

Two «Peace» Swindles at Geneva

The Social Democrats Support Hoover; Hoover is Endorsed by Litvinov; Litvinov is Backed by Barbusse; Barbusse is Supported by the New Republic; the New Republic is Attacked by the Daily Worker; and the Daily Worker Flounders in the Swamp.

(Continued from page 1)
arms production on the eve of any actual war hostilities.

It is precisely this combination of Yankee shrewdness and imperialist hypocrisy that characterizes the latest Hoover proposal made to the Geneva conference. Were it accepted, it would not merely reduce the standing armies of England and France to the German scale, but it would increase the American army from 140,000 to 200,000. With touching generosity, it proposes the abolition of French and British tanks—which are a formidable factor with them—as well as the abolition of the American army's . . . 25 tanks! It would put a crimp in the naval strength of its rivals, but would permit America to construct new cruisers and aircraft carriers "up to the treaty tonnage of navies."

The Nation ruefully reveals that "the proposals placed before the Geneva Disarmament Conference on June 22 by President Hoover amount to little more than a political trick. To the headline reader, Mr. Hoover has generously advocated a reduction in armies by one-third and a similar scaling down of navies. Studied in detail, however, the Hoover proposals amount to the brazen suggestion that the United States actually increase its armies and navy, leaving reduction to other nations. . . . The Hoover disarmament plan would increase the military strength of the United States at the expense of other nations; it is a scheme for securing naval parity at a cheaper figure than that made necessary by the London treaty, and for nearly doubling the size of our army."

SOCIALISTS RALLY TO HOOVER

When even the liberal Nation, which usually makes a habit of being taken in by the most superficial shams, is able to see through the Hoover hoax, it may be concluded that it is pretty transparent. But however cruel a capitalist deception may be, the social democracy is sure to hasten to its support and render it more palatable to the masses. In England, the executive committee of the Labour Party welcomed Hoover's proposals. In Holland, the Federation of Trade Unions appealed to the disarmament conference to accept the American plan. The French socialist leader, Leon Blum, called it "simple and direct in its outline and plainly worded and fearless in its conclusions". In the United States, the Jewish Daily Forward eulogized the Great Engineer with the observation that "Hoover's plan for a significant reduction not only of the land army but also of the navy, shows that the president is wholly sincere in the question of disarmament, although he does not go far enough." As we shall see in a moment, this despicable, "statesman's" servility before what even an intelligent liberal is not fooled by, is not confined entirely to the social democracy.

The official Communist organ, the Daily Worker does not appear to have any illusions about the significance of Hoover's proposals. On June 25, it polemizes violently against the Forward: "The slightest acquaintance with the proposal is a move in the imperialist struggle for world domination and is intended to weaken Wall Street's rivals, while maneuvering against the Soviet Union. But these Forward socialists pretend to know nothing of such things. Are these socialists merely mistaken fools in hailing all of this quackery of the president? Or are they simply ignorant prophets that do not understand the ways of the capitalist world? No! The socialist party policy is consciously directed toward supporting the covering up of the war moves of the imperialists. It is their role to bind the toiling masses to the war chariots of the imperialist warmongers, and to represent all the pacifist swindles of the 'disarmament' conferences as genuine. . . . The people who are misleading the workers to expect peace from the reactionary governments and their conferences are not simply fools. They are treacherous knaves seeking to betray the toiling masses into a new world slaughter." (Our emphasis).

Not bad, what? Stoutly spoken! Only, virtually every word of condemnation uttered against the Forward applies to the statement made by Litvinov, the Soviet spokesman at Geneva, and printed in the Daily Worker exactly 24 hours it published the quoted philippic against the Forward! Carefully compare what the Forward said about the Hoover proposals with the following quotation from a special officially cabled report in the Daily Worker of June 24:

LITVINOV WELCOMES THE U. S. PLAN

"Referring to the American proposals he (Litvinov) declared he welcomed the essentials of the proposals made by the American delegation because in part they tend in the same direction as the Soviet proposals which were previously presented here without securing support. He welcomed the proposals, he said, because they contained several important principles put forward by the Soviet delegation in the preparatory disarmament commission and at the conference. These include the method of proportional reduction of armaments, while maintaining relative strength. The American proposals, however, contain points deviating from the Soviet proposals (even the Forward says Hoover does not go far enough! S.) and must be made the object of public discussion. He said he would deal with these points later in detail when the

discussion is opened. He added: 'For my part I would welcome a speedy beginning of discussion with a view of adopting attitude towards American proposals and thus getting the conference to begin work at last.' (Our emphasis.)

In this manner, we have the edifying spectacle of the Daily Worker, through the mouth of so authoritative a "Communist" spokesman as Litvinov, welcoming the essentials of the proposals on Friday which it denounces violently on Saturday, as a "move in the imperialist struggle for world domination." One day, it prints an enthusiastically, approving eight-column headline over Litvinov's announcement that Hoover's proposals "contained several important principles put forward by the Soviet delegation"; the next day it brands the same proposals as "intended to weaken Wall Street's rivals, while maneuvering against the Soviet Union." On Friday, the responsible voice of the Soviet Union, with all the prestige among the listening workers that goes with that prerogative, hopes that the adoption of the American proposals will get the "conference to begin work at last"; on Saturday, the Daily Worker warns its readers that those who mislead them to expect anything from such conferences are "not simply fools" but "treacherous knaves seeking to betray the toiling masses". And there is no doubt that the Daily Worker's characterization is correct; only, as both the Forward and Litvinov say about Hoover's proposals, it doesn't go far enough. . . .

But those who think that the Worker's vehemence of Saturday wipes out the disgraceful conduct of Litvinov on Friday, show a greater faith than the situation warrants. For the Socialists have barely dragged the second leg out of one swamp before the first, leg is thrust into another.

If there is anything on the scene today more pernicious—in face of the growing danger of war—than Litvinov's diplomatic antics at Geneva, it is the new plan which supplements these poisonous illusions, rounds them out: the plan for holding an "International Conference Against War", initiated by two petty bourgeois pacifists, Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. Here is the appeal sent out by the Barbusse-Roland "International Committee Against War" for the conference, printed in the Daily Worker of June 7, without a word of comment; the emphasis throughout is ours:

"We appeal to all men and women, irrespective of their political parties, trade unions, cultural, political or social organizations, to unite with us in a great international congress against war . . . We appeal to all men and women of good will to participate in our congress which

will take place on August 1, 1932, in Geneva, in order to make the congress a powerful international demonstration against the war criminals: Let us not run the risk of failing to understand, or of understanding too late! Let us awaken the conscience of the world in order to steel its will against war! Let us organize an iron resistance to war! Let us form a mighty wave of all those men and women who are unwilling to be the victims of the second world war!"

Who has concocted this melange of pacifist confusion? We have no hesitation in saying that its real initiators live in the Comintern building and the Kremlin in Moscow! The central organs of the French Communist Party and of the Red trade unions in France have already given the conference a blanket endorsement, an inconceivable action unless it is taken for granted that official Stalinist sanction has been given to Barbusse and Co. On June 20, the Daily Worker announced that "the International Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia has informed the Preparatory Committee organizing this congress that it welcomes this step most warmly and intends participating in the Congress". And on the same day that it prints Litvinov's scandalous remarks on page one, the Daily Worker observes in its editorial condemnation of the Hoover proposals that "Against this international conference of disarmament swindlers, the working class must set up their own international united front and participate in the International Conference Against Imperialist War called at Geneva on August 1."

Isn't there something sinister about this whole business? The threat of imperialist war does hover darkly over the world now. In Manchuria, a state of war actually exists. A Fascist victory in Germany brings with it, almost automatically, a black crusade against the Soviets. But the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions have not uttered a single word on the matter, not a single manifesto, not a single appeal in their own names. In this crucial hour, the working class listens in vain for a word of guidance from the center of the organized world revolutionary movement. But behind the scenes, the Comintern does organize a masquerade under the names of confused and consequently dangerous pacifists and proclaims through its national sections as the working class united front against imperialism!

A MASQUERADE OF STALINISM

The Communist International does not take the initiative in mobilizing the workers against the war danger. No, it leaves that to Barbusse, the advocate of socialist-Communist fusion; to Rolland, as great a writer as he is a poor politician, or none at all; to Heinrich Mann, about whom the same may be said; to Albert Einstein, who is undoubtedly a great scientist; to H. G. Wells, the social chauvinist of 1914; and more of the same type. Is there any reason to doubt that such a conference will attract to itself all the politicians, adventurers, petty bourgeois socialists and semi-socialists who figured in the various congresses of the "Anti-Imperialist League" and the "Anglo-Russian Committee, who thereby refreshed their reputations at the springs of Stalinism, gained a new hold on the masses slipping out of their hands, and this mounted to the top again?"

Is it any wonder that the organ of bewildered petty bourgeois liberalism, the New Republic, should hail such a conference? "It is heartening to learn that a peace movement is being started along new lines. An international committee headed by Henri Barbusse . . . will try to initiate nothing less than a general war against war, a campaign to be waged on all fronts by every appeal to public opinion. This is a time, moreover, when such an appeal might be decisive." (June 29, 1932.)

The Daily Worker attacks the New Republic as "pacifist muddleheads . . . dangerous enemies of the struggle against imperialist war", but it takes care not to mention by a word the liberal endorsement of the Barbusse conference! Why should the New Republic be attacked? It belongs with Barbusse, properly speaking. But what business have the Communists in Geneva, unless they go there to blow up the Barbusse conference, as Lenin advised the Comintern to do with the Hague pacifist congress in 1922?

With the launching and endorsement of the Barbusse swindle, the Comintern is floundering in a treacherous swamp of its own creation. It is inserting itself as a link in a strangulating pacifist chain which includes the liberal phrase-mongers, the social patriots and Hoover. It is forcing the Communist movement to pass once more through the disastrous experience of the Kuo Min Tang policy, of the Anglo-Russian Committee debacle, of an enlarged, and all the more pernicious, edition of the Anti-Imperialist League of Muenzenberg, Chiang Kai-Shek, Calles, Ledebour, Maxton and Co. For yesterday's August of putschist adventurism, it is turning to an August 1 at Geneva, a masquerade of opportunism and—to use the exact term of the Daily Worker—betrayal.

This "new turn" to the Right in Stalinist policy, half-concealed though it is, reveals that the world crisis is bringing with it a new crisis in Centrist, far-reaching in its consequences. The Communist workers must prepare to deal with it in the Leninist way.—M. S.

Questions on China

The Stalinist press continues to report that a Soviet republic has been established in the southern part of China. It prints maps showing the extensive areas under the control of the Soviets. It gives figures varying from 70,000,000 to 90,000,000 for the people living under Soviet control. It has reported the first Congress of the Chinese Soviets at which a constitution was adopted and a government and officials elected.

If this is so, may we be permitted some questions which would seem to be to the point?

Why hasn't the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics granted diplomatic recognition to the Chinese Soviets?

If not diplomatic recognition, then why have no other official relations been established between the two Soviet republics?

The Nanking government of Chiang Kai-Shek and Co., which claims jurisdiction over the territory that the Stalinists called the Chinese Soviets, is talking about opening negotiations with the U. S. S. R. for the resumption of diplomatic relations. Will the U. S. S. R. recognize Nanking as the Chinese government without granting any recognition to "Soviet China"?

MILITANT BUILDERS

We're back after a week's absence, hot foot after subs. That's the way to keep the paper going as a weekly and to build it up. Right now Militant Builders have a great offer to make to prospective subscribers: copy of Problems of the Chinese Revolution with a year's sub for only fifty cents, that is only half price.

And for Militant Builders themselves the incentive we offered some time ago still stands, of course: a free Bound Volume of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets with four dollars in subs other than their own. A number of comrades have already won these premiums and a number of comrades are on the way to winning them. Our supply is small and dwindling. Comrades who expect to win a copy had better step on it.

Can we get subs? You bet we can. A little effort and the trick is done. We have an inexhaustible reservoir from which to draw—the entire working class. To be sure we do not expect to get the working class as subscribers, all at one blow, nor in one week. But slowly at first and at an ever accelerated tempo we expect to get a large percentage of it in our subscription list. That is our perspective. That must be the perspective of every Militant Builder. How well we will accomplish our task the weekly record of the staff will show.

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WHAT NEXT?

What next in our campaign to publish the works of the outstanding teachers and leaders of the international revolutionary movement will be WHAT NEXT? by Leon Trotsky. As our readers know, this latest work by comrade Trotsky deals with the present situation in Germany.

Because of its timeliness, its importance for an understanding of the situation there, and its great propaganda value as an instrument to change the incorrect line of the C. P. G. and the C. I. in Germany we are rushing it as fast as you can. We can say now definitely that it will be OFF THE PRESS AUGUST 1.

It will sell for fifty cents in paper cover and a dollar in cloth. All our readers, comrades and sympathizers should order their copies now.

All eyes are on Germany now. The decisive moment is approaching. Events are moving swiftly to their climax. Interest in the situation is intense. The entire edition should go in no time. We should be busy now working up interest in this book.

BOUND VOLUMES

We still have a number of the bound volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets containing those that are out of print and unobtainable otherwise. In a few short weeks we will have to announce that these are all gone, for there were only a few dozen bound in the first place. So we mention when we advise that comrades who want these bound volumes should order them at once.

A New Turn in the T.U.U.L.

The resolution of the eighth session of the Central Council of the R. I. L. U. dealing with the T. U. U. L. (June, Labor Unity), informs us that we "have not yet learned to work among the masses". We have "isolated ourselves." And it adds: "However, the lagging behind in organization and leadership of mass unemployment is still too great."

The reason the American Centrists "have not yet learned to work among the masses", "are isolated", are "lagging behind", is because they have attempted to carry out the "third period" policy. The resolution dismisses its own mistakes with the above and then reaffirms the tactic of the united front "from below" and the theory of "social Fascism."

Another New Turn

The resolution presents a "new turn" on working in the A. F. of L., and in the reorganization of the T. U. U. L. on the factory basis. It is essential for us to investigate this new turn to see if it is a step forward or a mere side stepping and an attempt to veil the third period wreckage without drawing any consequences.

At the beginning of the crisis, Centrism informed us that reformism was declining and that the A. F. of L. was on its last lap. This new situation called for the building of a new trade union center, using as a basis the Left wing of the A. F. of L., and what other outside contacts we had. At that time, the party said, "A revolutionary upsurge in America is evident by the growing unemployment demonstrations, etc." "A revolutionary upsurge grips the working masses, opens the road to the Communist party for their organization and for leading these masses to struggle." (Theses of the 7th Convention of the C. P., page 9.)

After three years of a deepening crisis, the party discards its formula of "revolutionary upsurge" and moves to the Right in the election campaign and trade union activity. The resolution says, "Recent experience has already shown the need for carrying on work not only in those industries where there are no parallel revolutionary unions but also in those A. F. of L. unions which are parallel to the T. U. U. L. unions."

According to the Centrist, "Recent experience has already shown the need for carrying on work" in reactionary unions. Only recent experience? Lenin's theses and all the experience that went with it and followed it are of no value. Only recent experiences. The formulation should be: "The mistakes flowing from the 'third period' tactics as recent experiences already have proved, point to the need of carrying on work in reactionary unions."

Centrism now speaks of working in reactionary unions but its organizational tactics continue to block the door to that. Sooner or later they will again ask why they don't have any success with this Leninist tactic of working in reactionary unions? And again they will inform us: the line was correct but it was not carried out. If Centrism had carried out the Leninist concept of work in reactionary unions and the United Front three years ago we would now be carrying on the class struggle at a much higher level.

The Factory Basis

The new turn calls for the "reorganization of the T. U. U. L. unions on the factory basis." Let us consider the "factory basis" in the light of the trade union program. The Communist League of America says the organization of the unorganized into new industrial unions is the central industrial task of the Communists in America. In order to carry out this task we must coordinate it with the supplementary activity of

working in reactionary unions regardless of any momentary domination of one or the other phase of the work. Such is our line of march. Does the resolution of the Sixth Session dealing with America point out this line of march? No. Instead, we have as the main task the reorganization on the factory basis. Presented as it is, at this stage of "isolation", of "lagging behind", etc., a reorganization which is not properly linked with the agitation for the building of new industrial unions, results in scattering our forces rather than in uniting them.

The tactics of Centrism since the "third period" have played into the hands of the reformists and syndicalists and now instead of facing the issue of new industrial unions as Communists, the Stalinists try to sidestep it.

The organization of the unorganized into industrial unions can be accomplished only by Communist leadership in this stage of capitalism. American imperialism cannot be defeated unless the Communist party and the class have suitable organizations as weapons to destroy capitalism. The American Soviets will be the determining organs for the Communists. The building of industrial unions will pave the way for the American dictatorship of the proletariat through the Soviets.

In organizing industrial unions, the mine, mill or factory makes up the basic unit and the chain throughout the industry constitutes the industrial union. The logical development of the industrial union has this structure. The Stalinists now emphasize the factory unit exclusively without regarding the problem of the industrial union as a whole. If we do not organize the decisive section of the industrial union as a whole, we will not defeat the bosses.

In Preparation for the Offensive

In the present downward curve of the standard of living and wages, separate, heroic factory or mill fights, here and there are able to prevent wage cuts and even increase wages, but this kind of isolated activity will not be able to transform the downward curve into a workers' offensive. Only powerful industrial unions under Communist leadership will be able to smash into the capitalist ranks.

The agitation and activity for the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions includes the agitation for the mine, mill or factory unit. To talk of reorganizing on the factory basis and forget the elementary agitation for industrial unions is to put the cart before the horse. The organization of the industrial unions will be realized by building upward with the factory as a basis.

Regardless of what blunders Centrism has committed, its hope to find a way out by the mechanical desire of reorganizing on the factory basis will not solve the problem if it leaves untouched the colossal errors of the past. The Communists can only win by organizing the unorganized on the basis of industrial unions (which includes the "factory basis"). Not the organization of industrial unions by syndicalists or socialists but by Communists.

The Communist must agitate primarily for the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions. The Communists must explain the difference between the craft unions, and the industrial unions. The socialists and the syndicalists are not capable of explaining industrial unionism from a Marxian standpoint. Only the Communists can give a Marxian explanation for industrial unions and their role in reaction, in revolution and under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This is the task of the Communists today.

—H. O.

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