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Anti-Semite No. 1

Father Coughlin, his appetite only whetted by the perfunctory disapproval expressed by part of the liberal daily press of his previous anti-Semitic blast, returned to Jew-baiting in his national broadcast last Sunday.

Coughlin singled out Leon Trotsky for a vicious blast, to carry further the theme that Jews were responsible for the Russian Revolution.

Taunting Rabbi Leo Franklin of Detroit, who had made public during the previous week a statement by Henry Ford expressing sympathy with the refugees, Coughlin quoted Harry Bennett, Ford spokesman, who later corroborated this to the press, as saying that the Ford statement had been written by the Rabbi, and that Ford had declared, in answer to the Rabbi's plea for jobs for refugees, that Jews would not work in factories.

Coughlin's skilful use of Ford's still rabid, if now more hidden anti-Semitism, demonstrated the futility of rabbis and other bourgeois Jews carrying the will of the big capitalists who will be the beneficiaries of anti-Semitic fascism.

That, in the midst of all the expressions of sympathy for the refugees issuing from government and big business circles, a shrewd demagogue like Coughlin does not hesitate to take up the cudgels for Hitler, is a real index to the exact value of the vaporous cloud of crocodile tears. The very circles which now cluck their sympathy, Coughlin knows, will not hesitate to employ the fascist gangs which Coughlin is inspiring, and the fanatical priest, avid to recoup his fading notoriety, seized the opportunity to come forward as the chief spokesman for American fascism.

The structure of the Catholic Church makes it certain that Father Coughlin could not speak so brazenly without considerable support in the Catholic hierarchy. His speeches are submitted for approval to his bishop, who, in turn, is responsible to Archbishop Mooney.

The Pot Boils Over

The brew mixed at Munich two months ago is already boiling over. The great game of the diplomatic double-

cross is being played in all quarters of the European continent, but the dice are loaded. Win or lose, the outcome means war.

Wary of England's parleys with Hitler, France has paid its court in turn to the newly-established dominant power in Europe. This week it signed what was optimistically called a "no-war declaration" with the Reich.

By this France hopes to turn the edge of the Hitlerite sword away from itself and win a new chance to pull out of its permanent crisis by crushing the French workers and establishing a Fascist regime the better to prepare itself for war.

Simultaneously Italy began an open and loudly aggressive campaign of blackmail against beleaguered France, demanding—still in "unofficial" demonstrations—the cession of Tunisia, Corsica, of French Nice and Savoy, and a new deal at the Suez Canal.

Thus the Rome-Berlin combination continues its advances by alternating on the soft and loud chords and discords. Italy sang the sweet song of "peace" while Hitler advanced into Czechoslovakia. Now Hitler takes over the pipes of Pan while Mussolini beats his chest for territory of his own. Holding their ears in the midst of all this screeching cacophony, England and France try to parry as many blows as they can and hope for the best.

These complications reflect only in part the result of any deliberate policy. They reflect more truly the conflicting cross-purposes of a group of imperialist powers, each trying primarily to protect or extend its interests at the expense of the others.

In this situation all talk of "appeasement" and "peace" is just so much poppycock. It is no longer a question of war or peace, but of the lineups for war and the most propitious moment for launching it. Oswald Pirow, the South African Defense Minister, returned from a tour of European capitals and predicted war in the spring. He reflected the increasing feeling of every man for himself in the tangled corridors of European imperialist diplomacy.

Like almost everything else that happens in Europe these days, however, the Franco-German understanding, no matter how tenuous, temporary, or insecure, is nevertheless a new diplomatic blow at the Soviet Union and a new nail driven into the barrier of isolation placed around it.

Moscow could derive little comfort from the fact that Poland, rebuffed in its attempt to secure a common frontier with Hungary and a little fearful of the overwhelming shadow of Hitler, made a diplomatic move that was supposed to mean Polish-Soviet "friendship" but we know what this friendship has been worth before and what it will be worth tomorrow. At best Poland is a weak reed as Joe Stalin's only "friend" in Europe!

And finally—it is worth noting that the Franco-German "peace" declaration was announced at the height of the anti-Semitic pogroms in Germany. Humanitarianism has no place in the politics of imperialism war.

Letters to the Editor

To The Editor: The Socialist Appeal did a magnificent job during the recent war crisis, but there is one bone which I must pick with it. Its October 10 issue stated editorially, apropos of the Lovestoneites: "During the crisis, their paper too failed to appear. And when it did—a faltering voice, a party afraid of its own shadow. . . I have looked up the files of the Workers Age and find that it appeared regularly every week throughout September and October. Nor did its voice seem so faltering to me, even compared to the Appeal. Both papers gave the war crisis front page prominence on October 1, for example. It is worth comparing their major formulations.

crisis more boldly and effectively. But the basic programs of both papers seem to me too similar for the Appeal to be justified in contemptuously dismissing the Lovestoneites as "another small group which makes big claims for its anti-war position." And, of course, there is no excuse for stating that the Age failed to appear when it actually did appear. I dwell at such length on this point because it seems to me a good example of a tendency on the part of Marxist groups to blackguard each other with more enthusiasm than sense of responsibility. Let us have polemics, by all means, but let us also have fair play.

DWIGHT MACDONALD

Our Reply

(On the factual point raised in comrade Macdonald's communication, we cannot but agree. The Lovestone paper did not fail to appear, and the statement in our editorial of October 10 was therefore erroneous, based on a report we received but failed to check up. Hence, a public rectification is called for and we duly record it.

(On the political point, we find no reason for amending our judgment of the Lovestoneite anti-war position. Far from being "too similar"—as they seem to be to comrade Macdonald—we believe that the "basic programs of both papers," the Appeal and the Workers Age, are irreconcilable. The struggle against imperialism war is possible only on the basis of a revolutionary struggle against capitalism and for the class independence of the proletariat. It is therefore only a combination of export-radicalism, phrasemongering and duplicity when Lovestone speaks of a "revolutionary workers government"—for far-off Czechoslovakia!—and at the same time follows a People's Front or "Democratic" Front course in the United States, with all that it implies in the realities of the anti-war struggle.

(It is precisely the revolutionary Marxist who refuses to separate the "struggle against war"

and the "struggle against capitalism" into two different compartments, for all experience shows that the separation leads inexorably to social-patriotism. Lovestone's support of the LaGuardia People's Front in the last New York Mayoralty election; of the Lehman-Wagner-Rose-Browder Front in the last New York state election; and of the outright Roosevelt-Democratic candidates in Michigan, California and Massachusetts—show, as we have repeatedly emphasized, how Lovestone's policy in practice voids all claims to a revolutionary position on the war question.

(Remaining doubts may be removed by an examination of the program of the Lovestone-Thomas-Libby-Lapp-Fish edition of the People's Front and League for Peace, namely, the "Keep America Out of War Committee."

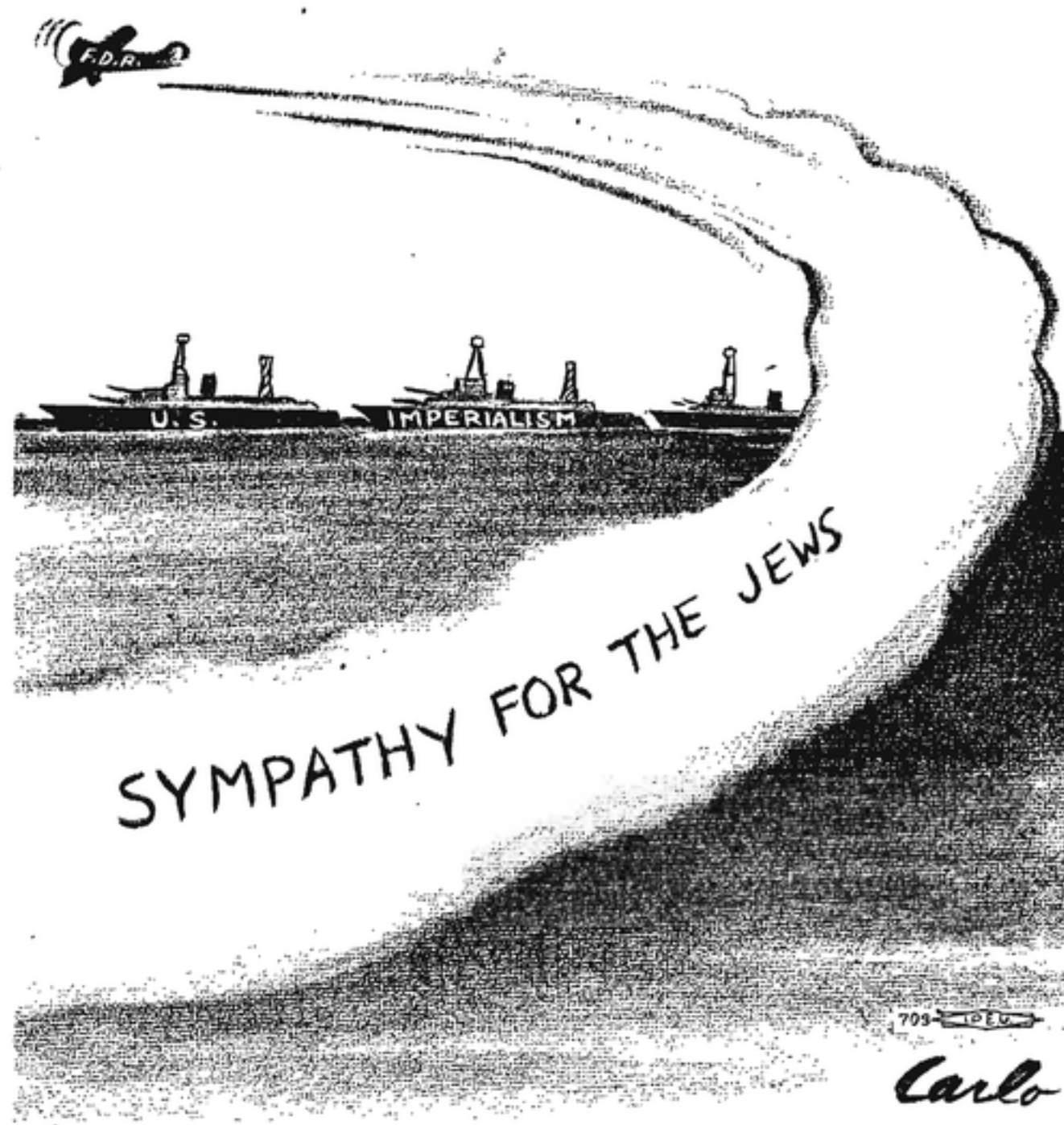
(To us it is self-evident that no one can pursue a policy of class collaboration and petty bourgeois pacifism and yet lay claim to a proletarian anti-war position, much less to one "similar" to ours. Whoever tries to do both these things is perpetrating a fraud, which deserves no less vigorous exposure and condemnation than the fraud of the Stalinists, who also know how to use a revolutionary phrase or two on holiday occasions. If criticism is due the Socialist Appeal it would be in place to apply it to its failure to deal more systematically and adequately with the shoddy opportunistic realities behind Lovestone's pretentious lip-service to principles he has long ago abandoned.—The Editor.)

2 PICKETS JAILED

(Continued from page 1) provide a lawyer and the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees is participating in the defense.

That the local capitalists are not pleased with this expression of independent working class sentiment was indicated by the editorial reaction of the San Francisco Chronicle when it declared: "The time has come to stop treating such incidents as pranks. A few stiff jail sentences will make the police job easier."

The Smoke Screen



Dictators Welcome "Democrats" at Lima

By DONALD BERGNER Secretary of State Cordell Hull and his cohorts arrive at Lima this week for the Pan-American Conference waving the flag of "united democracy." So do the delegations from the Brazilian dictator-land of Getulio Vargas, the Peruvian barracks of Oscar Benavides, the Nicaraguan dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, and the delegates of the dozen other reactionary dictatorships in Latin America.

Never has it been so amply proved as now that "democracy" is nothing but an empty phrase in the loose mouths of cheap politicians.

Franco's Aides Hull, John L. Lewis' daughter Kathryn, the A.F. of L.'s Dan Tracey, the G.O.P.'s Alf Landon, will make the conference walls ring with their stirring denunciations of the anti-democratic totalitarian states in Europe and Asia.

They will not refer, however, to the fact that every country in Latin America except Mexico and Costa Rica has been actively or passively engaged in helping Franco win in Spain! But woe to him who should dare denounce the dictators on this side of the ocean! They shall quickly be taught that the holy water of Wall Street's billions makes "democratic" heroes of the most ferocious dictators!

Just how democratic are these "democracies"? What kind of countries are they? Who runs them? Why is the U.S. government so interested in them? To most people in this country the various Latin American countries make up a composite picture of gauchos, guitars, funny-looking hats, many-colored shawls and hot tamales. But behind the romance and color and spice stands a population almost as large as that of the U.S., a population whose great majority lives under conditions as bad as or worse than those of the most oppressed section of this country, the sharecroppers.

Take Chile for example. The average wage of the Chilean roto or peon is between five and ten cents per day plus a little bread and beans. Are the factory workers much better off? Figures are scarce in these Latin Fuehrers, and the few figures that are available show why. In Brazil, for instance, the average factory wage is less than \$3 a week.

As for civil liberties,—perish the thought! Outside of Mexico and tiny Costa Rica and to a limited degree in two or three other countries, Latin America is one mass of bloody dictatorships. From Guatemala to Tierra del Fuego, from Rio de Janeiro to Lima, 85,000,000 human beings walk under the daily shadow of the lash, the bayonet, and the bullet.

Even Carleton Beals—now an ardent supporter of the U.S. government that stands sponsor for the terroristic dictatorships of

Latin America—is forced to say in his recent book that the Good Neighbor policy is "a policy of friendship for Latin American dictatorships but not for the Latin American peoples."

And why shouldn't the U.S. government be friendly to the dictators? These dictators, in return for the favors meted out to them and their native capitalist-landowner masters, very assiduously defend the six and a half billion dollars of U.S. capital invested or loaned to Latin America. No wonder Wall Street is disturbed by Nazi propaganda!

And no wonder that the Wall Street organ, the N. Y. Times, breaks out into a rash when Latin American delegates hint at a possible demand for "assurances" of U.S. non-intervention in case their countries take over some of the industries now directly controlled by Wall Street. That in many cases this demand is really only the demand of an agent for more commission does not lessen the annoyance and fear of further developments in the hearts of Roosevelt and his Wall Street colleagues.

Same In 1933 The U.S. delegation is undoubtedly trying to keep the proposal out altogether, or, if that is impossible, to soften it and make a dead letter out of it. The same thing happened at the last Pan-American Conference in Montevideo in 1933. The Cuban delegation sent by anti-imperialist Ramon Grau San Martin (his government didn't last long.—Roosevelt saw to that) proposed a similar resolution against armed intervention. Hull and Saavedra Lamas of Argentina and Cohen of Chile tried to keep it off the floor. When that failed, they supported it, with their tongues 'way out in their checks of course, and then stuck it away in a dusty cubby-hole.

The United States government means at all costs to preserve and expand its control, economic and military, of the Western Hemisphere. Six and a half billion dollars, oil, silver, gold, copper, and especially the nitrates of Chile, prime necessity for war munitions; these are the things that Roosevelt, Hull and Co. defend on behalf of Wall Street.

(This is the second of a series on the countries south of the Rio Grande. The first, on Peru, appeared last week. Comrade Bergner will contribute next week an analysis of Chile.)

Yankee Imperialism Plays For Big Stakes at Lima

(Continued from page 1)

considerable, U.S. capitalism has to overcome the disadvantage of lack of centralization and the existence of a working class that is still free to struggle for higher wages and better conditions. Should its wealth and superior industrial machine fail to bring victory to American imperialism in its economic war with the poverty-stricken totalitarian regimes, then more forceful measures will be taken both in the form of an attempt to reduce the living standards of the American workers and of keeping its rivals out of Latin America.

Knowing that they are being courted on all sides, the Latin American capitalists are holding out for a high price. They demand not only good and cheap commodities but also entertainment and flattery. The capitalists of this country have decided to be very careful in their salesmanship methods and fortunately for them the pastor-like Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, suits their purposes in all respects. The most sanctimonious platitudes are ready to roll off his tongue at every opportunity.

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he at least convinces a great number of people both in this country and in the Latin-American countries that the United States is interested in nothing else than to build up friendly and neighborly relations between all countries of the western hemisphere for their mutual benefit and for protection against dictatorships.

Path is Not Smooth The path is not altogether smooth. The stern attitude of the Roosevelt government in attempting to protect the oil properties of the American capitalists in Mexico will require explanation and Secretary Hull will not find the task an easy one. The claim that the United States is interested in guarding the democracies of the western hemisphere will sound a little hollow in view of the dictatorial character of the vast majority of the Latin-American countries. But all these are regarded as minor problems. In the great task of entrenching American imperialism in the Latin-American nations, black can be easily made to appear white, especially by such a religiously devout gentleman as the Secretary of State.

Y.P.S.L. Convention Hails Twice Weekly

"The Tenth National Convention of the Y.P.S.L. hails with enthusiasm the decision of the party to publish the Socialist Appeal twice a week. The Socialist Appeal is for the Y.P.S.L. as indispensable for the winning of American youth to militant socialist action, as it is generally indispensable in the mobilizing of the American masses around the transitional demands and for the socialist revolution.

FLASH! FLASH! Literary Tea's Agog Over New Blessed Event

That bright lad Salter Sinchell of Fourteenth Street, who has been snooping lately around the back alleys of New York's political cafeteria society, came back to the office last week with as weird a report as any we've seen for many a moon. At first we thought he was pulling our collective leg; but when he backed his news with the sacred oath of the Snoopers' and Gossips' Guild, we knew we had to believe him.

On the top of the memorandum he handed in to the re-write man, we read: "FLASH!!! . . . What two well-known anti-Stalinist writers, who have always been in opposite camps, are now all hearts-and-flowers? And how long will we have to wait for the happy ideological blend to blessed event? . . ."

HOOKING THE LYONS "Come across, now," we said. "No anonymous libel. Name the names, or we'll turn you over to a lawyer."

"Why, Eugene Lyons and Sidney Hook, of course," Sinchell replied.

"That can't be," we argued at once. "Eugene Lyons is a socialist-patriot, a leading publicist for the Social-Democratic Federation, which supports the war and Roosevelt and collective security and the Popular Front. Sidney Hook takes a revolutionary socialist position, and is against the war and Roosevelt and collective security and the Popular Front. . . . But wait a minute. Naturally, this must be some specific united front for some definite action or other?" "That's what you think," Sinchell answered, with just the suggestion of a sneer.

We disregarded the sneer. "All right, then, what is this blessed event you mentioned?"

IT'S A NEW LEAGUE "Why, haven't you heard yet? The name is already picked—the League against Totalitarianism—the draft of a call is ready (a polished product of the combined Hook and Lyons style), preliminary gatherings have been held, and members are being approached."

"Well, well," we meditated. "The League against Totalitarianism." We've been doing a little work against totalitarianism ourselves. Curious that we weren't consulted or invited."

This time the sneer was more than a suggestion. "You invited! Why, you're sprung from Leninism, and don't you know that Leninism is the source of totalitarianism—both of the Stalinist variety, as the New Leader will tell you any week you look at it, and of the fascist variety, as Max Eastman told you last week in Liberty? Why should you have been invited? The only political tendency that belonged was naturally that stalwart and consistent defender of freedom, the Social-Democratic Federation. Later on, if you are polite, maybe a few of you will be taken in on sufferance, after everything is all arranged."

"Hmmm," we replied. "Who is going to belong to this League?" EVERYBODY'S DOING IT "Why, it's against totalitarianism in the realms of the arts, science, philosophy and literature, whether it comes from Germany, or Italy, or Russia, or Japan, or even from the democratic countries. So everybody against it in all those places is eligible: you know, all these writers who are disgusted with Stalinism and are feeling unhappy . . ."

"Oh, you mean those writers who are appearing in the New Leader?"

"Well, I wouldn't have put it in quite that way. But yes, those . . . and of course, lots more—Thomas Mann and Hendrick Wilhem Van Loon and all the other leaders in the fight against totalitarianism . . ."

"It's a league against totalitarianism, you say. You forgot to mention what it is for."

"Oh, according to the draft call it has a splendid positive program. It is for . . . why, it's for freedom and decency and honesty and human dignity and . . ."

A SLIGHT DETAIL

"It certainly ought to have a big membership, then. Just about everyone should be able to qualify. And just how is it going to fight for freedom and decency? This is a point that has always interested us."

"Well," Sinchell answered more slowly. "The call wasn't so detailed about that." He brightened: "After all, you can't expect a blueprint. It is going to protest whenever freedom is violated: have meetings and press releases and all that sort of thing."

"And the call of course points out the source of totalitarianism in capitalist-imperialism, and how you have to fight for socialism, against imperialism and its war and especially against our own imperialist government if you want to stop totalitarianism . . ."

Sinchell was horrified. "Always the sectarian," he snorted. "You just want to cut off all forces to begin with. If you began to say things like that, how would you get Louis Adamic and the New Leader and Van Loon and John Chamberlain and Charles Yale Harrison and Common Sense and for that matter Eugene Lyons to join? And if they didn't join, then where would your broad front for freedom be?"

A BIT OF A DILEMMA

"Oh," we commented. "And what will the League do when union workers follow the Youngstown example, and break up fascist meetings, drive fascists out of town, perhaps even bust up the magazine and speeches of fascist writers and artists?"

"Naturally the League will protest such a violation of freedom. Isn't a dictatorship of the left just as destructive of freedom as a dictatorship of the right? Don't you know you can't stop violence with violence because violence only breeds violence? Don't you realize that if you limit the freedom of fascists then that is only the first step in the necessary chain which leads to limiting the freedom of your working-class opponents and, then of the party factions and then ends up in the personal dictatorship of your Stalin? The trouble with you Bolsheviks is, as always, your complete lack of morality."

NEW PEOPLE IN A FRONT

"As we remember," we remarked in a half-aside, "many of these names you mention in connection with this proposed League are those of persons who used to write and speak against Popular Frontism and against the idea that fascism can be stopped by reforming capitalism."

"Let's not bring that up. The old Popular Front was a Stalinist Popular Front. These people are all firm anti-Stalinists. Surely you can see the difference."

We were sinking into a brown study. "What did you say the name of this League was?" we asked again. "Did you say League against communism and fascism? As you describe it, we seem to have heard of the scheme before . . . But no doubt our memories deceive us . . ."

France at the Crossroads

What Price People's Front Today?

Leon Blum shadow-boxes with history with his "Shadow Parliament." Daladier applies drastic penalties to the French workers. The Communist Party hails the defeat of the general strike as a victory. Which way for the French working class? People's Frontism has collapsed. Reaction is in the saddle. French Workers must choose.

THEIR CHOICE AFFECTS THE WORLD WORKING CLASS. WHICH ROAD WILL THEY TAKE?

Hear the answer by: James P. Cannon and C. L. R. James

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