

Demonstrate Against W.P.A. Cuts on April 1st!

You Will Be Next If You Do Not Act Now

One million W.P.A. workers are being cut off the payroll this week.

One million workers are being sent back to the scrap-heap, back to the breadlines, back to the misery and starvation of 1931 and 1932.

This is only the beginning.

The entire W.P.A. is being wiped out by Roosevelt and by Congress in favor of a four billion dollar war budget.

Two million more are to follow unless action by the workers forces Roosevelt and Congress to retreat. The dismissal slips are already prepared. They say there is no money. They say taxes must be reduced. They say there are jobs in private industry for every worker. They say prosperity is just around the corner.

YOU KNOW THEY LIE. You know that four billions spent for destruction and death could just as easily be taken away and used to put workers back on the job.

YOU KNOW THEY LIE. You know there are no jobs in private industry because you have tried to find these jobs. You know that unless there is a bigger W.P.A. three million workers will remain unemployed.

YOU KNOW THEY LIE. You know the 60 families have not been over-taxed. You know they are still in control of billions of dollars. You know the unemployed and relief workers have been taxed to the limit through sales-taxes and wage reductions. You know there is plenty of money and resources available for the workers of America.

YOU KNOW THEY LIE. When the Stalinist Workers Alliance tells you to rely upon post cards and telegrams. When the W.A.A. promises not to count the ballots sent in by workers who want to march to Washington until after Congress has voted to fire one million workers, **YOU KNOW THEY LIE TO THE WORKERS WHO WANT TO FIGHT AGAINST THE LAYOFFS.**

YOU KNOW HOW TO WIN JOBS. You know that the workers never get anything for nothing. Unless you are ready to fight—ready to strike, to demonstrate, to march on Washington, the cuts will go through. **ACT NOW.** Once you are off the job you are unable to strike effectively. Once you are dismissed you are separated from your fellow workers. **YOU KNOW ALL THIS.**

ACT NOW. Join the Unemployed and Project Workers Union.

ACT NOW. Demonstrate at 70 Columbus Ave. on April 1 at 10 A.M.

Uneasy Interlude Opens In Europe

Initiative Remains in Hitler's Hands While Powers Seek Way Out

Europe this week entered upon a brief, uneasy interlude between crises.

Hitler rested for a moment on his laurels. In ten days he had slashed away again at the map of Europe and made far-reaching changes, without a general war. He had incorporated Bohemia and Moravia into the Reich, established control over Slovakia, recovered Memel, and signed pacts with Lithuania and Rumania which brought both those countries into the widening German orbit.

His axis partner, Mussolini, made a speech Sunday in which he demanded that France meet his demands for colonial adjustments in the Mediterranean and Africa. For all his violent bombast, the Italian Duce did not get too specific and he left the door wide open for negotiations with Paris. On Wednesday Premier Daladier was expected to answer in a similar spirit, indicating France's readiness to come to some kind of understanding with Italy in the hope of detaching it from the Reich.

"Declaration" Fails
The British attempt to secure a four power declaration "against further Nazi aggression" failed dismally. It failed because its intent was purely platonic. Poland refused to go along unless London and Paris explicitly declared they were ready for an armed showdown. With its ears still cocked for some friendly word from Hitler, the Soviet Government said it would not join unless Poland did. And when it became clear that London and Paris still fear war and the inevitable collapse of their empires even more than they fear Hitler's program at this stage, the whole project fell through, leaving Hitler in a position to take off on his next coup pretty much when he pleased.

The French and British boss politicians understand, however, that they will have to meet Hitler's force with force sooner or later. They bank now on a fresh attempt to break Mussolini away from his nose-to-the-wind-bellied ally.

Teachers' Union Adopts War Monger's Program

Bars Anti-War Members from Presenting Position in Union Magazine

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK—In a stormy membership meeting Friday, March 24, of Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, the Stalinists pushed through a reversal of the traditional anti-war policy of the union and put it on record for a pro-war line.

It had been long evident to any union member that the Stalinists had shifted, to a war-mongering position; but this was the first time they dared openly in the union to come out for arms.

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Workers
of the World
Unite!

FIGHT W.P.A. SLASHES

Madrid Crushed Under Iron Heel of Franco

Junta, Despairing of Keeping Things Under Control, Finally Invites Fascist Hordes to Come In

ARMY IS HANDED OVER

Their Friend Miaja

By LEON TROTSKY
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

COYOACAN, D. F., March 24—As I see from the last issue of the Socialist Appeal received here, the Stalinists try to link us with Miaja and his staff. The Socialist Appeal has already given a clear answer to this frameup. In this connection permit me to quote from my article, "The Lesson of Spain," written in December, 1937. Analyzing the possibility, under certain circumstances, of a rapprochement between the leaders of fighting camps, I wrote: "It is not difficult to understand that in the case of this variant the final remnants of the 'democracy' will prove to be stifled in the fraternal embrace of the generals Miaja (Communist) and Franco (Fascist)."

Marxist theory gives the possibility of foreseeing some things even on a personal plane. Stalinist practice (here there is no theory at all) consists of combinations of betrayals and frameups.

BULLETIN

France's army entered Madrid Tuesday morning. General Jose Miaja, and other members of his Junta, fled to Valencia. Their last act was to surrender the remaining loyalist troops in Central Spain to the mercies of Franco.

Madrid's surrender was expected hourly as Franco, having stood aside while the Popular Front Junta did his work for him, broke off surrender negotiations and insisted on concluding the civil war by force of arms.

Upon a demand last Saturday from Franco, the Junta had already agreed to surrender its air force—the Loyalist navy weeks ago had been sent to be disarmed and interned in French Algiers—but Franco did not wait for compliance with this demand. For his purposes it sufficed that, before it had secured any guarantees, the Popular Front Junta had already publicly announced it was surrendering its airplanes.

Drive Opens
On Sunday Franco launched an offensive against the southern front in central Spain, near Cordoba. Loyalist troops, who since the Junta took over the government on March 5 have heard nothing from their leaders but preparations for surrender, provided little resistance against the advancing fascist troops.

But on the Madrid front the de facto truce continued, and reports indicated that the reason for this may be that worker-regiments there were determined to continue resistance, and that the Junta had warned Franco of this state of affairs, so that fascist forces were launched first to reduce other fronts.

The N.Y. Times correspondent (Continued on Page 3)

NEWARK JOBLESS BALK PROPOSALS TO SLICE RELIEF

Union Lays Plans For Action on April 1st

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEWARK.—The Workers Relief and W.P.A. Union of Essex County moved forward last week on two fronts in the fight for adequate cash relief for Newark's relief clients and the struggle to prevent any lay-offs on W.P.A.

Relief Director Malady had proposed two weeks earlier a cut of about 50 per cent in the 1939 relief budget. According to his "retrenchment program," this was to be accomplished by stopping all relief to single men, families of two, and all unemployed, and all supplementary relief to W.P.A. workers and workers in industry with large families.

Jobless Act
The unemployed responded by appearing before the local Assistance Board, which met to take up Malady's proposal, with a picket line of 200 workers in front of the City Hall. The Workers Alliance appeared, too, with about 15 or 20 members skulking down heartily about the halls of the building, putting their "pressure" on the Board.

The Board met with the Union committee first, and notified them that they had "considered Malady's proposal" and had decided to tell him "to make another survey" and "bring in other proposals for a retrenchment program." But the heavy cuts Malady urged were definitely discarded.

Ready for More
After that the picket line assembled in front of the City Hall, drawing hundreds of passers-by, and held a short meeting where speakers explained the reason for and the results of the picket line and urged that the unemployed remain on their toes, with their eyes open, ready to respond immediately to Malady's next proposals.

The Union has now turned its attention to a mass picket line in front of the state headquarters of W.P.A. to be held on Saturday, April 1, where they will show quite plainly the attitude of the project workers to the scheduled lay-offs.



Lewis Prepares Showdown With CP at Auto Convention

Third Group's Program Meets Favorable Response as Convention Opens With Majority of Workers Represented

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
CLEVELAND, Ohio, Mar. 27—A major showdown between the forces directed by the Communist Party and the locals backed by John L. Lewis and the top C.I.O. leadership, looms at the United Automobile Workers Convention.

The convention opened today with a clean-cut division between these contending forces. The Stalinists control a huge bloc of votes, sufficient to dominate the convention, determine policies and elect the incoming Executive Board.

If a major attack is not launched against them by the big local unions and the C.I.O. leadership, the spearhead of the anti-Stalinist bloc in the convention consist of the big Briggs local, of which Emil Mazey is president; the enormous West Side Detroit local, headed by Walter Reuther; and the Detroit Chrysler local, of which William Marshall is president.

C. P. Jitters
Adolph Germer, Leo Kryeski and at least ten other C.I.O. organizers are at the convention, trying to whip up sufficient anti-Communist Party sentiment. John L. Lewis himself has not yet made any public declaration, but speculation is rife among convention delegates that it will be he who will deliver the major blow against the Stalinists.

The Communist Party leadership is obviously jittery in anticipation of the expected attack. At their caucus meeting, last night, the Stalinist whips for the first time spoke against "C.I.O. dictatorship," and the "John L. Lewis invasion," although they themselves had been the chief promoters of Lewis' intervention a few months ago as the solution for the faction fight in the union.

The Stalinist-led caucus finally decided to send a committee to see the C.I.O. representatives and to seek a compromise with them.

Ally With Reactionaries
The Communist Party group is particularly concerned with securing preservation of the present size of the Executive Board of twenty-five members, while the top C.I.O. forces want to cut the board down to three officers and nine board members.

In its attempt to preserve the numerous posts now held by its stooges, the Communist Party is believed to be in alliance with the worst reactionaries, the old Martin supporters on the executive

(George F. Addes, secretary-treasurer.)

The convention undoubtedly represents the overwhelming majority of organized auto workers in the major corporations—General Motors and Chrysler—the independents, and the major parts plants. The credentials committee reported 469 delegates, representing a membership of 170,202.

This figure represents at least three-fourths of the union and is a crushing answer to 'Martin's pretensions.

It is expected that many progressive resolutions and steps will be adopted, although the tone of the convention and the character of many of the resolutions will be determined by the Lewis C.P. fight.

Convention areaways, hotels and the town are filthy with Stalinist officials, ranging from E. K. Gebert, Communist Party district organizer of Detroit, to Arnold Johnson and a crew of similar flunkies.

"Independence" Is Cry at Meeting of Puerto Ricans

Denounce Roosevelt at Commemoration Of 1937 Massacre

Four hundred members of New York's Puerto Rican colony, demanding freedom for their people, commemorated the second anniversary of the Palm Sunday massacre of Ponce, last Friday night at the Club Hatuey Hall.

A peaceful parade of Puerto Ricans was cold-bloodedly mowed down by Yankee imperialist machine gun and rifle fire on Palm Sunday, 1937.

"Independencia!" The Club Hatuey Hall rang with cheers and applause every time one of the speakers voiced that demand.

Rosario Rodriguez simply and graphically described the massacre of the unarmed paraders, including his own father and brother, by Roosevelt's gunmen. Ernesto Concepcion de Gracia was thunderously applauded when he flung the flaming question:

"How dare the Roosevelts speak of liberty and democracy, of what Germany is doing to Czechoslovakia, when they are doing the same thing on this side of the ocean, when they oppress and slaughter the Puerto Rican people,

Million Due To Be Cut By June 1

Fighting Action Will Force Congress to Provide Funds

JOIN PICKET LINE!

The layoffs are here. They are hard, cold, facts. There can be no more fooling around—no more delay. Only by militant action—strikes, demonstrations, hunger marches, can the blows of the Roosevelt campaign to destroy the entire W.P.A. and return three million workers to the breadlines, the garbage pails and the open-shops be stopped. Only by decisive and immediate action can the hundreds of thousands of dismissal slips—prepared long in advance—be stopped.

Now—before it is too late the workers must rally to hold their ranks and fight back before they are cut off the payroll. Once the cuts have gone through the workers will be divided. Some will be completely separated from their fellow workers and thus demoralized. Others will be too scared to act. Unless the projects are struck, unless the workers demonstrate, unless the employed and unemployed strike together, Roosevelt will win and the W.P.A. will be a thing of the past and the unemployed will be back where they were under Hoover.

1,200,000 to Go
According to Colonel Harrington, when Roosevelt first asked Congress for the \$875,000,000 it was the President's plan to throw unemployed workers on the streets at the rate of 150,000 a month. But Congress thinks it can get away with larger slashes—and it is making every effort to get this plan put through—so it cut \$150,000,000 off the original request.

Last Thursday Colonel Harrington submitted a plan to the House Appropriations Committee calling for the first slash of 400,000 from W.P.A. on April 1. On May 1, 600,000 more will be cut, and on June 1, 200,000 more. Harrington proposes to cut by projects disregarding "individual needs."

All the doomed persons within these quotas will be in need. Workers considered not in need were removed long ago.

Can't Go on Relief
The government how frankly admits that it intends to throw needy workers on the streets. Relief budgets for the balance of the year are all set. They have been established and the additional hundreds of thousands of applicants will be expected to shift for themselves.

Congress, in granting only \$725,000,000 for relief, made clear that it will give more if an emergency arises. This means that if the unemployed and fired workers stage strikes and demonstrations, if the unemployed are determined not to accept this knife in the back, then Congress will be prepared to retreat.

There is plenty of money to be had for W.P.A. The War budget amounts to more than four billion dollars. The Roosevelt administration is reducing taxes. The 60 families have not even been touched for any real dole. The money is there. And it can be had.

They are asking for it—Let's give it to them.

Get on the picket line at 70 Columbus Avenue at: 10 A.M. sharp on Saturday, April 1st.

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Paul G. Stevens

The Electoral Campaign in Belgium

As a result of the appointment of the Flemish nationalist Martens to the Academy, the cabinet of Premier Spaak fell and unleashed a national crisis, in which King Leopold III intervened with a letter to Spaak's successor, Pierlot, that had all the earmarks of a threat to install a Bonapartist regime in Belgium. Martens had been pacifist and anti-government during the late war.

The crisis had, of course, been brewing for some time around economic and foreign policy issues and was only set off by the Martens affair. It culminated in the dissolution of parliament and the calling of general elections for April 2. The Martens issue is being made the most of by the Fascists (the "Rex" movement led by Degrelle). The Labor Party (P.O.B.) is concentrating on the slogan "Against Deflation." In reality, the Martens affair merely conceals the struggle for national independence of the Flemish section of Belgium, which is discriminated against by the Walloons; while the deflation policy of the Belgian capitalists is inseparable from their wholesale attack against the social legislation wrested by the workers for many years as well as from their armaments program.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party (P.S.R.), Belgian section of the Fourth International, is entering the general elections fresh from a big success in the communal elections last fall, when they gained an absolute majority in the Municipal Council of Fleny. The P.S.R., in its election manifesto, poses the issues before the workers as they really are.

They point out that "the institution of a union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Flanders and Wallonia" is the only permanent answer to the acute national problem revealed by the Martens crisis, at the same time stressing their adherence to the right of self-determination of peoples in any case.

They warn against the royalist Bonapartist danger and call for the preparation of the General Strike and the armed insurrection against any attempt to install a dictatorship.

They call for the application of the transition program of the Fourth International against the deflation and anti-labor plans of the Belgian bosses.

If the results of the municipal elections were any indication, our Belgian comrades should make considerable progress this coming April 2.

Cooperatives Join British

Unions in Revolt Against "Register"

This column has previously reported the revolt of local trade union councils and Labour party

branches against the "National Register" conscription scheme of the Chamberlain government, despite its endorsement by the Labour party executive and the T.U.C. Naturally, the Cooperative Union leadership, like the other labor bureaucrats, also favored the plan. Now word comes that local cooperative societies all over England have joined in the revolt of the rank and file and are preparing to fight out the issue at the annual Conference of the Cooperative Party at Easter.

Among those who have joined in this anti-war movement are the local societies in such important cities as Watford, Bristol, Macclesfield, St. George, Glasgow, Birkenhead, Manchester and Salford.

Particularly outspoken was the action of the Cooperative Society at Southampton, which is proposing the following amendment for adoption by the annual conference:

"This Annual Conference of the Cooperative Party registers the strongest protest against any form of National Register of man-power, believing it to be the first step towards conscription and an instrument which may be used by the Government against the working class. It calls on every section of the Cooperative Movement to refuse any invitation which may be received to cooperate in the operation of the National Register."

Obviously, the crusade for the holy war of the "democracies" against the fascisms—looming more ominously since the latest Hitlerite conquests—is going to hit upon considerable snags before it is fully launched, not only in the United States, where the Gallup Poll has recently again confirmed the overwhelmingly anti-war sentiment of the masses, but in Great Britain as well. The fact that the sentiment is purely rank and file in character and pitted against the powerful propaganda of the unanimous accepted leadership appears to be indicative of revolutionary developments breaking sooner in the coming war crisis than was the case in the last World War.

A Correction on the New Danish Party

In reporting the formation of the new Danish party of the Fourth International recently, this column mistakenly said that a Danish representative was present at the International Conference last September in Geneva. The Danes first applied for admission to the Fourth International after constituting the International Communist Party after the Conference and could not, therefore, have been represented at that time.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Shining shoes is a very poor business—especially in Tompkins Square Park. Not only are there many other boys trying to earn a dollar to take home, put the shoes in such a park are very dirty and very old. And not many men can afford a shine even if it costs only a nickel. So Joseph didn't have a hope of becoming rich.

Thirty-five cents a day was about the limit. But Joseph also made friends with the other boys and this to him was worth more than the money. Friends are necessary if a fellow wants to get along in this world. A friend like Jake, for instance, was worth more than anything because Jake knew the shoe-shine business and also knew how to fight.

Joe and Jake would play at marbles or cards together and talk about things. Jake was smart and knew all the answers. Jake taught Joe the way to get results at the Relief Bureau. He explained how his father had joined up with a union of unemployed men and had gone to the relief office with a committee of unemployed men and women. "They just got a little tough," said Jake.

The Union Arranges the Funeral

Joe went home early that day. He was anxious to tell his father about Jake and how Jake's father got attention from the Relief.

When he walked into the house he knew something was wrong. His mother was crying. His sister was crying and coughing and the babies were very quiet—they were so scared at all the noise. Joe looked around and saw his father—dead on the floor. . . .

Downstairs two steps at a time—around the corner and over to the Park. Jake was still there. "Hey! Jake, come here. . . ."

When Jake's father and the committee from the unemployed union arrived, they found the landlord and a lot of neighbors in the flat. Everybody was excited and nobody knew what to do. Some one sent for the police. Jake's father immediately kicked everybody out of the house and began to make arrangements. "We got to have a meeting of the executive committee," he said. "We got to arrange for a funeral. We got to raise some money." Joe wanted to die he felt so scared and so afraid that his mother would never stop crying. But he was glad Jake's father was there.

After a while some women from the union came with food and began to clean up the house and make everything ready for the meeting. Men came with some money which they said was contributed from the union. They called Jake's father "Comrade." Comrade . . . that was a nice name Joe thought it must be an American name because he had never heard it before.

The Priest Asks Fifty Dollars

That night there was a meeting at the unemployed union hall. Many workers came and there were women and children, too. Jake's father made a speech. It was a fine speech and Joe cried and felt very sick in his heart. The peo-

ple were very angry and said something must be done. The hall was covered with signs which said, "Give the Bankers Home Relief—We Want Jobs!" and "Workers of the World, Unite!" And after the meeting some people took Joe to their house and put him to bed with his sister and the babies. His mother sat in the kitchen, while the women from the union tried to make her stop crying. There were so many friends, now. If only his father were here to see these friends. But it was too late.

In the morning a Priest came and said that fifty dollars would arrange for a funeral. Who had fifty dollars? The Priest said John had not been a good man because he didn't go to mass and didn't send the children to Sunday school. He said the Church would forgive everything if Joe's mother paid the fifty dollars. The mother cried and said she was a good woman. Joe got very angry at the Priest.

Jake's father came in and told the Priest to get out. "You didn't come around when John was hungry. You didn't come to see him when he needed help, so get out. There is no money here." Jake's father was angry. The Priest called the police. The police said Jake was a Red. The police said the Priest was only there to help.

Newspapers Print the Story

In the afternoon all the newspapers printed the news and then some men from the Stone-Cutters Union came and gave Joe's mother some money. They knew Jake's father because they called him "Comrade" like the others from the unemployed union.

The next day there was a funeral. The men from the unions made speeches. They said the unemployed must fight and not die. They said everyone would always remember John. They said the Relief Bureau was to blame for this death. They called Joe's father "Comrade."

Then the police came again and took John's body away to the Church where another funeral was held, but only Joe and his mother were allowed to go along with the police. The friends from the unions were threatened by the police. Reporters from the newspapers wrote everything in the papers.

"We Gotta Organize"

After the funeral the Relief investigator came and gave Joe's mother some money. "Your case has been accepted," she said, "and you must not associate with those people from the unemployed union. They are Reds and will only make trouble for you."

Joe went with Jake to the park and Jake explained everything. "We gotta organize all the unemployed, so nobody will go and hang themselves. We gotta fight for jobs and we gotta fight all the time. The union will take care of the Relief Bureau. We have to build the union." And Joe, who was now the man in his family, listened carefully and thought it over. Yeah, if we don't put up a fight, they will just let us go and die. I learned that anyway. We better start now to get in all those people who live on my block. Come on, let's get going, comrade."

Madrid Crushed Under Heel of Franco As Junta Invites Fascist Hordes to Enter

POPULAR FRONT OFFERS FRANCO SERVILE TERMS

(Continued from Page 1)

at Burgos on Sunday reported that the Popular Front Junta's negotiators had told Franco that the Junta "was anxious to comply with the Nationalist (fascist) instructions," but "it felt that it had not sufficient authority with various political and military elements to enforce compliance and consequently would welcome the initiation of an offensive to enable a surrender under war conditions."

Junta's Surrender "Terms"

Certainly the terms proposed by the Junta for surrender contained nothing which Franco could not grant, and yet kept a free hand for the coming blood-bath against the workers and peasants in Loyalist territory.

A communique issued by the Junta Sunday night revealed that even the one condition which the Junta was ostensibly created to secure—amnesty—was now being asked for in terms perfectly acceptable to Franco. For it asked no reprisals or sanctions "unless decreed by corresponding courts"—a formula under which Franco can decimate all Loyalist Spain.

The Junta, in its broadcast, said that the fascists had agreed that "criminal offenses" would be dealt with exclusively in corresponding courts.

Junta's Main Interest

The real meat of the Junta's proposals for surrender is contained in the request that "employment of the Republican military, other than those found guilty of criminal offenses, should be respected," "similar concessions to non-professional soldiers who have risen from the ranks of the former militia," and, likewise, "employment of civil officials should be respected."

In other words, these traitors consider the main problem in turning over Loyalist Spain to Franco, to be assurances from him that he will incorporate them in his military and civil apparatus!

But servile as these surrender terms were, they were insufficient for Franco. Having permitted the Junta, and the Negri cabinet before it, thoroughly to demoralize the remaining Loyalist troops by their surrender proposals, he now prefers to wave aside parleys and enter Madrid without even the appearance of formal commitments to the Loyalists.

Such is the horrible end of the road to which the Popular Front policy, the strategy of crushing the worker-peasant masses in the name of "anti-fascism," has brought the Spanish people. Here is a terrible lesson for the American working class.

Not a Peep Out Of C. P. on Mija

The Daily Worker, central organ of the Communist Party, has refused to comment on the fact, published in the March 21 issue of the Appeal, that General Jose Mija is a member of the Spanish Communist Party.

Mija, butcher of the Madrid anti-Fascists and head of the treacherous Junta which is now seeking peace with Franco, has never been expelled from the Communist Party.

The President of the famous Madrid Defense Commission, Comrade Mija, is a member of the Communist Party. His work, with that of the other delegates, will go down in history.

These words appeared in the official organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the "International Press Correspondence," (Improcor), February 6, 1937 (Vol. 17, No. 6, page 121).

Does the Communist Party think it can bury its crimes against the working class with the silent, heroic dead of Madrid, murdered by the Communists?

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Socialist Appeal

Pro-War Advocates Stage Exercise in Flag-Waving

Patriotism Gushes at "Stop Hitler" Parade of C. P. Stogie Outfits

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK—About 20,000 persons marched Saturday afternoon in a Stalinist-led parade which attempted to whip up jingo spirit for American participation in a new imperialist war. Seeking to take advantage of the anti-fascist sentiment of New York's masses, it was called a "Stop Hitler" parade. But the slogans and speeches were all designed to support Roosevelt in a war of conquest.

Speeches by Mayor La Guardia, Rabbi Stephen Wise, the Bavarian Princess Halga zu Lowenstein, and others, sought to rouse the crowd to a pro-war fervor.

Stogie Outfits

Organized by a new-born Stalinist stogie committee, "The American Council to Combat Nazi Invasion," the parade was made up primarily of a score of Stalinist organizations such as the American League for Peace and Democracy, the International Workers Order, the American Student Union, the North American Committee, the Friends of the Soviet Union, and the Jewish People's Committee, together with some Slovak and Czech nationalist societies. Several Stalinist-controlled unions such as the Fur Workers Union and the United Office and Professional Workers Union also marched.

The main slogans shouted or carried on placards were as follows: "Support President Roosevelt's Stand Condemning Nazi Invasion," "Stop Wanton Lawlessness," "Stop Nazi Spying in the United States" and "Appeasement Won't Work." Czech and Slovak organizations carried banners reading: "Restore Democratic Czechoslovakia," "Return Memel to Lithuania" and "Keep Hitler out of Rumania."

"We're in the Army Now" Slogans for collective security were few and far between. What may account for the failure to give prominence to the "collective security" theme calling on Daladier and Chamberlain to unite the "democracies" against Hitler was the uncertainty of the parade organizers, the Stalinists, about their own line. The recent overtures made by Stalin to Hitler for a military pact made the C. P. leaders a bit cautious.

A contingent of more than 60 girls, all bearing American flags, headed the parade. Bands marching in the parade continuously played "America" and "The Star Spangled Banner." One of the bands kept playing "We're in the Army Now"—the old doughboy

Union Sections Small Leaders of the parade expected and predicted that more than 200,000 would march. Only 20,000 turned out. The union sections in the march were very small. Usually in Stalinist parades there is a spirited chanting of slogans. But on Saturday, only here and there could groups be found that were enthusiastic about their shouting. The parade fell flat in its objective of whipping up a war spirit.

Despite all the propaganda for war that the people have been subjected to during the past few weeks through the radio, the press, and the movies, the on-lookers showed no particular solidarity with the marchers.

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Gandhi Gives "Advice" To British Imperialists

By SHERMAN STANLEY

Mohandas K. Gandhi, the Mahatma of India, has offered the world his advice on the present world crisis. Perhaps this is the result of inspirational dreams after his 4-day fast in Rajkot. Almost anything can happen on an empty stomach!

This advice is about as useful as his advice to the Czech masses during the first Munich crisis. Then he urged them to lay down in front of the onrushing German tanks!

Now Gandhi urges the "democratic" imperialist nations to disarm themselves "simultaneously." Then, the idea is, Hitler will be shamed into doing likewise. Or, perhaps, Hitler will drop dead with surprise when "peace-loving" Chamberlain scuttles the British navy!

Incidentally, we never heard of Gandhi demanding the disarmament of the British and Native armies that trample upon India. And we recall how in 1914 this "pacifist-at-any-price" gentleman urged 1½ million Indian soldiers to fight on Britain's side during the World War.

Crazy Like a Fox

Gandhi's advice would be in the nature of a joke, or the empty hallucinations of an old man if it were not for certain other facts in his interview with a N.Y. Times correspondent. To expect the "democratic" imperialism of this world to strip themselves of armaments on the very eve of what may be a new world struggle between themselves and the fascist imperialism is equivalent to expecting the capitalists of this earth to hand over their factories to the workers.

But Gandhi is no senile, half-crazy old man. As the saying goes—"he is crazy—yeah, like a fox!" Inside this shrunken-up head lurks one of the shrewdest brains of the Far East. By posing as an "absolute" pacifist, Gandhi attempts to perform the double purpose of (1) deceiving his own following who genuinely oppose war—especially on the side of Britain, and (2)

Hokum Doesn't Go

But the Mahatma will have a hard time putting across his act. India's masses are fed up with this hokum, especially since they realize that it will mean their lives at the service of their bitter enemy. The Congress leadership and revolutionary socialists are pledged to utilize Britain's participation in a war as an opportune time to free India by revolutionary means. "No support to Britain in any war it may conduct," is their slogan.

Gandhi fears the sentiment of the working and peasant masses. When asked if India is progressing, he replied, "Yes, it is. I get frightened sometimes, but there is progress at the bottom, and that progress is sound." What frightens Gandhi is the realization that revolutionary action at the bottom means a clean sweep at the top!

TEACHERS' UNION TURNS JINGO IN A VERY BIG WAY

(Continued from Page 1)

at a previous meeting, and in whose substance had been given the usual pre-arranged ovations for Max Diamond and Bella Dodd, administration whips.

Anti-War Program

After Feingold's report, the progressive Independent group (anti-Stalinist minority) introduced a four-point resolution: to disaffiliate from the American League; to support the Ludlow Amendment; to reiterate the union's position against armaments and demand that the arms billions be used for relief, schools, and homes; and to open the columns of the "New York Teacher" to a democratic discussion of the war question, with equal space given to all views.

The Independent speakers pointed out the preposterous word-swinging of the American League program, such as, "We are opposed to any increase in armaments as a substitute for the development of a positive program."

The joker is that the Stalinists interpret Roosevelt's program as a positive peace program and are therefore willing to give him all the arms he wants.

Stalinists For War

When hard-pressed, the union administration admitted its support of the munitions-makers. Matthew Besdine stated that to implement the American League program, battleships were needed. The slogan of the union for years had been, "Build schools, not battleships."

Herbert Klein, American League spokesman, replied to the minority with the familiar Stalinist charges that the anti-war speakers were "Hitler's Fifth Column," that they agreed with Mussolini on the Ludlow Referendum, that any one who didn't support the President was playing into the hands of the Hoovers and the Coughlins.

To the Independents' analysis of imperialist war and their statement that Roosevelt was responsible for the Spanish embargo, the administration replied only by further insinuations, notably the lie that the anti-Stalinists had not supported the Spanish workers.

When the Independents pointed out the hypocrisy of the "good neighbor" policy and showed that Latin American dictatorships suppress the masses with the support of American imperialism, an administration speaker demagogically proclaimed, "Roosevelt is the hope of mankind." Thunderous applause from the hardened Stalinist elements greeted this poetic sentiment.

Stalinist "Democracy"

The "New York Teacher" was a sore point in the discussion. For a year the magazine has uniformly rejected articles by Independents against armaments and war. The administration alleged that there was no space for anything but articles of purely teacher interest, and that furthermore the magazine couldn't print controversial matter on which the union had taken no stand. The Independents cited a defense of collective security that had been printed. The union's anti-war position had of course not been presented in the union press this year. The bureaucracy, in true Stalinist fashion, simply changed the policy first and consulted the membership later.

Particularly vulnerable on the subject of the Ludlow amendment, the union leaders were content to repeat the American League's fence-straddling: "We stand for the right to vote on war, but in view of the time required for a constitutional amendment" and so forth.

War Means Dictatorship

The Independents repeatedly showed the connection between war and a military dictatorship, with consequent snuffing out of civil liberties. The administration was silent on this key question. Evidently the gagging of teachers and the smashing of trade unions is all right for the Stalinists as long as it happens in a war.

Though the Independents put up an excellent fight to keep the Teachers' Union from becoming a part of the war machine, the vote was a foregone conclusion. The Stalinists are too strongly entrenched to be shaken by one such debate. It is fortunate that there is an organized opposition in the union which is fighting the iron/Stalinist war-mongering machine. But it will take cruel experience to teach the teachers duped by Stalinism the real nature of imperialist war.

HOLLYWOOD MERRY-GO-ROUND

Not since Hector was a pup has there been anything similar or comparable to the revival of the Wild Western. In recent months, moviegoers have seen more horse operas than they can ever hope to put saddles on. In a word, the screen has literally been converted into a corn field.

There can be no quarrel with the technical excellence with which many of these films have been handled. Indeed, there hasn't been such ecstatic use of the camera anywhere as in the filming of "Stagecoach." The use of technicolor has, of course, greatly enhanced the appeal of many of these films, as well as providing the technicolor artificers with superb backgrounds for the application of their medium.

Technically Perfect—Ideologically Suspect

And while there can be no quarrel with these films as motion pictures, there is, nevertheless, the motive for them. The discerning moviegoer, after having been kicked around by more broncos than he can break with a tommy-hawk, will begin to understand that what is supposed to be an innocent Wild Western is essentially another device for arousing his best patriotic impulses.

For what else can be said for many of the current horse operas than that they seek to remind the audience of America's "glorious" past; of that day long past when men and women braved the mountains and the deserts and the wilderness to build America. True, America, and especially the west, was built at great human suffering and sacrifice. But that saga as it is re-told today has essentially the significance of a well made recruiting poster.

Hollywood, in its special task of preparing the masses to refight the war for "democracy," would be remiss in its duty if it did not constantly remind us that we are the fated posterity to whom has fallen the lot of cherishing and defending the heritage of the great "democratic" past.

At the Filmfare

The French seem to have a particular, almost fastidious, addiction to repetitious names. Or perhaps they've acquired a taste for double talk. As if Simon Simeone were not enough, the French only recently introduced us to a gentleman who goes by the name Noel Noel. Then, again, for some time now we've been acquainted with Fi-Fi, our neighbor's maid, who has gone to great lengths to explain the meaning of "oui-oui." But now comes a French comedy entitled "Bizarre Bizarre," and by some strange coincidence it had its American premiere in New York, New York.

The Filmfare management informed us that they were presenting "Bizarre Bizarre" with its tongue in cheek. After leaving the theatre, we felt as if they had shoved a thumb in our eye. For although the picture has a few fleeting moments of hilarious slapstick comedy, most of it bogs down like a Mack Sennett pie. If you're in the mood for Gallic high jinks, you'll see it. If you're not, stay home and beat your grandmother.

FILM DEPARTMENT

The National Film Department of the Party announces that it has available for immediate use by the Branches the documentary picture "Tsar to Lenin," commentary by Max Eastman. Projection apparatus and service accompanies the film. Provision has been made for at least 15 showings within the next 90 days. Cash should be sent with all requests for bookings. Most states do not require licenses; those which do, grant them readily. Write John G. Wright at 116 University Pl., New York City.

Branches wishing to show a double feature can also be supplied with the fifteen-minute short "Appeal in the Making."

JOBLESS, HE KILLS HIMSELF

Unemployed for two years, and dependent, Nicholas Crivellone, 50, killed himself with a revolver today in the kitchen of his apartment at 450 West 163rd St. His wife told police he was formerly an I.R.T. guard.

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6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor party.
11. Workers Defense Guards against Vigilante and Fascist attacks.

Roosevelt and the War Crisis

President Roosevelt has used every stage of the developing war crisis in Europe to put over a fresh phase of his own program for dragging this country into the war when it comes.

He used the crisis last September to break down Congressional opposition to his monster armaments program and to rush through his plans for "continental defense"—i.e., bringing all of North and South America into the orbit of American military and naval as well as political and economic control.

Under the impact of the current swiftly-moving developments in Europe, he has had rushed through new votes of gigantic sums to build up the army, navy and air force. He is moving to bring the Latin American countries under the heel of Yankee imperialism. Plans are complete to mobilize American industry—and of course American labor—for war purposes, and to whip up popular feeling against the prospective war-time enemies, at the moment, primarily Germany.

During the remainder of the present session of Congress, Roosevelt hopes to crush the revived movement for a war referendum and to put through a revision of the Neutrality legislation in order to leave his own hands free to intervene as much as he pleases—or rather, as much as Wall Street pleases—in the war situation in Europe.

Roosevelt and the rest of Wall Street's managing staff in Washington are preparing to sweep this country into the war that is drawing near in Europe. That war will be not a war for "democracy" but, like the last one, a war for colonies, markets, raw materials.

For employed workers the war preparations mean now a steady whittling away at the meager rights the workers have fought for and won with the life's blood of martyrs in thousands of strikes. It means a steady whittling down of real wages and when war comes it will mean goose-stepping regimentation not one whit different from the regime imposed upon the workers of Germany.

For the unemployed we are seeing this week what it involves. Billions are piled up for guns and battle-ships while millions are cut away from the already inadequate funds allocated to the W.P.A. and relief.

These are the realities of the preparations for war, not the hypocritical folderol about "democracy" and "civilization"! The workers' fight is not for the boss democracy or the boss civilization that keeps them ground into the earth, starving amid plenty, dying amid limitless opportunities for fruitful living. The workers' fight is for the end of boss rule and the establishment of the social commonwealth of nations in which war will become a mad dream of the black past and the good things of the earth will become man's to enjoy and to use.

Ta-Tu Thau Is Free!

Ta-tu Thau, leader of the Indo-Chinese Fourth Internationalists, has been released from prison by the French authorities in Saigon, we are informed in advices from Paris. He had three months more of a two-year sentence to serve. Unrelenting pressure by our comrades in France and by the workers of Saigon who elected him a municipal councillor, as well as the alarming state of his health, at long last forced his liberation.

To prevent him from resuming his political activity, the French authorities ordered him banished from Saigon and its vicinity. Another Fourth Internationalist leader, Nguyen van So, was still a prisoner in the hands of the colony's "democratic" French rulers.

Ta-tu Thau emerges from prison all but broken physically. He was completely paralyzed on his right side as a result of hunger strikes fought with other comrades in protest against their imprisonment as working class militants. Shackled by the People's Front authorities, Ta-tu Thau throughout his ordeal conducted himself as an exemplary revolutionist. He shocked the court by telling it that only by overthrowing their French imperialist masters would the peoples

of Indo-China become free. From his prison cell came messages that eloquently testified to his unflagging devotion to that goal of liberation. His health once regained, he will resume his position as one of the foremost leaders of the Indo-Chinese workers.

To Ta-tu Thau we send our fraternal greetings and to him and his comrades pledge our solidarity in their efforts to force the liberation of other militants still in the filthy dungeons of Indo-China and in their struggle to end French tyranny there once and for all.

By Any Other Name

For generations the toilers of Central and South America have suffered under dictatorships that rank among the most ruthless and bloody the world has ever known. The knife, the dungeon, and the firing squad are the traditional political tools of Latin America's military tyrants. With only one or two exceptions, violence and terror rules the entire continent from the southern border of Mexico to Tierra del Fuego.

It is not necessary to turn back the blood-caked pages of Latin American history to prove this point. Last week's press alone was glutted with items, any one of which would make it clear what type of governments these countries suffer under.

In Ecuador the government brazenly began a complete reorganization of the schools, assertedly in order to drive out the "communists." Thousands of workers and students protested with strikes and the government began preparing its armed forces to shed blood. The issue involves the autonomy of the schools, their freedom from the state, a right granted in most countries in the middle ages.

In Cuba Dictator Batista suppressed a comic weekly. Its crime consisted of carrying mild caricatures of the dictator.

In Uruguay the Popular Frontist "International Congress of American Democracies" met at the capital, Montevideo, announced to line up the South American countries for the "defense of democracy" in the western hemisphere against "the penetration of fascism." Montevideo had been chosen as the freest city in South America. Many of the delegates were absent because of "pressure and intimidation" from various South American dictators.

The Montevideo police specifically prohibited the conference from "saying anything either in favor of or against the government of any country." Police twice warned the delegates during the meeting to hew more sharply to the wishes of the police department and a police censor closely followed the broadcasts of the sessions, interrupting the transmissions whenever the speakers said anything he fancied he did not like. In Argentina, Brazil, and Peru the broadcasts were completely prohibited.

In San Salvador the official Diario de Hoy bluntly expressed the intentions of war mongering Roosevelt in an editorial in its March 22 issue: "In the face of the despoliation of Czechoslovakia we must launch to the winds a proposal for construction of an AMERICAN IMPERIALISM that will resist assault by Europeans and Asiatics and that will permit us to DICTATE laws to the world."

In Puerto Rico the President of the Senate, Rafael Martinez Nadal, on March 25 charged that Washington forces the insular legislators to pass bills prepared by the Federal capital by threats to cut off Federal appropriations. "We legislators are only playing a comedy . . ." he said. "The United States boasts of its democracy and feels itself authorized to combat all threats against democratic principles, but governs Puerto Rico like a fascist and unlike a republican nation."

But nothing fazes the lovers of "democracy" in Washington. Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State, in testimony on March 23 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which is studying a proposed bill to sell armaments to Central and South American countries made the following amazing assertion in response to a question as to the type of governments prevailing there: "I do not know of any government on the Continent, Senator Borah, that is not a republic."

"We will call them 'republics,'" conceded Borah. "It does not make any difference what they are, but we will designate them 'republics.'"

It is not delicate about calling a nasty thing by its right name that motivates the State Department in spraying perfume on the tyrants in Central and South America. Roosevelt is preparing to plunge us into war, and where secret diplomacy can't grease the rails under the armament machine then it is necessary to resort to open and downright lies.

Inspiring Example For Labor

On July 28, 1938 District Court Judge Frank E. Reed of Minneapolis handed down an order requiring that General Drivers Union Local 544 immediately surrender for inspection all its books, records and correspondence to attorneys for five finks who had asked for such inspection, in order the better to prepare a case against the union.

It is a sad fact that, in the case of most unions, such a union-busting order of a judge would have been obeyed, and the finks, obviously agents of the Associated Industries, would have had their way.

But this was the famous Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union, veteran of the great strikes of 1934 which unionized the whole city. Instead of surrendering its books, the union issued a public denunciation of the judge which was headlined throughout the area as meaning that the union would not turn its books over to the finks. The battle thus launched went through numerous legal channels, but always in the forefront was the union's mobilization of the labor movement against the finks and judges supporting them.

Last week the same judge Reed handed down an order by which his order opening the union's books to the finks "is stayed until such time as it appears to the trial judge that such inspection is advisable." The trial itself opens on April 18. We are confident that, despite the reactionary regime now dominating Minnesota, 544 will emerge victorious.

Meanwhile, 544 has provided an inspiring example of how unions can fight to prevent employers' organizations and their agents from securing access to union records.

Shocking Conditions Revealed
In Mines By Medical Report

Company Dominated Doctors Are Sharpest Weapon
Against Workers; Companies Make Huge Charges
For Handling Funds Deducted From Miners' Pay

In the mining camps of the United States a man may die of a broken back, and on his death certificate the company doctor, by company request, will write "death due to natural causes."

Anywhere from the hard rock mines of the Rocky Mountains to the bituminous coal pits of the Appalachians, a man blown into a muddy smear when a case of dynamite he is transporting detonates prematurely may be inscribed by the company doctor, by company request, as a "suicide."

Or if he is fortunate to do no more than lose an eye from a flying splinter of steel, he may be returned to work by the company doctor, by company request, under the declaration "nothing wrong with him."

With a broken hip and legs, laid out in a solid plaster cast from arm pit to ankle, the company hospital, by company request, may send the worker home even though he be a bachelor, living alone and completely unable to take care of himself.

And for all these medical services the man must pay a good round sum out of his wages in advance.

DOCTOR IS POWERFUL
COMPANY WEAPON

Every miner who has ever suffered from a crushed toe or lacerated thumb knows intimately that the company doctor for whose services he pays an altogether exorbitant sum is one of the company's most powerful weapons.

Now a report just released by the Bureau of Cooperative Medicine gives a carefully documented account of what every miner has known since mining companies first thought of the payroll check-off for medical services.

In a survey including the coal mining regions of southern West Virginia and the adjacent parts of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, the Bureau of Cooperative Medicine has assembled enough evidence to condemn forever the entire sordid system of company dominated medical service for the mining camps. The survey was invited by the officers of the United Mine Workers of America and financed by the Good Will Fund of Boston and the Twentieth Century Fund of New York.

A staff of competent doctors conducted personal interviews with 787 miners and miners' wives and detailed conversations with about 75 doctors and 30 or 40 other persons. In addition, 38 hospitals were visited and thoroughly inspected by the physicians of the Bureau, and numerous reports, documents, contracts, etc., dealing with the situation were studied.

TYPICAL OF U. S.
MINING CAMPS

The results of the investigation are in close agreement with previous studies made for the West Virginia Legislature, for the

American College of Surgeons, and for the West Virginia Medical Association. The conditions uncovered in the area studied are a typical sample of what goes on in almost any mining camp in the United States.

The committee visited 157 mining camps and found that all the miners interviewed, without a single exception, were highly dissatisfied with present medical conditions and hopeful that a change for the better could be made. "A typical comment," states the report, "frequently heard in all parts of the region was: 'An improvement in medical conditions would mean more to us than a raise in pay.'"

In the area surveyed, covering 122,000 mine workers and 500 bituminous coal mining operations, the report outlines the following general conditions as prevailing:

DEDUCT WAGES FOR
"MEDICAL SERVICE"

Because of the isolation of individual camps in this hilly country, "there grew up many years ago the custom of employing a doctor on a monthly basis, his income being derived from wage-deductions." These deductions range from \$1.30 a month to \$1.80, all employees including the highly paid superintendent contributing the same. These services do not include hospitalization. "This means that every 100 men are paying a total of \$1980 a year to their camp doctor."

The wage deductions are made by the company bookkeeper. Although in some cases a man is nominally free to refuse this service, he is intimidated both by the company and the doctor into accepting these deductions.

Absolutely "no accounting of the expenditure of the money collected is given to the employees." The company handles the funds in its own sweet way, either turning all the funds over to the mine doctor, out of which he must pay for medicines, nurses, if he has any; or turning all the funds over to a contract doctor who in turn hires assistants at meager pay to do the actual work. "The contract doctor may live anywhere—we heard of one who lived in Philadelphia."

In other cases the company keeps the entire check-off, hires doctors on salary, and puts the remaining money into its general funds. This is the most common practice, and many companies gain huge profits from this operation, taking 25 to 50 percent of what is collected.

DOCTORS FOLLOW
INSTRUCTIONS

The company entirely controls the doctor. It hires him without consulting the men who are paying his salary and fires him if he does not follow company orders. The company decides what a man dies from, whether he should be given medical attention, and the doctor has no choice but to follow out instructions. The mine doctor is used to dis-

charge men in violation of wage agreements. This is done through a medical examination by the company doctor paid for by the men, and the company tells the doctor to "turn that man down" because of "high blood pressure," or "leaky heart." In one case a friendly company man gave a union official at list of 22 men who were to be discharged in just this fashion. "Sure enough, when the time came, every man on the list was turned down."

Under the conditions dictated by the company it is impossible for even the most competent doctor to render adequate service. Although it is the workers' money who pays his salary, it is the company who hires and fires him, and he must remain in good standing with the company.

"At its worst," states the report, "this situation degenerates into a disregard of the patients. Asked to visit a sick child, it was reported that one doctor near Logan answered, 'Hell no,' and didn't move. The child died."

MANY ARE IGNORANT
"PILL-PEDDLERS"

The doctors themselves are generally old men who have lost all their former energy or young men just out of school who are willing to sacrifice a few years in order to make a stake. In any case the isolation and the unbearable pressure of the company frequently lead to alcoholism which incapacitates him when he is most desperately needed.

"Many doctors have become little more than 'pill-peddlers,' to the detriment of the miner's pocket-book and of his health. If any serious illness appears in the camp, the doctor may be too ignorant to recognize it, or may send the patient immediately to the 'list' hospital without examining him properly, or may have to call in an outside doctor at the man's expense."

"One woman near Jellico was in labor for 48 hours, yet the attending physician did not even know her pelvis was too small to allow the birth, nor did he know the baby was already dead. A miner near St. Charles, Virginia, began to drink huge quantities of water and suggested to his doctor that he might have diabetes. The doctor laughed at him and didn't examine his urine, and, weeks later, the man was almost in diabetic coma before he was finally sent to the hospital. These examples are fully authenticated and could be multiplied indefinitely."

But even the care the miner is supposed to get under these schemes is "limited to the most ordinary illnesses—anything unusual is charged for at high rates and collections made through further wage-deductions. The extra charges collected from 100 men, states the report, reach a "total of \$2980 a year for camp medical service alone, not including hospital fees."

(To Be Continued)

Perkin's Report Depicts Plight of
Older Workers Under Capitalism

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON, March 19.—In a report made public yesterday, the Committee on Employment Problems of Older Workers, which was appointed by Secretary of Labor Perkins last year, urged abolition of fixed age limits for entrance into public or private employment.

The committee denounced as factually unsound the prejudice that "workers are through after 40" and strongly recommended that the Federal Government take the lead in the problem of unemployment for older workers by abolishing age limits for entrance into the government service except for positions demanding physical strength and endurance.

The plight of workers who have given their best years to the modern industrial process and who have been discarded to face a future of uncertainty and hunger when their period of maximum efficiency should be just unfolding has constituted one of the most tragic phases of capitalism in decline.

Labor Market Burdened

Every issue of the newspapers in any modern city carries stories about the final end of these human beings who have been thrown into the wastelands of dirty streets, beaneries, and dark rooms whose main vista is a gas connection.

Suicides, death from starvation, ill-health which even a modicum of attention could cure or prevent—these are ordinary every-day occurrences accepted quite complacently by the capitalists.

With a labor market over-burdened with strong youthful backs

and energetic young minds, no capitalist feels constrained to employ anyone whose productive ability might be less than it was ten years before.

The older people like the young ones now first pounding cement on the hunt for a job, face a tragically blank wall.

No Use for Workers

Capitalism has nothing but starvation and death to offer these people. No matter how useful they have been, capitalism has no reward for them except a nameless grave in a forgotten corner of the charity cemeteries. Not a single

recommendation of Madam Perkins' committee can change that situation.

Even if the Federal Government should change its Civil Service requirements to permit applications from older people, that does not mean big business will follow the good example. Big business is interested in profits, not in good examples or kindly humanitarian deeds.

At the present time capitalism in America has no room or use for 12,000,000 able-bodied workers. Neither good examples nor childing words from a government committee can relieve that situation.

Nostrums Don't Help

Many nostrums have been suggested to relieve the plight of the older workers. In California particularly, wide movements have advocated giving the aged various amounts in regular sums during their remaining days. All these plans recognize the need and all of them recognize the minimum amounts necessary to make life livable.

But without exception these plans have been opposed by big business. So long as big business rides in the saddle at Washington no pension plans worthy of the name will ever succeed in diverting any of the funds now going into the coffers of the rich or the war machine.

Not until a workers' government is in power at Washington can the older people who have been squeezed out of the industrial process hope for a square deal. Only a workers' government can solve the problem hinted at by Perkins' investigation.

THEIR
GOVERNMENT

By James Burnham

Let me try to put it very plainly:

Who is it who cuts your wages? Not Hitler, not Mussolini, not any "foreign tyrant," but your own American boss. Is it not?

Who lowers the piece rate and speeds up the assembly line? Again: not Hitler, but your own boss, the American boss.

Who throws you and your fellow-workers out of your jobs whenever profits start getting a little lower? Who forms and runs company unions to prevent you from getting your rights? Who fights genuine collective bargaining to the last ditch? Who pays for the spies and stool pigeons who frame you up? Who buys the tear gas and clubs and sawed-off shotguns that appear when a strike is breaking? Who hires the guards and thugs and finks?

Not Hitler, not a German or Italian or Japanese boss, but your own boss, your American boss.

Which Chamber of Commerce?

Who is responsible for the ten to fifteen million unemployed, and their tragic, hungry, empty lives, for their children without enough clothing or food or housing or doctors? No one in Germany or Japan, but the bosses of this country and the system in this country which gives the bosses their power and their privileges.

Who carries out the racial policy, the "Aryanization program," which drives thirteen million Negroes into ghettos, which deprives them of every right, of chances to work, which forbids them to live like decent human beings? Hitler can still take lessons from the good Americans who tyrannize the Negroes.

What Chamber of Commerce is it that howls for "economy" at the expense of food and houses for millions of workers, that cracks down on every progressive proposal which might serve the interests of the masses of the people? It is not the Berlin or the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce.

Which National Association of Manufacturers floods newspapers and magazines and radio with the harsh, reactionary demands of the Tom Glidiers?

And as for Governments?

What courts are those that issue the injunctions which are used to break up strikes and picketing and labor boycotts? Not the Berlin People's Tribunal.

What Supreme Court insolently prohibits the sit-down, labor's firmest, most effective weapon? It is not located in a foreign country. What judges sentence militant workers whenever they stand up resolutely for labor's rights, but somehow seem never to notice when, as in South Chicago, workers are slaughtered in cold blood?

What cops smash picket lines, club the unemployed, protect the rights of fascists and prevent workers from demonstrating against the fascists? Not Hitler's Gestapo, not his Brown Shirts, but the good American cops of good American cities and states.

What parliament refuses to vote adequate relief and at the same time votes billions for airplanes and lifts taxes from big business? Not the Reichstag, but the Congress at Washington.

Who sends in the National Guard or even the regular army if labor seems to be on the point of winning a really major victory? Did you ever hear of cops or soldiers being called to throw lying, criminal, exploiting bosses out of the plants?

While for the Future?

Who put across the anti-labor amendment in Oregon, and aims to duplicate it throughout the country? No one has pretended that Associated Farmers is a Nazi outfit.

Who has drawn up the Industrial Mobilization Act, which will clamp down on the people a totalitarian military dictatorship over night? It was not thought of in Berlin, but in the private offices of the American War Department.

Who will be in charge of the concentration camps now being prepared for American workers who will be bold enough to resist seriously the onward march of reaction? Not Brown Shirts with swastika arm-bands, but home-grown fascists paid for in good American dollars from good American bosses.

What Liebknecht Meant

These questions are simple, and not hard to answer. They explain what revolutionary socialists mean when they repeat, following the words of the great and noble German, Karl Liebknecht, that the main, the first enemy is in your own country.

In each nation, the main enemy of each worker is the boss at home, and the bosses' government. To win freedom for himself, and to aid best in the world-wide fight for freedom, he must fight first against the bosses at home and their government.

In the United States today, the bosses and their government—the Roosevelt government, and all their liberal and reformist and Stalinist allies, are asking the workers to forget the main enemy. They are saying: Forget the lessons of your own experience, forget what we do to you. Turn your eyes on Hitler. Give us your liberties and your lives, so that we can protect our profits against the claims of our boss-rivals in other countries. Kill your fellow-workers, for our sake.

With their voices shouting everywhere, is it not time, more than time, to remember the voice of Liebknecht?

Labor Looks Through
The Press

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

Last year over 30,000 churches in the United States closed their doors because of lack of leadership and interest.

Japanese are giving free medical attention to mothers and new-born babies. (U.P. dispatch from Tokio.) In Japan, as in the great "democracies," one must risk one's life on the child bed or the battlefield to get anything "free" from the boss class.

"According to new labor promulgations of the Nazi labor office, employees must have permission to quit their jobs. Owing to the acute shortage in the building trades and in agriculture, workers know they will not receive such permission," says Edward W. Beattie, U.P. Berlin correspondent.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:

Please send me more information on the activities and publications of the Socialist Workers Party.

Name..... City.....
Address..... State.....

DEBATE
Has
Bolshevism
Failed?JOSEPH SHAPLEN
Social Democrat
Says Yes!MAX SHACHTMAN
Trotskyist
Says No!(Socialist Democratic Fed.)
(Socialist Workers Party)
Friday, March 31
8:30 P.M.in Auditorium of
RAND SCHOOL
7 East 15th Street

Elias L. Tartak, Chairman

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