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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 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 freer 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, announcedly 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 Czecho-Slovakia 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 delicacy 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 the tyrant 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 1000 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 placenta 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 \$2,980 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 chiding 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 Gladiators?

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 armbands, 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

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Dear Comrades:

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