

Leon Trotsky

HITLER THE PACIFIST

Hitler wants peace. His speeches and his interviews on this theme are constructed on an ancient formula: war is incapable of solving a single question, war threatens the extermination of the superior races, war brings the ruin of civilization in its wake. The classic argumentation of the pacifists for hundreds of years! No more consoling is the fact that the Chancellor of the Reich has already succeeded in convincing several foreign journalists of his absolute sincerity. It is true that another pacifist, whose sincerity is not open to the least suspicion, Karl Ossietzki, can ask why he continues to remain in a concentration camp, if the leader of the present government applies his fundamental theme assiduously, if not with very much talent. But Ossietzki is imprisoned for the very reason that he is able to pose embarrassing questions.

The Arguments of Hitler

The arguments of Hitler are convincing in the degree that they have volume. All the ministers, all the orators, all the journalists swear that the Third Reich has been called into being to realize the fraternity of people. If all of National Socialist Germany is learning to handle arms, it is only in order the better to become impregnated with hatred for them. Even von Papen who, as early as May 13th, still preached that the true Germany ought to die young on the field of battle and not from hardening of the arteries, does not cease to repeat now, that there is nothing more worthy than to give up the ghost peacefully surrounded by one's grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

The peoples of Europe passionately want the preservation of peace. No wonder that they lend an ear' fall of hope, to the bulky argumentation from Berlin. It is not very difficult to dispel their doubts. Many are asking: and what is to be thought, for instance, of Hitler's autobiography which is entirely built up on the irreconcilability of the interests of France and Germany? An appealing explanation has already been given: the autobiography was written in prison, when the author's nerves were disordered and it is only through an obvious negligence of the minister of propaganda that this disturbing book continues to this day to serve as the basis for national education.

"Peace" Instead of "Struggle"

Once the question of "equality of rights" is determined in favor of the Third Reich, Hitler will prepare the publication of a new edition, more reassuring. If the book has been called up to now, "My Struggle", the principal object of "My Struggle" being the Versailles Treaty, in the future it is very probable that it will be called "My Peace" and that they will append to it a report of the National Socialist physicians attesting that the nerves of the author are in better order. And the Leipzig trial shows that the medical surveys of the Nazis exist in the world, life will probably be made an eternal delight. But unfortunately side by side with these virtues stupidity and credulity still live on. Who will have to pay for them?

The author of these lines has already at one time attempted to draw the reader's attention to a remarkable document, the "Open Letter" from Hitler to the then Chancellor of the Reich, von Papen. Unfortunately our weak voice obviously has not reached its destination. The "Open Letter" has not become, as we had hoped, the brief of all editors and all diplomatic chancelleries. And it is well deserving of that. The recently published political document of German propaganda are also incontestably very instructive. But they have the drawback of being secrets. One can always suspect a falsification.

Hitler's "Open Letter"

The "Open Letter" is not a secret document. This pamphlet was officially published by the Nazi party on October 16, 1932, three months before Hitler's seizure of power. His nervous system at all time had succeeded, we must believe, in completely recovering from the tests of 1923. Hitler already felt himself almost in the government. There remained only the hurdling of the last obstacles. The ruling classes looked towards him hopefully, but not without fear. They were particularly apprehensive of any adventure in "romantic" chauvinism. The aim of the "Open Letter" was to assure the possessing classes, the bureaucracy, the generals, the immediate retinue of Hindenburg that he, Hitler, contrary to the light avenger, von Papen, would pursue his ends with the greatest caution. The "Open Letter" discloses a complete system of foreign policy, which only now assumes its full importance. The withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations was received throughout the entire world as an unexpected and unreasonable innovation. However, it is stated with absolute precision in the "Open Letter" why Germany would leave Geneva and how it would be necessary to arrange this break.

Nazi Foreign Policy

The exceptional value of this letter consists in that Hitler, still inclined in those days to battle and polemic, rashly unveiled the secret springs of his future foreign policy. The point of departure of the "Letter" is the same as that of the autobiographies: the interests of France and Germany are absolutely irreconcilable; from its whole inclination France can come to an agreement only on the basis of a change of relationship of forces in favor of Germany; Germany cannot

hope to obtain "equality of rights" by means of discussion in international conferences; in order that international diplomacy recognize Germany's right to rearm, the Germans must rearm at once. But that is precisely why it is impossible to demand aloud the rearmament. It is the slogan of a "popular movement" but in no case of diplomacy. A government conscious of its responsibilities—that is the government of Hitler and not of von Papen,—should demand only the disarmament of France. And since France is no case could agree to that, Germany should leave the League of Nations in order to free its hands. So as to make war? No. Germany is still too weak for its government to speak in the near future in any other language than that of pacifism.

Recreating German Militarism

Invoking the "danger" which threatens it in the East, and utilizing the antagonisms among the states of the West, Germany should recreate the basis of its militarism, gradually, by proceeding from the general to the particular, to the special. In order to conduct this work to a national end, there must be a national conspiracy of silence; above all the Ossietzki must be kept under lock and key! A government conscious of its responsibilities must take the instruments of pacifism in its own hands. By following this path they will succeed, in the course of several years, in preparing a radical change in the relation of forces. After that they will be able to pass anew from "My Peace" to "My Struggle" and even to "My War".

Such is Hitler's plan. The plan flows from the whole situation, external and internal. Hitler himself has taken care to give humanity a key—or, to use a better known expression, a passport,—in order to penetrate the secrets of his future

international policy. Despite all the respect we have for the two sympathetic journalists, we prefer to base ourselves on the declarations of Hitler himself, supported by an imposing system of direct and indirect proofs.

From a fact, even a strongly established one, different practical conclusions can be drawn. Various answers to the present article to give counsel to those, whoever they may be, who decide the fate of Europe: they truly know themselves what they have to do. But the premises of a realistic policy, what-ever its aims and methods, is an understanding of the situation and the forces at work in it.

Hitler's Calculated Plan

Hitler's what is, Hitler has left the League of Nations not under the blow of a nervous improvisation, but in conformance with a coldly calculated plan. Hitler has himself assured the "national" conspiracy of silence. He carries on his work in the direction of a radical change in the relationship of military forces. It is precisely now, when this work has already begun but is still far from having given decisive results, that Hitler must employ the greatest caution in the European arena. Do not frighten anyone, do not irritate anyone; on the contrary, open wide the arms. Hitler is ready to cover the walls of the war factories with pacifist speeches and non-aggression pacts. Paris would rather have a knife. If a clear, simple, non-diplomatic formula of the pacifist offensive is necessary, it is the following: for the next two or three years Hitler must painfully avoid a preventive war on the part of his opponents. Within these limits his pacifism is absolutely sincere. But within these limits only.

—L. TROTSKY.

November 23, 1933.

Wicks at Large Again

After a long period of silence, H. M. Wicks, is heard from again. Wicks is now touring the country with a Marx-Lenin exhibit which he supplements with a lecture. But this angle of the affair is only an external covering. The essential purpose of the tour is to incite a position and, like all revisionists of Marxism, to do it under the mantle of Marx and Lenin. And who could do that better than H. M. Wicks?

The speech is divided into a discussion of the three Internationals. Wicks is a calm and deliberate man when he speaks of the first and second internationals. But when his speech comes to the ground of the Third International he is a changed man. The calm and deliberate Wicks becomes a blustering ignoramus whose speech is filled with invectives against Trotsky and the Left Opposition. "Counter-revolutionaries" and "renegades" are nicknames that pale alongside the new language, the sum and substance of which, is the instruction to carry on a campaign of gangsterism against the Left Opposition.

True, this policy is not a new one. The Stalinist International and all its sections have carried on a policy of violence against opponent workers organization for a number of years, increasing or decreasing in the credit or discredit of the Parties. In the United States the Central Committee directed this policy of gangsterism. Because of pressure, this policy was put aside for a short period. The C. C. denied that it was responsible for this policy, but it refused to instruct the ranks of the Party to cease employing Fascist tactics in the labor movement.

Revival of Gangster Methods

Now the Parties of Stalin are again making use of the tactic of gangsterism. The heavy defeat in Germany, the weakened position of the Soviet Union at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the decline of the International—these are all motive forces behind this policy. In recent months there has been revived the tactic of physical attacks on the Left Oppositionists. These attacks are prefaced by theoretical speeches of justification! This Wicks tours the country with a Marx-Lenin exhibit in order to make lynch speeches against the "Trotskyites". He fumes and frets, bellows and howls, with a language characteristic of Wicks.

But why Wicks? Why should he be resurrected for this campaign? Why shouldn't Hithaway or Browder make this tour and do this dirty job? They are the leaders of the Party. They stand out as the face of the Party. And there is probably less the answer. They would not be fitting, or shall we say, very political, to have the National Secretary of the Party or the editor of the Daily Worker make such a tour; although we assure our readers, there would be little to choose between them. But then, why Wicks? And thereby hangs a tale.

The Record of Wicks

When the Opposition was first organized in this country, H. M. Wicks, it was, who write a series of vicious articles against it, comparing the sterling revolutionary character of the Stalinists with the counter-revolutionary make-up of the Left Opposition. Those who know Wicks, and there were a few, could not take him seriously, because of them, the record of Wicks was an open book. But to many,

Wicks stood out as the emblem of all that is good, and honest. We thought it in the best interest of the working class to tell who this Wicks is.

In the early days of the foundation of the Communist movement, Wicks played an active part. For a time he disappeared from the scene. Then he returned once more to take an active part in the Party. What happened in the meantime? Wicks turned apostate! He who shouts renegade so loudly played the role of a renegade. We quote from the Gary, Indiana, Post (Now Post-Tribune), the issue of March 25, 1920, pages 1 and 0:

"H. M. Wicks, of Chicago, a reformer socialist, spoke on the revolutionary tendencies of the times to some forty Gary men last evening.... Bill Hayward and his satellites should not be tolerated in this country, Mr. Wicks said, he had been advising American Legion members not to permit these vermin to talk to them, but to knock them down. That he said is the only language they understand.... He commended the deportation proceedings that have rid the country of many agitators and urged that other foreign troublemakers be given the same treatment. He urged an Americanization program for the foreign speaking workers and he said the American Legion is the one organization in the country which is doing good Americanization work.... He told of attending the congress of the Communist Party in Chicago, of the delegates controlling the meeting, Lenin is a dictator.... The speaker could not find words to describe his disgust for the I. W. W. He charged them with being cowards and the scum of the earth.... Wicks is preparing to tour the country on the Chautauque platform this summer in order to let the American people understand the true situation."

Once Excluded from Party

Wicks applied for membership in the Communist Party in 1921, after his excursion into the ranks of true renegades and provocateurs. The "Official Bulletin of the Communist Party of America (Section of the Communist International)" issued by the General Executive Committee, No. 2, page 1, under the heading "Some Important C. E. C. Decisions", declared:

"The recommendation of an investigating committee that Harry Wicks shall not be admitted to the Party was approved. The information proves him to be absolutely undesirable within the Party ranks."

Some years later the matter was brought up in the Party but was squelched by Lovestone and Pepper then in control of the C. E. C. They have since admitted their error! Isn't it understandable now why a Wicks was chosen for such a delicate work? When he spoke for the reactionaries in Gary he boasted and gloated because he advised the American Legion not to permit the vermin (Hayward and his comrades) to talk to them but to knock them down. He doesn't have to change his act now, because experience has made him fitted for this filthy work. There is no one better suited to calumniate the "Trotskyites" than one who has been a renegade, such as Wicks has been. That is why he was chosen for this task. At any rate we feel it incumbent to warn the workers everywhere that H. M. Wicks, erstwhile renegade and unofficial adviser to the American Legion, is at large again.

MOVIE REVIEW

As movies go Noel Coward's *Cavalcade* is an old picture. Fox turned it out almost a year ago. The thing got so much publicity, and was talked about by so many people we got curious about it. And we figured that workers felt the same way about it. So we went to see it.

This is what we found: a story which begins in the Victorian era in England and takes us through to 1933. In a way it is a love story. But it is a much more ambitious production than a mere tale of love. The producers think, no doubt, that they have made a faithful chronicle of an epoch that has passed into history and truthfully recorded the life of a generation.

Let us take them on their own terms. What do they tell us about these years and the people who move across the screen? The central figures man and wife, who are happily married ten years, are the opening of the picture, obviously belong to the upper class. They live in a big house, have servants, and move in elite circles. The source of their income is not even indicated. A sordid detail in a story of love that endures through the ages!

The war against the Boers separates them for a time. In the elaborate scenes of the fervor that overtakes every patriotic British citizen the producers who are, no doubt, opposed to propaganda in the movies have an opportunity to tell us the truth about the brutal course that empire treads. Do they? Not a bit. The war is only an incident in the love life of four people.

Do men die in the brush? Are Boers murdered to establish Britain's might? These are unimportant details, are not mentioned in polite society. But our hero comes back at the head of his troop, safe and sound, very much in love with his wife, and is knighted.

The queen dies and everybody dresses in black. This signals the close of the Victorian era. The world moves on. The butler and his wife, the maid, leave to open a pub. The children grow up. The butler turns out to be a drunkard who dies in a street accident.

The elder son goes down with his bride on the Titanic on their honeymoon. The World War comes, Father and son do their duty. The latter falls in love with the daughter of the dead butler. She is now a famous musical comedy dancer.

The girl's mother goes round to see the girl's mother about the latter. Servant confronts mistress. The mistress is still the same courteous, kindly, sweet woman she has always been toward her servants. But the former maid; she dresses ridiculously and put on airs. Her pretensions of equality are so much vulgarity. Oh, the lower orders! Unworthy wretches, drunkards, ungrateful, offensive. They don't know that quality is inborn.

It is armistice day. The painful interview between mistress and former servant is terminated by a telegram announcing the death of the boy. The girl becomes a night club blues singer. Her mother disappears from the chronicle.

Come crises, revolutions. The world moves at a faster tempo. It is restless, nervous—the twentieth century is full blast. But the old house is still the same. Nothing changes here; not custom, not the very furniture (only the curtains are changed one week before the close), and certainly not the people in it. At the end as in the beginning they have each other; they are still in love; that counts more than all else in the world!

Is there a moral to this story? You bet. Old virtues are the best. Just how to the line of bourgeois morality and the world will muddle through somehow. It is not your business to remake the world. Just look at the butler; he was not satisfied with his station in life and kindly treatment. He tried to remake his world and he came to an untimely end. Do your duty; be content with your lot; love your wife! It is written—by Noel Coward and Fox.

PHILADELPHIA
LENN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEM-
BURG MEMORIAL MEETING
Sunday, January 7th, 1934, 8 P. M.
SAULLS HALL, 802 W. Girard Av.

NEW YORK DEBATE
Sunday, January 7th — 3 P. M.
Subject:
"RESOLVED THAT A POLITICAL PARTY IS NECESSARY FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS"

Affirmative: HUGO OEHLER
of Communist League
Negative: S. WEINER
of the I. W. W.
Sunday, January 7th, 3 P. M.
at Marine Workers' I. W. W. Hall

LOS ANGELES ATTENTION
THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)
Holds
OPEN FORUM
Every Thursday 8 P. M. at
224 S. Spring St.,
ROOM 218

THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail matter November 23, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.
Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spektor
Arne Swabeck
Vol. VI, No. 57 (Whole No. 204)
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1933
Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year
Foreign \$1.50 2 cents per copy

"The New Deal"

A NEW STAGE IN THE NRA

Government proclamations dealing with economic measures are issued so often it is difficult to keep up with them. This in itself reveals the mounting difficulties which confront the dominating imperialist power in the decay stage of capitalism. The resort to governmental economic measures in an attempt to "bring back prosperity" is a game that has no end simply because capitalism has contradictions which the most powerful of governments cannot solve or eliminate. In this circumstance the task of the capitalist government is to adopt such measures as will place the ruling class in the preliminary struggles and preparations for a re-division of the earth, in the most favorable position against the other imperialist powers and the working class at home.

Such is the purpose of the NRA and all of the other measures taken by the government since it was compelled by the situation to work more in the open. As soon as one government measure is used up and faces breakdown new decrees are issued. At one stage the slack is taken up at a critical moment by the Civil Works Program—a form of government relief which is half charity and half stagger plan. At another time the cracks are plastered over with an expanding monetary policy in a series of steps which range from going off the gold standard and placing an unlimited power in the president's hands to the gold-buying policy and now to the silver policy of the government. At other times critical stages are maneuvered through the recognition of the U. S. S. R., the Hull Tariff proposal, or the establishment of the Federal Surplus Relief Association, etc.

President Roosevelt has extended the blanket code four more months, to May the First. This was necessitated by the fact that the process of reorganization, at the expense of the workers and the mid-

die class, has not gone fast enough. There are only two variants possible—or modified forms of these two variants—that the ruling class can take in relation to the NRA and its international supplementary measures. They must either return to the past and give up the "governmental experiment in business" or proceed further on the present path. It can be answered with certainty that there is only one road ahead for American imperialism. That is the road of increased governmental control and regulation of American economy. A rich variety of forms leading toward state capitalism is possible, providing the proletariat does not interpose its own solution and make short work of the whole mess.

The government measures designed to insure a more favorable position for American imperialism on the international field dovetail into those measures which aim to reorganize production within the country. None of the government measures is exclusively internal or international. However, the NRA is primarily an internal object; the majority of the other measures supplement the NRA internally and extend the economic war out into the international arena.

The government monetary policy in its successive stages is not merely a series of internal measures to boost prices, as the administration would have us believe. In the final analysis it has greater international importance. One may safely say that the central contradiction concealed within the monetary policy is the struggle between the Pound and the Dollar for world supremacy. But England and the United States are not the only two countries striving for a bigger place in the sun. Other imperialists are putting up a desperate fight for the same goal. These struggles inevitably cross this struggle between the Pound and the Dollar, and often

monetarily stand out more prominently. An example of this is to be seen in the ratification of the international agreement for the re-monetization and stabilization of silver and the president's proclamation on this question.

A new government organization of far-reaching powers, recently established is the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation. The New York Times says it may exercise "any and all powers" that may legally be delegated to it under the NRA, the AAA and the Emergency Relief Act. It may "purchase, store, handle and process" surplus commodities of any kind. It may attempt to "adjust the severe disparity between prices of agriculture and other commodities." Subject to Federal and State laws it may "purchase, hold, own, mortgage, sell, convey, or otherwise dispose of" real and personal property of any sort, and in general, carry on any and all business necessary for the relief of the existing national emergency.

This will act as a sort of a second line of defense behind the NRA. It brings out into bold relief the great difference between the present organization for capitalist production and that which followed past crises when capitalism as a world system was "healthy" and developing. It exposes the spots of decay even in U. S. economy, the dominating section of world economy. Capitalism has now reached a stage where the process of decay is "organized". There is such a thing as "organized capitalism", but in a sense completely opposite to that conveyed by the capitalist theorists. Decay on a world-wide scale proceeds on an "organized" plan; only in this way can the capitalists retain power.

In Germany, the main defeated nation in the last world war, this "organized decay" took on its most violent form—Fascism. America, the main victor of the war and the strongest power now, has been able, up to the present time, to escape both the revolutionary destroyers and the Fascist saviors of capitalism. Nevertheless, it does not escape the need of reorganization by the curtailment and destruction of productive forces that must not be replaced. In previous crises during the growth stage of capitalism the process of reorganization always proceeded by the destruction of certain productive forces and commodities; but the new cycle started out with a more highly developed technique of production than that which obtained before the crises. This destruction of productive forces and commodities is not the new feature of the present stage. The important new fact is that the process of destruction is proceeding in an attempted "organized fashion" by means of government subsidy where political exigency requires it, and without a reorganization on a superior technical level. In the decay stage of capitalism, within which American economy is included, iron shackles are fastened on the productive forces.

From Nazi Germany

Hamburg.—I spent my time in Hamburg not only with many social democratic workers but with leading comrades as well (local, district leaders, old trade union secretaries). All these men feel that they were betrayed by their leaders and they do not dream of continuing to work together with the old leaders of the social democracy. The Prague Vorwarts was distributed here up to three weeks ago.

Following the arrest of a courier, they are examining the boats in the harbor with extreme scrutiny. Most workers utilize the Vorwarts only as a source of information, other distribute it despite its content, only so as to do something against Hitler. Others burn it because they do not want to run any risks, but many burn it because they consider its contents despicable.

The political line of these people is very vague although they have begun to discuss with the Communists and the small groups. Discussion circles were created in this way. A Reichsbanner group is particularly noteworthy. This group was well equipped technically, but its positions were very bad ideologically. They worked on the principle of authority and omniscience of the leader. They considered the latter as undisciplined because they wanted to break the discipline of the ranks of the organization at that time.

Their position towards national socialism was very poor. They explained that they had to attach themselves to the nationalism of the people. Most of the Germans are nationalistic and they cannot be won over by internationalism. Only after the conquest of power can the question of internationalism be posed. Nationalism was only a tactic for them, they said. But I think that there was much sentiment hidden behind this stand.

The Communists with whom I came into contact in Hamburg had suffered severe losses throughout. They seldom admitted that they were almost completely annihilated by agent provocateurs. The repression becomes stronger from month to month and men are arrested in bloc, 40 to 50 at a time. They are very dogmatic in their stand and they invariably abide by the old party line. They still have good organizations and they publish printed papers. I receive the Rote Fahne, the Junge Garde and the Trommel (children's paper) in Hamburg.

Berlin.—Wells is still in the leadership of the S. P. D. Four social democratic papers are in existence. Vorwarts has not been circulated here for some time. The workers refuse to take it. The Proletarische Pressedienst (Proletarian Press Service) is much better and even very much liked among Communists. It has a circulation of 2,000 copies. Each copy has 5 readers. The same circle publishes Initiative. The latter is only an information organ for leading functionaries. Roter Stoerzug has the same function in Hamburg. They are against all discussion and they are connected with the Reichsbanner who have been taken into the illegal leadership. Their ideas on dictatorship and the principle of authority are very bad.

The Young Socialists who have struggled with K. for a long time are truly revolutionary and are brilliantly active. The Young Socialists keep in connection with

the Proletarische Pressedienst on the one hand and work with the Left Opposition on the other. In 5 weeks of printing presses were seized from the Communists. The Rote Fahne, despite all, continues to be published but only in mimeographed form. The content remains the same. I had an opportunity to speak with a leader of the Brandenburg district. He and others were very sceptical and are now working in discussion circles with the Left Opposition. They feel the pressure from the Communist workers for the united front.

The Left Opposition works marvellously. Relations with Communists and even leading functionaries are established daily. We have equally good relations with the Young Socialists who are now considered "Trotskyites". These comrades reject the straggling discipline of the C. P. G. They have made this crystal clear to K—and St.—The Left Opposition can today not only double but triple its membership. But it should be very careful of detestables and admit only vanguard elements.

Due to the catastrophe not only large sections of the social democracy, but also a section of the Communists have finally understood that Trotsky's analysis of Fascism was correct. Everywhere the question is asked: "What does Trotsky say?" Many voluntarily enter into relations with us. It confirms to me the new relations between the social democrats, communists and Left Oppositionists. It can be seen everywhere that the active comrades are very young. The average age is from 20 to 25 years.

Exploitation and wage cutting have been intensified. I know of a place where they pay 50 pfennings an hour. The cost of living has risen, which means greater exploitation. Most of the workers earn between 25 and 50 marks, i. e. hardly more than the relief rates. Those receiving aid are forced to work three days for it. They receive 75 pfennings a day. Due to this arrangement another worker is unemployed for the three days.

The forced labor camps grow incessantly. Thousands of workers who refuse to go to the forced labor camps have been cut off the relief lists. The general purchasing ability is lowered from day to day. Statistics for beer show that 51% less of this beverage is consumed now than before the war.

Naturally there are many more unemployed than previously. The manner in which the Nazis deceive the people is shown in the case of a young comrade in the Left Opposition at H.—. The comrade's was sent from the employment office to K.—. They said there was no more unemployment in K.—. The workers of K.— protested because there were obviously more unemployed there than in all Germany. After 15 days they all returned to H.—.

As I see it there now exists very good opportunities for a rise of the workers movement if the responsible comrades of the Left Opposition conduct extensive activity in Germany. But lack of money paralyzes the forces. The comrades simply have no money with which to send the most urgent letters.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

—HUGO OEHLER.