

# Aftermath of Lausanne

### European Powers Seek United Front Against United States

Contrary to expectations, the European powers did manage to come to at least a temporary agreement on reparations at Lausanne. Faced with the perspective of a bankrupt and politically tottering capitalist Germany, the Allied vultures have agreed for the time being to release their claw's grasp from the throat of their Teuton competitor.

The German Junker delegation at Lausanne spoke hard words and came off with a sigh of relief. The governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium have decided to give German capitalism a breathing spell on the external front so as better to be able to trench reaction within the country and to prepare the crushing of the internal enemy—the awakening German proletariat.

#### What the Agreement Consists of

The agreement arrived at by the diplomats in the conference reduces the original reparations sum demanded of the Reich—\$33,000,000,000—to a mere \$750,000,000. \$5,000,000,000 of the original sum had already been paid under the Dawes and the Young plans. The payment of the remaining \$750,000,000 is to take the form of bond issues which are not to be redeemed for more than three years. The Germans are thereby granted a greater concession than ever before. A new alignment of the imperialist forces is in the offing.

It is well known that American pressure had a great deal to do with the accord finally achieved. Herriot, the leader of the French delegation has admitted as much in his report before the Chamber of Deputies. American private capital has some \$6,000,000,000 dollars at stake in Germany not counting various trade advantages, concessions, etc. The action of the European powers was, in this sense, a gesture to draw out of the Wall St. government a compromise with regard to their own war debts, amounting to some \$10,000,000,000 at this date.

But the continental imperialists do not restrict themselves to gestures, nor do they store great hopes in the good faith of their American creditor. Perhaps even more sensational and more important than the settlement made at Lausanne is the new entente that has been formed or rather, reformed by Great Britain and France "in the spirit which has inspired the Lausanne agreement". The entente provides for coordination in the efforts of each country to obtain a favorable deal on war debts from Washington. It further proposes to find a common "solution for the disarmament question which will be beneficial and equitable for all the powers concerned." That is, it advances the idea of a united front

of European governments in opposition to the hypocritically pacifist (for the other powers) plans of the Hoover administration. Finally, the official statement announcing the entente expresses the "hope that other governments will join them in adopting their procedure", an obvious feeler extended to the Germans, considering that this organized cooperation will also preoccupy itself with the "practical preparation of the world economic conference".

#### The Significance of the New Entente

Just how serious this newest step of the diplomats actually is, can be gathered from the manner in which they proceeded. Immediately after the adjournment of the Lausanne gathering, rumors of a Franco-British accord began to spread. At first, there were vigorous denials by both parties concerned. Things went so far that even the parliamentary bodies of the two powers were not informed of the affair. Only one hour before Parliament was dissolved for the summer period did Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Minister inform the House of Commons of the action taken, so that no debate would be possible. Immediately after Sir John's announcement, all sorts of "interpretations" came pouring in from Downing Street. In Paris, a similar atmosphere was created.

All these indications point to the conclusion that the European front is being organized against the American reaction master. As a confirmation of this conclusion can be considered the fact that the official announcement of the new Franco-British entente followed only after the American Secretary of State had denied any and every sort of participation of the Washington administration in the agreement accomplished at Lausanne. It was really Stimson's statements that called forth the publication of the treaty.

It is altogether unlikely that the European united front against Yankee capital will reach the point of realization. The conflicts on the continent are too deep-rooted and much too dependent upon national considerations for a solid international front to be established. The American colossus still holds the fate of many of the lesser countries in the balance. An agreement like the present can be prompted merely by temporary necessities. The Lausanne accord still remains tentative to decision by the various national legislative organs. It is only the threat of proletarian uprising, with Germany as the power house, that forces the imperialist robbers to bring their heads together in parley.

The German working class has gained nothing by Lausanne. There is not a

thought in the minds of the German reaction to release their stranglehold on Germany's workers. The lease of life which German capitalism has received on the international front will surely instigate an even harder drive than before to push Fascism into power.

The struggle of the German working class against the Fascist menace is a struggle of international significance. The victory of the German working class alone will open the road for a solution of the impasse on the continent by paving the way for a Soviet United States of Europe. Only a Soviet United States of Europe can help the old world to ward off the shackles of Wall Street domination and save it from degeneration into barbarism.

—SAM GORDON.

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# The Barbusse Congress Against War

(Continued from page 1)

means to this end the policy of the united front can be of great service. The last session of the Executive Committee of the Second International pronounced itself against Japan and "for the defense of the U. S. S. R." We know the weight and the value of this defense inasmuch as the decision of the leaders is concerned. But the very fact of the adoption of this decision is an indication of the force of the mass pressure (the crisis and the danger of war). The Comintern was duty bound in these circumstances to develop the policy of the united front on an international scale, i. e., to propose to the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals openly before the world proletariat a definite, carefully weighed program of practical measures against the danger of war.

But the Comintern is silent. The Proletariat is silent. The initiative is surrendered to two pacifist writers, one of whom—Romain Rolland—is undoubtedly a great writer and a prominent person, but a man who is not engaged in politics, and the other—Barbusse—is a pacifist and a mystic, a Communist or one expelled from the Communist party, but at any rate an advocate of the complete fusion of the Communist parties with the social democracy. "Join us", say Rolland and Barbusse. Answer "Present!", I, HUMANITE joins in the refrain. Is it possible to imagine anything more monstrous, more capitulatory and more criminal than this crawling of official Communism before petty bourgeois pacifism?

In Germany, it is declared impermissible to apply the tactics of a united front to the mass organizations of the workers, with the aim of exposing the reformist leaders. At the same time, a united front on an international scale is being applied, of which the first steps are turned into a boosting campaign for the worst of the gallery of reformist traitors. Vandervelde is surely "for peace". He reckons that it is more advantageous and convenient to serve in the ministry of his king in time of peace than in time of war. And thus, the impudent aphorisms of this social patriot, whose signature, if I am not mistaken, appears on the Versailles Peace Treaty, are made into a program of the huge anti-war Congress. And I, HUMANITE gives its support to this treacherous and pernicious masquerade.

In Germany, it is a question of warding off the Fascist counter-revolutionary pogrom, which immediately and directly threatens not only the working class but its reformist organizations and even its reformist leaders. To the social democratic gentlemen, it is a question of salaries, of state privileges and even of their own hides. One must be in a state

of complete bureaucratic idiocy to refuse to utilize correctly and systematically the great, sharp contradictions between Fascism and the social democracy in the interests of the proletarian revolution.

In the question of war, however, it is an entirely different matter. War does not at all constitute a direct threat to the reformist organizations, particularly to their leaders. On the contrary, experience has shown that war opens up dizzying careers for the reformist leaders. Patriotism is just that ideology which most closely ties the social democracy to its national bourgeoisie. If it is possible, even inevitable, that the social democracy will be forced in some form or other, within certain bounds, to defend itself against Fascism, when it will seize it by the throat, (and it will seize it), the possibility that the social democracy of any country should conduct a struggle against its bourgeoisie in the case of a war declaration, is entirely excluded. The revolutionary campaign against war has as its particular and specific aim the exposure of the deceit and the putrefaction of social democratic pacifism.

But what does the Comintern do? It prohibits the utilization of the absolutely real and deep antagonism between the national social democracy and national Fascism, while it attempts to grab hold of the illusory, hypocritical antagonism between the international social democracy and its imperialist master.

If in Germany the united front is altogether prohibited, on the "international" scale the united front is from the very beginning given a decorative, masquerading, deliberately deceptive and rotten character. Exploiting the idealistic naivete of the absolutely sincere Romain Rolland, all fakery and dirty careerists, retired social democratic ministers and candidates for the ministry will declare: "Present!" For this gentry the Congress will serve as a sanatorium where they will improve their somewhat besmirched reputations in order to sell themselves at a higher price. This was the manner in which the participants in the Anti-Imperialist League acted. We are faced with a repetition of a Kuo Min Tang and an Anglo-Russian Committee on a world scale.

There are pedants who doubt if we are correct in defining the international Socialist faction as Centrism. Those who have been poisoned by ill-digested texts, are incapable of learning from living facts. Here you have ideal, classic, universal Centrism in full bloom: its nose turned to the Right, its tail still strongly inclined towards the Left. Draw a line uniting its nose with its tail and you will find the orbit of Centrism.

History is at a breaking point. The whole world is at a breaking point today. And so is Centrism. In the U. S. S. R. the Stalinists still continue to prattle about the abolition of classes in five years and at the same time they are restoring the free market. The ultra-Left tail does not yet know that the wise opportunist head has decided. In the domain of cultural policy in the U. S. S. R. a sharp turn has been made to the Right. The mute turn, to be sure, without any commentary, but a so much the more threatening one. The same has taken place in the policies of the Comintern. While the luckless Piatnitzkys are still showing the remnants of the ultra-Leftist cud, the Manuilskys have already been ordered to turn their heads to the Right without regard for their spinal vertebrae. Never as yet in the nine years of its practise has the epigone school revealed its unprincipledness, its ideological shallowness and its practical knavery in so naked and shameless a manner as this.

Bolshevik-Leninists! The symptoms of a great historical turn are accumulating in the world atmosphere. This turn is bound to have its effects on the destiny of our faction. Already we are charged with tasks of truly great historical significance. The struggle against war means above all a struggle against pacifist masquerading and Centrist bureaucratic quackery. It is necessary to launch a pitiless campaign to expose the contradictions of the Stalinist apparatus, whose bankruptcy in the impending great events is inevitable.

The defense of the U. S. S. R. is not a parlor phrase with which the not always disinterested friends of the Stalinist bureaucracy parade. The international defense of the U. S. S. R. is becoming increasingly more dependent upon the international revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Where the blood and fate of millions are at stake, the greatest clarity is needed. Nobody today is rendering better service to the class enemy than the Stalinist apparatus which in the struggle for the remnants of its prestige, is sowing confusion and chaos everywhere.

Bolshevik-Leninists! You will be charged with an enormous task. Weeks and months are approaching when every revolutionist will have to show what he is worth. Carry the ideas of Marxism and Leninism into the ranks of the advanced workers. Help the international proletariat to extricate itself from the strait jacket of the Stalinist bureaucracy which has lost its head. What is involved is no small matter: It is the fate of the U. S. S. R. and the world proletarian revolution.

June 13, 1932

—LEON TROTSKY.

## The «Bonuseers» at Washington

By withholding or misrepresenting the facts, by refusing to "advertise" the cause of the soldiers, the bourgeois papers thought the bonus movement would die a natural death. The notices in the press would give you the impression that the ex-soldiers are acting as their own pallbearers.

What are the facts? There are now (and this is a conservative estimate) 30,000 ex-soldiers in the camps. In one camp alone there are 15,000 men, an increase of a 100 per cent over last month, and more are coming in. For every one going out at least ten are coming in. In all, about 200 have returned home—most of them sick, their nerves all shot. Those known to be well are given the "grand razzberry" and marked "yellow-bellies."

#### Veterans Stick

The ex-soldiers have thumbs down on the \$100,000 appropriation which would provide for each one of them a railroad ticket to go home and 75c for food for each day's traveling. This amount expended would be deducted from the bonus when it is due, in 1945. This insult is being buried by the curses of the soldiers. Out of the bars of the "Veterans Administration" ticket window in Union Station, the idle clerks stare blankly.

While the press is playing a sort of hide and seek with these men who "bummed" their way to Washington, the government officials are trying to palm them off as pleasantly as possible for benefit of tourists. About a hundred feet away from the camp, they have put up about thirty army tents. Though condemned by the army commission, they are comparatively neat and clean looking. They are set up in the form of a right angle that holds, as it were, within its span, and at the same time hides from the vehicular approach, the squalor of the camp. Police Commissioner Glassford personally took a hand in putting up these tents.

Not only this. The newsreel photographers have been ordered not to show anything of the soldiers which would arouse other veterans to join them, or create for the marchers favorable public opinion. (However, the photographers are to be ready to take riot scenes or other disturbances.)

Observe how they're arranging the "show-window" for display. It pays to advertise. But the advertisers reckon without their "product", the soldiers themselves. The officials will have to resort to a couple of other tricks, and there's no doubt they've got them up their sleeve. But it will be a tough thing to put it over on the men.

The 30,000 soldiers are there to stick until decent relief is provided. "What would be the use of our going home", said one of the soldiers. "There's not a day's work to be gotten. Many of us have no

homes. Those of us who have homes are going to lose them because we can't pay the taxes. If we turned back there'd be nothing to do out bum around and beg. We've got some pride. We'll stick together. There's hope in that."

#### Bonuseers Still Deluded

But still pumped up with some of the bourgeois prejudices, the ex-soldiers are passive. They still believe that toleration of the Waters' leadership is best for getting them what they want. But under this passivity is deep resentment and they are watching to see what the "leaders" will actually do for them.

So there they are in this squalid camp. Government officials urge them to be clean—to be clean in a garbage heap beside a filthy river! The food supply is running out. The men are compelled to send out committees to "chisel" meat from this butcher, lard from that grocer, etc. You will know the quality of the food from the fact that hundreds of the men, and children too, are suffering from diarrhea. The children—there are 200 of them—are especially hard hit because of the difficulty of getting sufficient fresh milk for them.

"We must have relief!", said a soldier to me. "They better come across. They think us bums. Yes, but they better come across!—When women and children roll in the mud and s... it's beginning to be time to do something about it. Afraid, eh? Let them call the militia. In one minute we've got more experience than they have with all their training!"

It is now almost seven weeks since the marchers entrenched themselves in Washington. Of all the sections of the working classes, they have been hardest hit. They have been compelled by the class struggle to take this means of demanding relief for themselves. True, they are not yet class conscious. But they are beginning to think a little of their enemies, as witness in the camp the mock graves of Hoover, Mellon, Reed, and Dawes, (the sculptured images of these gentlemen on top of the graves). "Millions for war; starvation for the soldiers", reads one of their slogans.

The bourgeoisie will find this situation a hard nut to crack. They will resort to all sort of tricks and maneuvers to buy the soldiers out at the lowest possible price. When the government is convinced of their determination to stick, it may institute some plan to pay them a pittance, getting the money back for example thru a special bonus tax; or they may have a plan to give them 2 or 3 days work a week, provided by their state. These jobs to be open to them by firing those now working on relief jobs. So they may try to substitute this jobless army for another. It's safer.

Whatever the plans, what they want to do is to win them over to the reaction.

The government, the press, the cinema, the church (which has set up tent in the Right. A mute turn, to be sure, solution"), together with the liberal misleaders, are allied and linked together in this task of winning them over to the reaction.

#### What Is Our Task?

The marchers are approaching the borders of class consciousness. We must help them over the border.

The task is most difficult. The ex-soldiers and the rest of the American working class has no deep-rooted revolutionary traditions. It has had no long sustained revolutionary activity, due to the country's comparatively steady economic expansion. But now under the blows of a terrific crisis, the masses begin to awaken to class consciousness. The American worker is extremely slow to change. But when he does change, he moves in quick tempo. And he changes strong.

In so far as we enlighten these ex-soldiers, awaken them, in so far as we arouse their class initiative we arouse the initiative of millions of workers.

For this a patient, persistent preparatory work is necessary. The class conscious soldier must mingle with the others in their camp, fraternize with them, be devoted to them, awaken them to class consciousness. Thus he will be able to fight more effectively for free speech in the camp, for direct rank and file control of the officers, etc.

But he will not be able to fight for influence among the men by wanting an a priori leadership, by a display of verbal fireworks, by wanting "officially successful" isolated demonstrations irrespective of time and circumstance. Such vulgar theatrical Leftism will not do.

Patient, persistent explanation. Concentrate your strength to enlighten them. Fraternize with each contingent. Root yourself amongst them. Win them over. Consolidate the employed and unemployed around them. And fight: For cash relief, For unemployment insurance, For the six hour day, For extension of long term credits and resumption of trade with Russia, For the defense of the Soviet Union!

—G. D.

## The Census Report and the Middle Class

The government has just released the 1930 census figures of the gainfully employed. These figures list workers owners, bankers and managers. Like all statistics of the capitalist, they must be analyzed before they are of value for the working class. These figures present a decline in the number of foreign-born workers. The native white and Negro workers show an increase, but this can be accounted for by the natural population increase and not the influx of workers into industry. There are 7,411,127 foreign-born "employed", 5,503,535 Negro and about a half a million Spanish-Americans. The census lists all who are able to work as gainfully employed regardless of the six million workers unemployed at the time the census was taken.

#### Labor Shifts

These figures show a shift of labor power from the division of production to the division of distribution. Farming, lumbering, fishing and mining show a decline of labor power employed at production while those occupations listed under distribution show an increase. Manufacturing and transportation show a total gain due to population increase but basic occupation divisions of this total show a marked decline. The light industries such as: dressmaking, tailors, millinery, upholstery, leather, tobacco, food, etc., show a decline in labor power. In heavy industry: iron, steel, metal, molding machine, boiler-making, lumber, and railroad transportation show a decline. These figures present the effects of the contradictions capitalism is moving in, with increased production and a permanent army of unemployed, with a lower standard of living, and increased capital and wealth in the hands of fewer capitalist.

More light will be thrown on these figures when we divide them into classes. The following is a list of the non-worker gainfully employed taken from the census:

#### Non-Workers Gainfully Employed

Finance, bankers, brokers, etc.	221,504
Industry, owners	245,008
Transportation	138,707
Wholesale, owners	83,525
Domestic, owners	258,340
Retail, owners	1,708,522
Farmers Owners and tenants	6,012,012
Professional, credit agents, etc.	3,541,562
Government employees	600,513
Managers, officials, inspectors, real estate agents, etc.	1,179,700
Foreman, overseers, etc.	595,029
	14,750,504
Gainfully employed Total	48,829,929
Non-workers	14,750,407
	34,079,522

The fifteen million non-workers gainfully employed make up the exploiting class and their office boys. Over fourteen million of these make up the "great" American middle class. The ideology as well as the line of march of this class is as varied as the rainbow and is constantly changing colors.

For example, the retail merchants in struggle against the chain stores react through the managers of the chain stores who carry on the business for the owners. The personnel of the industrialist see things somewhat different than the tenant farmers do not view matters like the farm owners. The poor farmer, middle farmer and rich farmer have their differences. Some of the petty bourgeois want to turn the wheels of industry backward. Others trail behind the industrialist, others behind the financier, and some behind the workers, but all of them think they are capable as a class of leading the workers.

The more one considers the middle class, pressed between the capitalist and the workers, the more one can realize the vacillations and different layers at juxtaposition to each other. The vanguard of the workers must be able to utilize this division within the enemy. In America the parliamentary structure gives the middle class great advantages in the general administration of city, county, and state politics but the whole structure is well organized to leave the determining forces of the government in the hands of the dominating imperialist group.

#### Middle Class in U. S.

The middle class within the American structure is able to press heavily upon the developing working class. It takes organizational forms in many ways, from farmer-labor parties to Anti-Imperialist Leagues; from craft job control to anti-political action; from a struggle to reduce the cost of living to the fight to obtain a glass of beer under the leadership of Green and Walker.

The Communist can only utilize the petty bourgeoisie against the bourgeoisie, if this class is considered in its manifold divisions and sections and not as a homogeneous mass. In the class struggle the middle class must always be considered as fellow travelers. Individuals of this class, who leave their class, who throw overboard their ideology, who learn Marxism, are an entirely different problem for us. The petty bourgeoisie as a class cannot lead and can only be of value if they follow the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism. The main danger of the working class is to trail behind the middle class. Our key to this problem is the program, policies and tactics of the Communist party. Centrism has failed in this task. Today, Stalinism is not winning individuals from

this class on the basis of Marxism; Stalinism is incorporating petty bourgeois policies which cause this class to flock to the banner of "revolution". The Militant from week to week elaborates on these non-Marxist policies of Centrism.

Under Stalinism the workers are not brought to the movement on the basis of Marxism; they are won on the basis of opportunism, adventurism, and petty bourgeois ideas. Under such a regime these workers do not and cannot shake off completely their bourgeois ideology. Under a Marxian leadership the "green" worker is assimilated in the Bolshevik current. Stalinism warps the new recruits.

Our task is to win the working class and with this class pressure to force layers of the petty bourgeoisie to support our position. Only in this sense do we want the middle class as a class ally. With increased class struggles and increased class pressure, under Communist leadership, having a Marxian policy, layers of the middle class are forced to support our position. As the struggle increases, new layers of workers brought into action will force up new layers of allies. Only on this basis can allies be of value to us.

#### Regain Proletarian Base First

An ebb or defeat in the line of march of our class will cause sections of our allies to withdraw and often turn on us. We cannot regain these allies by compromise, as Stalinism does in all parts of the world. We can only regain these allies by regaining our own class position first. Necessary steps must be taken, reorganization or retreat, to consolidating our own class forces at a level suitable for the task, enabling us to maintain our position and to strike out in new class battles for new positions.

The Communist League of America cannot ignore the large middle class in America as a valuable ally or bitter enemy. The best way not to ignore this class is to learn from the blunders of Stalinism, replace it with a Marxian line and give our full energy to our own class, the working class. The Communist must point out the road for the working class. The greater the numbers of workers we move into action against capitalism the broader is our class base and the greater will be the layers of allies forced to move in our line of march. Without this class base, the class guarantee is lacking, and the allies will lead the workers to defeat. Such is the logic of Stalinism in Germany in 1923, in China in 1927; and such is the road their line of march is leading to in America. The Communist worker must fight against the Stalin stranglehold for Marxism, for the Marxian policies of the Left Opposition.

—H. O.