

Peace & Plenty

August 27 is the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Kellogg Pact "to outlaw war," a handsome piece of paper to which only five nations—Argentina, Bolivia, El Salvador, Uruguay and Yemen—failed to put their signatures.

In the intervening ten years, the following wars were not prevented: The Japanese seizure of Manchuria and attack on Shanghai in 1931-32, the Chaco War from 1932-35, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, the Spanish Civil War and the Japanese-Chinese War, which are both still raging—not to mention minor frays such as the present one in Palestine and British bombing operations in India. All the countries involved in these wars with the exception of Bolivia.

The Swiss have just given tangible evidence of their faith in the ability of the League of Nations to preserve peace by constructing a tank trap within 500 yards of the League of Nations Palace in Geneva. There is now a tank trap on every road into Geneva.

From fourteen to fifteen billion dollars a year, six times the amount spent in the year before the World War, is being paid for armaments in 1938. Thus the nations indicate their belief that war has been outlawed. The "peace-loving democracies," as well as the "war-mad" dictatorships, are doing their bit to keep the munitions works going overtime.

"There is a spirit that broods over Palestine, and with God's help peace will be restored to the Holy Land," declared MacDonald, British Dominions Secretary, on August 11, on his return from Palestine.

There is indeed a spirit brooding over Palestine, but scarcely one of peace and holiness. On August 19, Arabs were besieging Hebron and there was heavy fighting going on between the British and Arabs around Acre and the plain of Sharon. British planes machine-gunned Arabs, as the military might of Britain proceeded "to restore peace to the Holy Land."

General John J. Pershing has arrived in Paris for his yearly tour of inspection of American war cemeteries in France. "Nothing," said the World War commander, "can prevent me from visiting the American graves in France annually as long as I live." Here is comfort for the soldiers of America's future wars. "Go, ye heroes, go and die," secure in the knowledge that every year, no matter how inconvenient for him it may be, your Commander-in-Chief will pay a pious pilgrimage to your graves!

The U. S. Army Air Corps, according to Russell Owen, New York Times star reporter, prefers the name of "flying fortresses" to "bombers," since "they do not like the onus that has become attached to that name." When our military experts succeed in finding pretty names for all such unpopular lethal weapons as poison gas and submarines, nobody can have any objection to being a casualty in the sweet and gentle "defense of democracy" that some people, with no sense of decency, insist on calling "imperialist war."

The du Pont family of Delaware, who are not strangers to some of these instruments of death or the profits to be made from them, is building a \$300,000 tomb to house the remains of the late Alfred Irene du Pont, with room for five other du Ponts. This monument will be a tower with a carillon and beacon lights, and a six-passenger elevator—just the right size for the ghosts of all six du Ponts to ride up and down in. Thus one of the greatest of "America's sixty families" will be housed in death in something like the style to which it is accustomed in life.

One section of the American people does not need the relief our generous government is trying to foist on it. A survey of the working capital position of fifty major and fifty moderate sized corporations conducted by an investment firm found that banks "will be unable to count on industry as a source of demand for the greatly increased loans urged on them recently by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation." This is "quite surprising" says the report, in view of the expectation that the undistributed profits tax would cut working capital "way down." Since industry has more money than it knows what to do with, what about some more of it for unemployed relief and W.P.A.?

Await Nazi Move In Czechoslovakia

Hitler Threat Arouses Extreme Nationalistic Fervor; Workers View British Efforts With Skepticism

By FRANK DEMBY (Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia, Aug. 10.—This magnificent city, the juncture between East and West, has been literally overwhelmed by an influx of newspaper correspondents since the beginning of this month—the occasion, of course, being the arrival of Lord Runciman and his entourage. On the surface, Prague is calm; the people do not seem unduly excited in view of the critical situation. They know, at least, that regardless of the results of Runciman's mission, there will be no war while Runciman is here, so they calmly pursue the even tenor of their ways, take vacations, sip their beer in the many pleasant cafes and talk—mainly of the Russo-Japanese situation, rather than of Runciman and Hitler, whom they would like to forget.

The experienced observer, however, is not fooled by the easy-going disposition of the Czechs. There are countless bits of evidence which reveal the tension beneath the surface and explain the highly charged atmosphere of Prague, when compared with London or Paris. One can stroll any evening down the stately Vaclavske, Prague's Broadway and Fifth Avenue, and notice the number of soldiers who walk briskly past, saluting each other. The population, from capitalist to worker, eyes them with pride. One can almost read behind the gleam in their eyes their obvious thoughts: "There go our obdurate. Look how strong and well-trained they are. If Hitler thinks that he will take Czechoslovakia like he took Austria, he is making a big mistake. We will fight, everyone of us; and our army, almost a million strong, is the best-equipped in the world." How many times now have I heard such thoughts from the lips of various people, representing every social strata and class!

Speak No German

It is obvious that an intense wave of nationalism and patriotism has swept over this small, elongated state, artificially created by the Treaty of Versailles, and now already half inside the jaws of Hitler's Greater Germany. Instances are too numerous to mention, but one made a profound impression upon me. I knew that Czechoslovakian is a slavish language and would be so much gibberish to me, but I did not anticipate any language difficulties as I took it for granted that almost everyone in Prague would speak German. Time after time German drew no response at all. Finally, I asked a comrade to explain this. He replied: "Oh, yes! Most Czechs speak German, but they will not do so nowadays if they can avoid it."

The reasons for this chauvinistic sweep are not hard to find. Hitler's annexation of Austria made the Czech bourgeoisie realize that they were next. Relatively far more powerful and clever than the Austrian bourgeoisie, the Czech bourgeoisie was determined to fight for the preservation of their internal imperialist domain, the right to exploit the nine millions of Germans, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Hungarians, etc., who comprise a definite majority of the total population of 15,000,000. When the general mobilization was called on May 21, there were many misgivings in foreign capitals, even, it is rumored, in the Presidential Palace. Only the General Staff of the Army was confident that the mobilization could be achieved. They knew the strength and training of the army, and the superiority that the famous Skoda munitions works gave them. It turned out to be a master stroke. Everything went off like clockwork. In some towns in the Sudeten areas, when soldiers began to appear, they thought it must be the advance guard of Hitler's legions. The Henleinists turned out to welcome them, only to be immediately disillusioned. Hitler took pause and decided that that was not the moment. The result was to raise Czech patriotism to a feverish pitch.

Class Lines Forgotten

But far more important than the strategy and propaganda of the bourgeoisie in the development of the nationalistic spirit here has been the complete degeneration and capitulation of the mass workers' organizations, the Communist Party, the Social Democracy and the trade unions. They have completely solidified themselves with Benes in an unwritten People's Front and, with the exception of the German Socialist-Czechoslovakia, have abandoned even making a pretext to fight for the self-determination of the national minorities.

While the Stalinist apparatus is concentrated in Prague, having nothing at all in the Sudeten areas, its 40,000 members wield a far greater influence proportionately than the 180,000 members of the Czech Social Democratic Party and the 40,000 German-speaking Social Democrats. It is important to note, however, that while the Stalinist influence is on the increase, it is largely amongst the intelligentsia and the petty-bourgeoisie. Prague is already the second (next to Spain) largest concentration point of the

CZECH PRESIDENT



EDUARD BENES

G.P.U., outside of Russia, and the gangster apparatus, although at present quiet, is waiting for the time when it will be more politic for it to move more openly and freely.

In fact, it is only the small voice of the Fourth International that is raised here against the dictatorial war plans of Czechoslovakia and the chauvinistic poison that has been injected into the bloodstream of the proletariat by these so-called workers' leaders.

Economic Crisis

The present crisis is equally revealed, although perhaps not so dramatically, in the economic field. True, the two gigantic enterprises of Czechoslovakia, the Skoda munitions works and the Bata shoe factories, are still showing profits, but at a diminished rate. The currency is depreciated, the Czech kronen being placed in the category of the "blocked currencies," along with the German mark and the Italian lire. This makes it quite advantageous for foreigners to visit, but in spite of this the tourist trade of Czechoslovakia, which annually draws hundreds of thousands to its famous baths, has dwindled to practically nothing, and most of the baths are closed.

Unemployment is increasing steadily, and the government has made absolutely no provision for relief. "Join the army or starve" is, in reality, the slogan of this "democratic" government; and, of course, neither the C. P., S. P., nor trade unions lift a finger in defense of the unemployed. As a matter of fact, the trade unions, controlled by the Social Democracy, do not even exercise the strength which their numbers permit them, working hours being very long and wages low. The average Czech worker earns about \$5.00 a week; Czechoslovakia may be a tourist's paradise, but hardly a worker's. In true Rooseveltian Popular Front style, the entire burden of the crisis and the war preparations is placed on the backs of the workers.

What will Runciman do? This question I have propounded to many workers. Invariably they reply: "I don't know. We hope for the best, but we do not expect anything from him." In this, the Czech workers show admirable good sense and a healthy distrust for the chicanery of British diplomacy. The newspaper correspondents are beginning to chafe at the lack of news, but those on the inside predict that these conversations of Runciman will bring the Henleinists and the Government together over the same table, the object being a formula which will appease the situation for a time, as the notorious lag in England's rearmament has even handicapped her in trying to achieve the Four-Power Pact. The difficulties are many.

Believe War Inevitable

England has no qualms about giving Hitler Sudeten Czechoslovakia. After all, it doesn't belong to her, but it must be done

Franco's Refusal to Withdraw Foreign Troops End Non-Intervention Farce

Note Reveals Italian and German Plan for More Aid

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

To the proposal of the Non-Intervention Committee that Franco send his "volunteers" back to Italy and Germany, the leader of the Spanish fascists replied that he wants belligerent rights before any withdrawal and that an equal number of men be withdrawn from both sides. This is tantamount to a flat rejection of the Committee's proposal and everybody, with the possible exception of the Committee itself, accepts it as such.

This leaves matters exactly as they were for the last two years. The fascist powers will continue to send men and armaments for Franco's forces while the great "democracies" will undoubtedly retain their virtual embargo against the Loyalist Government.

Quick Victory Impossible

The chief explanation for Franco's rejection lies in the serious military reverses he has suffered within the last month. Had he been able to continue his march on Valencia and had he felt confident that the end of Loyalist resistance was really in sight, he could have very well afforded a more affable reply to the proposal of the Non-Intervention Committee. But the hopes which his successful spring offensive aroused for a speedy capitulation of the Loyalist forces did not materialize. On the contrary the Loyalists launched two successful counter-attacks with the result that, at the present moment, the fascist offensive has been stopped and an immediate victory appears out of the question.

Under the circumstances, Franco, necessarily under instructions from Mussolini and Hitler, is frank enough and bold enough to announce indirectly, but nonetheless clearly, that he needs more help from Italy and Germany, and that he does not intend to be hampered by any agreements from getting that aid. And via Franco's rejection, Hitler and Mussolini have once again announced to the world their intention of guaranteeing a victory for their puppet.

Unpleasant as Franco's (or rather Mussolini's) intransigence may be to Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, the prediction can be safely made that the latest slap in the face of the Tory Government will not change its policy of reconciliation with Mussolini. It is true that last April it was expressly stated by the British Government that it "regarded the settlement of the Spanish question as a prerequisite of the entry into force of the agreement [between the British and Italian Governments], but what that meant was that the British Government was perfectly willing to wait for a Franco victory before the agreement would be declared officially in force. It would be absurd to suppose that the British politicians did not know of Mussolini's determination to achieve victory Franco. They, like Mussolini, hoped for an early fascist victory.

British Busy Elsewhere

The conclusion that the British Government will not be seriously exercised over Franco's note is

"peacefully." That requires time. Can Hitler wait a year to carry out the policy of peaceful penetration that is to be proposed? Moreover, while the Czech government is quite willing to grant the Nazis almost a free hand in the municipal administrations in the Sudeten area, such proposals will weaken their authority considerably, and they have already indicated that they will insist that control of the police, army and financial departments in the Sudeten cities remain in their hands. Whether Runciman can find a formula (and any formula must be at the expense of Czechoslovakia) that will be agreeable to both Henlein and Benes remains to be seen. The population here is skeptical, but in any case it believes that war is inevitable, and sooner rather than later.

Meanwhile, absolutely no steps are taken by the government to arm the workers or to solve the nationalistic problem in an effective manner. Nor can any capitalist government do so, without unleashing a workers' revolution. It is this that the Fourth International realizes, but which the Czech workers do not yet realize. The instinctive hatred of the workers for Hitler is legitimate and progressive. But they must be made to realize, as the new united organ of the Fourth International, "Proletarske Noviny," points out that Hitler cannot be defeated, nor the independence of Czechoslovakia maintained, without at the same time pursuing an intransigent policy of class struggle against the Czech bourgeoisie. Only a workers' state, part of the United Socialist States of Europe, can save Czechoslovakia.

WIRE VISITING SPANISH MINISTER, PROTESTING PENDING POUM TRIALS

NEW YORK.—A group of prominent educators and writers protested to Gonzalez Pena, Spanish Minister of Justice, on his arrival in New York, Monday, against the impending trial in Spain of left-wing socialists, anarchists and POUMists.

The telegram stated: Newspapers report impending trial CNT-FAI, UGT, Socialist and POUM members. As devoted Partisans of the Spanish workers in their struggle against Franco and international fascism, we demand that prisoners be tried before the Popular Tribunal in open court and that the prisoners be permitted to choose own counsel and be represented by either Spanish or foreign attorneys. We also request that an international committee of labor representatives be permitted to interview prisoners and be present at trial.

Signed: John Dewey, John Chamberlain, Ludwig Lore, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Max Eastman, Benjamin Stolberg, Sidney Hook, Meyer Shapiro, Carlo Tresca, Anita Brenner, Dwight Macdonald, George Novack.

The telegram was sent by the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees. A similar telegram was sent to Prime Minister Negrin.

NEW WAR ZONE INCLUDES CANADA

(Continued from page 1)

aggressors, lawbreakers, and dictators.

Hull was stating to Europe: make no mistake about it, the United States, choosing its own most advantageous occasion, will come into the approaching war, and come in with both feet. And the United States aims to get the lion's share out of it.

Will Be Debated

At the same time, Hull was again popularizing the ideological cover under which the people of the United States are being swung into the war. It is grimly ironic that an official of the bloody and wholly illegal Brazilian dictatorship praised highly the conjointed Roosevelt and Hull speeches as showing the world that the Americas were determined at all costs to "defend democracy."

There is no doubt that the Queens College address will precipitate a lengthy debate in the new Congress. It is equally certain that the puny-hearted Congressmen of the isolationist bloc, all of them wholly devoted to the fundamental interests of U. S. capitalism, will, after windy and face-saving oratory, fold up before the war machine, just as they did in the case of the Big Navy Bill, and will on every other decisive issue.

Only a mass movement directed unequivocally against the war machine and its plans can hope to have the slightest efficacy. But at the head of the war machine stands Franklin D. Roosevelt. That is what makes so immeasurably criminal the actions of the labor bureaucrats, reformists, Stalinists, liberals, who are now lined behind Roosevelt in the current elections. By their New Dealism they are simply guaranteeing the success of Roosevelt's major project—the war—sharpening the knives poised to cut the throats of the workers.

GUILD SIGNS PACT

The New York Daily News unit of the American Newspaper Guild has just signed an agreement with the publishers improving minimums in pay, forcing higher severance pay, and has worked out a plan to extend salaries above the minimum on the basis of merit.

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Soviet-Japanese War Inevitable

Trotsky Sees Japanese Militarists Headed for Blow-Up; Internal Difficulties Force Stalin's Hand

By LEON TROTSKY

The feeling of satisfaction over the truce between the U.S.S.R. and Japan should not inspire optimism about the near future. Japan cannot move deeper into China and at the same time tolerate the U.S.S.R. in Vladivostok. No diplomatic art can remove this antagonism. Tokyo would prefer to postpone settling its accounts with the U.S.S.R. until its position in China is secure. But on the other hand, internal events in the U.S.S.R. tempt Japan to forge the iron while it is hot, that is, to measure strength immediately. Hence the ambiguous policy of Japan: provocations, border violations, bandit raids, and simultaneously—diplomatic negotiations so as to retain the possibility for temporary semi-retreats in case the U.S.S.R. proves stronger than Japan would like.

In Moscow the inevitability of a Far Eastern war has long been understood. Generally speaking, Moscow has always been interested in delaying the war, as much because rapid industrialization strengthened the military power of the Soviets as because the inner contradictions of Japan, where a semi-feudal regime still exists, are preparing the greatest social and political catastrophe.

Tokyo Holds Key

The key to the situation is now in the hands of Tokyo. The Japanese government is ruled by generals. The Japanese generals are commanded by lieutenant. This constitutes the immediate danger in the situation. The lieutenants grasp neither the position of Japan, nor the position of the U.S.S.R. Despite the Chinese lesson—and partly because of the Chinese lesson—they are seeking easy victories at the expense of the U.S.S.R. They are generally mistaken. If they provoke a war, it will not produce the immediate collapse of Stalin; on the contrary, it will strengthen his position for a year or two, and this period is more than sufficient to reveal in reality the full inner bankruptcy of Japan's social and political regime. A big war will bring to Japan a revolutionary catastrophe similar to the one which befell Czarist Russia in the last great war. The collapse of the Stalinist dictatorship will come only in a second turn. That is why for the rulers of Japan it would not be wise to force Stalin into doing what he does not want, that is, defending the U.S.S.R. with arms in hand. Coyoacan, D.F., Aug. 12, 1938.

cow they give themselves no less clear an accounting of the fact that a war will inevitably lead to the collapse of the Stalinist dictatorship.

Stalin is willing to grant any concessions in foreign policy in order the more ruthlessly to maintain his power within the country. But these concessions and the failures of Soviet diplomacy in the last two years, kindle discontent within the country and force Stalin to demonstrate gestures of force intended to hide his readiness to make new concessions. This is the explanation for the latest bloody conflicts on the Manchurian and Korean border as well as for the fact that so far these conflicts have ended in truce and not in a new war.

The key to the situation is now in the hands of Tokyo. The Japanese government is ruled by generals. The Japanese generals are commanded by lieutenants. This constitutes the immediate danger in the situation. The lieutenants grasp neither the position of Japan, nor the position of the U.S.S.R. Despite the Chinese lesson—and partly because of the Chinese lesson—they are seeking easy victories at the expense of the U.S.S.R. They are generally mistaken. If they provoke a war, it will not produce the immediate collapse of Stalin; on the contrary, it will strengthen his position for a year or two, and this period is more than sufficient to reveal in reality the full inner bankruptcy of Japan's social and political regime. A big war will bring to Japan a revolutionary catastrophe similar to the one which befell Czarist Russia in the last great war. The collapse of the Stalinist dictatorship will come only in a second turn. That is why for the rulers of Japan it would not be wise to force Stalin into doing what he does not want, that is, defending the U.S.S.R. with arms in hand. Coyoacan, D.F., Aug. 12, 1938.

FRENCH WORKERS FACE MAJOR LOSS

Basky, Veteran Militant, Dead

Delivering the coup de grace to the last remaining conquest won as a result of the strike action of the French workers in June, 1936, the bonapartist government of Daladier (unanimously approved in the Chamber of Deputies last April) continues to advance the march of reaction in France. The newspapers laconically inform us that this is not an "abrogation" of the 40-hour week, but a "modification of its interpretation."

The prime minister stated in his radio speech: "I am not against the forty-hour law or any other social law, but I say that factories must work normally." Thus, in the interests of national defense and increased production, the previous extension of the work-week to 45 hours in the armaments industries has provided the wedge which reduces the French workers to a palpably worse condition than prior to the great strikes of June, 1936. Of course, the 40-hour law, for the time being, will remain on the statute books, but "overtime" will now be paid at no more than 10% above the regular wage.

Troops Break Strike

Simultaneously with this heavy blow, Daladier scored another victory for the bourgeoisie when he moved in hundreds of Senegalese troops to Marseille in order to unload ships there and thus attempt to break the militant dockers' strike, which has been going on for more than a month now.

The resignation of the Minister of Labor, Ramadier, and that of Minister of Public Works, Frossard, both members of the neo-Socialists (a parliamentary right-wing split off from the S.F.), may not have any great political significance, but it is also possible that these rather astute politicians still fear what the reaction of the workers will be to this open provocation of Daladier's.

When one stops to consider that unemployment in France has been increasing steadily during the past six months, then the amazing denalogy of Daladier is fully revealed. If it is necessary to increase production, then why not put the unemployed to work? The answer lies in Daladier's statement that "labor costs are too high." The bourgeoisie are not interested in providing work for all and decent living conditions. Like all good capitalists, their hearts are to be found in their pocketbooks.

Open Offensive

The concealed offensive against the living standards of the masses and the conquests of June, 1936, that the workers forced the People's Front to write into the law, has long since moved into the open. The time for nibbling away

NEW YORK, August 19.—Louis Basky, veteran American revolutionist, died last night in Metropolitan Hospital of pneumonia. He entered the hospital on the 15th. He was fifty-six years old.

After his arrival in this country from Hungary, Basky entered the American revolutionary movement forty-one years ago when he joined the Socialist Labor Party. In later years he became a member of the I.W.W. and was quite active in many strikes in the East among the workers in Schenectady, Bridgeport and other cities.

When the Communist Party was founded in 1919 Basky was a charter member. He occupied important posts in the leading bodies of the Party's Hungarian section.

In 1927 he opposed the Stalin faction in the Russian Communist Party and supported the Left Opposition headed by Trotsky. He was summoned to appear before the leadership and offered the alternatives of giving up his struggle or expulsion. He refused to yield and together with a number of other Hungarian workers who supported his stand was expelled.

Following his expulsion he and his co-workers published a weekly paper in the Hungarian language, the *Proletar*, in which they expounded the views of the Left Opposition. They were making plans for the publication of a paper in the English language when other and larger splits took place over the same issues, and Basky and his co-workers joined with the new forces to found the Communist League of America in the fall and winter of 1928-29.

Basky remained with the Communist League until six months after its merger which formed the Workers Party when he left with a small group. He was connected with this group up to the time of his death.

at the gains of the workers has passed. The People's Front did its dirty work and collapsed, leaving the bonapartist government of Daladier in complete control. With each passing day revealing the disillusionment of the workers, left impotent by the betrayals of their leaders in the Socialist and Communist Parties, is it any wonder that the bourgeoisie has daily grown more arrogant and confident? Now they strike out openly and boldly, determined not only to abolish all the conquests made by the workers in June, 1936, but to annihilate the entire labor movement in France. Thus, in practise does the People's Front pave the way for Fascism.