



We Demand Plain Speaking on Germany! Only Unmistakable Change in Comintern Policy Can Smash Fascism at 11th. Hour!

What are the exact contents of the "united front appeal" signed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which, according to the Moscow dispatches, was dated January 22, 1933 and made public only six weeks later, on March 6, 1933? What exactly is the nature of the appeal? Does it propose a united front with the Labor and Socialist (Second) International? Does it mean that if the Second International is compelled to accept the proposal, the Communist International is prepared to negotiate with the social democracy concerning a concrete program of action against Fascism?

If this is what it signifies, then the Comintern leaders have made an important change in their policy, which should be openly acknowledged, the reasons for the change explained to the Communist workers, and the party really oriented towards an intelligent and concerted application of the new policy.

If this is not what it signifies, then the Stalinist center is only making a literary gesture for the record, behind which to screen the criminal responsibility for the present situation in Germany which its past policy has accumulated upon its back.

In either case: plain speech, please!

WE WANT TO KNOW

Why hasn't the appeal of the Communist International been published in the Communist press? The Moscow Pravda, we are told, declares that the appeal was issued on January 22. More than six weeks have elapsed since that date. Regardless of its contents, the appeal is of vital international

importance to the working class. Why is there not even an extract from the manifesto in the *Daily Worker* or *Freiheit*, to say nothing of the manifesto itself. The American party maintains one or more representatives in the Comintern; it has a Moscow correspondent for its daily press. The correspondent finds it possible to cable regularly about the activity of this or that shock brigade's activity in this or that one of Russia's far-flung provinces. Why hasn't he found it necessary to cable at least the important sections of the Comintern manifesto? Why wasn't the manifesto sent by mail on January 22nd?

WE WANT TO KNOW:

Why are the negotiations with the Second International — which appear to be in progress in one form or another—being conducted behind the scenes and beyond the vision of the working class?

The socialist *New Leader* of March 11, 1933, prints a cable from Zurich signed by Adler, for the Secretariat of the Second International, which reads: "Our administrative committee published yesterday a declaration of 540 words concerning the Moscow 'united front' offer, which was a reply to our manifesto of February 19. Moscow's appeal will be considered at the next meeting of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International. Affiliated parties are asked to refrain from definite action until then."

The "Moscow 'united front' offer" is unknown to the masses of Communist and socialist workers. It is deliberately withheld from publication in the official Communist press. The masses thus do not know what the Communist Inter-

national proposes. Friedrich Adler and Company apparently do not know. How are the workers to judge the actions of the Second International with regard to the Comintern offer if they do not know the contents of the latter? How are the Communist workers to approach their socialist class brothers on this question if they do not know what their own International proposes concretely? How are the socialist workers—who ardently desire a common struggle to smash the Hitlerite thugs—to exert pressure on their leaders, to call them to account to demand of them a favorable reply if these workers do not know just what the Communist International proposes?

The united front cannot be established by diplomatic negotiations on the quiet and behind the scenes—as conducted by Stalin with Chiang Kai-Shek, as conducted by Tomsky with Purcell, as conducted by Barbusse with Friedrich Adler during the notorious Amsterdam Congress. All negotiations must be conducted openly, under the eyes and control of the masses on both sides, with the important documents and proceedings available to these masses, especially the social democratic workers who can be relied upon to exert mass pressure on their leaders for common action with the Communists—providing the latter make it possible for these workers to act.

But how are the socialist masses to be mobilized if they do not even have the Comintern's appeal before them, if they do not even know what the Comintern proposes? Why doesn't the party press say a word about the Comintern appeal? Why hasn't the

Daily Worker, which relegated the Buchwald cablegram to the last page, said a single word about the Comintern's united front appeal since that time?

WE WANT TO KNOW:

Does the American (or any other) party leadership know what the Comintern appeal says, what the change in policy signifies—if it is a serious change?

The *Daily Worker* says nothing, because the party leadership as well as the party membership have been demoralized, confused and paralyzed by the news from Moscow, precisely because it was so

Left Opposition On Germany

The next issue of the *Militant* will contain a manifesto of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on the situation in Germany, the menace of Fascism, the tasks of the working class and the Communist movement. In addition, we shall publish an open letter sent to the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the United States on the concrete tasks confronting the party in this country and internationally, and presenting the proposals which the Left Opposition advances as the quintessential pre-requisites to the mobilization of a mass movement to crush Fascism in Germany and to create international solidarity for the German proletariat.

ambiguous and contradictory. But the *Freiheit* rather its editor Olgin, does risk a word in public about it. In the issue of March 10, 1933, Olgin devotes his whole articles to a polemic against the views we developed on the Comintern appeal in our last number. From his article, it is evident that Olgin knows as little about the details of the Comintern appeal as we do. Consequently, he thinks it safest to declare that there has been no change in policy: "This is the program. A united front of struggle, a united front of action, a united front for special interventions, a united front with the masses, and if necessary, with their local organizations, a united front to fling back the march of Fascism—this has been the policy of the Comintern, so it shall remain."

Is Olgin's view that of the Comintern, or is he just whistling in the dark? If he is correct in his assertions, the "change" is only the bankrupt old policy of the "united front from below", rendered more disastrous and irresponsible by the fact that an attempt is being made to smuggle it in under a new mantle at a time when every day and hour in Germany is the equivalent of months and years. If this explanation is wrong, then all the more reason why the party and the Comintern are obligated to speak plainly and unmistakably for its actual policy.

Are the social democratic leaders to be permitted to escape the responsibility for the treachery they are preparing? Are the statesmen of the Second International to be permitted to continue avoiding the struggle for fear of its revolutionary consequences? The main-

tenance of the old policy of the Stalinists makes it possible, affords the socialist leaders an easy way out. The policy of the Left Opposition—formal appeal for the united front, demand of negotiations to work out a program of action—puts the Second International right to the wall, compels it to speak and act unequivocally, forces it to show its true colors.

Olgin feebly defends his opposition to our policy with the declaration that the leaders of the Second International are traitors, of whom no united front can be made. Olgin's discovery, however belated, is laudable, even if his conclusions are ludicrous. It took the Communists quite some time to convince Olgin, at that time a collaborator of Abraham Cahan and the Forwards, that his leaders were traitors on the other side of the revolutionary barricades. That he finally learned this elementary truth, is undoubtedly to his credit. The great misfortune, however, is that at this late date it is still necessary to spend invaluable time trying to explain to him that he will yet have to sit down once, and perhaps twenty times, with the leaders of the social democracy, in the course of which their followers will learn that only the Communists have the correct policy and leadership.

The socialist masses do not yet know that their leaders are traitors. We must patiently enlighten them. They will learn it through their own experience. The policy of Olgin makes it possible for the socialist leaders to retain their hold over the masses. "You see",

they say, "we are ready to unite with the Comintern leaders, but all they want is to break your organization and attack your chosen leaders." This is an unmitigated lie of the socialist Tartarines and Elmer Ganttrys. They do not want to unite with the Comintern; they do not want to launch a really militant struggle against Fascism. But the masses do not yet know it (it takes them even longer to learn than it took Olgin, whose policy, besides, has prevented them from learning). And unless this policy is drastically altered, the socialist leaders will find a new euphoric through which to flee the struggle, to leave the workers to be crushed by the enemy, in a word, to betray them again.

WE WANT TO KNOW:

When will the Comintern make clear its position? When will it stop playing hide-and-seek with the crisis in Germany? When will it speak out so plainly that there will be no room for misunderstanding, misinterpretation, ambiguity? Europe, and consequently the world, is at an historical turning point. In the hands of the Comintern still lie those instruments which enable it to influence decisively the direction of this turn. The express speed of the Fascist advance in Germany has left but little time in which to act. But time is still left.

A terrific historical responsibility weighs upon the Comintern leadership. Its duty is plain. If it fails to do its duty, it will itself be inundated under the overwhelming catastrophe which its own blunders are now serving to prepare in Germany. Friday, March 10, 1933. —M. S.

The New U.S. Banking Law

ROOSEVELT'S EMERGENCY MEASURES LEAVE OPEN ROAD TO INFLATION; HELP CONCENTRATE BANKS INTO HANDS OF MONOPOLISTS, PREPARE FOR BRANCH BANKING SYSTEM

The new Roosevelt banking law makes it possible, under cover of the immediate banking crisis, for finance-capital to carry on a process of elimination of small banks and concentration of big ones and thus strengthen in finance-capital itself the monopolistic tendency which finance-capital has given to industry and commerce. In Canada there are nine banks which do practically all of the banking business of the country; in England, four; in Germany, three. In the United States there are about a hundred banks of world importance, and in addition about 20,000 smaller banks which collectively do a large proportion of the country and neighborhood business. Branch banking is very severely restricted in this country, while in most other imperialist countries branch banking based on monopolistic organizations of finance-capital is the backbone of the banking system.

"New Deal" in Banking System

This contradiction between the centralizing and monopolistic tendencies of developed imperialism, and the decentralizing, small-scale, competitive relics of a pre-imperialist era represented by the American branch banking system, is being solved ruthlessly in favor of monopoly by the "new deal". The dual system of state and national control, under which thousands of small banks were able to keep alive, and the right to stay out of the Federal Reserve system, are on the road to elimination. A large part of the new law is taken up with the new technique of closing banks. At the same time dictatorial powers are given the national government. It is clear that thousands of banks, particularly the smaller ones, will never open again. Monopolist control of banking will receive a great impetus, at the same time that the great commercial banks formally separate themselves from their investment banking affiliates, like the National City Co. and the Chase Securities Co.

The section of the new law dealing with the issue of additional circulating notes does not come out clearly for inflation—whether it results in inflation or not will depend on the final decisions of the big bankers, which do not appear to have been formulated as yet. All that has been settled so far is that new currency will be printed, of the same type as the old, except that it bears a small circulation tax which will probably induce the bankers to withdraw it from circulation in time. There is no new provision as to how such notes are to be issued—the basis is provided in the Glass-Steagall Act passed last year.

In short, the question of whether there will be inflation or not is not yet solved, the new emergency currency should circulate on a level with the old (that is, a del-

lar of the new issue should be worth a dollar of the old, whatever a dollar of either kind will be worth in actual buying power). At the same time, the big banks are put in a position, through their control of the national government and its new dictatorial powers, to advance rapidly toward the crushing of small-bank opposition and the concentration of finance-capital into a few gigantic units along the lines of other imperialist countries.

The policy of the official party overlooks all this and results in a purely demagogic general agitation and a few empty and contradictory slogans. They view the whole banking crisis as a sort of gigantic racket intended to result in inflation, to reduce the value of the workingmen's wages; in the issue of a new kind of paper which will be worth less than the old paper and which the masses should refuse to accept; and in the robbing of depositors by bankers who refuse to pay out full deposits in cash.

Bankers and Inflation

As to inflation, it is by no means certain that the bankers will gain more than they lose by it: the higher the value of money (i. e., if there is no inflation) the greater the value of bankers' mortgages on homes and farms, as well as of all their other paper claims, and the greater the power of American capitalism on the world arena. As to the reduction in wages, the bankers have been able to carry it out directly, by cutting down the number of dollars in the pay envelope, not as in Germany in 1920-23, where the strength and militancy of the workers' organizations made it preferable for the bankers to pick the workers' pockets by reducing the value in buying power of his wages, not the amount.

At the same time as it opposes inflation, the party puts up as a slogan the fight for the right of depositors to withdraw the full amount of their deposits in cash. The money that depositors withdrew is paid out in bank notes, which are printed for the purpose. In the week ending March 1 over \$700,000,000 of new notes were printed; last week over \$800,000,000, bringing the total money in circulation up to over \$7,500,000,000. If more deposits are withdrawn—

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SPRINGFIELD MEETING

THE DANGER OF FASCISM IN GERMANY

Speaker:

HUGO OEHLER

Member N. E. C. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Sunday, MARCH 19 at 8 P. M.

HOFFERKAMP HALL

827 1-2 N. Adams St.,

ADMISSION FREE

Militant Back to Weekly

The heavy task we set for ourselves of bringing out the *Militant* three times a week for the period of one month, in order to alarm and awaken the Communist workers to the immediacy and the burning importance of the German situation, is successfully completed with this issue. With the next issue we return to our regular weekly four page edition and, in the next weeks, will concentrate on the task of organizing and consolidating the great political gains of the Left Opposition in preparation for another forward bound

Simultaneously with the return to the regular four page edition the National Committee of the Left Opposition will proceed, on the basis of the widespread sentiment aroused in the party ranks by our agitation, to submit to the Central Committee of the party a series of concrete proposals for action in the present situation, and will develop the campaign of the Bolshevik-Leninists further on the basis of these proposals. Along with that, the four page editions of the *Militant* will proceed to the systematic elucidation of the fundamental principle line which guides our policy in the German crisis and brings us into irreconcilable antagonism to the policy of bureaucratic Centrism on an international scale. In the past weeks all attention and agitation was necessarily concentrated on the question of the united front, since this is the most acutely critical and decisive one. Thousands of new readers have recognized the utter falsity of the Stalinist policy on this issue. It is now necessary to explain to them fundamental principle foundations of these blunders. The four page *Militant*, which will have space for longer articles and more detailed analyses, will undertake this duty without in the least moderating the agitation for a correction of the united front policy.

The publication of our *Militant* three times a week for the past month was an enormous undertaking for our small group and it strained our resources and energies to the limit. The task was accomplished only because of the unbounded enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of the American Bolshevik-Leninists and the loyal support of the sympathizing workers. To all those who helped in this task we extend our hearty appreciation and declare our firm confidence that this support, on an ever wider scale, will not be lacking in the still greater tasks that now lie ahead.

—THE MILITANT,

Appeal to Y.C.L. On Slugging of Opposition Youth

To the District Executive Committee, Young Communist League No. 8

To the National Committee, Young Communist League of America Comrades,

Walter Danylyuk, member of the National Students League and member of the Spartacus Youth Club of Chicago, has been attacked and severely beaten to unconsciousness by members of the Young Communist League in the streets of Chicago, (Western Ave. and Division St.) on Monday Night March 6, 1933 at 7:30 P. M. and again at about 8:15 P. M.

This cowardly and atrocious deed came as the culmination of a series of warnings given to numerous members of the Spartacus Youth Club, by members of the Young Communist League. Nor is this the first attack. Members of the S. Y. C. have taken beating after beating from YCL members in silence.

These beatings are, without a doubt, futile and ridiculous as well as scandalous attempts to combat the teachings of the Spartacus Youth Club, affiliated to the Communist League of America, (Left Opposition). Marxism has given the revolutionary movement a theoretical weapon to combat political opponents. Only political opponents must resort to the fist as a means of combat. Such tactics can neither intimidate nor defeat us; it can only subvert the YCL and besmirch its name. Just as the Socialist party and the American Federation of Labor used black jacks and guns in an attempt to destroy the growing influence of the Communist movement, so you have resorted to similar methods. And just as the tactics of the S. P. and the AFL acted as a boomerang; so will your methods react in the identical manner. It is unfortunate that the evolutionary process of the Socialist party and the AFL against which we fought remorselessly, has so completely dominated you.

There is indeed, a touching affinity between the trade unions slugging and murdering of comrade Weisenberg in Chicago in 1930 and the present disgraceful assault upon comrade Danylyuk who is now in critical condition.

Whether our YCL comrades have repudiated Marxism, for the "individual terror" of Bakunin, or whether they are being influenced by the teachings of Al Capone, we do not know. One thing is evident, THAT SUCH ACTION CANNOT BE TOLERATED IN A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. THAT SUCH PROCEDURE IS THE CULMINATION OF THE DEGRADATION OF THE YCL TO A GROUP OF MURDEROUS HOOLIGANS WHO HAVE THEIR PLACE, NOT IN THE RANKS OF A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

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Com. Cannon At Albany:

Comrades and Fellow-Workers:

We meet here in the fourth year of the crisis which has brought the most appalling misery and privation to the masses and which is profound affecting the entire working class. The terrible and unprecedented conditions are undermining the workers' accustomed standards of life. They are destroying all their security of existence, such as it was, and are putting before them, in every more categorical terms, the necessity of seeking a way out by new methods and means. In such a situation this conference of 346 delegates from 248 workers' organizations can serve as a starting point in a significant movement of working class resistance, or it can remain a mere episode soon passed over and soon forgotten. It is for us to decide which it shall be. It depends in the highest degree on the success we achieve in pointing out the way to the impoverished masses, and in working out the methods and means of uniting with them in the struggle.

In order for us to give the right answer to this question, which is of such crucial importance, we must first see the situation as it really is. And at the very beginning we must discard any illusions about the real nature and composition of our conference. To talk as though the conference represented the unemployed millions of New York State, or even a numerically significant section of them, is a sure way of condemning all the deliberations of the conference to futility. The real class movement of the workers against the scourge of unemployment, does not yet exist on any wide scale. The movement which is on its feet and attempting to struggle against the conditions of the crisis remains, in the fourth year of the crisis, primarily and almost exclusively a movement of the class-conscious vanguard. The composition of this conference, called together after the most extensive preparation and agitation, is the most eloquent testimony to this fact. In this there is nothing fatal if we recognize the fact; if we do not deceive ourselves with illusions about a united front movement which does not as yet exist in reality.

The composition of the Conference determines its specific tasks. To me it is quite obvious that general agitation against the evils of unemployment is unnecessary here since everybody is already convinced. There has been enough, if not too much, of this already. There is very little doubt that the conference is ready, now without any further discussion, to endorse the most radical demands, and the social revolution too. If someone should move a resolution for the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to test the sentiments of the conference, there is no doubt that

The N.Y. State Conference

LEFT OPPOSITION SETS FORTH ITS POLICY AND PROGRAM IN THE UNITED FRONT MOVEMENT OF THE UNEMPLOYED IN STATE-WIDE MEET AT THE CAPITAL

The next issue of the *Militant* will contain a detailed analytical report of the results of the Albany conference on unemployment by James P. Cannon, who headed the Left Opposition delegation to the conference. Pressure of space in the current issue compelled us to omit the report this time and to include only the speech of comrade Cannon and the resolution submitted to the Conference by our delegation.

STATEMENT OF L. O.

The united front conference for unemployment insurance and relief assembled at Albany on March 5th, 6th, and 7th, is to be regarded as a progressive step in the process of struggle around this central issue of the day. Conceived in this way in the building of a genuine mass movement of the working class and properly developed, it can aid against the scourge of unemployment and its source—capitalism. Through such a broad movement, the working class can be closely welded together in common struggle for the immediate and also for the historical interests of the masses. The Communist League of America (Left Opposition) heartily welcomes this movement, participates loyally in its activities and works for its advancement.

The specific tasks set for the conference is to work out a legislative program in the interests of the unemployed workers, and, consequently, of the entire working class of which the unemployed are an inseparable part. This proposal to put pressure on the capitalist legislature is a necessary part of the fighting movement for the unemployed. The fight on this front, however, can become really effective, even to serve the immediate interests of the unemployed, only if it is supplemented by and combined with a program of direct mass pressure through huge united demonstrations of the workers. We are not here to "lobby". We must not allow ourselves to be caught in a maze of legal technicalities and cancaneries. The capitalist legislature, where we appear at the moment, is for us primarily a forum from which we appeal to the working masses to unite for struggle.

From this point of view, our "legislative program" should not be restricted to the narrow groove of the rules of the state legislature. It should express the real class demands of the workers on a na-

aim to put the New York section of this national movement on a firm foundation by bringing forward and concentrating on the basic class demands which set the militant movement on foot. In our opinion, it would be a grievous error to clutter up the "legislative program" with all kinds of incidental and secondary proposals which would detract from the sharp emphasis on the real important class demands.

In our opinion, the most important points to be incorporated into the program are as follows:

1. Immediate Relief.
2. Unemployment insurance, to be paid for by the employers and state government.
3. The 6-hour day and 5-day week, without reduction in pay.
4. Long term credits to the Soviet Union, as a means of unemployment relief for American workers and the cementing of fraternal relations between the American and Russian workers. This implies the demand for recognition of the Soviet Government and the establishment of trade relations.

In supporting the movement for legislative action, the Communist Left Opposition deems it necessary to point out the inadequacies of a parliamentary campaign to achieve any one of these demands. Such a tactic by itself is insufficient and would be misleading and incapable of obtaining the aims of the Conference. The broad masses of the workers must be drawn into class struggle activity for these demands, through mass demonstrations and activity among the working class organizations, trade unions, fraternal organizations, etc., the employed and unemployed, the organized and unorganized must be united in the fight for these demands. In short, the widest possible mass pressure of the economic and political organizations of the working class must be exerted upon the ruling class to reinforce the legislative demands.

It is necessary that this Conference shall conduct a sharp campaign of exposure and criticism of the so-called labor representatives and their lobbying methods behind the scenes with the politicians at Albany and elsewhere in order to secure a few cheap and meager concessions for the unemployed. This capitalistic "politics" is only a snare and delusion to the workers and serves to disarm them before the attacks of the capitalists and their agents. These labor fakery must be shown up in their true colors by counterposing a program of class struggle to their political chicanery.

As has been said above, it is necessary to look upon the present conference not as an end in itself, but as a stage in the process of struggle. The central problem is—

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ST. PAUL MEETING

Speakers:

HUGO OEHLER

CARL SKOGLUND

ST. PAUL LABOR TEMPLE

Tuesday eve., March 14, 8:00 p. m.

THE WORKERS' FRONT

Carpenters Protest Against Bureaucracy at S.P. «United Front»

We publish below a copy of an open letter sent by Carpenters Local Union 2090 to the Socialist party and the labor press:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE LABOR COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Gentlemen:- After listening to the report by our two delegates to your conference on Feb. 22, 1933 this local union wishes to register a protest against the conducting of the conference called by your committee and especially against the treatment accorded to our delegates and those whose viewpoint on the unemployment problem is similar to our own.

The initiators of the conference addressed the call to our local union and to numerous other organizations. Many of these delegates were in agreement with the views of those in charge of calling the conference. It should have been possible for all the delegates to obtain admission into the conference and to voice their views, to submit their proposals or resolutions, and then to have a thorough discussion of everything put before the conference. This is the only correct procedure for a working class movement.

Instead of this, our delegates witnessed exactly the opposite. Workers who came with regular credentials from various labor organizations, particularly Left wing labor organizations, were refused admission into the conference by a "credentials committee" which was never elected but arbitrarily appointed by nobody knew who. In addition, squads of strong-arm men were stationed throughout the hall and without the slightest pretext, they were employed to make violent physical attacks upon these delegates who did not meet with the approval of the conference organizers. Not only were these workers slugged and forcibly ejected from the hall, but any delegate who rose to protest against this scandal, was immediately threatened with a dose of the same medicine. The delegate from our local union was twice pulled back into his seat by these strong-arm men, when he made an attempt to take the floor and voice his point of view and his protest.

We sent delegates, like other organizations, in order to help build up a strong and united movement to make some headway in the fight against the misery and hardship which unemployment imposes upon the working man and woman. But our delegates were not given the slightest opportunity to present our point of view, to submit resolutions or to argue for them. The time of the conference was taken up by long-winded speeches from leaders of the Socialist party and the rank and file delegates were made to listen only. Instead of serving there as active participants in a conference, they were lured there to give this conference of semi-business men and political job seekers a workers and proletarian aspect.

We hold to the view we have had before, that it is necessary to unite a large and powerful movement for unemployment insurance and relief. For this purpose, we favored the merging of the conference called by the A. F. of L. committee with that called by the labor committee of the S. P. We intended to present this view at the conference. But before we could do it, the slugging and ejections began, and an atmosphere of terrorism was created.

We therefore wish to protest most energetically against the procedure at this conference. In spite of what has happened, we intend to continue as before with the defense of our point of view that only the genuine united front of all workers' organizations can give a real forward push to the movement to relieve the workers from the effects of the crisis. Our representatives, wherever they are will defend this point of view.

Fraternally yours,
CHARLES EBEL,
Secretary,
Local Union 2090, UB of C
and J. of A.
243 E. 84th St., N. Y. C.

F.S.U. Backs Out From L.O. Debate

Chicago.—On the west side of Chicago there exists a branch of the Friends of the Soviet Union that engages in educational activities, hold lectures, debates, etc. This branch decided one day, that it might stage a debate between a member of the F. S. U. and a representative of the National Committee would not permit such a discussion. But the arrangements were made.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published three times a week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York.
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
Friday, March 10, 1933
Vol. VI, No. 13 (Whole No. 165)
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy.

Appeal to Y.C.L. Against Slugging

(Continued from Page 1)

GROUP BUT IN SOME PETTY POOL-HALL GANG, THAT SUCH TACTICS CAN SERVE ONLY TO PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF OUR ENEMIES.

For you to tolerate such tactics in the least is to sanction them. You bear the preponderance of the responsibility for this act, for you have sat by, sanctioning the beatings we have received, by your silence. You bear the preponderance of the responsibility because you sat by, never allowing a word of criticism to emanate from your office against those who persist in disgracing the revolutionary movement because of their "revolutionary" and political integrity", by beating with the aid of pool-balls hoodlums, individual revolutionaries whose political concepts differ in the least. To continue your silence in the face of the recent occurrences, is to commit the greatest injustice to the revolutionary youth movement.

We demand the expulsion from the Young Communist League of Chicago, of Red Cruck and Ted Peck, as well as all others who participated in the attack upon comrade Dannyluk and whom we could not identify, on the following charges:

1. For the brutal and cowardly beatings given to young revolutionaries, whose sincerity has been substantiated by countless arrests and jail sentences, by such worthless elements as Red Cruck.

2. For the violation of the most elementary of Marxism axioms: axioms which distinguish us from anarchists and nihilists.

3. For destroying the prestige of the Communist movement. We demand that the National and District Committees of the Young Communist League take immediate and austere action against the participants of the attack, and make an example of them by expelling these elements from the Young Communist League, as undesirables who are obstructing the progress of the revolutionary youth movement.

The decision you make passes judgment upon your own revolutionary integrity and will decide the problem as to whether the Y.C.L. shall continue to grow or cease.

Comrade Dannyluk was questioned by the police after he had regained consciousness. He refused to reveal the names of his assailants, nor did he utter a word that might throw the slightest suspicion upon the organization that was responsible for the deed. He pleaded ignorance to all questions that might in the least incriminate the Y.C.L. You, AND NOT THE POLICE are the ones to pass decision upon such action. YOU MUST ACT.

We have tolerated these beatings long enough. WE REFUSE TO TOLERATE ANY SUCH FURTHER ATTACKS UPON OUR COMRADES. YOU MUST ACT AGAINST THEM. We do not believe in settling our problems before the capitalist courts. We know of more effective ways of settling such problems in the revolutionary movement. Your decision, and the outcome of the condition of comrade Dannyluk, will go far to decide our action.

We register our revolutionary protests,

NATHAN GOULD.

For the Spartacus Youth Club.

JOSEPH GIGANTI.

For the Communist League of America, (Left Opposition), Chicago Branch.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Big Oehler Meeting In Davenport

Davenport, Iowa.—A very enthusiastic audience of 125 workers greeted Hugo Oehler, member of the national committee, when he spoke in Davenport on "What Is Happening in Germany". Comrade Oehler presented the situation in Germany in a very enthusiastic report showing the mistakes in the present Stalinist leadership and the treachery of the social democratic leadership. Comrade Oehler answered many questions about the situation in Germany.

The Stalinists—there were only about six present. They made an excuse that they were doing more important work than discussing the Germany revolution so that is the reason their leadership could not be present.

About seventy-five militants were sold at the meeting. A motion carried to send a greeting in behalf of the workers in Davenport and the greeting is to be sent through the International Left Opposition.

Comrade Oehler while he was in town gave a lecture on the principles of the Left Opposition before

our branch, about an hour in the afternoon and about an hour after the mass meeting was over. Several comrades that are not in the Left Opposition attended both of the lectures. In fact there was not even a minute of spare time for comrade Oehler from the time that he reached Davenport to the time that he left.

March 15, 1933, 8 P. M., the Workers' Educational Forum will hold a 50th anniversary meeting for Karl Marx at the same hall. Comrade H. Brady of the Chicago branch will give a review of Marx's life and the significance of his teachings. There will be a musical program by a German singing society of this city. Refreshments will be served after the meeting. Admission 10c—Unemployed Free.—B.

THE ONLY ROAD

The Only Road by Leon Trotsky has been completely set up and will go to press within the next few days. This is a fundamental analysis of the German situation and all the factors that led to the assumption of power by Hitler. No militant can fail to read this book. The book will consist of more than 100 pages and will sell at a very nominal price. Watch for its publication.

Comrade Cannon's Speech at Albany

(Continued from Page 1)

the overwhelming majority, if not every single delegate here, would vote for it with both hands. Its composition it is a conference of the vanguard. The important and decisive questions for such a conference are the questions of program, perspectives and tactics. From this point of view I shall undertake to analyze the situation as the Left Opposition sees it and from which our proposals flow.

The crisis is preparing the ground for a great resurgence of the American working class. The cynical indifference of the capitalist rulers to the plight of the hungry masses, the pauper relief doled out as charity, the savage wage cuts and other aggressions on the one hand, and the bankruptcy of all the capitalist panaceas for overcoming the crisis on the other—all this is producing in the depths of the working and unemployed masses the most profound resentment and dissatisfaction. The necessary conditions for the transformation of the psychology of the working class, for its political awakening and its emergence as a class on the basis of the class struggle, are maturing rapidly; to a certain extent they have already matured.

The furious resentment of the workers is accumulating to the breaking point, preparing the way for a great explosion of working class protest. Of decisive importance to facilitate this are: the program, the tactic and the perspective. The present conference has to be conceived not as the culmination but rather as a point of departure in the struggle to set a real class movement of the working and unemployed masses on foot.

The hesitation of the masses to express their profound resentment upon them in the crisis in aggressive struggles on a broad scale, which up to now has been one of the most outstanding characteristics of the situation, has certain causes. The mass unemployment overwhelmed the employed workers with a sense of insecurity and helplessness, and served as a deterrent to actions on their part. In addition to that, the absence of

any organized movement of the unemployed on a sufficiently large scale, and the disunity in such movements as have existed have operated to paralyze the development of a real class movement. All this does not preclude the possibility of a change in the attitude of the workers, and that in a comparatively short time.

The program for the translation of the mass discontent and resentment of the employed and unemployed workers into class actions on a broad scale and for the fusion of their interests and their actions in a common struggle, centers around the following main demands:

- (1) Immediate relief
- (2) Unemployment insurance, to be paid for by the employers and the government.
- (3) The six-hour day and the five-day week without reduction in pay.
- (4) Long term, large scale credits to the Soviet Union, as a means of unemployment relief for the American workers and the cementing of fraternal bonds between the American and Russian workers. This implies the demand for the recognition of the Soviet government and the establishment of trade relations with it.

The tactic by means of which the scattered separate movements can be welded into one, and the still inactive masses can be drawn into the struggle, is the tactic of the united front. The united front tactic aims to bring about common action of various workers' organizations, trade unions and parties. It proposes their joint action in a common movement for immediate aims. It is addressed to the official organizations as well as to the rank and file members, and puts the leaders to the concrete test of struggle. Without this tactic the reformist leaders who disrupt and sabotage the movement escape unpunished, they continue to deceive large masses of workers with empty phrases and to thwart their desire for united struggle. On the other side, without the tactic of the

united front, the actions organized under the leadership of the revolutionary workers remain isolated vanguard actions; they do not succeed in reaching the less awakened workers and drawing them into the fight; and, consequently, they fail to exert the necessary class pressure on the capitalists and their government. The present composition of the Alban- Conference (almost exclusively Communist and Left wing delegates), is the most striking illustration and warning on this question. A decisive turn to the genuine tactic of the united front is the most imperative need now for the further development of the movement.

The actions of the impoverished and hunger-driven masses, which can follow with accelerated speed and accumulating force from the program and tactic laid down above, must now primarily take the form of demonstrations which really unite wide masses in struggle. The appearance at the State Legislature must not be conceived as an end in itself, but as a means of popularizing and stimulating these mass demonstrations.

Such demonstrations, in the next stage of the movement—to the extent that they really involve broad masses and bring a class force to bear—can put upon the capitalist rulers a pressure which they have not felt up till now. These demonstrations can force concessions from the capitalists and compel them to pause before further onslaughts on the workers out of fear of giving a further stimulus to the movement. Moreover, such mass demonstrations, increasing in size and militancy and gaining visible results in concrete cases, (as, for example, in Chicago), will enormously strengthen the morale of the masses, increase their self-confidence and lead, in turn, to broader, bolder and stormier demonstrations.

On this road the hesitating mood of the masses and their more or less passive discontent can be rapidly transformed into the impulse for active resistance all along the line. The moment this decisive turn in the situation is clearly recorded, new and vast perspectives will be opened up. The increased self-confidence that will follow from the first successes in the demonstrations of the unemployed can be rapidly reflected among the employed workers in the industries in the impulse to resist further aggressions on their already unbearable standards. This can lead to economic actions of the employed workers, to local strikes on the basis of concrete local grievances, and to the combination of these economic actions with the political demonstrations of the unemployed masses, and to the reciprocal influence of these movements upon each other.

In face of continued wage cuts, which raise the workers' resentment to the explosive point, the multiplication of such strike actions is quite possible. In such an event, and on the basis of a stormily developing strike movement, a demonstrative general strike of short duration is not excluded.

The general strike, however, is not an agitation slogan for the present. An adventurous playing with the slogan of the general strike at the present time can only operate to prevent the development of the elemental workers' movement on the basis of those demands and actions which are appropriate to the present situation and the present stage. The general strike formula cannot be substituted for the preliminary partial actions necessary to prepare the conditions for it. We must not attempt to compensate for the failure or the inability to organize a broad movement on the most elementary basis with big talk about a general strike.

The New U. S. Banking Law

(Continued from Page 1)

drawn, more notes will be printed. If these additional notes go into circulation, you have inflation at one blow. The only thing that has prevented the increased note issue caused by the withdrawal of deposits from resulting in effective inflation already has been the fact that the deposits have been withdrawn to be hoarded, not spent. But at any time the ex-depositors may become still more panicky, may be afraid that even their bank notes will lose in value, and go out and spend them and thus put the whole 2 or 2 1-2 billions of recently-issued currency into circulation. This would at once result in rising prices and in a genuine inflation.

To have more deposits withdrawn would mean to have more bills printed and add further to the danger that if the new bills actually go into circulation, inflation, with rising prices and lower buying power of money and money wages, would be upon us.

The party cannot have both—a fight against inflation for the sake of the workers, and a fight for unlimited cash withdrawals of deposits which involves additional currency and so opens the door to inflation.

The unanimous vote in the House, and the vote of 73 to 7 in the Senate for a banking law which its own father, Senator Glass, described as shocking, show how demoralized and terrorized are the parliamentary bodies. To propose "mass pressure" on them to change the course which is being dictated by the big bankers is simply not serious.

The workers must be told plainly, without hysteria or exaggeration, that there is a possibility that the present banking crisis may develop into a period of inflation, which will amount to a wage cut. Such a situation must be met with a demand for higher dollar wages, to compensate for the lower buying power of the dollar if it develops. Representatives of the workers should determine the amount of increase needed. The struggle for such higher wages must be waged on as broad a front as possible, as it will gain in strength it fought on a national basis and be proportionately weaker if it has to be fought out from shop to shop.

Second, such workers' committees who are charged with the duty of observing and measuring the movement of prices could well carry along with them the petty bourgeois masses, organized into consumers' leagues or similar organizations into committees for the suppression of abuses such as hoarding of commodities by dealers, unjustified price advances, substitutions, etc.

These are only typical of the methods by which a broad united front movement for a fight against inflation might be developed within the proletariat and under the guidance of its vanguard, which could lead the petty bourgeois masses and not be swamped by them. Such a movement, if the present banking crisis develops into a real currency breakdown, and if it is firmly guided by a resolute and correctly-oriented Communist vanguard, could rapidly develop from such practical and limited tasks to the boldest revolutionary demands, to workers' control of production as a road to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

—B. J. FIELD.

International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition Presents Thesis

(Continued from last issue)

Cleansing of the Ranks of the Left Opposition and Composition of the International Conference

The Left Opposition is able to grow and strengthen itself only by the purging of its ranks of casual and alien elements.

The revolutionary awakening after the war seized not only the young generation of the proletariat, but also revived a great variety of sectarian groups, which sought a way out on the roads of anarchism, syndicalism, pure propaganda, etc. Many of them hoped to find an arena for their confused ideas in the Communist International. Many elements of the petty bourgeois Bohemia also joined under the banner of Communism, having been thrown out of their ruts by the war and the post-war upheavals. A part of this many-colored army of partisans dissolved itself into Communism and entered into the composition of its apparatus; poachers often make the best gamekeepers. The dissatisfied ones on the other hand either returned immediately into their political non-existence or attempted, on the way, to attach themselves to the Opposition. Such elements are prepared to accept in words the best of principles; on condition that they not be prevented from remaining good bourgeois (Paz & Co.), that they be obliged to no discipline of thought and action (Souvarine), or to give up their syndicalist and other prejudices (Rosmer).

In approaching the task of assembling its ranks on the national as well as the international scale, the Left Opposition could do nothing else than begin with those many-fold groups which actually existed. But from the very beginning it was clear to the basic nucleus of the International Left that the mechanical combination of sep-

arate groups which count themselves among the Left Opposition is permissible only as a starting-point, and that later on, based on the theoretical and political work as well as on internal criticism, the necessary selection must be made. In fact, the last four years were for the International Left Opposition a time, not only of clarification and deepening of theory on the ground of the individual countries, but also of its cleansing of alien, sectarian and adventurist elements of the International Bohemia, without a principled position, without serious devotion to the cause, without connection with the masses, without a sense of responsibility and discipline, but for that all the more inclined to listen to the voice of careerism (Landau, Mili, Graef, Weil and other varieties of the same fundamental type).

The principle of party democracy is in no way identical with the principle of the open door. The Left Opposition has never demanded of the Stalinists that they transform the party into a mechanical sum of fractions, groups, sects and individualities. We accuse the centrist fraction of carrying on an essentially false policy which at every step brings them into contradiction with the flower of the proletariat, and that it looks for the way out of these contradictions in the strangling of Party democracy. Between the organizational policy of bureaucratic centrism and its "general line" there is an inseparable connection. In contradistinction to Stalinism, the Left Opposition is the bearer of the theory of Marxism and of the strategic achievements of Leninism in the world labor movement. As far as principle methods are concerned, the International Opposition has never broken with any group or with any individual comrade without exhausting all meth-

ods of ideological influence. Exactly for that reason the work of selecting cadres that has been accomplished possesses an organic and permanent character. By checking over each and every one on the basis of his actual work, the Left Opposition must carry through to the end the cleansing of its ranks of alien elements, since, as experience has shown, only in this way can it expand and educate its proletarian cadres. The International Conference can rest only on the basis of the work which has already been done, and deepen and consolidate the results of this work.

The proposal to call a conference with each and every group that reckons itself in the Left Opposition (the groups of Landau and Rosmer, the "Maharuf", "Spartacos", the Weisbord group, etc.) means the attempt to turn the wheel backward and gives evidence of a complete lack of understanding of the conditions and laws of development of a revolutionary organization and of the methods of selection and education of its cadres. The pretence of not only rejects but condemns such an attitude as being radically opposed to the organizational policies of Marxism.

The Left Opposition in Italy (Relations with the Bordighists)

The so-called Left Faction of the Italian Communists (Prometeo group or Bordighists) has its traditions, which are sharply distinguished from the traditions of the Bolshevik-Leninists. The Bordighists, who had originated in the struggle against the opportunism of the old Italian Socialist Party, at one blow put themselves on the ground of anti-parliamentarism and of ultimatism and persisted in their opposition to the Comintern as early as the period of its first four world congresses. The formal abandonment of anti-parliamentarism, which took place after the second world Congress, changed nothing essential in the policies of the Bordighists. The rejection of the struggle for democratic slogans under any and all conditions, and the refusal of the policy of the united front with regard to the

social democracy—today, in the year 1933, after the enormous experience in all the countries of the world—sufficiently proves the sectarian character of the "Prometeo" group. The Bordighist faction, while claiming the role of an independent Marxist current, has proven its complete inability to exercise any influence on the development of the official party. Within the latter there has arisen a new Marxist grouping (N. I. O.), entirely on the basis of the ideas of the International Left Opposition. Just as glaring a mark of the sectarian character of the Prometeo group is its complete inability, in spite of an existence of more than ten years, to extend its influence to other countries. The national limitations of Bordighism, from the standpoint of Marxism, represent its harshest and most bitter condemnation.

The International Opposition, in this case as in others, has made every attempt to make possible the adaptation of the Bordighists to the Bolshevik-Leninists. The gigantic events which have taken place in the last few years in China, Spain and Germany, have been an exhaustive checking-up of the differences of opinion in the questions of democratic slogans and of the policy of the united front. Every critical blow which the Left Opposition struck against the Stalinists, at the same time rebounded against the Bordighists. The three years of existence in common, the criticism of ideas and the criticism of events have brought them no nearer to us. Now the necessary conclusions must be drawn.

Within the framework of a mass party it would naturally be possible to live together with the Bordighists—under the condition of a firm discipline in action; but within the framework of a fraction it is completely impermissible, especially after the entire experience which we have gone through, to support the action of unity with an alien group, which remains ideologically immovable and isolated in a sectarian manner.

The Bordighists themselves have

never assumed a loyal attitude toward our international organization. By compelling all their members, irrespective of their individual opinion, to come forward and to vote in no other way than in the spirit of the majority of their fraction at meetings and conferences of the International Opposition, the Prometeo group has placed its national discipline higher than the international and thereby violated not only the principles of democratic centralism, but also those of internationalism. This alone proves that the Bordighists were never actually a part of the Left Opposition. If in spite of this they still hang on to their formal adherence to the International Left Opposition, that is only because in that way the character of their group as a purely national sect is disguised. But the policy of Marxism is not a policy of disguise. While paying due recognition to the honesty and revolutionary devotion of many Bordighists, the International Opposition still considers that the moment has arrived to declare openly: The Prometeo group does not belong to the composition of the International Left Opposition.

The only section of the Bolshevik-Leninists for Italy is the New Italian Opposition (N. I. O.)

To be continued

What Next

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

by LEON TROTSKY

A penetrating Marxist analysis of the class dynamics and forces at work in the present situation. A burning indictment of the treacheries of the social democracy and the criminal blunders of the Stalinists. A work no Left wing worker and Communist can afford to neglect. One of the texts of the future. 192 Pages Cloth 65 Paper 35 Postage: .06 per copy extra