## Minneapolis I.L.D. Pursue Ruinous Policy of Sectarianism and Expulsion

neapolis has never had a better opportun- the height of absurdity. ity to develop into a really influential The effectiveness of the Mooney cam the members enrolled is quite a different await the call for the next conference matter and one which is beyond the powers of the incapable bureaucratic

clique in control. Incapable themselves of giving proper leadership and guidance to such an es- will truly represent the masses of worksential organization as the I. L. D., they ers. A conference that will be based prevent with all their bureaucratic power the helpful participation of capable revolutionary workers. This holds good not only for members of the Communist the Russian revolution, we must take up League, but for anyone who takes liter the elementary task of demonstrating to ally their statements that the I. L. D. is a broad united front organization irrespective of political differences.

Once again the above-mentioned assertion has proved to be nothing but an a vital issue. Only in such a manner empty phase which the bureaucrats use as they see fit. The writer of this arti- and demagogues that trail along. cle was elected by the membership of the central branch of the Minneapolis L the impotent isolated group it is as L. D. as one of their delegates to the long as it follows the stupid policy of city central committee. The representa- expelling revolutionary workers for their tives of the party present, including the political differences, while allowing carorganizer, Carlson, did not utter a word against my election, though they knew ents to control the organization. It is well enough that I was a member of the to be hoped that the coming united front Communist League. Trained apparatus conferences under our auspices will have men that they are, they sensed they could not oppose my election after the membership had so decided. Particularly since they had come to the meeting utterly unprepared and had allowed a Trotskyist to make most of the organizational proposals.

It did not take them long, however, to decide upon definite organizational steps, at the very first meeting of the central body (which includes the delegates from sympathetic organizations) the axe fell and another great deed for Communism was accomplished. Carlson opened the meeting by reading the usual meaningless catechism "that the I. L. 10 abstaining. This shows clearly that (Chicago), Martin Payer (St. Louis), D. is open to all workers irrespective of the workers present were not at all con- Joe Silver (Toronto, Canada) and a compolitical differences but that does not include Trotskyists". He might as well ferred against the comrades. have continued and echoed the words of a Fourth of July senator who thunders "that this country is based upon the working-class, enemies of the Soviet the glorous traditions of freedom but Union, etc. In reality, the charges are ist League (Opposition) in the various New York, N. Y. freedom does not mean license." Com- brought forward because these comrades localities are for the present, to organize rade Carlson, however, did not waste support the Communist Left Opposition. themselves into a Youth fraction of the any ceremonies-he knew the composi- In view of this, the expulsion action be- Left Opposition for the conduct of youth tion of the city central committee only comes an outrageous one and should be activity. As a preliminary step, each too well. He proposed my expulsion from the central body and my eviction from the hall. The chairman, Tom Foley, ably executed the proposals of Carlson and I was not even permitted to take the

tion, despite the efforts of the bureaucrats, letarian revolution. In this the Left Opwas not unanimous. Several of the position fights against the bureaucratism as an occasional supplement of The Miliworker-delegates present absenting from of the present Stalin regime within the tant, is to be discontinued at once and voting and one representing an I. W. O. Communist Party of the Soviet Union as all efforts concentrated upon the organlocal spoke in favor of my being seated. well as within the other parties of the izational, editorial and finanical tasks It is not strange, then, that through such C. I., against the Stalinist revisionism a narrow bigoted policy, the I. L. D. which is not only endangering the herithere remains but a skeleton organization age of October but endangers the successwith a drifting membership.

party influenced organizations are in- volved in this case.

MINNEAPOLIS .- The I. L. D. in Min-| fectively take up the Mooney defer &

sent time. The crisis has had telling calculations of those in control of the effects upon the Minneapolis working I. L. D. at all. They seem to live in a class. They lend willing ears to what world created by their own fancy, void the Communists have to say and enroll- of any realistic conception of the tremment in an organization like the I. L. D. endous mass movement that could be orbroad united front working class organi- go their way sublimely carrying out the zation, is comparatively a simple mat- official policy to the letter-call a conter. But the retaining and activizing of ference, have a street demonstration and

In Minneapolis, upon the failure of the party and the I. L. D., the Opposition is compelled to take up the task of organizing a Mooney Defense Conference that upon the trade unions and one that will be able to bring pressure to bear on Mooney's jailors. Fourteen years after the rank and file of the I. L. D., and party that united front conferences are not narrow family affairs but are meant to unite the entire labor movement on can the Communists show up the fakers

The I. L. D. in this city will remain eerists, adventurers and rank incompetsome effect upon the present politically suicidal policy of th I. L. D. -M. G.

### Protest Expulsions

(Continued from page 1) Lapmros Haidous. Comrade Koumonnrade Haidus, not being present, is to be Joseph Carter, George Clarke, Albert forthcoming relative to the Youth paper, expelled at the next meeting.

Of the 60 members present out of total of 196 members of the club, 34 Craine and M. Kent, candidates, and outvoted for the expulsion, 14 against, with of-town members of Charles Curtis vinced by the slanderous charges pre-

The charges were that these comrades were counter-revolutionaries, enemies of reversed.

The Left Opposition under the leadership of comrade Trotsky has many times put itself on record as the staunchest defenders of the S. U., as the de- an outstanding task, the perspective was fenders of the October revolution and as laid down the publication of an official The vote for my expulsion and evic- active workers of the international pro- youth paper as soon as possible. ful development of the world revolution In such the same manner as they man- as well. The members of the Left Opposiage membership in the L. L. D., they are tion have a long and unstained record paration, with no organized attempt to worker to examine. Today the Left reach the trade unions or the masses of Opposition considers its main objective workers, the usual demonstration, at the one of restoring the party to the

1.00

.50

mean? It can mean nothing less than render all possible support to the Coman attempt to split the club. The com- munist movement and the Communist rades who were expelled were amongst party. The comrades of the Left Opthe founders of the Spartakos club. position intend to support any effort to Comrade Koumonndoureas was the sec- help further build and strengthen the retary during the first year of the club. Spartakos club on this basis. mass organization than it has at the pre- paign does not seem to enter into the larly in such activities which aimed to under expulsion have worked faithfully.

consciousness to facilitate political edu- rades.

for everybody to investigate.

revolutionists from this workers club; cation of the Greek workers and thereby

Both comrades Koumonndoureas and The Spartakos club by its constitution Haidous have served on its executive aims to take into its membership al committee. They have participated loy- Greek workers who agree with its obally in all of its activities, and particu- ject. In this sense the two comrades collections of miners' relief, in building Opposition appeal to all workers not to in enlisting support of the Empros as eaucrats, but to broaden the united well as in the general working-class edu- front, to build and strengthen the Sparwhich is proclaimed by the party as a ganized around the Mooney defense. They cation of the club. Their record is clear takes club and to strengthen its pur-The Spartakos club aims, and correct- the Left Opposition appeal to all mently so, to be a workers' educational club bers of the Spartakos club to demand to develop class soliddarity and class the reinstatement of the expelled com-

## Jubscribe!

With the Militant now appearing weekly there should be excellent possibilities for all of our supporters to enlist new subscribers. If you agree with us you will want to extend the Militant circulation. You will want to keep your own subscription paid up to date. If the number on the wrapper of this issue is less than 75, it means that you should renew your sub. Next you should endeavor to get other workers to become subscribers. For convenience use the blank below.

THE MILITANT, 84 East 10th Street, New York City. Please enter me for a subscription one year, \$2.00; six months, \$1.00. Address..... City ...... State .....

### Plans Laid for Systematic Youth Work

Glotzer, George Ray, Hank Stone (resident committee), together with Reva rade to be selected from Philadelphia. Comrade Abern is at present in charge of the youth work.

The youth comrades of the Communbranch of the League is forming a youth committee to initiate the work.

At a recent meeting of the National Youth Committee, work was laid out. As The Youth Vanguard, issued heretofore

Steps have recently been taken by the connected with the establishment of the tion) to develop and intensify activity for a Left Opposition youth paper among part of November. among the young workers and youth gen- the members of the official Young Comerally. With the establishment, after munist League, Communist youth symthe second national conference of the pathizers and among the young workers League, of a National Youth Committee, as a whole, and there is full confidence as well as to other outlined activities among the youth.

> Members and sympathizers are called upon to give financial support to enable the immediate and regular issuance of the youth paper. Information requests concerning the Youth fraction and money are to be sent to Martin Abern, National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition), 84 East 10th St.,

## CLASSES

Marxism Instructor: Arne Swabeck

Fundamentals of Communism Instructor: Martin Abern

Registration Fee: \$1.00 - one dollar per course - unemployed workers Special rates

Opening Week: Oct. 19th

## Organization Notes

life. The New York branch heard the time in November. The defense commitline worked out by the confernce. It the defense. And it would not be amiss strengthen the Communist movement, in In this sense the comrades of the Left adopted further a resolution setting forth to remind our members and supporters the I. L. D., in fights against evictions, support the splitting tactics of the burposes. In this sense the comrades of and sympathetic organizations, strength- have been entirely too limited. While ments to comrades available to assume collecting from one local \$17.00. responsibility as voluntary organizers wherver assigned, encouragement to and the completion of the Expansion the outset we feel sure that every active

From the center, we are similarly proceeding gradually to take the measures for organizational strengthening based upon the conference decisions. Actual steps have been taken to lay the foundation for building up the Pioneer Publishers as a separate institution- this applying both to the utilization of avenues available for extended literature circulation as well as to planning of new publications. A beginning has been made toward assigning young comrades ready to take up voluntary work in helping Milltant Builders? branches now numerically weak. The first assignments include one comrade-for St. Louis, Mo., and one for Kansas City, Mo. Two national tours are being plan-Communist League of America (Opposi- youth paper. There is an excellent field ned, the first to begin about the latter right away. We have in mind comrades

Selection of a national youth committee has been completed with comrade Abern in charge and plans for its activities are already under way. According immediate concrete organizational and everywhere that this latest step forward to decisions of the national conference a political tasks have been laid out. The of the Left Opposition will meet with special committee to give attention to National Youth Committee consists of enthusiasm and success. In another a study of the Negro problem has also doureas was expelled from the club; com- the following members: Martin Abern, week, detailed announcemnts will be been created. Comrades who want to present their views on this question should forward such to the national of-

place in the same manner as the arriv- actually on this account for certificates, al. Most of them had to beat their way either in full or in part payment. We in one fashion or another but we have almost reached three-fourths toreceived word of safe arrival at the home ward our goal \$2,000.00. We have taken point. The Chicago branch utilized the the first three major steps, established opportunity of the Minneapolis delegates the Pioneer Publisher, returned the Milipassing through to add them to the pro- tant to a weekly publication, held the gram of reporting on the conference at second national conference. Now we a public meeting held. The Chicago mem- should forge ahead for the final goal. bership has recently been actively engaged in activities among the unemployed workers. Their efforts have been, and quite succesfully so, directed toward strengthening the general movement not only by criticizing the serious weakness obtaining but also by adding positive proposals. The membership has been active in Left Opposition propaganda among the Communist youth and has incurred the wrath and fire of the bureaucrats from Max Shachtman Maurice Spector the official party and Y. C. L. However, so far the results have been expressed in several new members for our branch. From Philadelphia, we have received Register at 84 East 10th St., at once | word that hearing of arguments for a new

In the center and in our units, plans; trial for Morgenstern and Goodman, who are now taking shape for putting the have been found guilty under the Sedisecond national conference decisions into tion act, has been postponed until some report of its delegation, accepted the de- tee states it intends to issue a leasiet cisions and indorsed the general political for general distribution in support of some of the practical tasks for the branch again that now is the time to speed up The points particularly worthy of note defense, to gain support from workers were: Organization of the Left Opposi- eveywhere. Activities so far in behalf of tion fraction within the party, Y. C. L. these two victims of the class struggle ening of our specifically sympathetic many workers and organizations have contacts and more efforts to have all protested the sabotage of the I. L. D. It branch members actively functioning in to the hearings and possibly new trial. workers' mass organizations, a campaign The New York supporters made a good for recruiting new members, encourage start in appearing before local unions by

### Militant Builders

Under this heading we plan to have young comrades to take up youth work in a standing item among our organizationa more systematic manner, building of al notes. Of course, its life depends upon the Militant and literature circulation what actual builders we have. But at supporter will agree that we have now arrived at the time when the Militant extended. The material is all at hand. circulation must be built up and far more

The Militant appears weekly. Many workers are interested in its contents and despite the great unemployment many new subscribers can be secured. With that well under way the next point must be the increase of bundle sales and securing of additional newsstands willing to handle our paper, especially such which handle radical literature. Who is ready now to enlist in the group of

Some of our comrades who have been quite active in the past in this field we naturally expect to enroll in this group like Philip. Shulman in New York, Rebecca Sacharow in Chicago, J. R. Hedlund in Minneapolis and H. Goldberg in St. Louis. But there is room for many more.

### Our Expansion Program

During the recent weeks we have been quite liberal with our entries of contributions under this heading. As a matter of fact we credited also such donations which were not for certificates for the Pioneer Publishers. Henceforth we The return of delegates had to take will enter only such funds which are

Published weekly by the Communist League of America [Opposition] at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon Arne Swabeck

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreigh \$2.50. Five cents per copy, Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy

## THE BANKING CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES

are the commercial banks.

They constitute part of the mechanism by which 4 1-2 billion dollars' worth tended by the usual several hundred policies of Lenin, to do away with bur- of gold finances the circulation of capi- ly of, or in connection with, an industrial ted States government, that is, keep defaithful, was held. Following up this eaucratism and at this moment it be- tal to the extent of over 90 billion dol- boom based on creation of additional posits, lend money, issue bonds, etc., great success, they are calling what is comes particularly expressed in its ef- lars' worth of commodities a year, in now becoming the traditional party con- forts for a correct application of the United States alone. It is essenial ference at which only party controlled or united front policy which is really in- to the functioning of this mechanism that all paper claims and credits created by vited. That such a conference could ef- What does this method of expulsion of it should be exchangeable for gold, at a fixed basis, that is, a dollar is defined as a piece of gold weighing so many grains, and all forms of paper expressed in dollars, such as bank deposits, loans, credits, etc., are supposed to be exchangeable for the amount of gold which they represent. This is what is meant by the gold standard.

> Paper and Gold It is clear that there is not enough gold in the United States, or on the entire world, to pay off all the holders of all the various kinds of paper claims if they should all ask for their gold at once. But this is only academic possibility. In actual capitalist economy, showdown is never called for, except in international finance, where the paper of one country, expressed in its national currency, is not acceptable to the financial system of another, based on a different gold unit. Normally, the paper passes freely from hand to hand, changing its form constantly-a capitalist receives a check for a hundred dollars in paper, deposits it at his bank where it becomes a book-keeping item on paper, draws against his deposit to obtain paper bank-notes with which to pay wages, the worker uses part of his paper wages with which to pay a paper debt to his landlord for rent, the landlord uses part of the rent to pay interest to holder of a paper mortgage, etc.

There is, of course, the possibility that in all these paper transactions more pahave been commodities and services exnot affected directly by such paper transactions, this will show at once in an increasing ratio of paper to gold, or a decreasing ratio of gold to paper.

from the banks. In such cases, a finan- tem, and by some of the state banks. cial boom arises, based on increased paper values. It may arise independent- lowing: (1) Act as bankers for the Uni-

The Federal Reserve banks do the folcommodities and services, such as would (2) Act as bankers for the banks, who

rediscount.

### Types Ownership

Saving Bank Usually mutual, no stockholders (like Bowery Savings Bank)

Commercial Bank Corporation, con-(like National City Bank)

trolled by big bourgeoisie in big

Dillon, Read) Stock Exchange Firm (like E. A.

Investment Bank-Usually private, sometimes affiliing House ated with big (like Morgan or commercial bank Must be privately

owned by Ex-Pierce & Co.) change rules

Source of Funds

Lower bourgeois-

ie, upper proletar-Big and petty

bourgeoisie

Big and petty hourgeoisie, also trust funds, insurance companies,

> All classes of hourgeoisie, in boom times sections of proletar-

Usually long-term in fixed capital; creates, buys and sells securities

Primarily gambling on security prices without supplying new capital.

Type of Invest-

ment

Long-term, in

mortgages

fixed capital like

railroads, home

Short term, in

variable capital

especially com-

mercial transac-

result from the development of new in-, keep deposits with them, (3) Lend money dustries or opening up new markets. Effects of Deflation

The opposite tendency, to reduce paper values faster than physical volume of production of real values, is deflation, and in finance is reflected in an increased proportion of gold to paper. This results in lower prices for goodds and securities, reduced markets, reduced profits, unemtalist to cut wages.

per dollars will be called for than there of gold and paper are the formal reflect buying stocks or bonds. Only commertions in the financial sphere, the world cial paper, which is self-liquidating, that changed. Since the amount of gold is of money and paper, of the basic rhythms of capitalist economy, boom or stabilization and crisis, whose real content, based is eligible for rediscount with the Fedon the necessary internal contradictions eral Reserve banks. The cotton mill- from the other banks. of capitalism, are familiar to Marxists.

to the banks against paper assets such as bills and notes, Government bonds. etc., (this is called rediscounting, and the rate at which such loans are made is the rediscount rate), (4) Issue currency called Federal Reserve notes.

As to (3); the Federal Reserve Act makes a sharp distinction between bank paper based on commercial transactions. ployment, and an incentive for the capi- such as lending money to a mill-owner for the purchases of cotton, and finan-The changes in relation and amount cial paper, based on such transactions as deposits, can go out and buy government is, in the normal course of events will supply funds with which to pay off debt. owner will, normally, convert the cotton This is called inflation, and may come | Coming back to the "normal" function- which he buys with borrowed money into about in many different ways. Prices of ing of the system, the gold is held by cotton goods which he will sell, and out commodities, or real estate, or securities, the Federal Reserve banks, in the U.S., of the proceeds will pay off his loan to may rise sharply creating more paper and by the central banks in the other his bank. For this reason the Federal stances. values; banks may lend more freely, caritalist countries. There are twelve Reserve bank is willing to take this loan In the following paragraphs we shall creating paper assets against which depositors may draw checks; securities may be created and offered on a wide ations are unified by a Federal Reserve banks, each in a definite off the hands of the millowner's bank, by lending against it, that is, rediscounting in the period from the last previous ing it. Paper based on a purely financial crisis in 1921 to the present one. (To be scale, giving the corporations which is- board of which the Secretary of the transaction, on the other hand, has noth- continued).

sue them control of more funds, while the Treasury is a member. Their capital ing about it that assures the bank that going abou tputting Mooney's united in the Communist movement. Their ac- ions, but by far the most important from people who buy these securities borrow stock is held by national banks, which funds will be found with which to pay off front plea into effect. Without any pre- tions and their views are open for every the standpoint of the immediate crisis the money with which to pay for them must belong to the Federal Reserve sys- the loan, and is therefore not eligible for

### Government Bonds

The only exception is Government bonds, against which the Federal Reserve banks will lend money, to help the government to finance itself. Central banks in foreign countries do not draw this distinction, by the way.

The deposits which the ordinary commercial banks maintain with the Federal Reserve banks are fixed at a definite percentage of their own deposits, ranging from 7 to 13% of the most important class of deposits, 3% for other deposits. When business improves, and bank deposits increase, they have to increase their deposits with the Federal Reserve banks. These deposits must be at least 35% in gold; the rest may be paper eligilbe for rediscount.

The Federal Reserve banks therefore receive gold in the form of deposits from member banks (ordinary commercial banks affiliated with the system through stock ownership).

The Federal Reserve banks may issue bank-notes, but these must be covered to the extent of at least 40% by gold; the rest may be eligible paper, if enough such paper has been acquired by, rediscount or purchase.

In the normal course of events, a dollar in gold received by a member bank is deposited by it with the Federal Reserve bank, and such a deposit makes it possible for the member bank to add 8 to 14 dollars to its own deposits. The Federal Reserve bank receiving the gold can issue up to 2 1-2 dollars in banknotes against it, and in this way control the amount of currency in the country.

The Federal Reserve bank, if it does not receive requests for loans from its member banks sufficient to lend out its bonds and commercial paper in the open market, that is, put more money into circulation, or when it wants to help deflate the banking system, it can sell its bonds and paper, thus absorbing money

In these ways, the Federal Reserve system regulates the activity of financecapital through its phases of inflation and deflation under relatively normal circum-

# FOR YOUR LIBRARY

Books by Leon Trotsky

THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

86 pages, two-colored paper cover 25c Introduction by Max Shachtman

> THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL A Criticism of Fundamentals

Introduction by J. P. Cannon 140 pages hard paper cover

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION 30 pages, paper cover THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

208 page book-cloth bound THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA

Introduction by Max Bastman 364 page book formerly \$2 now 1.00 5.00

MY LIFE-600 pages COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM The Trade Union Question Introduction by James P. Cannon

PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOP-

64 pages, paper cover

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

By Max Eastman

paper bound

IN DANGER 15c 64 pages paper cover

MENT OF THE U. S. S. B. 48 pages, paper cover Special Rates in Bundles of 5 or more SINCE LENIN DIED

> 158 page book printed in London Pioneer Publishers

84 East 10th Street New York City

1924