

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 38 June 2, 1939

Published twice a week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8347

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year; \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 5 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year.
Entered as second-class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN
Associate Editors: HAROLD ROBERTS, FELIX MORROW
Staff Members: EMANUEL GARRETT, JOSEPH HANSEN
Business Manager: S. STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
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 vigilantes and Fascist attacks.

Yankee Imperialism

So gross was Anastasio Somoza's betrayal of Nicaragua in the agreement he signed the other day with President Roosevelt, that the bourgeoisie of other Latin American nations are taking alarm over the full implications of what the "good neighbor" policy of American imperialism really portends.

In an editorial in *El Universal*, conservative Mexico City daily which represents by and large the interests of the nationalist bourgeoisie of Mexico, the agreement is flayed as evidence that Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy is transforming itself into a league of dictators with the United States destined "to guarantee the slavery of Latin-American peoples."

"The Nicaraguan government handed over the entire republic to the Americans in exchange for a mess of pottage," continues the editorial. "Hereafter any Latin American dictator of the Mestizo race [privileged half-whites] can obtain the moral and material support of the United States to exploit his own people on condition that, for a set price, he agrees to share power with Yankee imperialism or convert himself into a simple vassal."

The petty tyrants, the plundering dictators, the alley-murder statesmen like Somoza, the assassin of Sandino, who flourish south of the Rio Grande, do not represent the Latin-American people over whom they wield the bloody lash of terror.

They represent no one but the servants of American imperialism.

The agreement signed by Somoza is an agreement between an agent and his boss. It can be put into force only with rifles furnished by American imperialism.

The Nicaraguan people are even now gathering their forces to smash through the violent repressions of Somoza's cruel dictatorship. On the day they put an end to that dictatorship, they will at the same time put an end to every one of the rotten concessions granted by Washington's bloody stiletto and firing squad puppets.

A Period Ends

At the forty-eighth general meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute which elected E. T. Weir to the presidency of the Institute to succeed Tom Girdler, a very significant speech was made by Senator Millard E. Tydings of Maryland.

It was the theme of the Senator's speech that the period "of costly experimentation out of the abundance of our great wealth and the accumulation from former periods of prosperity" is drawing to a close.

Delivered before one of the most vicious anti-labor organizations in the country, an organization backed by the industrial over-lords of the nation, following as it does the President's speech which reiterated the necessity of continuing New Deal policies, Senator Tydings' address can be considered the answer of Big Business to Roosevelt's speech.

The period in which American capitalism could afford to buy off the hungry masses with relief allowances has come to an end. Roosevelt's retrenchments are not enough.

Big Business demands a sharper, more effective way. Roosevelt's plan must make way for Tom Girdler's plan.

And in essence that plan is the one already

tried out by Tom Girdler on a small scale, as the workers attacked in the Little Steel strike will remember: armed company guards, paid company spies, tear gas, rifles, machine guns, barbed wire, standing orders to company thugs and police to shoot to kill.

Now Tom Girdler and his cohorts propose to launch that plan on a national scale. Now they propose to wipe out with bullet and poison gas and frame-ups every voice that is raised in protest to their inhuman system of exploitation for profits.

The period of the New Deal is coming to a close. The period of the show-down battle between the workers and the fascist legions of Big Business is opening.

It is time to prepare!

World's Fair Note

"You know that big mural to the right as you enter the Soviet Building, the one where all the big Soviet heroes are smiling? Some one pointed to the man three removed from Stalin the other day and said to his companion, 'What's he got to smile about? That's Litvinov who got himself purged out of a soft job.' The other fellow scowled. 'I hope the Trotskies don't learn about this,' he muttered. 'They'll send a bunch up to stand here and laugh all day.'"—Meyer Berger, *New York Times*, May 28, 1939.

Suppressed Chapter

A chapter of T. E. Lawrence's "Seven Pillars of Wisdom" which was suppressed on advice of George Bernard Shaw and for "political reasons," has just been published.

The chapter explains that if it had not been for Lawrence's promises and the promises of the British government that they would be given self-government, the Arabs would never have risen against the Turks during the World War.

But while these promises were being made, both Lawrence and the British government knew that they would never be fulfilled. Lawrence says that he was "continually and bitterly ashamed" of the part he played in the deception.

If the suppressed chapter were translated into Arabic and distributed among the colonial fighters who followed Lawrence behind the Union Jack, they would gain greater insight not only into the leadership of Lawrence but into the whole dark and bloody history of their oppression by the British imperialist democracy.

Jobs for Youth

Two speeches at the annual convention of the Boys Clubs of America provide some illuminating facts about the problems facing the youth of America and the bankruptcy of the capitalist spokesmen.

Howard M. Bell, director of the survey of the American Youth Commission, reported that 20,000 youths had been interviewed from many parts of the country and in all walks of life. Here are the facts summarized by the survey:

Three out of every ten youths in the labor market are out of school and totally unemployed, while another is only partly employed. The six others who have jobs work for a median weekly wage of \$13, and 43 per cent of those employed feel that they are in dead-end jobs that offer no opportunity for advancement.

About 40 per cent of the married youths are forced for economic reasons to live with parents or relatives.

More than 90 per cent of the youths interviewed considered unemployment a responsibility of the government.

"In the light of such facts as these, it is little wonder that modern youths have lost some of their traditional enthusiasm for adventure and are, instead, so preoccupied with the unromantic business of tomorrow's board and room," concluded Mr. Bell.

David Sarnoff, President of the Radio Corporation of America, took the floor to explain how youth could find a way out.

"Don't be misled," he said, "into believing that somehow the world owes you a living—or you'll wake up working for the boy who didn't believe it."

And if any youth wants a job he must first "learn to do one useful thing thoroughly."

The 7,000,000 unemployed youth in the United States will join us in pointing out two little flaws in Sarnoff's solution to the problem posed by Mr. Bell:

1. There isn't a youth who would mind in the least, waking up some day and finding himself working—even for a boy who had different beliefs.

2. The capitalist system advocated by Mr. Sarnoff makes it impossible to "learn to do one useful thing thoroughly" even if that would bring a job—which it won't, as many craftsmen who know even two or three "useful things thoroughly" can testify.

There is only one way out for American youth and that is the road to a revolution which will destroy capitalism and establish the socialist system of opportunity and plenty for all.

M-Day for M. D.'s: Mobilizing the Medical Profession for War

In the Next World War the Medical Profession Will Not Be Asked to Volunteer Its Services — the Generals Have Already Made Plans to Draft the Doctors

By SAM PORTNOY

The May issue of "Medical Economics," "the business magazine of the medical profession," carries an article entitled "When M-Day Comes." The author describes how the entire medical profession in the United States is geared into the Mobilization-Day Plan of the War Department.

"No longer will the civilian practitioner be asked politely to volunteer his services," says the article. "He will be conscripted. As the War Department sees it, this is the fairest method of filling existing gaps in the military's medical forces."

"Not many army doctors, either," says the writer, "will be assured of a comparatively safe berth behind the lines." "The mechanized slaughter of today calls for a complete streamlining of the wartime medical machine. The mule-drawn 'sanitary trains' that lumbered after the A.E.F. have been doomed as slow and clumsy. In their place, small mobile motor units will be used."

WILL SHARE DEATH WITH THE SOLDIER
A standing army order, quoted in the article, reads as follows: "The medical department will function as a part of the regular army in the combat zone."

By SHERMAN STANLEY
In the days of feudal England the king would now and then invite his subjects to visit the court and present their grievances. This custom has lapsed for centuries.

Let us assume that George IV would hold a court of grievances when he visits the World's Fair. His Majesty invites representative people from among his vast colonial holdings.

Each one, of course, has only a brief moment in which to speak, for His Majesty tires easily. Let us listen to some of them:

A CEYLON TEA PLANTATION WORKER: Your Majesty, your English soldiers and officials have kept my island sealed for months against the outside world. I work on a British plantation from dawn to night for a few English pence per day. Your hired thugs are trying to smash my agricultural laborer's union. And you are trying to smash my party, the Ceylon Samka Lugh (Socialist Party). The four million Ceylonese workers and peasants are united in their determination to oust your bloody imperialist agents. Wait till you go to war! Then our opportunity will come.

AN IRISH NATIONALIST OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY: I was objecting to the hold your vampire landlords and merchants have kept on Ireland for hundreds of years, your method of dividing Ireland in half and giving the six counties of Ulster to your agents, your hated army of occupation in the North. So I planted a noise bomb to draw the attention of the English workers to what was going on in my Ireland. Your judges with the false wigs sentenced me to 20 years. What was I guilty of? Agitating for the freedom of my people!

A PEASANT IN EGYPT: Your Highness, my comrades and I are called fellahs. We till the land in the famous Nile Delta areas. Since your troops took over our country and marched further south to conquer the Anglo-Sudan area we've had a pretty hard time of it. You say that your treaty of a few years back granted us independence. We don't think so! Your troops are stationed in Egypt, along the shores of the Suez Canal, and you've built a fort at Laka Tana, the headwaters of the Nile, our life-blood. And you're trying to convert our country into a one-crop country. You want us to grow nothing but long-staple cotton for your mills in Manchester. You fix the price for the cotton, too.

No, sire, the people of Egypt don't consider themselves free. They think there is still a long way to go before they know real independence.

A NEGRO GRAZER IN KENYA, AFRICA: I was graz-

The result of the M-Day Plan will be that "many more doctors will be out in no man's land with the troops than ever before." In its drive to militarize the medical profession, the War Department has arranged for front-line "medical detachments" which will be staffed by "eight physicians, ranging in rank from first lieutenant to major." "Their most important job: to furnish first aid under fire."

The "medical regiments," commanded by physician-officers, will be in the thick of all military encounters, superintending the removal of the wounded, commanding ambulances, and providing emergency hospital treatment.

Army leaders, however, do not regard front line service as the physician's greatest contribution to the prosecution of the war. Surgeon General Charles R. Reynolds says: "Preventive medicine is our great field." A large number of physicians will therefore be assigned to "combating epidemics, examining recruits, and eliminating the economic waste entailed by sickness." Psychiatrists will be expected to perform special functions. Thousands of young workers, bluffed into the trenches and driven insane by the bursting of shells and the poison gas, will not be permitted to leave the front and go

home to recuperate. "Shell shock and war-neurosis cases," writes the author, "will not be sent directly home as in the early days of the World War." Instead, they will be treated on the spot.

NOW GOING ON TEST MOBILIZATION

The M-Day plan for physicians is being experimented with daily. "In Brooklyn, N. Y., Col. Louis L. Goldblatt, commander of the 18th Medical Regiment, called out sixty physicians in the nation's first test medical mobilization. Completely uniformed and geared for action, the doctors sped from private offices to meet at the organization's headquarters. The demonstration was voluntary on the part of the regiment; but was officially sanctioned by army high-ups. Regular training periods have been arranged for the doctors in which they will rehearse their assignments under the guidance of War Department officials.

Thus we see how far reaching Roosevelt's war preparations have become. Not only will the people in general find themselves completely subordinated to the war machine, but the next war will also find the medical profession regimented and undoubtedly decimated in the thousands. In its headlong drive to disaster, the capitalist class spares no one.

If King George Held Court for His Exploited Subjects at World's Fair

By SHERMAN STANLEY
In the days of feudal England the king would now and then invite his subjects to visit the court and present their grievances. This custom has lapsed for centuries.

Let us assume that George IV would hold a court of grievances when he visits the World's Fair. His Majesty invites representative people from among his vast colonial holdings.

Each one, of course, has only a brief moment in which to speak, for His Majesty tires easily. Let us listen to some of them:

A COOLIE WORKER OF HONGKONG: My life is spent loading and unloading English merchant ships. I watch day after day the resources of my people being drained off in your ships. The Chinese soldiers certainly could use that food and supplies in our war against the Japanese! My brother workers in Japanese Shanghai are no better off than I am. You English hate the Japanese, but it is only because they are rivals and interfere with your own dirty work. You first taught them how to oppress us—they are only apt pupils.

When I work all day for my copper pennies and my bowl of rice, then I understand that both of you are enemies of the Chinese people.

BANTU, INDIAN, NEGRO WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA: We toil in the South African mines, extracting gold and jewels for you. At night, when we leave the mines, they lock us up in compounds. In Germany and Italy they call these places "concentration camps." But we had them long before they did.

Your government legislates against us in the interests of the tiny white minority. They own everything. We live like the negroes in the South of the United States. We have many more "Jim Crow" laws here than in America.

When you ask us to die for a "democracy" we have never known you will face a united answer: No!

AN ARABIAN PEASANT IN PALESTINE: To prevent Arabs and Jews alike from seeing the real enemy, your militarists stirred up communal fighting in this land of peace. For one year now you have been conducting a violent war against us. Thousands of Arabians have died from British bullets, bombs and machine guns.

Now you want to win us to your side as part of your war plans. But we trust you no further than we would a desert snake. Your imperialists are the world's greatest double crossers! Arab and Jew must

unite against the British if either are to ever be free.

A DOCK WORKER, BRITISH WEST INDIES: We dock workers have organized into militant industrial unions. This has stimulated the organization of sugar mill workers, transport workers, plantation laborers, etc. General strikes against the intolerable conditions imposed by your industrialists and landlords have swept over the West Indies. You sent down a commission which has requested some changes in the Constitution. As if legal phrases on paper will satisfy us!

Our islands have been known as the most loyal section of the British Empire. But no longer! Our loyalties go now to our brother colonial slaves—all 500,000,000 of them—who are struggling to shake off your death grip.

FROM THE GAYA DISTRICT, BRITISH BIHAR PROVINCE: Your Majesty is also the Emperor of India.

When we have finished paying rent, interest of debts accumulated over an endless period, land taxes; well taxes, etc., we have absolutely nothing left. We must forage for food and clothing. Is it any wonder that our Province has the highest death rate in the world?

Your British Indian army has joined with the "goondas" of the native landlords to smash our peasant unions. But we have learned from the Russian peasant who acted in 1917.

A JUTE WORKER OF CALCUTTA: In the British jute mills along the Ganges there are 200,000 Moslem and Hindu proletarians. We have fought the factory owners for years. We are India's vanguard in the struggle against imperialism.

With a general strike, we smashed your efforts to cut our wages last year. Our unions are more powerful than ever. The British understand that the 5,000,000 industrial workers of India constitute their main threat. When we return to our slum hovels in Calcutta at night we know that it is our action you fear most of all.

A few weeks ago when our brothers around Bombay resisted your efforts to enlist them in your imperialist army, your troops murdered 65 of them in cold blood. This is another in the endless chain of assassinations, massacres and slaughters by means of which you have strangled us for 150 years.

India has been called the brightest jewel in your crown of Empire. You took your crown and all its jewels from us. You will stop at nothing to retain it. But the workers and peasants of India are leading the drive of the colonial masses to destroy and wipe out forever the world Empire of British imperialism.

At Your Service THE APPEAL POSTER SHOP

Their **Government**
By James Burnham

No one need envy V. J. Jerome his new specialty. After several years as Browder's commissar in Hollywood, where he was so conspicuously successful in winning strip-tease artists, humorists and glamor girls to the cause of peace and democracy, Kremlins style, Jerome has now a much less luscious assignment.

He has become the ace trouble-shooter of 13th Street. Whenever a crack or dent appears in the party's ideological armor, Jerome is dispatched post-haste to rivet it together again. He operates under the label, "Questions from the People", run when occasion demands on the editorial page of the *Daily Worker*. The questions are worth keeping track of. They show that even the ten ton steel plate of Stalinism cannot prevent heretical ideas from now and then driving toward the surface.

A few months ago, Jerome was hard at work on the refugee problem. Even the most loyal party members couldn't help wondering why no refugees from anywhere were being admitted into the land of the final triumph of socialism; and Jerome's acrobatics in explaining would have got him a place on almost any vaudeville circuit. A while back he had a few points of Spain that badly needed cleaning.

We're in the Army Now

How Jerome must long for the day when his party will hold state power, and anyone who even breathes out of key can be answered with a rifle or an automatic! It's so much easier, more efficient, that way. But here it's still one trouble after another: refugees, then Spain, and last week the question, "What is the position of the Communist Party of Great Britain on conscription?"

A very good question indeed, and one that certainly needs answering. And how revealing of the degeneracy of a pretendedly Marxist party that such a question could even be raised in its ranks! Could a man with a single drop of Marxist blood in his veins seriously debate whether he would have any attitude other than unbreakable opposition to conscription — the slave-driver's whip whereby imperialism drives the unwilling masses to their death on the battlefields of wars to make the world safe for profits?

An issue long ago settled for Marxists; but not so easy for Stalinism. Stalinism is prepared to support one coalition of imperialist powers in war against another. And the terrible logic of politics decrees that if you support the war, you must support the means taken to fight the war. In the democratic countries as in the fascist, the masses do not want to fight in the very popular, very democratic wars of imperialism. And, consequently, every imperialist nation, either today or tomorrow when the war begins, must introduce conscription.

Therefore, in the end, Stalinism must "accept" conscription in every nation where it supports the war. Not merely are the Stalinists recruiting agents for the war. They are and must be prepared to be jailers and judges and executioners of "draft evaders"—that is, of workers who try to keep their heads off the chopping block of imperialism.

But there seems to be a contradiction. Jerome explains that the Stalinists are against the present British conscription measure. Have I been unjust and slanderous? Are the Stalinists suddenly returning to virtue?

The contradiction does not even penetrate the surface. All that Jerome really says is that the Stalinists are not now ready to support the present conscription bill.

Why not? Because support of conscription is the blackest treachery to the workers? How absurd! "Communists," Jerome explains in his first sentence, "are not opposed to conscription in principle."

The reason for the present pseudo-opposition is two-fold: On the one hand, the present British government hasn't yet come through with what Stalin wants of it, "chief of which is the formation of a genuine anti-aggression pact with the Soviet Union." Chamberlain — no mention of course of British imperialism and the British ruling class for which Chamberlain authentically speaks — hasn't been playing ball. Therefore a conscription bill introduced by Chamberlain must be (temporarily, for bargaining purposes) opposed. But let a new government be formed—speaking, naturally, for the same imperialism and the same ruling class—with just the tiniest change in foreign policy, and then support of the conscription bill will become the duty of every man and woman except counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. Or let Chamberlain get together with the Kremlin (though this chance is circumspectly not referred to by Jerome) and in a twinkling his conscription bills will change their spots.

On the other hand, the Stalinist must go slow from a different motive: the English workers are overwhelmingly against conscription, so much so that even the Labor Party has to pretend to be politely against it. The Labor Party and Stalinist bureaucrats must for the moment put up a front of opposition—though never enough to interfere with Chamberlain's plans—in order to prevent the workers from seeing them in their true light and walking out on them.

The opposition of the workers to the war cannot be broken in an instant, even at Stalin's orders. It must be worn down step by step, by carefully planned stages. Half betrayal today makes more readily possible full betrayal tomorrow.

In writing of England, did Jerome remember France? There is universal conscription in France. The Stalinists do not oppose it, but support it most warmly as they do all other "defense measures". And who is at the head of the French government? Is it not Daladier, Chamberlain's Munich comrade?

May I suggest the next question for Jerome to deal with: "What is the position of the Communist Party of France on conscription?"

Fort Snelling privates who get married on a \$30 per month wage have become a problem to the Minneapolis relief department and the War Department is going to hear about it. The city has been providing supplemental relief to several soldiers' families because their army salaries would not stretch far enough. It looks like Local 544 of Minneapolis will have to organize the soldiers. \$30 for 30 hours work should be the slogan.