

Current HISTORY

SEPTEMBER 1936

LOG of MAJOR CURRENTS

AT HOME:

AS USUAL, mid-summer found the American people concentrating on sport, pleasure, and vacations. If hotel registries, week-end excursions, and transportation figures are to be relied upon, we have made substantial progress toward recovery. Summer resorts were crowded, highways were congested, and more people appear to have had money available for outings than for several years. Even more significant were trade, banking, and corporation reports.

The normal summer slackening in business was not in evidence, the Department of Commerce announced in its regular monthly survey for July, made public August 9. The survey found the steel industry "unusually active"; it found electrical equipment and building supply industries, in particular, extending the gains of previous months; it found "substantial progress" in the durable-goods industries; and while automobile production declined slightly during July, the report pointed out that "the active market for both passenger and commercial cars has held production at a high level, consideration being given to the lateness of the season." Manufacture of at least two million cars and trucks during the last half

of the year was indicated, the department said, by reports from the Automobile Manufacturers Association, compared with 1,729,000 units during the second half of 1935.

The survey showed that "the major current indicators of consumer income—payrolls and cash farm income—recorded further gains in June, and these have augmented by the unusual increase in disbursements of Government funds as a result of the cashing of the 'bonus' bonds distributed in June."

The principal development in consumer-goods industries was cotton textiles, where "rapidly mounting sales have served to prevent the usual summer slackening in production." Rayon output held up to near capacity levels, but the output of silk goods was reported still low.

Unfavorable Trade Balance

The American people bought more than they sold in June. While the export trade for June increased about \$15,000,000 over that of June one year ago, imports increased by more than \$34,000,000. For the first six months of 1935, we had a balance in our favor of nearly \$30,000,000. For the first six months of 1936, the balance against us was about \$9,000,000.

According to the Department of

Commerce, our export trade to 33 of 51 countries decreased in June compared with the preceding month. As might be expected, Spain was one of them. Canada continued to be our best customer, though her purchases also decreased somewhat over those of the preceding month. The value of exports and imports in June 1936 and June 1935, according to grand divisions, was announced by the Department of Commerce as follows:

EXPORTS		
(In thousands of dollars)		
Grand Division and Country	June, 1935	June, 1936
Europe	69,380	69,400
Northern North America .	28,089	35,498
Southern North America .	17,342	16,789
South America	14,046	15,828
Asia	26,804	31,010
Oceania	6,655	7,756
Africa	7,927	8,628
Totals	170,244	184,908
IMPORTS		
Europe	42,568	53,543
Northern North America .	23,894	29,917
Southern North America .	19,040	24,214
South America	21,583	20,052
Asia	44,366	56,952
Oceania	1,937	3,284
Africa	3,365	2,425
Totals	156,754	190,387

Many economists seek the paramount cause that precipitated America from the topmost rung of creditor nations to that of a small debtor. Many causes are given, among them protective tariffs, increased ingenuity on the part of the purchaser nations (witness Japan), curtailed crop production, and the drought.

None doubts that among the immediate factors curtailing our agricultural exports the drought is the most important. It is too early to estimate the total damage; but it is hinted that approximately half the corn crop has been destroyed, while the wheat crop, although not decimated to that extent, is nevertheless severely injured. This condition, coupled with the fact that the

United States is exporting little grain while importing considerable, completes a pessimistic picture.

Politicians, of course, take note of the damage and interpret the disaster in two ways. One school of thought perceives the drought as demonstrating the necessity for economic planning and crop control. Another school holds the opposite view, and points out that the drought has demonstrated the impracticability of crop control. The first group challenges this accusation by saying that once complete planning is put into effect, the surplus of the abundant years will be more than sufficient to compensate for drought or any other capricious act of God. The other group responds just as vehemently that any type of planning must inevitably exaggerate the scarcity of lean years; that the recent administration policy of paying farmers to raise less has been wholly disastrous. Perhaps the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes. One thing, at least, is certain: the abundance of the fat years must assuredly be stored against the time of leanness.

Fire Threatens the West

As the drought continued grimly into its third month, it forced upon the attention of the nation another serious problem concerning the conservation of natural resources. With the forest region as dry as tinder, vast and valuable timber resources were at the mercy of such Lilliputian items as the carelessly dropped match of a picnicker, the neglected ember of a hunter's campfire, or even the presence of an otherwise insignificant piece of broken grass.

Forest fires raged in seven States, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin suffering the most severely. In Minnesota, it was estimated that 50,000 acres had been burned over; at a minimum, 55 families were said to have lost their

homes and possessions and hundreds of others had been forced to flee from menaced dwellings. In the northern peninsula of Michigan, towns were threatened while a blaze destroyed 3,400 acres which included valuable second-growth timber. Traunik, a town with a population of 150, was temporarily saved by a change in the

wind, but the lumber settlement of Melstrand was endangered. In Montana, the loss of 30,000 acres of timber was blamed upon incendiaries.

Forest rangers, CCC and PWA workers, and volunteers of all descriptions combined to fight the fires. Some 9,000 men were on the job battling three score fires in Minnesota; 2,000



AMERICAN OLYMPICS

—St. Louis Star-Times

were needed to check one outbreak in Wyoming. In the course of a few days, Minnesota ran up a bill of \$89,000, of which \$39,000 was borne by the Federal Government.

These isolated examples serve to give some idea of the extent of the problem. It is not yet known what the total will be when all the damage has been added. But it is certain that it will exceed the \$45,000,000 at which the national loss from fire was estimated in 1934.

Prevention or Cure?

Heavy bills are being run up year after year in fighting fires; and, even, when they are put out, the forest resources of the nation are one more step towards depletion. Fire, with its disastrous after-effects, has been more destructive of timber reserves than all the frantic and ruthless cutting of young growth by the lumber industries. It has certainly been infinitely more injurious than the plow, against which so many are apt to inveigh. Nor is it only an economic problem of the conservation of resources; it is a social problem involving the uprooting of whole human communities.

The fire hazard definitely emerges as a permanent national problem. Forest fires are not merely a periodic visitation of Providence, which can be laughed off today because limitless new resources will be available tomorrow. There is an immediate social cost, and the wealth remaining for the morrow is no longer infinite. The oil industry can tell a story about that.

Two points emerge from the nation's recent experiences with this problem. The first is that, despite the heavy expenditures upon fire-fighting, rain has invariably proved to be the most effective check. But, if Nature has been the best agency in quenching the flames, there is the second point that human

carelessness has been primarily responsible for igniting them. That puts the problem in its proper perspective and shows that a cent spent on prevention equals several dollars' worth of cure.

Undersecretary Tugwell is perfectly correct in recognizing that the preservation of natural resources so that they can support those who develop them is a paramount issue in the States today. And, if the drought has brought a recognition of the fact that forest fires must and can be prevented, then it will have served at least one useful purpose.

The Labor Rift

Those unfamiliar with the development of organized labor are surprised at the present conflict within its ranks. It is not, however, either a novel, or an unexpected, occurrence. Industrial unionism has been advocated by certain labor leaders for half a century. It would have made faster headway but for the opposition of skilled workers who were unwilling to surrender the superior position which their skill insured. The rapid expansion of mechanical power and mass production has had the same effect on craft unionism that it has had on crafts, eliminating or reducing the mass of skilled labor. The very same factors of industrial progress which have inspired business to include a multitude of operations in one plant have also given labor the idea of including a multitude of trades in one union.

It goes without saying that craft unionism will probably never be eliminated, for the simple reason that crafts will never be eliminated. But the tendencies of modern industry are such as to strengthen the idea of industrial unionism. Neither is that idea opposed in principle by the American Federation of Labor. The present quarrel is over authority rather than

method, over leadership rather than principle.

Certain unions under the leadership of John L. Lewis have undertaken to organize large industries such as steel,

rubber, and automobile manufacturing. The A. F. of L. charges that they did this without authorization and contrary to its own program. Their answer is that the A. F. of L. program was not



SUSPENDED ANIMATION

—United Feature Service

being carried out, that something had to be done, and that they were willing to do it. Summoned before the executive council of the A. F. of L. as rebels, they refused to appear and were suspended. The issue thus raised will probably come up for decision at the next A. F. of L. Convention in November.

Meanwhile, this split—if such it can be called—is not so serious as some people appear to think. Some leaders may fall by the wayside, and some unions may lose prestige, but the underlying elements of our industrial situation are such that organized labor is bound to reunite or cooperate through both craft and industrial unions.

That Third Party

Third parties are chronic in American politics. We have had them for a century and more—Barn-Burners, Anti-Masons, Know-Nothings, Greenbackers, Populists, Bull-Moosers, Non-Partisan Leaguers, etc., *ad infinitum*. The present third party, which Mr. Lemke brought into being by fiat decree, is less original, perhaps, and less coherent than most of its predecessors. It represents a curious compound of Inflationists, Townsendites, Share-the-Wealthers, and Coughlinites. It was born of dissent and it suffers from dissent. Most of its specific aims are spotty, and some of them conflicting. It lacks anything approaching a coherent philosophy. Its temporary character is illustrated by the simple fact that some of the groups composing it have declined to go further than endorsing Mr. Lemke as a Presidential candidate, while others are plagued by factions who refuse to go even that far.

The Townsendites have one want—\$200 a month. They are lining up with

the third party—some of them, at least—because they have made little headway with the other two and because their chief hope lies in creating a balance of power. The Share-the-Wealth contingent is governed by similar motives, but lacks the pulling power of any such simple rainbow as Dr. Townsend has painted. As for Father Coughlin's Union for Social Justice, it is too academic and idealistic for practical politics.

The net result of this strange coalitional is problematic. It may mean the birth of a real political faction in years to come. Right now its significance lies in the number of votes it will be able to detract from either or both the old parties and the possible effect of those votes in determining which of the old parties wins.

The American System

Confusion and discontent are playing a big part in the present campaign. As Dr. Boyd H. Bede of Ohio State University told the International Conference on New Education at Cheltenham, England, the other day, "A visitor to America cannot make much out of American politics, but he may get comfort from the thought that we can't, either." Like that traditional John Watkins who was kicked by a mule, and to whom Dr. Bede also referred, we Americans are badly upset. We have a vague idea of what happened, but not why, or what to do about it. Some of our first-aid measures have not turned out so well.

Public opinion in a democracy like ours is bound to be a weird combination. It includes impulses, passing moods, old-time concepts, entrenched beliefs and emotional complexes. It cannot be separated from tradition or inventiveness. It represents compromise as well as conflict between the

old and the new. It is swayed by propaganda and the weather, not to mention countless other externals. Once in a blue moon public opinion shifts some fundamental base, but as a general proposition, it is definitely limited and circumscribed by those deeper stereotypes which pass from one generation to another. What our fathers thought still influences what we think. Dreams of a better future mingle with precedents established long ago to guide the present.

There is such a thing as the "American system," which means that there is such a thing as an American philosophy of life, government, and society. This philosophy has come down to us through the ages; it finds definite expression in our political structure, our economic set-up, and our social institutions. Like all other philosophies, it rests on certain deep-seated convictions. We believe, for instance, in personal liberty, private enterprise, freedom of speech, conscience and action. But—and this is what complicates the situation—we fear and distrust power, no matter what its source, or how it expresses itself. This country was largely settled by those fleeing from power, by religious outcasts, poor debtors, indentured servants, and political refugees. Sympathy for the underdog was bred into our blood from the very beginning. Conversely, we have contracted the habit of viewing all upper dogs with suspicion or resentment, especially when they become too big and brutal. Our attitude toward power is fundamentally different from that of Europe. This is only natural. While most of the greater European nations have put their faith in conquest or colonization, we sprang from colonies. We have inherited the colonial reaction toward centralized authority and remote control. Our dominating complex is defensive. We have seldom

invoked power except to break power, and that is where the rub comes.

Power Through Freedom

The very freedom which this government was meant to guarantee has uncovered new sources of power. Individual liberty has combined with private enterprise to produce some of the most gigantic industrial structures ever conceived. There are business concerns in this country which, though claiming all the immunities and privileges pertaining to personal liberty, command larger revenues, larger combines of capital, and larger forces of men than many a sovereign state. Such concerns represent power, none the less real because of its unofficial character. We have become afraid of them for that very reason. We distrust the control which they obviously exercise over credit, service, employment and commodities. At the moment, we are invoking political power to curb and restrain them. We are not invoking it, however, because we have suddenly fallen in love with it. The average American has not been converted to the superstate ideal. Those who think this country stands on the brink of fascism or communism would do well to keep that in mind. You can see the old anti-power complex working underneath all our emergency measures and temporary schemes if you look deep enough. You can see it in the return to anti-trust laws after it looked as though they were going to be discarded. You can see it in the absence of anger at the Supreme Court for outlawing certain phases of the New Deal after they had broken the jam which they were intended to break. You can see it in the steady growth of regulation and the equally steady refusal to substitute revolutionary ideas. The American people have always been willing to invoke one power to break another, but



ALL ABOARD FOR THE GREEN PASTURES

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

once that task was accomplished, they have refused to entrench the power invoked.

Dilemmas of Progress

Scientific and mechanical progress constantly clashes with the fear of political and economic power in American life. The socialization of private achievement, with a minimum of of-

ficial interference or control, might well be described as our basic concept of progress. Without bigger and better private achievement, there would be little to socialize, so we encourage it by every possible means. We grant patents, protect royalties, and leave the road open for huge profits. With some notable exceptions, our attitude toward socialization, or exploitation, is

much the same. We tolerate the development of gigantic enterprises for the sake of creature comforts, just as we tolerate lawlessness for the sake of liberty. We dread to invoke such political power as would be necessary for complete regulation and a maximum of efficiency, lest it swallow us. We have invoked this power, however, if, as, and when conditions became too irksome, and we can do so again; but thus far our aim has been to gain temporary relief, rather than make a permanent change.

The prevailing attitude toward the electric industry furnishes a vivid example of our thought processes and the methods we are inclined to adopt when something has to be done. Until recently, we hesitated at nothing which would stimulate the production of electricity and the labor-saving devices going with it. We closed our eyes to stock-watering, paid exorbitant bills, put up with arrogance, excused manipulation, and glorified illegitimate profits. Now that the electric industry has been woven into our economic structure as a routine and essential part, now that its cost and revenue can be calculated with reasonable accuracy, we demand that it get down to earth, forego the privileges of a risky adventure, cut out the promoter or racketeering complex, and operate as a sound, quasi-public business should.

Just to clarify the idea, and not because we have gone superstate, the Federal Government is undertaking such projects as TVA and the Columbia River development. This does not mean that the Federal Government intends to take over the electric industry, but that it purposes to show that industry how things can, and should, be done.

Opportunism, Of Course

Within certain broad limits, we Americans are opportunists, and most

of the limits were designed to promote opportunism. We don't admit this, but we rejoice in it. We cherish independence of action and the right to change our minds above everything else. We are born adventurers and experimenters, willing to try anything once, but for that very reason opposed to anything being made permanent.

The average American hates established control by anybody, anywhere, at any time. He will cooperate to gain independence, but it is independence, not cooperation, that appeals to him. He will act collectively to assert or to maintain his rights, but it is the right, not collectivism, that he seeks. He will yell for a New Deal in time of depression, and then yell just as loudly against it when he thinks recovery is assured.

Your average American is not sold on Old World ideas of discipline, regimentation, and the totalitarian state, except for temporary argument. He did not forsake Washington's advice when he entered the World War. He thought he could Americanize Europe, but found he could not. Europe thought this country had adopted the European viewpoint. Both made a serious mistake. In 1917, the majority of us regarded a League of Nations based on democratic principles as not only feasible, but essential, to make victory worth while. Three years later we were voting for "splendid isolation" and "back to normalcy." In 1920, we adopted the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Right now, we are back with the saloon, and the sale of liquor is permitted on a wider scale than at any time for fifty years. What can you make out of it all but opportunism?

The flexibility of our system of government, with its checks, balances, and limitations, is not favorable to any sweeping division as between rights and lefts, or even conservatives and

liberals. As a matter of fact, we are not agreed on what these terms imply. We prefer to be progressive or reactionary with regard to specific problems, rather than in a general sense. Sometimes we find it possible to advocate bureaucracy in the name of liberalism, or uphold personal liberty in the name of conservatism. We are not, and

never have been, opposed to socialistic ideals *per se*, but we would rather apply them in spots and in particular cases. We enjoy the privilege of swinging, first in one direction and then in another. It conforms to our training and tradition. Even our major parties reserve the right to change their attitudes. In this campaign, for instance,



ANTI-MONOPOLY

—NEA Service

the Republican Party appears to be championing the doctrine of State rights, local self-government, etc., while the Democratic Party appears more inclined to centralize authority. This would suggest something of a reversal in the attitude of both parties, but it is generally regarded as signifying little more than the by-product of practical politics. Emergencies incident to depression forced the Democratic Party to adopt measures of a centralizing character. The Republican Party was left little choice but to oppose them. The curious switch deceives and alarms very few.

Meanwhile, we have minorities which do not believe in the American system; which are for radical and fundamental changes; which assert the time has come to discard the principles on which this government was established. It is their right, and we ought to protect them in exercising it, because that, also, is a part of our system. If they had their way, however, it might not remain a part of our system, which is one reason why they do not make more progress. There is not, and never has been, any fixed opposition to radicalism in the United States, except as it aimed to destroy the system which permitted it to exist and express itself. From the beginning, Americans have reserved to themselves and to each other the right to be radical, to preach and proselyte, to advance novel ideas, and to propose queer schemes. That is part of the American system, but to accept radicalism as a fixed method of procedure is not.

A Routine Campaign

A country's politics is ultimately guided by its traditions, its tribal law, its habit of thought, as they are slowly modified by the evolutionary influences of progress.

We Americans know that our sys-

tem is clumsy and inefficient, that it precludes the speed and precision which go with dictatorships, or highly organized states. We know that it is constantly leading us up blind alleys and getting us into jams. We know that it leaves room for a lot of wasted experimenting and unrealized dreams, and that more often than not it appears to take us back to the place from which we started. We know that it involves more or less confusion, that it is cumbersome, unwieldy, and expensive, and that it leaves the roadside strewn with wrecked adventures which seemed glorious at the time of their inception. But it's our system, and we still like it.

We are running true to form in the present campaign, notwithstanding all the prophesying and head-shaking. Three years ago, there was considerable talk about revolution, preventable only by compromising with the revolutionists, whoever they might be. There were some who said that even the compromising amounted to revolution, that we had gone "left." It was asserted by one bold forecaster that Franklin D. Roosevelt would be either our greatest, or our last, President. Quite frequently one hears the question asked, "Will the United States go Communist, or Fascist?" The answer is that the United States will go Democratic or Republican, just as it has for the last twenty elections.

ABROAD:

IN *The Story of Prophecy in the Life of Mankind*, Henry James Forman records that there is a remarkable degree of agreement among pyramidologists, crystal-gazers, and honest-to-goodness prophets that the year of grace 1936 is going to prove portentous for the world. The year, they assert, is going to witness a sort of

general clean-up, in which the forces of light are going to triumph over the "cohorts of darkness." Some are specific enough to mention September 15-16 as the date.

But up to the middle of August, the forces of darkness still appeared about three laps in the lead. To the lay observer, it looked as though any prophet with a decent respect for his reputation might find it wise to start hedging his position. The main reason for this skepticism was the bloody struggle in Spain—a threat to peace none the less serious because it came from an unexpected quarter.

The nature of this menace has been very concisely stated by P. J. Philip, writing in the *New York Times*: "Perhaps the Spanish people themselves imagine that they are fighting a private war. If so, they are very much mistaken. They are fighting locally a party quarrel which is dividing the whole Continent, and it is all the more tragic because, whichever side wins, liberty and decency and respect for human life are going to lose."

Progress of the Revolt

The general strategy of the rebels directed that the southern forces under General Franco and the northern army under General Mola should rapidly and simultaneously converge on Madrid. The signals for action were the murders of a lieutenant of the shock police and of a Monarchist deputy (a rising Fascist leader), attributed respectively to Fascists and the State police. The rebellion first broke out in Morocco, whence troops were transported across the straits to Algeciras, there to begin the southern march on Madrid.

It was soon apparent, however, that the Fascist plan of a sudden *coup* had

failed. It became equally clear that before either side could claim a victory there would be a long period of hostilities, which would inevitably inflict upon Spain a tremendous loss of life and property.

Although Madrid and Barcelona remained loyal, it was estimated that about half the country was in the hands of the rebels after three weeks of warfare, the insurgents being more successful in the north than in the south. It will be a long job to uproot them, particularly since they have access to rich agricultural regions and since they have been making strong efforts to obtain seaports.

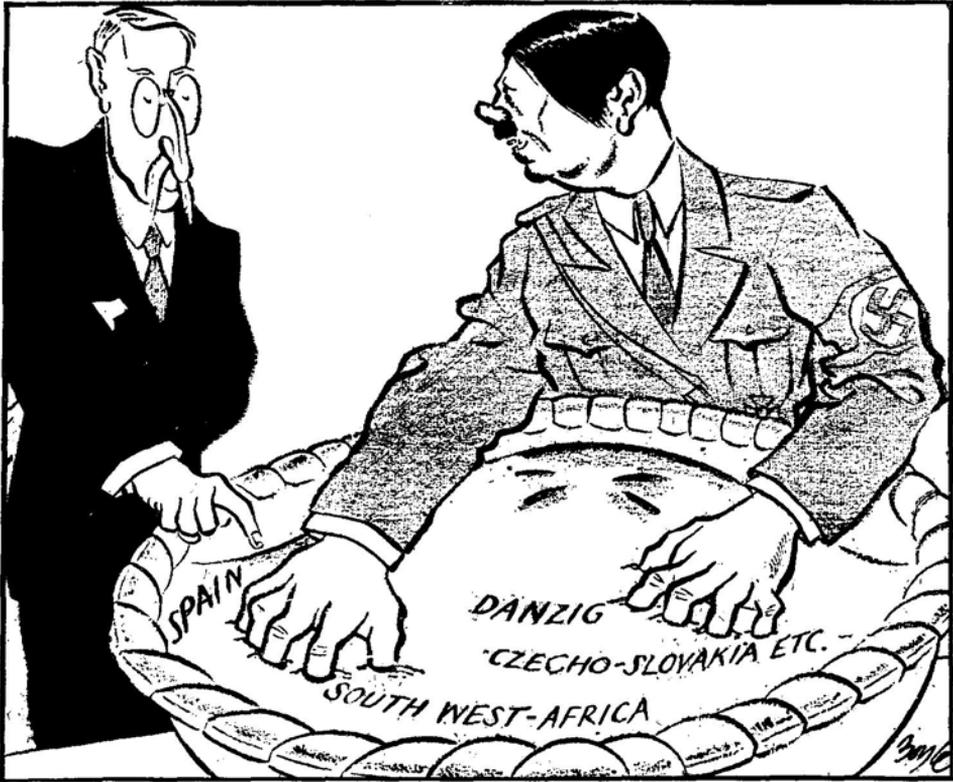
Discounting, for the moment, the possibilities of outside help, the rebels can count as assets the major part of the Army and the resources of the rich landed and industrial classes.

The Government has the Civil Guard on its side; in fact, the unexpected loyalty of that body was primarily responsible for thwarting a sudden rebel *coup*. It also has the support of the Navy, which will help prevent Fascists from crossing over from Morocco. And the preponderant loyalty of the air force should prove of substantial advantage in a mountainous country such as Spain.

Mid-August, however, saw the struggle continuing in all its gory virulence, with neither side exempted from its quota of "atrocities", and both laying claims to early victory. It may be suggested that, so far as the outside world is concerned, the winners of a modern war are those who can first reach a radio microphone.

Behind the Revolt

Since the banishment of Alfonso and the establishment of the Republic in 1931, there have been five major re-



HITLER'S PIE

Dictator Hitler to Democrat Blum: "Now then, don't stick your fingers in other people's business."

—*News Chronicle, London*

volts in Spain, three from the Left and two from the Right. Each has been more intense than its predecessor, and each has been the result of a fundamental cleavage in economic interests, a problem which has been intensified by the depression and which democratic politics have not been able to solve. The present upheaval is categorically the same as its predecessors. It is also the most significant.

In essence, this has been the situation since the elections last February: The Left Republican Government has represented a middle class point of view in a nation in which there is no middle class. It could thank for its election the support of the left wing elements of the

Popular Front, which were allied to it on the negative and tenuous basis of its anti-clericalism, anti-monarchism, and anti-fascism. But it offered no positive economic program with which to pay its election debts to the masses.

When Premier, Azaña was able to hold together the diverse elements of the Popular Front. After he assumed the Presidency, however, the inevitable rifts between Center and Left deepened. Peasants demanded a resolute attack upon the evils of absentee landlordism and a division of the large estates. Workers demanded nationalization or control of the industrial monopolies, many of which were so linked with the Government that stockholders

received the profits, while the State met the losses.

Collaterally, the Socialists and Socialist trade unions of the General Union of Labor split. The milder faction, under Prieto, continued to support the Government; more went into the direct action group built up by Caballero, to the left of the Communists. The number of Communists increased phenomenally, the official group supporting the Popular Front Government, the stronger Trotskyite elements spurning it. The Anarcho-Syndicalists of the National Confederation of Labor refused to cooperate with anyone.

Strikes followed the growing demand for radical economic action. By its beliefs, the Government could not suppress these strikes; likewise, it could not appease the workers' demands.

Thus, with strikes deepening economic distress, with the Left Wing split, and with the ineffectiveness of the Cortes stressed by the tactics of the Right, the time was ripe for the Fascist revolt, planned by disloyal Army officers who had been exiled to outlying posts.

Significance for Spain

There has been a fantastic procession of political parties in Spain: Royalists, Fascists, Nationalists, Separatists, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Anarchists. Today, everyone calls himself either a Fascist or a Marxist. On the one hand, the Army, the bureaucrats, the industrialists, the clericals, the large landowners, and the monarchists look back romantically to the "good old days." On the other, the peasants, the workers, and the small business men look forward to a future which glows a rosy red.

The two parties are mutually exclusive; there is no conception of compromise. The national interest is seen only as the interests of one of these groups.

The lingering hopes of liberalism were the first casualties at the barricades in Madrid.

Whichever side wins, an immediate dictatorship is inevitable—whether or not it be cloaked by the outward forms of republican government. The Government has already learned, to its cost, the result of showing lenience to disloyal Army officers. And, if successful, the rebels are not likely to temper with mercy their treatment of the hands which have been clutching at their property.

It is too early to say what form such a dictatorship will take. The Fascists emphasize public order as the first requisite; they look enviously across the border at the Fascist régime in Portugal. The military would be in the saddle, but that is no new thing in Spain.

The Government is being defended by the radicals. If and when the revolt is broken, the workers who have fought Fascism will demand a much greater degree of economic power than they have hitherto received in return for their support. There has been reason to call Azaña the Spanish Kerensky.

The rebellion has proved that a united front is as necessary to the Left as a Popular Front. But the firm disbelief in politics entertained by the Anarchists and the anti-authoritarian individualism of the Spanish remain to hinder the realization of the Marxist hope of a proletarian dictatorship.

Europe and the Revolt

Hitherto, Spain has been left to settle her own domestic squabbles. But the present struggle is different. For Spain is but one battlefield of a conflict which is dividing, not only the nations of Europe, but also the classes within those nations. It is a conflict between two distinct sets of political values and between two groups fighting for

economic power. Consciously or unconsciously, every nation and every class is interested in the outcome; there can be no genuine neutrals. It is almost a revival of the religious wars which split Europe in the Middle Ages.

In an effort to insulate Spain, France and Great Britain led the way in advancing a collective neutrality pact between the great powers. This pact Russia, Germany, and Italy joined with reservations. It was obvious, however, that, pact or no pact, the Spanish revolt would have repercussions upon all these powers.

Russia, Italy, and Germany were the only nations able to speak with a united voice. Russia unequivocally would prefer a Government victory on the Peninsula; Italy and Germany are equally desirous of a rebel triumph.

Of the three countries, Italy has the most to win—Ceuta and Minorca. These possessions have but little value for Spain, but, if Mussolini could conclude a successful bargain with the rebels, they would mean for Italy the realization of a degree of Mediterranean hegemony beyond her most optimistic hopes. Ceuta, fortified, would destroy British control of the Straits of Gibraltar; with Minorca only half a day's sailing distance away, Italy could cut across the two-day Gibraltar-Malta route.

This was a strong incentive for Italy to jump in on the side of the rebels, and a fascist bargain over the Mediterranean islands was reported. As it was, German and Italian airplanes and munitions were discovered in Spain, while in Russia, workers gathered in Moscow to pledge 200,000,000 rubles to the loyalist cause.

France and England

Events in Spain, however, promise to affect France more than any other coun-

try. In the first place, the Popular Front in France cannot find much food for enthusiasm in the fate of its counterpart in Spain. M. Blum has not seized boldly the opportunity to entrench his régime. There is no political peace yet in France, and the main effects of the "new deal" have been to lower the value of property, angering the Right, and to raise the cost of living, disturbing the Left. The sympathies aroused by the Spanish conflict are intensifying the extremes on each side of M. Blum. If a communist régime results in Spain, the 72 Communist members of the Popular Front will need a lot of appeasing, but, if France moves too far left, England's friendship will be endangered. If the fascists win, their French colleagues will be correspondingly strengthened, and France will find herself between two fascist powers. Premier Blum finds himself falling between two stools, and his position is not made easier by having to reconcile his neutrality policy with the enlistment of Frenchmen in Spanish loyalist forces.

The British Government normally would prefer to see a fascist rather than a communist régime in Spain. Its sentiments changed, however, when it was reported that Mussolini had struck his bargain with the rebels, but General Franco hastened to give reassurance that such was not the case. As a result, England interfered to the extent of preventing a loyalist battleship from bombarding Algeciras. Presumably, her interests would be satisfied as long as Ceuta and Minorca do not go to Italy, although she would not relish a communist government north of Gibraltar.

Nevertheless, the British Labor Party was raising a fund to help the loyalists and, to show how far the implications of the Spanish struggle extend, the American Amalgamated Clothing Workers pledged \$5,000 to this fund.

The principle of neutrality cannot be disregarded with impunity. Whether or not outside powers become involved in the Spanish conflict will depend, not upon any elastic neutrality pact, but upon whether or not the fascist powers feel ready to throw their hats in the ring.

A European Settlement

The reason for the urgent desire for neutrality on the part of France and Great Britain is that their plan for a "general European settlement" would be sent galley-west were all the powers actively to participate in the Spanish quarrel.

A preliminary conference among Great Britain, France, and Belgium has already been held in London. Germany and Italy have accepted invitations to a five-power conference to be held in September or October—probably the latter. It is the hope of England and France that this latter meeting will be followed by another which will include Russia and, necessarily, the Little Entente. But the five-power conference alone will be difficult enough to achieve. To placate Italy, England had to call off her anti-Italian naval pacts with Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, which were part of the erstwhile scheme of sanctions. Then Italy accepted the invitation, and Germany did likewise, presumably because of Italy's action. But her acceptance was qualified by insistence upon preliminary negotiations. That is to say, Germany is not likely to attend unless she is virtually assured of a diplomatic victory. Further discussion of the remilitarization of the Rhineland she will not tolerate. On the other hand, she may insist upon opening up the question of colonies, a point on which Great Britain, in her present mood, will not give the Reich satisfaction.

No matter how serious, these diffi-

culties are slight, however, when compared with those involved in the final stage of the program which envisages Germany and Russia sitting around a table to iron out their differences.

Nothing would be more satisfactory than this general European settlement; and nothing at the moment appears more remote. For one essential of such a plan is that other nations should know where England stands, and the British Government cannot or will not declare itself.

Behind the recent vacillations of British policy lies the doubt of the British Government whether to side with communism or fascism. On one side of the question is the established fact that Russia is one peaceful and stable factor in a chaotic situation. And, of course, the U.S.S.R. is allied with France, to whom Great Britain is committed. Against this, there is a strong pro-German sentiment in England among those who have not forgotten that Stresemann is dead. As between a military alliance with France and Belgium and one with the Nazis, there are those who favor the latter because Germany is potentially the stronger power. Behind this, there is the feeling in influential English circles that the downfall of fascism means communism and that war, perhaps, is preferable to the outright destruction of capitalism on the continent; this sentiment was apparent in the reluctance to take strong measures against Italy.

England can avoid taking sides in two ways: the first is through the success of the proposed conferences; the second, and more probable, is by sewing up Germany in the west by means of military agreements with France and Belgium, in the hope that fascists and communists will kill each other off in the east.

As in 1913, Germany is playing for British neutrality while she hastens her

rearmament and pursues the Pan-Germanic ideal. England's position on the fence suits the Nazis to perfection. But, as in 1913, it holds no prospect of keeping Great Britain out of war.

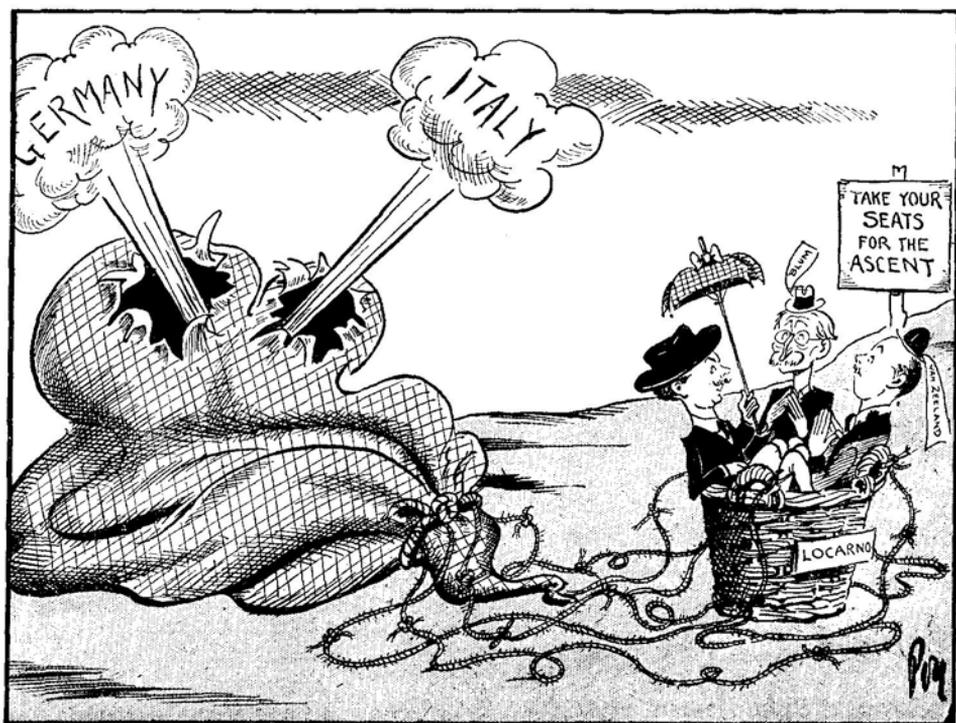
"Mein Kampf" Goes Right On

While negotiations for a peace conference proceed, the German program of expansion on the continent continues to be run off according to the timetable.

It is clear that the result of the Berlin-Vienna agreement has been to land Austria—unprotesting and virtually unsuspecting—in Hitler's game-bag. Now *Der Fuehrer* is gunning for Hungary in an attempt to enlarge the fascist bloc. The native Hungarian Nazi movement under Count Festetics (the arrow cross is its emblem) claims a million supporters; the German minority,

numbering nearly three quarters of a million, is wholly Nazified. Both groups have welcomed the Austro-German agreement, with its blessing upon the milder Austrian Nazis; both are receiving considerable support from the Goemboes Government, which is using them as a threat to political opponents.

To the northeast, the Nazis are proceeding to a *coup* in Danzig. Already Herr Greiser and the Danzig Nazis have virtually abolished the League constitution of the Free City by a series of what are euphemistically called security measures and amount to the suppression of all opposition. The League High Commissioner is not in a position to act unless he receives a protest from the opposition; but the opposition knows what will happen to it if it dares to argue.



WHEN DOES THE BALLOON GO UP?

—Daily Mail, London

The French called upon the League to take action, but this the British refused to approve unless the protest came from Poland, the nation most vitally concerned. The Poles, on their part, seem to regard the developments calmly. And the fact that news of the Nazi move came simultaneously from Warsaw and Berlin, and not from Danzig, lends credence to the story that Colonel Beck, a pro-Nazi Foreign Minister in a nominally pro-French cabinet, is working hand-in-hand with Hitler. Poland has Gdynia; if she can get some assurance that independence of the Corridor leading to that port will be respected, she is not likely to risk offending the Reich.

It may also be noted that Hitler has lopped off another clause of the Versailles Treaty by refortifying Helgoland.

Germany Approaches Russia

There is nothing Poland can do to stop Germany. The former's military superiority, which Pilsudski employed to stop the Nazis, has disappeared. The League is impotent; the French-Little Entente system, almost equally so, although the Franco-Polish alliance has been revived. Poland has eschewed Russia, so that prop is not available.

It is different in the southeast. Little Entente states formerly relied upon their own unity, upon the League, and upon France. Today, in contrast to Poland, they do not ignore Russia; they see the Soviet as the only effective alternative to Nazi Germany. Czechoslovakia already has a treaty of mutual assistance with Russia; a project has been revealed to reinforce this with a railway line crossing Roumania and joining the two signatories. The Rumanian press has published an important statement by M. Titulescu, asking closer relations with the U.S.S.R.

On the other side of the medal, Germany followed up the Austrian agreement by proposing a bilateral pact with Czechoslovakia, the purpose of which would be the granting of independence to the Sudeten Germans and cancellation of the Russian treaty. This is a continuance of the process of south-eastern extension described in last month's *Log*.

It is too early to say which way the Little Entente states will jump—whether towards Germany or Russia. The point of importance here is that the small nations in southeastern Europe are becoming little more than buffer states between the two ultimate antagonists. In fact, as the situation develops, they seem to parallel the position of Inner and Outer Mongolia which stand between Japan and Russia in the Far East.

Germany's final objective is Russia, and the lines are beginning to clear in what may be the main battlefield when fascism and communism come to grips.

The Dardanelles Refortified

Following the communist-fascist struggle further to the southeast, M. Litvinov scored an important diplomatic victory for his country at the Montreux Conference.

The more immediate victory was Turkey's. She deserved it, for the abrogation of the Lausanne Treaty was gained by international negotiation and not, as it might easily have been, by force. Under that treaty, the Dardanelles were demilitarized, their control was vested in an international commission responsible to the League of Nations, and, with slight qualifications, all vessels could pass through freely. The main outcome of the Montreux conference is that Turkey gained unrestricted sovereignty over the Straights and can refortify them.

That in itself is to Russia's interest,

for the present close relations between the two countries guarantee that the Turks would not use this power against Soviet interests.

But, beyond this, Russia gained recognition of her unrestricted right to send her Black Sea fleet into the Mediterranean, while there is a limit placed upon the tonnage other powers can send there. Thus, the Soviets have obtained what the Czars long desired—an ice-free outlet in the south for the Russian fleet. In war-time, the Straits are to be opened to those carrying out the obligations of the League Covenant, or of mutual assistance pacts against an aggressor. Russia is almost certain to come in under this category. But what is more important than League documents is the fact that Turkey, Russia's ally, has the guns overlooking the Straits. And recent history shows that those guns are hard to pass.

Another Dictator

When George II returned to his Greek throne last autumn, he declared himself in favor of a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary government. These ideas were never palatable to his Premier, John Metaxas. Consequently the latter jumped at the opportunity afforded by the 24-hour general strike declared by leftist trade unions. Charging that it was a "communist plot," the Greek "strong man" immediately proclaimed a state of martial law and dissolved the Chamber of Deputies.

Such dispatches as filtered through a tight censorship indicated that there was little substance to the charge that the strike even approximated a Red revolt; nevertheless it served Metaxas' purpose.

The dictatorship differs from its predecessors in that it is neither Venizelist nor anti-Venizelist, but rather fascist in nature; internationalism and anti-mili-

tarism will be suppressed, and cabinet ministers are of pronounced fascist beliefs. This new dictatorship definitely will place Greece in the fascist orbit.

Pause in the Far East

The final collapse of the rebellion of the Cantonese Government marks the greatest step made towards the unification of China during the ten years of the Kuomintang régime. Achieved by the traditional Chinese method of buying off the opposition's subordinates, it represented the climax of Chiang Kai-Shek's consummately skilful efforts to weld China into a nation.

The subordination of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, however, has little or no significance with respect to the major factor in Far Eastern politics—the Japanese invasion of North China. Had it occurred five years ago, the Japanese might have thought twice before embarking on their policy of expansion. But, at this stage, Chiang Kai-Shek realizes that opposition would be futile. If China does fight Japan, it will be led, not by the newly reinforced Nationalist Government, but by the anti-Japanese movement which stands in opposition to that Government.

There are, however, other factors which place Japan in a dilemma. She is committed to her program of political and economic conquest. But, if she pursues it further westward, she will encounter Russia, whom she is not yet, apparently, ready to fight. If she chooses to move to the south, she will run foul of British and American interests, which are already threatened seriously enough to cause their owners some concern.

Considerations of time suggest that Japan pursue her course southward, avoiding Russia and either reaching an agreement with England and the States regarding their interests, or banking upon their absorption elsewhere to keep



SIDE-SHOW
—NEA Service

them out of the picture. For China to-day is a considerably easier prey than it will be in the future.

President Roosevelt Visits Canada

More than 10,000,000 Americans visit Canada each year. This year President Roosevelt joined the tourist ranks in the pilgrimage and spent a day with the Governor General, Lord Tweedsmuir, and Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

The trip cannot be regarded as more than an informal and friendly recognition of the facts that Canada is the United States' best customer, that \$4,000,000,000 of American capital is invested there, and that the two countries share common traditions: the President expressly asserted that citizens of the United States and Canada could not refer to each other as "foreigners."

Devoid as it was of political intentions, with the exception of discussing mutual hydroelectric power problems,

the President's visit nevertheless served to underline aspects of the speech made in the Canadian House of Commons by Mr. King in declaring Canada's official endorsement of the lifting of sanctions. As F. H. Underhill, a shrewd political observer, has pointed out in the *Canadian Forum*, Canada has followed within the League much the same policy as the United States has pursued outside it. Mr. King's important declaration of Government policy emphasized the North American nature of Canadian foreign policy. Expressly reserving to Canada the right to make her own decision as to whether or not she will join in any war, waged under the Covenant of the League or otherwise, he stated that League obligations could not be considered to be a "one way" proposition: European powers which had failed to enforce sanctions in Asia and in Africa could not reasonably expect nations of other continents automatically to come to their assistance when needed.

Mr. King's speech was the most strongly North American declaration of foreign policy yet made by a Canadian Prime Minister. He did not commit the Government either to acceptance or outright denial of European obligations, preferring not to endanger Canadian unity over an issue loaded with such explosive sentiments. Nor could President Roosevelt's visit be considered in any sense a prelude to a common North American neutrality policy.

However, it remains true that the coincidence of the two events marks the tendency of the North and South American nations to draw together as collapse threatens the collective system in Europe.

SCIENCE

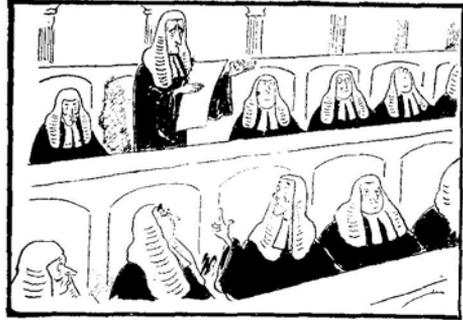
"Now that the dusk of evening is once more falling over the world, one tie remains, that of science."

(Message from University College, Dundee, on occasion of the Budapest University Tercentenary.)

The gloom of an obscene international polity shadows the most cloistered laboratory. Irresponsible men of immature reason and uncurbed emotion are fearful and are fascinated by the scientific machines of war. Recently in England a parliament of rulers discussed the advisability of supplying the citizenry with gas masks, despite the absurdity of the suggestion in the face of the gigantic cost. For the destruction of life the price would have been cheap, but for the preservation of life it was dismissed as prohibitive.

Other nations have already paraded their fear of this new and indiscriminate death from the sky. France has constructed underground shelters after the manner of rabbits and woodchucks who flee the enemy in a maze of subterranean warrens. Japan drills the population of Tokyo for the terror to come by extinguishing lights, shooting off guns, and starting theoretical fires.

Even the belittlers admit that bombing planes in rendezvous over a large city will enjoy some success. According to them a mere few thousand men, women, and children are fated for incineration, gassing, mutilation, and insanity. Pseudo-scientists are more sanguine; they predict that germs and gas and high explosives will destroy, not thousands, but millions of the citizenry. And yet we are assured by other experts that these are ridiculous predictions; that it is technically impossible to thoroughly saturate a city with



*Chairman: "I propose increasing the funds of the intelligence corps."
Juryman: "Why not increase the intelligence?"*

—Il Travaso, Rome.

gas; that disease from the air could not become epidemic in the face of modern medical organization; that the maiming of citizens would be unstrategic when other vital targets of steel and stone are so numerous.

Last of all, the manufacturers of mustard gas offer realistic instructions: Close up the house; get into a bath (since water and gas will not mix); and then, they suggest with refreshing cynicism, "trust to luck." For this advice the citizen offers his thanks and an eternal curse upon the evil ingenuity of man. None will doubt the truth of the leading quotation—science will most certainly link all peoples at war, unfortunately.

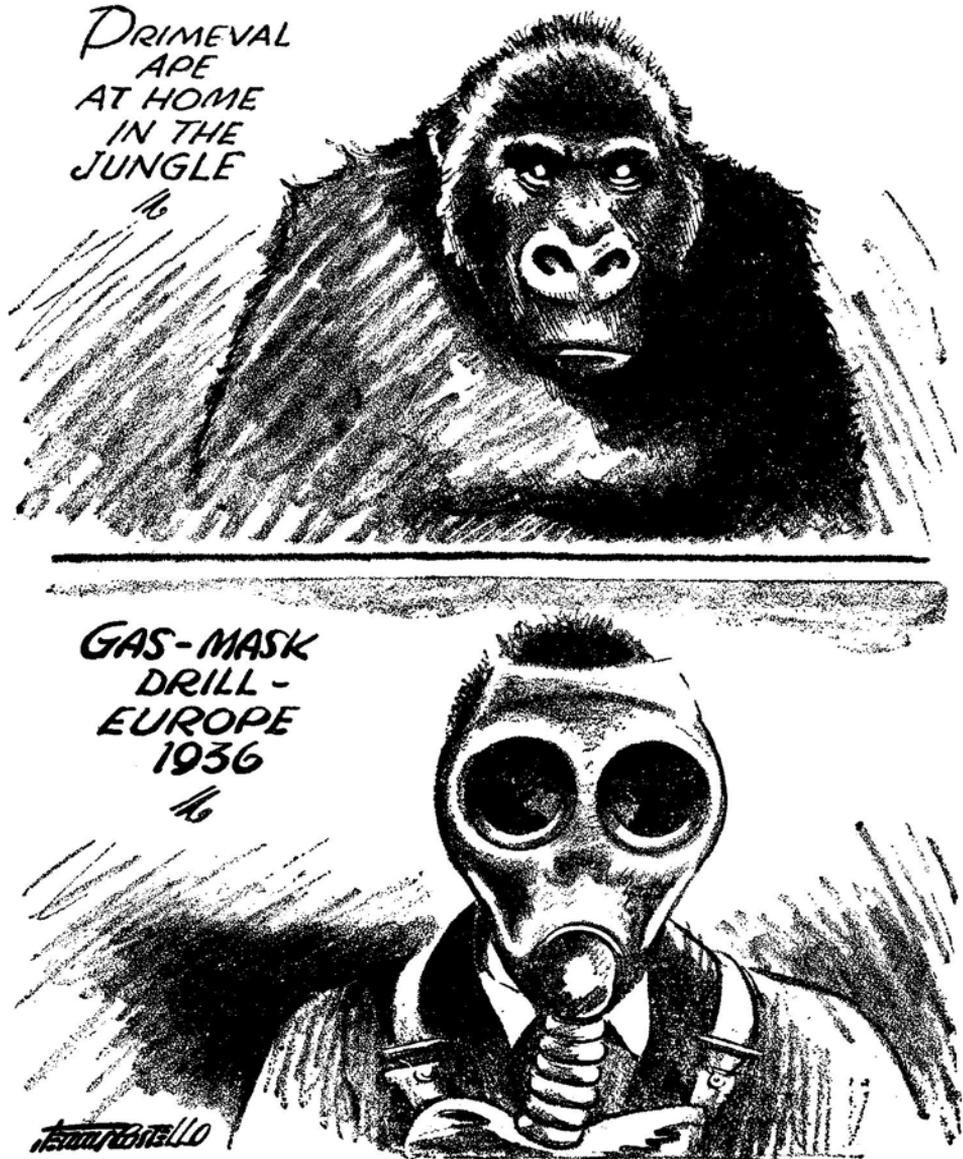


Laymen occasionally attempt to revalue science in terms of human progress. They usually succeed in perverting a self-styled objective examination into a diatribe of half truths and whole prejudices, or, they seize the opportunity to become prophets of either chaos or of Utopia. At the handiest conclave of ignorance they enumerate the sins of science; they rave; they curse; they compare the miracles of science to witchcraft and to the devil. Such is the temperament of most non-partisan, objective examiners when

they calmly examine the claims of science. That they purport to examine the "claims" is the most palpable fabrication. Science claims nothing but the freedom of investigation, and the space in which to exercise this freedom.

Scientific workers minimize the most startling discoveries as normal accidents involved in a continued effort to develop a technique for exactly examining the world and its inhabitants.

Fortunately, able scientists are lift-



PAGE MR. DARWIN

—Albany Evening News

ing the burden of evaluation from the laymen and assuming the responsibility for themselves and for their work. From their financially subsidized elevation they have occasionally spoken with contempt; but lately they display an amused tolerance for their befuddled followers. Dr. Max Mason, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, recently addressed the members of the Sigma Xi fraternity of Cornell University, recounting the milestones of the chapter's existence in terms of scientific failure and success. Many of his observations are worth noting. To quote them:

On Technology:

"It has become a commonplace to state that man's control over the physical forces of nature has outstripped his control of himself. Technology has given him intoxicating power, and some of the results are not surprising.*** Much must be entered on the wrong side of the ledger.***The radio spreads throughout the land inanities which are listed under the title of humor, and exposes with pitiless fidelity the adolescent hysteria of political conventions, met to discuss the government of our country.***This is far from the significant and basic meaning for man of the scientific method. His real problem is himself, and a new chapter in the life of man has been opened by the realization that three hundred years of scientific effort have taught him the method and brought together a vast collection of knowledge and of techniques for the study and control of human development and behavior, and arrived at a conception of man as a psychobiological organism governed by regular behavior patterns both physiological and psychological, which may be analyzed and controlled. Such a thought would have been impossible a few centuries ago."

On Anger:

"Anger is a valuable emotion for the savage, determining quick and forceful action, but it is a poison to objective and rational thinking. In modern life the hormone response to this and other emotions, and all the chemical changes which organize the body to meet an emergency, do not find their normal primitive use. It is not surprising that the biochemical imbalances thus produced disturb the normal physiological behavior of the body and are responsible for much disease with definite pathology in modern life. The gastrointestinal disturbances were perhaps the first in which the psychogenetic factors were clearly recognized, but the list is an ever-growing one."

On Mental Disorder:

"Disturbances of mental health strike at the very center of our existence, undermining individual happiness and effectiveness, social organization, and control of our evolving civilization. Judged only by the cases of frank and disabling mental disorder, the casualties in the evolutionary struggles of man give a staggering total. As many hospital beds are used for mental disorder in the country as for physical illness. But even this is not the heart of the matter.***For every case of frank mental disorder there may be a score of borderline cases, a hundred lives of great unhappiness and low efficiency because of mental maladjustments, and millions heavily handicapped by distorted mental action patterns and emotional instability."

On Responsibility:

"Compelling and startling force is given to the thought of the responsibility of each generation for the well-being of the next. The concept of the average human as a rational being

emerges considerably battered, as we understand something of the subconscious emotional carryover of past experience. We shall have to admit that each individual has, at best, a conditioned rationality. But this is real and great progress; for it compels an objective attitude of man to himself, a search within himself for the existence and causes of his own prejudices, a sympathy and understanding for the prejudices of others, and a deeper meaning to the responsibility of parent and teacher."

On Progress:

"Our civilization can advance as the art of living is enriched by the application of knowledge won through sciences. But scientific and technical knowledge may be used to retard and even to destroy the things most valuable in our lives, if their use be distorted by prejudice, passion, or individual and group selfishness. The safeguard is to be found in proper emotional education, both formal and informal, for the attainment of self-control, and the acquirement of the objective attitude.

These qualities are the essence of the scientific attitude, and are characteristic of the scientific worker when he is in the laboratory."

On Technique:

"Today wide publicity is given to new scientific discoveries and theories. There is no lack of public interest in the results of scientific research. I wish there were a corresponding desire to utilize to the full the simple lessons of life that the success of the scientific method teaches, and a compelling belief that the world could be made a different place if this were done."

On Practice:

"We cannot be true to the spirit of science in our laboratories and false to it in our lives. We cannot have faith in the rationalization of life without seeking to promote it. In that effort we must not overlook the obvious because it is so simple. We cannot follow the example of the common council, which, by motion resolved: "That the Fourth Ward Marsh be, and it hereby is, drained."

