailed.

Farm prices have collapsed.

Railroad yards, elevators, and warehouses are glutted with farm products. Cotton, down to 8c, wheat 64c, and corn 46c. Enough cotton is now on hand (25,000,000 bales) to supply the nation for two years.

Railroad magnates are pushing their demand for a 15% wage cut.

Plans for wholesale rearmament are being mapped out.

Militarization of the CCC is just around the corner.

American imperialists are goading reactionary forces to counter-revolution in Mexico.

These are the hard, cruel facts dispassionately stated. These are manifestations which spring from our capitalist-imperialist system. No one man or set of men is responsible for these conditions. No one man or set of men can alter, improve, or abolish this state of affairs as long as the power of money and private and corporate interests remains undisturbed.

The Democratic Party, waging a defensive struggle in the current political campaign, has nothing but its inconsistent past to offer the electorate. The Republican Party, without a program and notorious for its reactionary allegiance, offers even less. In both parties are found the elements which breed fascism.

Neither of these parties can solve the basic issues confronting the American people. Neither of them would solve them if they could; basically their mission is to safeguard and perpetuate the capitalist system of profits, rents, and interest. Human considerations, to them, are miscellaneous, or certainly secondary factors.

The drift towards greater concentration of power and control into the hands of the federal government is evident; in the wake of this trend lie ominous dangers vividly apparent in the sinister rise of totalitarian states in the world. What dictatorship and regimentation mean for the common people requires here only a passing glimpse at the misfortunes which have befallen the common people of foreign lands.

Although politically the United States is ruled by a representative government—capitalistic in its functions—economic tyranny and insecurity stalk the cities and countryside. Even political democracy is denied to workers in New Jersey, Florida, Nevada, Ohio, Chicago, and in an ever increasing number of municipalities.

We are a community of people which constitute a mere fraction of the world's population, yet within the forty-eight united states are produced 13% of the world's wheat, 41% of its steel, 37% of its coal, 42% of its cotton, 59% of its oil—more than 40% of the whole world's wealth.

And still we have more than one-third of the nation ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clad.

Various state organizations of the Socialist Party have entered candidates for congressional, senatorial, state, and local offices, or are supporting Farmer-Labor Parties. Millions of pieces of literature have been distributed, hundreds of speeches have been made explaining in greater detail how Socialism proposes to make America a land of peace and plenty.

Congratulations are in order to our various state sub-divisions for the intelligent and singularly honest campaign that is being waged. Campaign pronouncements contain no hum-bug, no catch phrases, no promise of thirty or fifty dollars a week for not working. There is no treatment of the masses as if they were psychopaths by cynically disregarding the real issues which hold at stake their welfare, happiness, yes, their very lives.

A vote for the Socialist Party in this election means a frank and honest facing of realities. A vote for Socialism means the beginning of a great mass Farmer-Labor Party that would blaze the trail for a better society. A vote for a Socialist society means a break with the traditional capitalist parties and a turn towards social and economic reconstruction.

On immediately pressing problems, it is a vote to:

- Stop the WPA lay-offs;
- Increase WPA and relief wages and allotments;
- Protect the farmers from profiteers and speculators;
- Stop wage cuts in the railroad and other industries;
- Unite the AFL and CIO.

A VOTE FOR SOCIALISM IS A VOTE AGAINST WAR.

It is a vote to:

1. Remove the economic roots of modern war—the struggle for foreign markets, raw materials, investment areas.
2. To lessen economic friction through international trade and credit agreements, but to avoid any alliances to "maintain peace and democracy" through capitalist armies and navies.
3. Free American colonies and abandon imperialism in Latin America.
4. Lift the embargo against Spain and to permit the American workers—not their government—to render aid to the Spanish Loyalists and to the underground movements abroad in their struggle against fascism.
5. Aid for the Mexican masses against American and British imperialism.
6. Permit American citizens to decide whether or not we shall engage in war.
7. Withdraw American ships and marines from China.

A VOTE FOR SOCIALISM IS A VOTE AGAINST DICTATORSHIP.

It is a vote to:
For industrial, as well as political democracy;
Full equality for Negroes and other oppressed nationalities;
Against exclusion or deportation of aliens for political and economic belief and activities not illegal for an American citizen;
Full protection for labor in its struggle for organization.

A VOTE FOR SOCIALISM IS A VOTE:

- Complete revision of present unemployment insurance system, to increase and prolong benefits, cut out red tape.
 - Long range public housing system.
 - Abolition of all sales taxes. Cost of social security—including health insurance—to be met by increases in upper brackets of income, inheritance and government security taxes.
 - Against: Use of police or militia in labor disputes, interference with picketing; collective bargaining, civil liberties.
- VOTE YOUR HOPES AND DESIRES, NOT YOUR FEARS!
VOTE SOCIALIST!

LITTLE ESSAYS IN SOCIALISM

By JOHN M. WORK

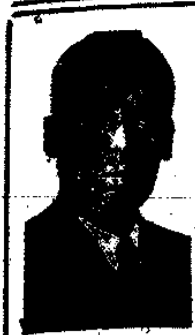
Away back when Maude Adams played Peter Pan there was a juncture in the play where the life of a fairy could not be saved unless the folks believed in fairies; so the folks in the audience were imploringly asked, "Do you believe in fairies?" The answer was a storm of yesses, and they happily cried and laughed together because the fairy's life had been saved. It was all good fun and good drama, a dramatic moment long remembered by those who took part in it.

I have no objection to anyone believing in real fairies—if you know what I mean—but I object to the current practice of believing fairy tales just because they are told by someone who has acquired a spurious popularity.

At the moment I am thinking of the fairy tale of the newdealers to the effect that they can bring about an equitable distribution of income without making any essential changes in the system of capitalism. Mixing oil and water is easy by comparison. It can't be done. They have tried it and failed.

By establishing production for use, even on an incomplete scale, it would be possible to abolish unemployment and bring about a somewhat fairer distribution of income without wholly abolishing capitalism. It would be done by the insertion of a socialistic element into the midst of the system.

The entire abolition of poverty, however, awaits the abolition of capitalism. The cause of poverty is the private ownership of the great industries. The cure is collective industry, democratically controlled and operated for the benefit of all. In such a setup, everyone will have a high standard of living and there will indeed be a fair distribution of income. Don't let anyone fool you with fairy tales.



AT THE FRONT

with Norman Thomas

Woodring Weds Hague

The Roosevelt administration reached a new low level when it sent Secretary of War Woodring into Jersey City to tell the multitudes how "thrilled" Roosevelt would be by Fuchrer Hague's beer and red light party in honor of his boy, Ely, who will vote the way Roosevelt tells him in Washington (he says) and bring home the bacon to Hague.

Thus are liberals and Hague's dupes and henchmen joined in unholy political matrimony. And the Republicans don't kick effectively, (1) because Hague is a minority stock holder in their party (the Public Service Corporation is the majority stock holder), and (2) because a lot of Republicans rejoice that Hague knows how to treat "reds" and workers! In sheer self respect, decent Jerseyites should vote Socialist.

Just before the Jersey City show, the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals made Hudson County safe for Hague's election frauds by sustaining (without opinion) a decision of vice Chancellor Kaye that the legislative inquiry into fraud was unconstitutional. Even to ask men whether they were election inspectors, as a preliminary inquiry in the probe trampled upon the judicial province! Since Hague owns Hudson County judges, that's that.

Free Speech Throttled

Just after the Jersey City show, the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled in rejecting my application for mandamus to compel Director of Public Safety, Daniel Casey, to let me speak in Jersey City, that to speak in the open was a privilege within the discretion of public officials to grant or deny, and that if they said it would inconvenience the public or cause public disorder they ought to know!

Which means no free speech or assemblage except at the whim of ignorant, corrupt, and prejudiced officials who may create or imagine a mob which objects to a certain speaker. This sort of Hitlerism now has the political endorsement of Roosevelt as a result of the Ely deal.

Of course, we are appealing the case. Mr. Vanderbilt will take this case or join in taking some similar case to the Supreme Court of the U. S. First he must go to the Court of Errors and Appeals in New Jersey, which has already refused to hear the appeal before election. Don't forget that most of these judges owe their jobs to Hague. The Chief Justice was his personal attorney; another on the bench in my case was a former campaign manager! Such is Jersey justice. Help the Workers Defense League carry on the fight!

Russia and Refugees

Elsewhere in this issue appears a summary of my letter to President Roosevelt, asking help for refugees.

There is a good deal of talk that now the refugees, especially the Jews, must look to Soviet Russia. Well, maybe. But remember three things: (1) many of the Austrian refugees preferred to go back home again from Russia after 1934; (2) the USSR has not opened its doors to give asylum to the Jews, (3) while Stalin doubtless would have lived up to his treaty if France and Britain had fought for the Czechs, he started no crusade and did nothing even when Poland, neighbor to Russia as Germany is not, began to threaten Prague. Either he is afraid to risk his army outside Russia or he is wholly ab-

sorbed in his Asiatic plans.

The Munich Pact

I find people saying and writing things about the European crisis which give a misleading picture.

Certainly it is true that the Munich Pact was the logical kind of deal for capitalist powers. Certainly Chamberlain was ready to sacrifice Czechoslovakia to his own policy. But I don't think Chamberlain was just play acting or that at the last moment Hitler could have been bluffed.

He's too nearly a paranoiac. And he probably knew what now seems well established: namely, British and French weakness in the air. It was and is honest to say, "Stop Hitler, even if it means war." It wasn't and isn't honest to say, "Stop Hitler, stop war."

Churchill

I don't think that Churchill suddenly becomes a democratic hero and man to trust because his interpretation of his own class interest and British imperial interest differed from Chamberlain's. He also is a potential fascist whose interest is basically the same as Chamberlain's.

Finally, I don't think war, from a Socialist viewpoint, would have been preferable to the present ugly situation. At least we have time to develop these forces in the realm of ideas and action, these forces of the workers, which we must trust to defeat fascism as we cannot trust alliances of capitalist nations.

Our Socialist task is to develop international co-operation with workers, using our own committee on International Labor Solidarity, and to keep America out of an unnecessary, hysterical and enormously costly armament race. Frank Kent openly says it will help business! Barney Baruch wants a sales tax—we pay for it! Our motto is still "houses, not bombs." We are in no danger whatever of invasion. An arms race simply will goad us toward war.

Slovaks Go Nazi

The need of something better than "liberal" nationalism and bourgeois democracy to fight fascism seems to be illustrated by the latest developments in Czechoslovakia. According to reports, Hitler has found a ready response in the Slovak country, and it is separating itself under Nazi inspiration from the Czechs except for formal ties in foreign affairs and finance.

Making all allowance for the reaction against "democracy" due to the Munich Pact and the power of Nazi intrigue, this willing defection of Slovaks is evidence that the state created at Versailles was a bit synthetic; that there was no principle in a more or less liberal Czech nationalism to fuse two peoples nearly allied in blood and language. The hope of mankind is a fusion of workers under new loyalties transcending race and nation.

"Ham and Eggs"

"Ham and Eggs" or the thirty dollars every Thursday plan in California for those over 50 years of age will cost the workers a total of \$1,560,000,000 or \$625 annually for each employed person. It will not bring a corresponding increase in production. It will bring inflation or refusal of merchants to accept the warrants (or stamped money) so that they will be almost worthless.

Possibly in some great emergencies, on a nation wide scale under vigorous controls, stamped money would work. I was inclined to think so along in January, 1933 (even then I had

some doubts). It cannot work on this scale in one state and under present conditions. The problems of failing capitalism must be solved by planner production for use, resting on social ownership of the principle means of production and distribution, not some magic with money.

Dies' Michigan Probe

The attempt of the Dies Committee to discredit Governor Murphy's handling of the great strike which brought power of collective bargaining to the automobile workers is an attempt to promote reaction and glorify the violence Murphy helped to avoid. And the Dies Committee is controlled by the Democratic Party with which the Communists (whose endorsement of Murphy may prove a "kiss of death") still talk a kind people's front!

The greatest hope of democracy in America this year will be a Socialist growth! Measured in large part by the Socialist vote in Michigan as in every other state where the Party is on the ticket.

New York Jobless Get S. P. Support

Baltimore, Md.—The quarterly meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in this city formally endorsed the Unemployed and Project Workers Union of New York City as an organization of unemployed and WPA workers worthy of support and participation in by Socialists.

Other local organizations in the unemployment field having Socialist endorsement include the Pennsylvania Security League and the Peoples Unemployed League of Baltimore and Maryland. The Workers Alliance of America has a standing general endorsement.

The New York Unemployed and Project Workers Union was set up recently by former locals of the Workers Alliance in New York City which were forced out of the Alliance by the denial of internal democracy in the Alliance by the Communist Party elements which dominate and control it in New York City, coupled with the tragic policy of abandonment of militancy and mass pressure policies on administrative officials. The new organization has about a third of the strength of the Alliance as it remains in New York.

Socialists Support Post, O'Leary

The Socialist Party of New York filed at Albany certificates placing on its ticket Langdon W. Post as candidate for Controller and James V. O'Leary as candidate for Attorney-General. Both are independent candidates nominated by the American Labor Party.

Similar action was taken in New York City to effect a joint Labor-Socialist Party ticket of candidates for Supreme Court judges when the names of Magistrate Charles Solomon, former Socialist candidate for Governor, Magistrate Antype M. Koss and Samuel Koss were filed in the city.

"The Socialist Party will do all in its power, as it carries on its campaign for a straight Socialist vote that will exceed all past records, to swell the vote of these candidates and make certain their election. Labor needs its own legislators, its own administrative officers, its own judges, and must select men and women who owe no homage to either of the parties of decadent capitalism.

News from Washington

BY OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

The Railroad Crisis

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The strike of railway workers, which was averted by the submission of the proposed 1% wage cut to the president's emergency fact finding board, may yet be a reality, if the railroads cling to their announced determination to accept no solution other than the cut asked for.

John A. Pelley, president of the Association of American Railroads, made this clear when, testifying before the fact finding board, he stated, "There is no plan that can be put into effect that will meet this emergency. . . . There is nothing that can be done for the railroad industry that would obviate the necessity of prosecuting this wage reduction to the last."

STRIKE VOTE

The railroad workers on the other hand, under the leadership of George M. Harrison, president of the Railway Labor Executives Associations and Arthur F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, are determined not to allow themselves to be the victims of the mismanagement and financial hocus pocus which have featured the development of the railroads. They are not inclined to take pay cuts so that the coupon clippers can continue to collect their interest with undiminished regularity.

By a 96 to 98 percent vote, they had backed a strike call scheduled for September 30. The strike has been postponed to give the emergency board a chance to function, but the brotherhoods seem fully prepared to go through with it rather than accept the drastic decrease proposed by the companies.

RAILROAD INCOME

When the railroads first announced the wage reduction this spring, their argument that they were in dire financial straits had considerably more truth in it than it has at present. For instance, in February of this year the carriers showed an operating loss of slightly over two million dollars, as compared with a net operating income of close to 40 million in February 1937. However, by summer, the railroads' income had begun to pick up appreciably.

The roads' earnings are now climbing rapidly, along with the general business upswing. In August 1938 their net operating income was over 45 million dollars, as compared with 50 million in August of last year. Based on increased traffic, the September earnings, when made public, will probably show an increase over last September.

UPSWING

Estimates filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, reflect the expectation of increased business even on the part of the railroads. By December of this year, the B. and O. expects to be earning two and one third times as much as it did in the same month last year. This seems likely to be true for many other roads' also.

Although this upturn has knocked most of the ground from under the carriers' contentions, the unions' arguments are just as sound now as when they were first offered in protest against the cut. The unions have introduced a wealth of data showing that contrary to the popular conception of high wages for railroad workers, in reality wages paid by the railroads are lower than those paid for similar work in other industries.

BONDHOLDERS

The unions have shown, for example, that machinists, electricians, and carpenters, average considerably less per hour in railroad employment than in industries such as steel, shipbuilding and construction. It has also been pointed out that the wage level on railroads has not advanced as rapidly as in

most manufacturing industries. In fact, New Deal "prosperity" appears to have passed the railroad workers by completely.

Apart from the question of how well the railroad happen to be doing at the moment, and how rail wages happen to compare with those in other industries, is the broader question of why the railroad workers should be sacrificed to save the bondholders.

By and large, the railroads could be run quite profitably, if not for the tremendous burden of "fixed charges" in the form of interest on bonds, which are out of all proportion to the real value of the roads. The unions argue that those roads which cannot meet their fixed charges should use the courts to scale them down.

30 DAY NOTICE

The fact finding board, which was set up and is proceeding under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, has until Thursday, October 27, to make its report to the President. Under the terms of the act, the report rendered is not binding on either the unions or the companies, but a thirty day period must elapse after the report before the railroads can cut wages if the workers go on strike.

The emergency board, which consists of Chief Justice Walter P. Stacy of the North Carolina Supreme Court, Professor H. A. Millis, retired chairman of the University of Chicago Economics Department, and Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School, will probably suggest a compromise—perhaps a temporary reduction equivalent to the 5 to 8 percent increase obtained by the unions last fall, with possibly the proviso that workers earning less than a stated minimum are to be exempt from the cut. Some workers, especially in the maintenance of way departments, are now earning as low as 35 cents an hour, and couldn't possibly stand any reduction whatever.

If the workers are finally forced to take a reduction, their demand that the government take over the railroads, which has been dormant during the past few years, will be revived.

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY

If the carriers are seriously dissatisfied with the outcome, but accept it nevertheless, they may press for additional aid from the government. The government, it will be recalled, not only lent the railroads 700 million dollars since 1932, but also gave them originally vast amounts of land on which to build the roads. (The Illinois Central, for instance, obtained more money from the sale of lands granted to build the railroad. See "Railroads vs. Public Interest," L. F. D. pamphlet by Irving and Sam Lipkowitz, on this subject).

If the government grants the railroads additional aid, it can conceivably lead to gradual substitution of Government securities for the carriers' own, which would mean, in effect, Government ownership and quasi-public operation.

Socialist Party Labor Committee to Meet Nov. 5

CHICAGO, Ill.—The National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party is expected to meet in Chicago November 5th or 6th according to Labor Secretary Arthur G. McDowell.

Members of the committee are Maynard C. Krueger, Gerry Alford, Hymen Schneid and John Fisher of Illinois, Paul Porter, Eric Bjurman, Stanley Budney and Eugene Johnson of Wisconsin, Kermit Johnson, Ray Rutherford of Michigan, Douglas Anderson of Missouri, Harold Gibbons, M. Harris of Pennsylvania, Murray Gross of New York and J. R. Butlez.

HOLD THAT LINE

Campaign Warm Up

By McALISTER COLEMAN

I have just been listening to a radio debate on the Republican alternatives to the New Deal. The alternatives are of course to give the country back to the Indians. The Indians, in this instance, being the hostiles who scalped us all so neatly in 1928-9. Of course the Republican spokesman said that he wouldn't think of going back. No siree-bob. Onward and upward is his motto.

Onward to getting labor down, upward to new profit levels. He couldn't think up any answer to the New Dealer's taunts about what happened to Hoover prosperity any more than the New Dealer could think up an answer to the Republican's questions about unemployment. On the whole it was an interesting example of what happens when two vacuums collide in mid-air.

These mouthings of partisan platitudes which now pass as serious discussions of national issues promise to fill the political air from now until election day, interfering with serious matters such as broadcasts of the football games and the remarks of Charley McCarthy. The two old parties spend vast fortunes in getting to the microphones and the public spends a great deal of energy in getting them off.

The other night by virtue of the law governing political broadcasts and the good work of Jack Herling, I had the luck to get on a good station. I made a plain or garden variety of Socialist speech and I'm still a little bewildered by the response. All sorts and varieties of people came to me afterwards to tell me that it was a great speech, that I gave them something to think about and what could they do to help?

Now the point was that it wasn't a "great" speech at all. A half a hundred comrades of my acquaintance could have made that speech at the drop of an announcer's hat. Most Socialists would regard it as elementary. It was holding the line in simple language with no attempt at oratory and there was certainly nothing in it that all of us haven't said over and over again.

I account for the interest in this talk in the fact that a whole generation of Americans has rarely heard a straight forward exposition of Socialist aims. They have heard about us vaguely as sinister folk who lurk around in dark corners plotting to snatch their second-hand cars. These on-coming youngsters have heard an awful lot about Socialism that isn't so, mainly be-

cause what we are all about.

We have not impressed upon them the fact that we do know what we want, that we have a clear-cut philosophy and that the way of administering a Socialist America is well within the capacities of the ordinary man. In short we are neither demons nor archangels, but rather men and women whose claim to the serious regard of the nation lies in the fact that we have spent a little more time than the average on considerations of the pressing day-to-day problems of economics and that we have an approach to these problems that is practical, radical and altogether effective in creating a new social order where there is no room for exploitation.

What I am trying to say here is that the closer we stick to our Socialist knitting, the less we indulge in hair-splitting, theological arguments with others who call themselves radicals, the more we gain in prestige and the respect of the working masses. To dissipate our energies at this crucial time in long-winded debates on matters necessarily obscure so far as the average worker is concerned is to be faithless to our trust.

Socialist campaigners going out this Fall need have no fears about their audiences. They will find an eager interest in any discussion of fundamentals that seems to have sense. Americans are pretty well fed up with the profusion of New Deal promises and the scarcity of New Deal performances. On the other hand they have a healthy distrust of Republican "alternatives." As for the Communists . . . That leaves us plenty of territory. How well we cultivate it depends upon our readiness to drop factionalism for facts and our ability to recognize such an opportunity for Socialist spade-work as has not been ours in years.

For U. S. Senator of California



LILLIAN SYMES
Co-author of "Rebel America" and feature writer for the SOCIALIST CALL who is the Socialist Party's candidate for U. S. Senator of California.

SYMES NAILS C. P. SCRIBE

By LILLIAN SYMES

Weeks ago in the CALL, I called attention to Angelica Balabanoff's book, *My Life As A Rebel*, but stated that I hoped that one of the other CALL columnists would review it, in view of the fact that I was credited in the Foreword with help in its preparation. (Reviewed in adjoining column.—Editor).

Now the *Daily Worker* has made an astounding discovery. Its literary gossip column scoops the country with the revelation that Lillian Symes, a "vocal, vicious and vitriolic supporter of Trotsky" (you never suspected that, did you, Leon?) had a hand in the book! In fact, whispers the Walter Winchell of the D. W., this Trotskyite took "the aging anti-soviet author" in tow and actually wrote the chapters dealing with the Soviet Union! This announcement is followed by an ancient slander for which I received a public apology from some newly hatched commissars in 1919.

I have been wondering for some time just what the Communist Party press would do about the Balabanoff book in view of the fact that it deals in part with early Bolshevik practices for which Trotsky, as well as Lenin, Stalin, Bukharin, Radek, Zinoviev, etc., were responsible.

There must be sentences in the book which the D. W. would dearly love to quote out of their context—sentences dealing with Radek, Zinoviev and Trotsky—and yet they could not do so without calling attention to the writer's damning indictment of the development of these practices under Stalin. Thus the oblique reference to "the aging anti-soviet authors" and hidden hand of a vicious "Trotskyite."

Answering anything that appears in the *Daily Worker* seems superfluous, but obviously its literary editor is not sufficiently literate to know that Dr. Balabanoff has written exactly the same opinions and conclusions in her German, Swedish and Spanish memoirs, published before she ever set foot in the U. S. The "aging author" is 61.

(Yoo-hoo, Mr. Garmen! I am also credited with assistance on a book written by one of your most prominent fellow-travelers. See the lady or consult the foreword of her book).

According to David H. McAlpine Pyle, president of the United Hospital Fund, only 75,000 families out of the 1,725,000 families living in New York City have incomes high enough to pay for essential medical services.

MY LIFE AS A REBEL

A review of Angelica Balabanoff's important book (Harper and Brothers) now in second printing.

My Life As a Rebel is not a factional polemic or a political thesis. It is a record of personal experiences, drawing personal conclusions. But since the writer's entire adult life has been dedicated to the Marxist movement, the story of her life becomes the story of that movement—its struggles, successes, defeats and betrayals.

Her personal experiences throw light on the most disputed aspects of its history and her conclusions are necessarily of political significance. The author was the alternate for Plekhanoff on the Executive of the Second International prior to the World War, the friend of August Bebel, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and of the Russian Bolshevik leaders. She was Secretary of the Zimmerwald movement during the War and after 1918, Commissar of Foreign Affairs in the Ukraine and the first Secretary of the Communist International.

Much of the publicity the book has received in the daily press has had to do, naturally, with the author's association with Mussolini during his pre-fascist period. These chapters though extremely interesting contain little that is new to the well-informed reader because other writers have used Dr. Balabanoff's material on this subject.

Her picture of the hysterical young demagogue, hag-ridden by his inner weakness and sense of inferiority rounds out the clinical picture of this sawdust Caesar. I think that the pre-war picture suffers somewhat from being written in the light of subsequent experience and revulsion, so that one gets the impression that the author was always fully aware of his complete worthlessness and instability. If this were true, Dr. Balabanoff would not have urged him to accept the editorship of *Avanti*, the Party's official organ, in 1912. Mussolini, post-war rise to power on the slogans of the Left deserves serious attention in anti-fascist circles today.

Even more significant to-day are the chapters dealing with the Soviet Union and the Comintern between 1918 and 1921. If anyone doubts that the seeds of Stalinism were sown in that period, that along with its un-

doubted contribution to revolutionary thought and practice, Bolshevism carried with it a poison which infected and demoralized the international labor movement, let him read this story of the unprincipled intrigues of the Comintern's "heroic period" and the men who directed it. These chapters are written, not as an exposé, but as a tragic chronicle.

Since 1927, Comintern policies and leaders have been subjected to searching attack by Oppositionists of Left and Right but both have stopped short at the year in which Lenin died. Dr. Balabanoff writes from intimate knowledge as a member of the Bolshevik Party between 1917 and 1924—not as an Opposition Communist but as a revolutionist who knows both from inner conviction and experience that without political and personal integrity the revolutionary movement can only destroy itself. The chapter in which she describes the fight against Serrati and the wrecking of Italian Socialism is the most moving in the whole book in view of what was to happen in Italy shortly after.

The maneuver (made familiar to younger Socialists during the Trotskyist adventure in the SP) of courting and using right-wing elements in order to undermine a left-wing opponent, had been perfected by 1920. Of special historical significance is Dr. Balabanoff's testimony regarding Lenin's fear of and opposition to any revolutionary upheaval in Italy in 1920. This did not keep the Bolsheviks from blaming Serrati and the Italian Socialists for the failure of the occupational strikes to assume a revolutionary character.

In orthodox Leninist circles, the judgements expressed in *My Life As A Rebel* will undoubtedly be dismissed as "subjective." But history has given these "subjective" conclusions objective validity. It is quite obvious that Angelica Balabanoff was never a "good Bolshevik" in the full sense of the phrase. Unlike Trotsky, who also joined the Party in 1917, she does not need to defend what she knows to be indefensible.

—A. B. W.

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SUBSCRIPTION BOX SCORE

Received During the Past Week of Drive Total Received Thus Far

"Recovery" Subs	1	32
"Recession" Subs	70	1,028
"Depression" Subs	52	1,450
New Bundle Orders	70	720
TOTALS.....	193	3,230

By Harold Magin

To date a total of fifteen comrades have taken up membership in The CALL ASSOCIATION. We salute these militant comrades for their prompt response to our announcement regarding the re-establishment of the association, and are happy to welcome them to an honorary place on the membership charter.

As announced in the previous issue of The CALL, to Anton Garden of Chicago, Joe Duchkowitz of Racine, Wis., and Erma Arnstein of San Francisco goes the distinction of becoming the first three comrades to become members of the new CALL ASSOCIATION.

Others who have taken up membership in this truly worthwhile organization are comrades Travers Clement of Los Gatos, Cal.; Leon Lazor, Chicago, Ill.; Walter S. Hutchins of Greenfield, Mass., who is representing the Western Massachusetts Confederation of Socialist Clubs; Kate M. Ward, Downers Grove, Ill.; Samuel S. White, Kansas City, Mo.; Seymour Raynack, Brooklyn, N. Y.; L. R. and Lula Halverson, Evansville, Ind.; George F. Walz, Easthampton, Mass.; Paul Albright, Waukegan, Ill.; Circle 6 Senior Kings Y. P. S. L., and 22 A. D. Kings, both of Brooklyn, N. Y.

Our quota for membership is 200. It is imperative that we reach this quota at the earliest possible date. Thus, we urge each and every comrade, local, branch and circle to become members of The CALL ASSOCIATION without further delay.

During the past week 193 new subs reached the CALL office. Of this amount one was a "Recovery" sub, 70 were "Recession" subs, while 52 were of the "Depression" variety. Bundle orders totaled 70.

This was a gain over the previous week, but not enough to warrant any striking enthusiasm, for in order that The CALL can continue publication we must receive at least 250 yearly subs each week.

For that reason we are desirous to mobilize an army of at least 250 CALL Boosters—comrades and friends of the CALL who will pledge themselves to secure at least one yearly CALL sub each week.

Already several comrades have responded to our recent announcement asking for volunteers to become members of The CALL BOOSTER ARMY. Members are under no financial obligation—all that is required is to secure at least one yearly sub each week, and with a determined spirit uphold the principles of The CALL and assist in the united drive to see that it continues publication! If you haven't sent in your name for us to place on the membership list for CALL BOOSTERS, do so at once.

Comrade Ben Horowitz of Brooklyn continues to hold first place with 21 subs in the October contest for Eugene V. Debs' deluxe edition of "Walls and Bars." In second place is C. A. Bushnell of Ogden, Utah, who is credited with having secured 13 subs, while figuring in a third place tie are comrades Lewi Tonks of Schenectady and George Papcum of New York City, each with 12 subs.

In the three-way sub contest between Illinois, Michigan and Illinois, we find that New Jersey, with 11 new subs, gained ground

on Illinois and Michigan, who turned in four and three subs, respectively. The official count is as follows:

	Ill.	Mich.	N. J.
"Recovery" subs	2	0	1
"Recession" subs	85	45	40
"Depression" subs	170	99	38
Totals	257	144	79

Before bringing this column to a close, may I, on the basis of the action taken at the recent Kenosha Convention, urge all locals and branches to conduct at least one social event between now and the first of the year with proceeds from which to be turned over to The CALL.

Surely your comrades and friends would enjoy a social evening such as a card or dancing party, banquet, basket sociable, etc., which would not only stimulate party interest and activity, but would also assist The CALL at a time when it faces a major crisis.

Please take this matter up at your next meeting and begin making plans to sponsor a social event in behalf of The CALL, your newspaper!



DETROIT
The big Socialist Campaign Dance and Rally will be held Saturday evening, October 29 at Jericho Temple, 2705 Joy Road, near Linwood. Among the speakers will be Nahum Burnett, Socialist candidate for Governor of Michigan and Roy Reuther, Socialist N. E. C. member. There will be entertainment and dancing. Admission 25c.

JERSEY
Jersey City Lectures Tuesday Evening Forum, under the auspices of the Workers Defense League and the League for Industrial Democracy, Fairmont Hall, 716 Bergen avenue, Jersey City, N. J., announces the following program:

November 15th: "Public Health Insurance," Dr. Saul Rubinow, of Newark, authority on group health plans, and other of differing views.

November 20th: Debate—Public versus Private Ownership. Alvin A. Burger, Director of the Bureau of Government Research of the N. J. State Chamber of Commerce, speaks for private ownership. Dr. John Bauer, economist, author, and advisor on public utility problems, speaks for public ownership.

December 13th: "Shall Strikes Be Outlawed?" Dr. Joel Seidman, Field Secretary, League for Industrial Democracy; author of "The Sit-Down," and other pamphlets.

January 10th: "Mexico in Crisis." Clarence Senior, National Secretary, Keep America Out of War Congress. Spent two years in Mexico recently.

Speakers on other programs include Arthur Feiler, German Refugee on the faculty of The University in Exile, V. F. Calverton, Harry W. Laidler, Prof. George W. Hartmann, James Myers of the Federal Council of Churches, and Alonzo Myers.

Season tickets for the forum are \$1.00 for the 16 lectures. Single admissions are 15c. Tickets may be secured from the Workers Defense League, 138 Baldwin Avenue, Jersey City, or by phoning Journal Sq. 2-2967. Forums open 8:30 p. m.

BROOKLYN
Brownsville Labor Lyceum is continuing its activities on a much broader scale. Samuel Kantor, manager of the forum, reports, Brooklynites interested in the forum's activities may get complete information by communicating with Kantor at 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn.

CHICAGO
Banquet to honor Angelica Balabanoff, November 5, 6 p. m., Tower Town Club, 820 North Michigan Boulevard. Auspices: Avanti and Socialist Call. Balabanoff also speak at the Labor Lyceum, Kedzie and Ogden avenues, Sunday, October 30, 10:30 a. m.

**Stop the WPA layoffs!
Schools not battleships!
Vote Socialist!**

Socialist Party Urges Aid To Czech Anti-Fascists

NEW YORK.—Norman Thomas, national chairman of the Socialist Party and candidate for Governor, made public a letter he has addressed to President Roosevelt urging that he take steps to protect Jewish, Socialist and other anti-Nazi refugees from Sudetenland.

He proposed that three steps be taken: (1) representations to the same powers to whom the President had sent his appeal for peace during the war crisis, this time calling for equitable treatment of racial, religious and political minorities; (2) representations to the nations which met at Evian "looking toward immediate international agreement for welcoming political refugees to other lands"; and (3) liberalization of American immigration legislation "so that once more America may be a land of asylum."

Speaking on behalf of the Socialist Party, Mr. Thomas said: "Political refugees, like those of our ancestors who came to this country for conscience' sake, may have an immensely desirable contribution to make."

The text of Thomas' letter to the President follows:

"Dear Mr. President:
"Not only as a Socialist but as an American citizen I desire to lay before you the terrible plight, not only of Jews but of Social Democrats and other anti-Nazis in the Sudeten areas ceded to Germany. A great many of them are refugees from their homes who now find themselves in danger of being turned back by all the surrounding countries or allowed literally to starve in the fields.

"This problem is for all humanity. To consider it involves America in no entangling alliances for war. Our country has an honorable record for hospitality to refugees for conscience' sake, and for protest against political and religious persecution.

"You yourself were a factor in averting general war in Europe, and therefore you and the American people cannot fail to have an interest in one of the less admirable consequences of that peace which was so widely acclaimed.

"May I therefore urge upon your careful consideration three steps:

"1. Representations to the same powers to which you appealed for peace in behalf of equitable treatment of minorities, racial, religious and political in all lands. Among other things, representations might be made to Prague asking that Czechoslovakia, pending more permanent arrangements, afford asylum to these refugees. It is understood that the Czechs are naturally hesitant to risk Hitler's wrath or the possibility that he will later regard these Sudeten refugees as Germans to be 'redeemed'.

"2. Representations to the nations represented at Evian looking toward immediate international agreement for welcoming political refugees to other lands.

"3. Liberalization of our own immigration legislation and administration, so that once more America may be a land of asylum.

"I and my party recognize the difficulties that confront you in making such a program effective. You are in a position as is

no private citizen to know and deal with the diplomatic problems involved. In this country we know the strong feeling against liberalization of our immigration policy largely because of widespread unemployment.

"We who feel the desperate plight of refugees cannot, however, afford to let this feeling against immigration go unchallenged. To help care for the refugees would cost the American people infinitely less than war, and it might to some extent mitigate the passions making for war.

"Political refugees, like those of our own ancestors who came to this country for conscience' sake, may have an immensely desirable contribution to make. Under proper planning they could be made an economic asset rather than an unmixed liability.

"I have heard various proposals suggested, such as the prompt admission of 80 or 90 per cent of the five or ten year quota from the regions involved so as to bring immediate relief. I myself am instructed by the Socialist Party to advocate a far more liberal policy of asylum. I am aware that this should be accompanied by positive economic arrangement, I think might be made by an enlightened government under the pressure of public opinion, with the aid of interested organizations. It is inconceivable that the American people with their traditions should be indifferent to the sufferings of so many men and women whose virtue it is that they are loyal to their political and religious convictions."

Mexico Seizes Saw Mill To Compensate Victims

By direct order of President Cardenas, the government has moved to expropriate the sawmill of the hacienda "El Chaparro", in the state of Michoacan, scene of the bloody massacre of last August in which twenty-five workers were slaughtered by a band of armed men.

Orders to this effect have been issued to the Department of Finance, National Economy, Agriculture, and the Agrarian Department.

The families of the twenty-five murderers men will be given compensation through the expropriation of the property. It is said that the President's action was due to the existence of evidence pointing to the implication of the owners of the property in the assault that resulted in massacre, and it is thus in line with his general warning to large landowners two years ago that the government would henceforth presume their responsibility in the terrorism against agrarians becoming widespread throughout the country and would distribute the lands of all haciendas on which peasants were murdered by the so-called "white guards" (what would be called company police in the United States) employed by large estates.

**Vote Socialist!
Vote against war!
Support the Mexican masses!
Peace, jobs, education!
Vote labor!
For a Farmer-Labor Party
Vote Socialist!**

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The CALL ASSOCIATION, which was recently re-born, is open to all comrades, friends, and party boosters who are keenly interested in The SOCIALIST CALL, its welfare, and true working-class policy.

The yearly membership is \$5.00. There are no assessments.

Being a member of The CALL ASSOCIATION entitles you to place of honorary distinction; a place whereby you will be enabled to personally assist in The CALL'S militant policy of representing the workers and farmers of America in their crusade for a richer and fuller life.

Also at the close of each year, you will receive a bound volume of the year's issue of the CALL—these handsomely bound editions are alone worth \$5.00!

Fill in the below form and mail NOW—today!

CALL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP

SOCIALIST CALL
549 Randolph Street
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Please accept me as a member of The CALL ASSOCIATION. I am enclosing \$5.00 (Five Dollars) for a year's membership, which entitles me to a bound edition of the 1938 issues of The SOCIALIST CALL.

Name

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⊗ VOTE SOCIALIST

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For Governor MAHUM BURNETT
 For Lieutenant-Governor . . . KERMIT JOHNSON
 For Secretary of State JEAN SEIDEL
 For State Treasurer . . . FREDERICK A. HALSTED
 For Auditor-General . . . EDWARD MASKIEWICZ
 For Attorney-General . . . EMANUEL SEIDLER

VOTE—TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8—VOTE

Place Your Cross in the Circle at the Head of the SOCIALIST Column—Vote Straight SOCIALIST!

Michigan Socialists Call For War On Poverty, Insecurity

(Continued from Page 1)
 "Labor conducted vigorous independent labor political campaigns and rolled up impressive votes in Detroit and Pontiac. But labor must go further. It must organize a farmer-labor party to defend the interest of workers and farmers on the political field as their unions do on the economic.
 "The Socialist Party welcomes every move toward a farmer-labor party and every struggle for security by the masses as a step in the fight for a new social order—a Socialist America and a Socialist world."
IMMEDIATE PROGRAM
 Pending this goal, Socialists support the following immediate program. This program includes:
 Work relief at union wages on socially useful projects, three

hour week, anti-injunction legislation, more adequate unemployment insurance and old age pensions, better school and recreational facilities, abolition of the sales tax by substituting inheritance and income taxes, reduction of rents, legislation to protect and encourage farm cooperative marketing agencies, opposition to an appointive judiciary, and for the Welfare Reorganization Act.
 Appealing for votes, the Socialist candidates say, "It is in the light of depression, threatening wars, and the alarming growth of reaction and fascism throughout the world that the Socialist Party calls upon the workers, farmers, and friends of progress throughout Michigan to VOTE FOR SOCIALISM in 1938."

WHY I AM VOTING SOCIALIST

"I'm voting Socialist because we workers need a two-fisted fight against our employers. Unions are our right arm in the fight against rotten conditions and wage cuts and the Socialist Party packs a good southpaw wallop at these same evils on the political front."
 G. W., Briggs Local
 212, U. A. W. A.

"I believe we need a Farmer-Labor Party in Michigan. The Socialist Party is running the only independent labor ticket in this campaign. My only chance to show my desire for independent labor political action is to vote Socialist."
 W. C. M., Flint.

"I saw the swell work Nahum Burnett did in organizing road workers in Eaton County. He's always been a good Farm Union man and I know he is a sincere fighter for labor. I'm for him."
 A Neighbor, Charlotte.

"I'm tired of voting for 'good' men. No matter how good the politician who is elected is, we continue to have depressions, poverty and insecurity. I shall vote for production for human needs, not profit. I am voting Socialist."
 Detroit Teacher.

"This is my first vote and it's going to be a vote against war. I don't want to be cannon fodder. The Socialists have proven themselves to be against war. They get my vote."
 Charles Bush, student
 U. of M., Ann Arbor.

"Rents are high; food is high. My husband's wages are low and work is scarce. I'm voting Socialist."
 Anna Kojinski, housewife.

"I'm against company unions and company union parties. I won't be in the same union with an employer. The Democratic and Republican parties are controlled by the employers. A political party, like a union, can't serve two masters. I'm voting for a workers' party, the Socialist Party."
 Member Carpenters' Union
 (A. F. of L.) for over 15 years.

"Some of my friends say Murphy is better than Fitzgerald. That's true. And Chrysler is better to work for than Ford is. So what? Our union fights for better conditions against Chrysler just as hard as against Ford. Murphy and Fitzgerald both support the profit system. The profit system can't be patched up. It gives us unemployment, fascism, war. I'm voting Socialist for a Workers' World."
 J. J. S., Dodge worker.

AN APPEAL

This Socialist campaign, as always, is made possible by modest contributions from workers. We invite you to aid in this work. Your contribution will go a long way in spreading the message of a Socialist world. Win or lose, the Socialist Party will continue its work.
 Send all contributions to Alfred C. King, campaign treasurer, Socialist Party of Michigan, 1110 West Warren, Detroit.

Why Workers, Farmers Should Build Their Own Political Party

For Governor of Michigan



NAHUM BURNETT

Candidate for Governor Speaks . . .

By NAHUM BURNETT
Socialist Candidate for Governor

I expect those who want Socialism and who are convinced that the old parties cannot serve the workers and farmers to vote for me and the entire Socialist ticket in this election. Murphy and Fitzgerald represent the basic interests of the employing class in this election; despite their significant differences they are united in their devotion to the profit system and in their opposition to a socialized society.

Most of the campaign speeches so far have been a smokescreen hiding the real issues. A living wage either in private industry or on WPA for every worker is the first concern to Michigan today. Security from excessive taxation of the family farmer is vitally necessary. Relief must be improved; there are townships in my own county, Eaton County, with no relief provisions for anything except the most extreme emergencies. But money for relief must come from taxation of those most able to pay, not from sales tax and other taxes which fall most heavily on the already impoverished masses.

PRODUCTION FOR USE

The Socialist Party goes further; we insist that the basic issue is ownership and control. The real source of power, production and distribution, is in the hands of a few financiers and industrialists. We want to change this; we want the sources of wealth to be owned and democratically managed by the workers and farmers.

Capitalism has proved that it is impractical; we want a practical economic system which can feed and house and clothe the people of our state and of the nation.

FARMER-LABOR UNITY

In our great campaign for Socialism, we look for support from the organized labor movement and the progressive farmer organizations. We hope our work in this campaign will help the drive for a farmer-labor party in Michigan; we hope it will help to build a militant

Every election campaign the majority of the workers go to the polls and vote either for the Democratic or Republican parties. They hope against hope that this time the politicians will keep their promises. Dissatisfied with the Democratic party, they vote Republican. Dissatisfied with the Republican party, they vote Democratic. But no matter whom they vote for, unemployment increases, depressions come one after the other and graft continues.

Hoover and the other Republicans did a good job of proving the bankruptcy of the Republican Party. Most workers by now recognize that the interests of the Republican Party are not interests of the great mass of workers.

NO NEW DEAL

The Democratic Party, recognizing the trend of the times and the mood of the workers, was far more clever in its approach.

In an effort to win the support of the organized labor movement and workers generally, the Democrats promised a "new deal for all." Around this slogan the Democratic Party in 1932 made a sweeping national victory. By 1936 the Democratic Party was faced with another national election. The "New Deal" had not solved the unemployment problem—more than ten millions were still walking the streets searching for em-

ployment. Faced with these facts, the Democrats pleaded for more time to make the "New Deal" work and again in 1936 the voters gave the "New Deal" a new lease on life.

CONFUSION REIGNS

Today—November 1938, two years later, finds the nation again engaged in a political campaign. Today finds America still in the midst of a depression with over 12 million unemployed. It is no wonder that the average voter is confused.

American labor has tried both old parties and found them wanting. The question then arises—HOW SHOULD LABOR VOTE?

Detroit workers gave an answer when last fall they ran a splendid Vote Labor! campaign. True, labor's candidates were not elected, but as a result of such a splendid showing and an excellent campaign, the basis for future success was laid.

LABOR ENEMIES

More and more American labor is beginning to realize that it will have to build its own political party—the same as it builds its own independent unions. Voting Republican or Democratic is political company unionism.

The American labor movement, if it is to grow and have real influence in national affairs, must soon launch a na-

(Continued on Page 3)

SOCIALISTS CAMPAIGN FOR LABOR

The Socialist Party each year centers its attention on political campaigns for a period of several months. This is one of the high points of Socialist activity.

November 9th, when the voters have cast their ballots, when the returns are in, the Socialist Party still has its work to do. There is no time for relaxation. In recent years elections have been followed by relief cuts. The Socialist Party will be on its toes ready to lead the fight against relief cuts. Many important labor difficulties are temporarily overlooked during campaigning periods. After election Socialist trade unionists give special attention to the interests of the unions in the shops and to the chiseling of employers.

FOR A LABOR PARTY

The many meetings which take place during the election campaigning make educational classes and forums very difficult. After election, this work is resumed full blast by the Party. Especially this year in Michigan, efforts to develop an independent Farmer Labor Party organized in opposition to the old parties are found only in the Socialist campaign. After election

democratic labor movement and a genuinely progressive movement among the farmers and farm workers.

Our hope is not in good politicians, be they liberal Democrats or liberal Republicans. The hope for the happiness of the people rests with the farmers and workers and their own organized independent power politically and economically.

Socialists take up the fight for independent political action with renewed vigor.

These are difficult jobs. They are Socialist jobs equally as important as our Socialist campaign, the nature of which is fully explained in this issue of the CALL.

The Socialist Party is a democratic organization, run by its dues paying membership, made effective by the activity of its rank and file. In this campaign the Socialist message is being spread; more Socialists are made; the experiences of the labor movement have opened the eyes of thousands of workers to the evils of capitalism and the need for a Socialist commonwealth.

WILL FIGHT ON

If there is a large Socialist vote, this will make clear that there is an ever growing army of militant conscious courageous fighters for labor's rights and for an end to exploitation.

And no matter who wins, the Socialist Party will be in the thick of the battle against every attack on the labor movement. The labor movement in Michigan will not crumble before reactionary threats; the spirit that built the Michigan labor movement from a small group into a great army of workers will beat back every attempt to smash the labor movement.

Mayor Reading of Detroit tried to scare the unions into a dark corner. He did not succeed. No other mayor is likely to succeed; nor is a governor.

The Socialist Party asks for votes for its entire slate November 8th. But we ask for your support to our fundamental principles and aims. A vote will help. Your joining with us will help even more; it will not only help the Socialist Party; it will help you and will make victory for reaction more impossible.

FOR
 Right to Work
 Right to Organize
 Independent Political Action

VOTE SOCIALIST!

AGAINST
 War
 Fascism
 Reaction