

Republican Platform and Unemployment

(Continued from page 1) for jobs—they are seeking relief, food and shelter. The coming winter shows no signs of improvement. More people will be out of work. Death from starvation will threaten every proletarian family. But before the commencement of the winter season, an election campaign will be concluded. Four parties, Republican, Democrat, Socialist and Communist have drawn up platforms and nominated presidential candidates who stand on these platforms. With more than one-fourth of the American working class out of work, there can be no doubt as to the main issue of the campaign. It is unemployment. The acid test for the parties is their stand on this burning question. What have they to offer the jobless in their platforms? What have their actions been in obtaining relief for the unemployed? This article will deal with the record and the stand of the Republican party on this problem.

What have the Republicans done for the jobless? One word can sum up their deeds—nothing. They were elected on the promise of eternal prosperity. One year passed and their prosperity bubble burst. For almost a year following the stock crash, with industry shutting down and layoffs rising to the millions, their main occupation was pulling the wool over the eyes of the people. There was no crisis, Hoover said. It was only a temporary fluctuation. Then—when it became impossible to deny what was so obvious, Hoover had another gag. It would all be over in 60 or 90 days. Or if these predictions proved false—then prosperity was around the corner. Like Diogenes who looked in vain for an honest man, the American workers are searching for this corner.

Hoover's Grand Scheme

But even if thousands of workers at the start, might have been inclined to believe in the shams of the "great engineer", he himself placed no stock in them. He embarked on a "grandiose program" The papers were full of it for days. \$500,000,000 was invested in a huge "public works" scheme. Millions of men were to be returned to work. Result—a huge fizzle. And the jobless army kept growing. Wall-Street-Hoover admits today in vetoing the Wagner-Garner "relief bill" that—\$300,000,000 will only give jobs to a mere one hundred thousand men.

The next publicity scheme (the only thing the unemployed got out of the Republican administration) was the "stagger system". The Republican platform says that this scheme of "part time employment—limited unemployment". It yielded nothing of the kind. Every succeeding month showed an increase in the number of men thrown out of work. What it really did was to cut the standard of wages in half. And you may be sure, the bosses are thankful.

To the Hunger March on Washington that demanded unemployment insurance, Hoover responded with an emphatic No. And to give force to his statement the Capital was surrounded by the militia armed with all the weapons of modern warfare.

But this wasn't enough. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was organized. The purpose of this institution was to hand out a subsidy of over a billion dollars to the banks and the railroads. They were supposed to start the wheels of industry turning with this money. So Hoover said. The bankers and railroad magnates, however, took the money and divided it among themselves, under the high sounding title of "overdue liabilities".

Relief "Un-American"

The Republicans say in their platform that federal relief is un-American; only local relief is permitted. Hardly a month had passed since the platform was adopted and a bill is passed giving federal relief to states in need, to the tune of three hundred million dollars. And this is to be divided among the unemployed and their families who total over forty million people. Even if all the red tape were eliminated it would amount to scarcely ten dollars per person. And this for a whole year!

In a platform of more than twenty thousand words hardly a hundred are devoted to unemployment. To the demand for social insurance, the Republicans give lectures on "rugged American individualism". To the cry for relief they answer with platitudes about "courage, fortitude and patience". Starve—but starve quietly! They boast to their masters that there have been "few strikes and social disturbances" under their regime. They will eat these words yet!

Is any more proof necessary? The Republican party remains the most conscious and willing agents of the exploiters of the working class.

We must organize to destroy both the Republicans and the capitalist system which they represent. We must vote Communist as a sign that we understand the first task in our historic mission. —CLARKE.

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I See War With Germany

by LEON TROTSKY

World politics have at present two focal points unusually remote from each other: one on the Mukden-Peking line, the other on the Berlin-Munich. Either one of these points of infection is enough to destroy the "normal" course of events on our planet for years—for decades. However, the day-by-day work of the diplomats and official politicians looks as though nothing unusual were happening. It looked the same along in 1912 during the Balkan War which was the overture to 1914.

For some reason—grossly slandering an intelligent bird—people call this an ostrich policy. The ornamental decision adopted by the League of Nations on the Manchurian question is a document of impotence without equal even in the history of European diplomacy: no self-respecting ostrich could possibly sign his name to it. This blindness—in some cases, of course, quite voluntary — to what is preparing in the Far East, has at least this mitigating circumstance: that events there will develop at a comparatively slow pace. The East, although awakening to a new life, is still far from the "American", and even the European, tempo.

Germany is a different matter. The blind alley into which Europe, Balkanized at Versailles, has now run finds a concentrated expression in Germany, where it has taken the political form of "National-Socialism." In the language of social psychology this political tendency might be described as an epidemic hysteria of despair among the intermediate classes: the ruined small trader, craftsman, and peasant; in part, too, the unemployed proletariat; the officer and non-commissioned officer of the great war, still wearing the symbols of distinction but without rations; the clerk of the closed-up office; the bookkeeper of the bankrupt bank; the engineer without occupation; the journalist without salary or prospect; the physician whose clients are still sick but have forgotten how to pay.

Hitler has refused to answer questions about his domestic program on the ground that it is a military secret. He is not obliged, he says, to give away his secret methods of salvation to his political enemies. This is not very patriotic, but it is clever. In reality Hitler has no secrets at all. However, we are not here concerned with domestic policies. In the matter of international politics his position seems at first glance a little more definite. In his speeches and articles Hitler declares war on the Versailles Treaty, whose creature he himself is. He specializes in terms of abuse directed against France. But as a matter of fact if he came into power he would become one of the chief pillars of Versailles, and would turn out to be a mainstay of French imperialism.

These assertions may seem paradoxical. Yet they flow inexorably from the logic of the European and international situation when correctly analyzed—when the analysis starts, that is, from the basic factors of politics, and not from phrases, gestures, and the other trash of the demagogue.

HITLER WILL NEED ALLIES

The German Fascists declare that they have two enemies: Marxism and Versailles. By "Marxism" they mean two German parties—the Communists and the social democrats, and one state—the Soviet Union. By Versailles, they mean France and Poland. In order to understand what will be the actual international role of a National-Socialist Germany, it is necessary to weigh briefly these elements of the problem.

The relation between Fascism and "Marxism" is sufficiently clear from the experience of Italy. Mussolini's program, up to the day of the operetta march on Rome, was no less radical and no less mystical than that of Hitler. The reality turned out to be merely a struggle against revolutionary and oppositional forces. Like its Italian prototype, German National-Socialism can come to power only after breaking up the workers' organizations. This, however, is no simple task. Civil war lies on the road between the National-Socialists and the power they seek. Even if Hitler should get a parliamentary majority by peaceful methods—which may safely be excluded from things possible—he would find it necessary just the same, in order to inaugurate a Fascist regime, to break the backbone of the Communist party, the social democracy, and the trade-unions. And this is a very painful and prolonged surgical operation. Hitler himself, of course, understands this. That is why he is not at all disposed to accommodate his political plans to the uncertain destinies of German parliamentarianism.

While covering himself with phrases about legality, Hitler is awaiting the opportune moment to strike a short and sharp blow. Will he succeed in this? It is no easy task. But it would be unpardonably light-minded to consider his success impossible. And by whatever roads Hitler might come to power—whether through open doors or by breaking in—the Fascization of Germany would mean in any case a severe domestic conflict. This would inevitably paralyze the forces of the country for a considerable period of time, and compel Hitler to seek in surrounding Europe, not revenge, but allies and protectors. From this fundamental consideration our analysis must begin.

In their struggle against Fascism the German workers will naturally seek support in the Soviet Union, and they will find it. Can you imagine for a moment that in these circumstances Hitler's government will risk getting into an armed conflict with France or Poland? Between the proletariat of a Fascist Germany and

the Soviet Union stands Pilsudski. Pilsudski's help, or at least his friendly neutrality, will be infinitely more important to Hitler, absorbed in the Fascization of Germany, than the liquidation of the Polish Corridor. How insignificant this question will seem to Hitler—and indeed the whole question of the boundaries of Germany—in the midst of his bitter struggle to get the power and to keep it!

Pilsudski would be for Hitler a bridge toward friendship with France—if indeed there were no other bridges closer by. Even now there are voices heard in the French press—as yet only in its secondary organs—"It is time to steer our course by Hitler!" To be sure the official press, led by Le Temps, takes a hostile attitude to the National-Socialists. But this is not because the masters of fate in contemporary France take Hitler's martial gestures seriously. No, what frightens them is the path by which Hitler can alone come to power—the path of civil war, a thing whose outcome cannot be predicted by anybody. May not his policy of a state overturn from the Right unleash a revolution on the Left? That is what the ruling circles in France are worrying about—and quite justifiably, too.

But one thing is clear: If Hitler did overcome all obstacles and arrive in power, he would be compelled, in order to get a free hand within his own country, to begin with an oath of loyalty to Versailles. Nobody on the Quai D'Orsay has any doubt of that. Moreover, it is well understood there that a military dictatorship of Hitler, once it was firmly established in Germany, might become a considerably more reliable element in the French hegemony over Europe, than the present German governmental system, whose mathematical formula consists almost entirely of unknown quantities.

WAR WOULD BE INEVITABLE

To imagine that the ruling circles in France would be "embarrassed" to act as patrons of a Fascist Germany would be quite childishly naive. France is now relying upon Poland, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, three countries ruled by a military dictatorship! Is this accidental? Not in the least. The present French hegemony over Europe is a result of the fact that France still remains the sole inheritor of the victory of the United States, Great Britain, Italy, and herself. (I do not name Russia here since she did not participate in the victory, although she paid for it with the greatest number of human lives.) From the hands of the most powerful combination of world forces which history has known, France has received an inheritance which she will not let go of, but which is too heavy for her narrow shoulders. The territory of France, her population, her productive forces, her national income—all these are obviously inadequate to support her lordly position. The Balkanization of Europe, the stirring up of antagonisms, the struggle against disarmament, support to military dictatorships—these are the methods necessary to prolong the hegemony of France.

The forcible splitting-up of the German nation enters into the system as a link quite as necessary as the fantastic boundary lines of Poland with its famous Corridor. In the language of Versailles, "Corridor" is the name given to an operation which other people call removing a rib from a living organism. When France, while supporting Japan in Manchuria, swears to God that she seeks peace, this only means that she stands for the inviolability for her own hegemony—that is, her right to dismember Europe and reduce it to chaos. Immoderate con-

querors, as history testifies, are always inclined to "pacifism", because they dread the revenge of the conquered.

A Fascist regime—a thing which could be realized only at the price of bloody convulsions and a new exhaustion of Germany—would be for that very reason an invaluable element in French hegemony. From the side of the National-Socialists France and her Versailles system have nothing at all to fear.

Would Hitler in power, then, mean peace? No, Hitler in power would mean a re-enforcement of French hegemony. But exactly for this reason Hitler in power would mean war—not against Poland, not against France, but against the Soviet Union.

The Moscow press has spoken more than once in recent years about an approaching military intervention in the Soviet Union. The author of these lines has more than once objected to this kind of snap prognosis—not because he thought that there was in Europe, or on the rest of the planet, any lack of the evil will to war against the Soviet Union. No; there was no lack of that. But for such a risky undertaking the disagreements and resistances were too great, not only between the different European states, but still more within each of them.

There is hardly a politician worthy mentioning who now imagines that the Soviet Republic could be settled with by means of armies improvised along the border or simple landing operations. Even Winston Churchill no longer believes that, notwithstanding the very wide gamut of his political vocal exercises. An experiment of this kind was more than well made during the years 1918-20 when Churchill, according to his own proud boast, mobilized "fourteen nations" against the Soviet Union. How happy the British exchequer would be now to have back those hundreds of millions of pounds spent on intervention in Russia!

But we mustn't cry over spilt milk. Besides a good lesson was paid for with that money. If at that time, in the first years of the Soviet Republic when the Red Army was still walking in its baby shoes—alas, in those years it often had nothing on its feet at all—the troops of "fourteen nations" could not win the victory, how much less hope there is now, when the Red Army is a mighty force, with a victorious tradition, with young and yet experienced officers, with inexhaustible reserves raised up by the Revolution, and with sufficiently opulent military stores!

The united forces of the encircling nations, even if they could be dragged into the adventure, would be small for the task of intervention in the Soviet Union. Japan is too far off for an independent military role against the Soviet Union, and moreover the Mikado's government will have troubles enough near-by in the coming years. To make intervention possible, a great, highly industrialized, and moreover continental European empire would be needed—one which would desire, and be able, to take upon itself the principal weight of a holy pilgrimage against the Soviets. To be more accurate—a country would be needed which had nothing to lose. A glance at the political map of Europe will convince you that such a mission could be undertaken only by a Fascist Germany. More than that, a Fascist Germany would have no other road left to go. Having come to power at the price of innumerable victims, having revealed its bankruptcy in all domestic problems, having capitulated to France and consequently to such semi-vassal states as Poland, the Fascist regime would be inexorably compelled to seek some sort of gambling way out of its own bankruptcy, and out of the con-

traditions of the international situation. A war against the Soviet Union would grow out of these circumstances with fatal necessity.

To this pessimistic prognosis you might reply by citing the example of Italy, with whom the Soviet Union has established a modus vivendi. But that objection is superficial. Italy is separated from the Soviet Union by a series of intervening countries. Italian Fascism rose with the yeast of a purely domestic crisis—the national claims of Italy having been satisfied liberally enough at Versailles. Italian Fascism came to power shortly after the great war, at which time there could be no talk of a new war. And finally Fascist Italy remained lonely, and nobody in Europe knew how stable the Fascist regime would prove, on the one hand, or the Soviet regime on the other.

In all these respects, the position of Hitler's Germany would be fatally different. An external success would be necessary to it. The Soviet Union would be an intolerable neighbor. We remember how long Pilsudski hesitated before signing the pact of non-aggression with Russia. Hitler side by side with Pilsudski—that alone almost answers our question. On the other hand France cannot help understanding that she is not in a position to keep Germany permanently disarmed. The French policy will be to turn Fascist Germany against the East. That will offer an escape valve for the national indignation against the Versailles regime, and—who knows?—maybe we will have the good luck to find along this road new sources for the solution of that most sacred of all world problems, the problem of reparations.

RUSSIA MUST BE PREPARED

If you take on faith the assertion of the Fascist prophets that they will come to power during the first half of 1932—though we are far from believing these people on their mere word—it is possible to lay out in advance a sort of political calendar. A couple of years must be set aside for the Fascization of Germany—crushing the German working class, creating a Fascist militia, and restoring the cadres of the army. Along about 1933-34, then, the conditions for a military intervention in the Soviet Union would be adequately ripe.

This "calendar" of course assumes that the government of the Soviet Union will be meanwhile patiently waiting. My relations with the present Moscow government are not such that I have any right to speak in its name or refer to its intentions, about which I, like every other reader and man of politics, can judge only on the basis of all the information accessible. But I am all the more free to say how in my opinion the Soviet government ought to act in case of a Fascist state revolution in Germany. Upon receiving the telegraphic communication of this event I would, in their place, sign an order for the mobilization of classes. When you have a mortal enemy before you, and when war flows with necessity from the logic of the objective situation, it would be unpardonable light-mindedness to give that enemy time to establish and fortify himself, conclude the necessary alliances, receive the necessary help, work out a plan of concentric military actions—not only from the west but from the east—and thus grow up to the dimensions of a colossal danger.

Hitler's shock troops are already singing all over Germany a marching song against the Soviets, composed by a certain Doctor Hans Buchner. It would be imprudent to let the Fascists draw this martial air. If they are destined to sing it, let them sing it staccato.

Whichever of the two might happen to take the formal initiative, a war between a government of Hitler and the Soviet Government would be inevitable, and that too at a very early date. The consequences of this war would be incalculable. But whatever illusions they might cherish in Paris, one thing could be confidently asserted: In the flames of a Bolshevik-Fascist war, one of the first things to burn up would be the Versailles treaty.

—L. TROTSKY.

YOUTH NOTES

JULY ISSUE OF YOUNG SPARTACUS

Send for the July issue of Young Spartacus. Order a bundle and distribute the papers to the working and Communist youth. The issue contains articles of interest to all youth. An article by N. Gould explains the recent situation in the Chicago Young Communist League.

NEW YORK

The Spartacus Youth Club at its last meeting, Friday, July 8, held a discussion on the "Communists and the Presidential Elections". Comrade Morris Kent led the discussion and a number of comrades participated. On July 15 comrade H. Capelis will lead a discussion on the "Reasons for the Backwardness of the American Working Class".

A number of highly successful open-air meetings were held by the club in the past few weeks. Last Thursday a meeting was held on the corner of Second Ave. and 4th St., at which Young Spartacus, The Militant, and "Germany, the Key to the International Situation" were sold. A number of youth contacts were made.

The picnic held for the Spanish youth and the Mexican comrades last Sunday

Opposition Challenge Still Unanswered

June 25, 1932.

Communist Party, New Jersey District 7, 7 Charlton Street Newark, New Jersey. Dear Comrades:-

On June 11th, a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Friends of the Soviet Union, in Newark. At this meeting a report was made by the delegation which recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union. One of the speakers, comrade Leo Trotsky, who is also a leading party member, made a report in which he attacked the International Left Opposition and especially comrade Leon Trotsky.

The members of the Newark branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) protested his remarks and proposed that an open discussion be arranged on the platform of the International Left Opposition. Our proposition was accepted by comrade Rostovsky in behalf of the party. We therefore request that you appoint a committee to meet with our committee and make arrangements for organizing this discussion which in our opinion will help materially to clarify the confusion that exists in the Communist ranks with regard to the policies of the Left Opposition which have been slandered, misrepresented and distorted by the Party leadership and in the Party press.

With Communist Greetings, LOUIS NAGY, Secretary of the Newark Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Pioneer Publishers Notes

In a short two weeks What Next by comrade Trotsky will be off the press. The timeliness of the work makes us confident that we are going to hang up a record for quick sales. We are making every effort to achieve this result. In next week's issue we expect to be able to make a significant announcement about the price which will make our first expectation almost a certainty. Watch for it!

The book will run to about one hundred and eighty pages and will be both paper and cloth bound. It will be up to our publishing standard in appearance and work. Arrangements are being made to ship them out against orders immediately they come off the press.

Coming on the heels of the Problems of the Chinese Revolution, the publication of What Next marks a high point in our publishing activities. But we are not stopping with this significant achievement. We are already preparing for our next publication. From this time forth we expect to issue a steady stream of works by the teachers and leaders, both living and dead, of the international revolutionary movement. In a short time we will announce what our next publication will be.

BOUND VOLUMES

Our small supply of the bound volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets is getting steadily smaller. In these bound volumes are contained three earlier works by comrade Trotsky which are out of print and are unobtainable except in these bound volumes. These are: The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany which deals with the question of social-Fascism; World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan, which deals with the question of economic collaboration with Soviet Union; and The Draft Program of the Comintern which deals with the question of socialism in one country. We may reprint one or all of these works. If we do it will be some time in the future. In the meantime the only opportunity our comrades and readers have to read and study these important works is in the bound volumes. And these are going fast.

Publications in Foreign Languages A number of the works which we advertise in England are also obtainable from us in Jewish, Russian, Italian and Spanish. Comrades who read English with difficulty or feel more at home in their native languages should apply to us for information about these publications. We may not be able to fill every order but we will try.

Earn A Free Copy of Problems of the Chinese Revolution

Have you read Problems of the Chinese Revolution? How many copies have you sold? Comrades who are unemployed and cannot afford to buy a copy can easily earn a copy by getting orders for four paper bound copies. Upon receipt of orders for four copies we will send the remittance free a copy for himself. This offer holds until further notice. It applies, of course, only to orders for the book itself. That is, it does not apply to Militant subs with which the book is given as a premium.

Now comrades, this is your opportunity! We are of the opinion still that no worker who has a dollar can refuse to buy this work when all its qualities are explained to him. Our experience here confirms us in our opinion. If you go to it you can do it.

at Tibbetts Brook Park failed to raise any substantial sum of money. A number of youth comrades and friends were there but few adult sympathizers cooperated.

Comrades should send in donations for the Spanish youth comrades so as to help them put out their monthly magazine, Young Spartacus.

The Club will hold a camp-fire at Palisades, Saturday evening July 23rd, comrades will meet on the New York side of the 125th St. ferry at 6:30 P. M. All comrades invited.

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION BY LEON TROTSKY. These 450 pages of analysis and record of the revolution and counter-revolution in China since 1925, offer the first integral Marxian presentation of one of the greatest movements in modern times. The views of the Left Opposition are given here for the first time in systematic, elaborated form, side-by-side with a stinging criticism of the catastrophic course pursued by Stalin and Bukharin. The suppressed writings of Trotsky are found here for the first time in English, together with appendices by Zinoviev, Vuyovitch, Nassunov and others. Cloth Bound \$1.50 Paper Bound \$1.00. Special Offer: A one year subscription to the Militant is \$2.00. A paper bound copy of Trotsky's book is \$1.00. By special arrangement, you can get both of them for only \$2.50—offer valid only for the summer months. Orders from the PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.