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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1933

Communist International Changes Policy! Half-Turnto Genuine United Front Must Be Completed and Actually Carried Out

The Communist International has | 22 and published in the newspaper | We cannot sit down, they protest | proclaimed solemnly: "This policy | ting into the strength of social, low" all over again!

The alarm signal sounded by the Left Opposition in the ranks of the Communist movement, the increas- executive committee of the Cominingly critical situation in Ger- tern, instructs Communist parties many, the hopelessness of the pre- throughout the world, first, to arvious position of the Stalinist fac- range a joint program of action tion-all this forced the Comintern with Second International and other to speak out It has been compel-labor organizations-that is, comled to come out of its disastrously bined staff work; second, to form sectarian retreat in favor of a uni- committees immediately for joint ted front with the social democratic action with workers and other party to smash the forces of Fasc- parties-that is, combined field

Duranty to the New York Times of spicacious bourgeois minds, ob- our party, and corrected in the case March 7, 1933. We quote directly: serves that this is the "policy ad- of Berlin". (Communist Internaist party exclusiveness of recent from his exile on Prinkipo Island. years and has reverted to a 'uni- in Turkey, a year ago advocated

at last made a turn in policy on success and the 'unparalleled cam- "social Fascist leaders", the united front with the social paign of provocation and terror At the recently concluded 12th against the whole working class of Plenum of the Comintern, the "his-

"The manifesto, signed by the

Moscow cablegram from Walter Times, representing the most per- jected by the Central Committee of "The Communist International vocated by Trotsky," "M. Trotsky, tional, 1-15-1933, page 35.)

From January 22nd to March 6th

The first cuestion which rises in! It is not difficult to surmise the the reader's mind is the unexplain-ed reason why six weeks was allow-between the "date of issue" and leaders of the Berlin district to the stige, ambiguity.

The proposal made by the of infallibility and apparatus pre-the same issue, the Daily Worker's linear truth about this suspicious gap S. P. G. The proposal made by the of infallibility and apparatus pre-the same issue, the Daily Worker's linear truth about this suspicious gap S. P. G. The proposal made by the of infallibility and apparatus pre-linear truth about this suspicious gap Issue. ed to elapse between the alleged the "date of publication". The Iron Front was sharply criticized date of the issuance of the "united manifesto on the united front was by us, because it expressed an overfront manifesto" of the Cominters withheld until the last moment estimation of the degree of matur- Prayda, "much earlier offered to munist representative, Torgler, from (January 22) and its first public (assuming that it was really writ- ity attained by the social demappearance (March 6) in the Com- ten January 22), until the plebis- ocratic workers, and an underestiof the Executive Committee- front from below" had not suc- of the united front from below, "united front from below," to the Socialist party, the Free and Chris- plugged up. of the Comintern-aware of the ceeded in tearing away any apexistence of the manifesto? If it preciable section of the socialist face of certain sentimental feel- mand for the "united front under upon the working class to oppose was not, what reason was there masses who continue to follow the for withholding it from attention Social Democratic Party of Gerall during the recent period, when many, had not succeeded in estabthe official Communist press con- lishing that genuine united front, tinued to advance the idea that the solid and mobile, which is the es-"united front with the socialist sential prerequisite for the victortraitors" was a species of "Left ions struggle against Fascism. social Fascism" peculiar to the "Trotskyist vanguard of the coun- serious blunders were added to the ter-revolution"? If the Commun- already over-long record of Stalinist parties were aware of the ex- ism: istence of the manifesto, why was it not made public in the last six has been lost, during which Fascweeks (in fact, it has not yet been ism has been strengthening its printed 'n the American party points of support, has been gainpress), or, if it was available but ing in insolent confidence, has been "not ready for release", why was proceeding virtually unhampered to it not referred to in the press, or, strike blow after blow at the workat the very least, why wasn't the ing class-precious time during ch nge in policy which it represents which the Communist party has rereflected in the line of conudct of mained passive and impotent. the parties? How could the respon- 2. The Second International sible general staff of the world (and the German social democracy a period of six weeks during which ing for negotiations with the Comwere beating down upon the heads pose of establishing a united front. of the German proletariat like a That the yellow reformist Interna-

sure, even if a day later than the Stalinism. Times. On page 4 of its March 8 issue (page one is occupied with Second International asserted basis for 2 1-2 dollars of Federal the more vital question of the "de- weeks ago that it "has always been Reserve paper, each of which in mands of the small bank deposit- ready to negotiate with the Com- turn can become the basis of 8 ors), the Daily Worker first pub- munist International with a view to 14 dollars in loans and deposits lishes a Moscow radiogram from to common action as soon as this in the ordinary commercial banks. its own correspondent about the body is also ready". In our Monpeculiarly dated Comintern ap- day's issue (simultaneously with peal. The American Communist the Pravda publication but, of Party maintains a permanent re- course, unaware of it), we stated presentative (more than one) in that the Comintern must now de-Moscow; it even has its own news- clare: paper correspondent there, who "The C. I. is prepared to negotiis said to have been a dramatic ate with the Second International critic, one Buchwald. But the ad- for the elaboration of a concrete vantages one would expect from program of action against Fascism. the people who have built ask for paper money instead, and such representation do not seem The German Communist Party is prepared to sit down for a joint discussion of the problem with the such crucial questions as the pre-

tern?

ST. PAUL MEETING

party."

ing their most envenomed distribes.

Up till yesterday, we were de-

HUGO OEHLER CARL SKOGLUND

ST. PAUL LABOR TEMPLE

Tuesday eve., March 14, 8:00 p. m. zation to organization, the leader- gold basis, it would have to be re-

Admission 10c Unemployed Free be concluded "only from below". Soviet Russia in the worst period among the bankers as to just how

under a manifesto issued January social democrats and Communists", ment, to hold a joint demonstration

1. Precious, irretrievable time

"In this," replies Thaelmann, to be met with."

toric leader of German Commun-

ism", Ernst Thaelmann polemized

al conclusions which have been

drawn from the false estimation

of the role of the S. P. G. in the

above-mentioned article, are sub-

stantially on a par with the pro-

ership (of the party)-proposals

which were made to the Social

Democratic party with a view to

The article to which Thaelmann

referred declared that "the demand

against Fascism, is most appropri-

By this, at least two extremely

The basic problem of banking is of the civil war, in 1920, after this is to be done. The New York a formal appeal to the social demthis: In the United States, the years of imperialist and civil war City group wants to issue Clearing ocracy, equivocally couched, with revolution permit itself the costly which paved the road for Fascism national income in boom years was and the transition from capitalists House certificates, which represent a good deal of "united front from luxury of keeping under cover so is a part of it) has been allowed about 90 billion dollars a year, at to war-time Communism, the low-only the balances which one bank below" babble smuggled in. Then, Staurday March 11, 1933, at the vi lly important a document for to take the formal initiative in call- present about half of that; the est level reached was 18% of has with other banks. Anyone who if and when it is ignored or renational wealth about 300 to 400 "normal". The complete wiping- wants to accept this as money can jected by the social democratic Workers School, 126 East 16th events of paramount significance munist International for the pur- billions. This income is realized in out of credit and the reduction of do so, but unlike "regular" money, the form of money, and a large economic activity would be an un- there is no legal way of compelling retire to their old positions, "prov- cents, and an excellent program of part of the transfers of wealth paralleled economic collapse. When him to accept it. This is the dethunderstorm? And why, when it tional reeks of hypocritical dem- take the form of money as an in- there is a danger of this, as there vice that was used in 1873, 1893 "united front with the leaders". All young workers and students are is finally made public, does the agoguery in its appeal and con- termediate stage. This money is has been on six occasions since the and 1907, on each of which occas-Communist public have to look for veniently avoids mention of the based on gold. But there is only Civil War, the banks, not having ions it was redeemed, after cir- to address a formal and public apquaint themselves with the Left it in the columns of the bourgeois treacherous role which it and its 3 to 4 billions of gold in this coun- enough gold or currency to meet culating for some months. Times which, not for the first time, German section have played in the try. The whole business of bank- the demand, and finding their credit is in advance of the Dally Worker Fascist march to power, does not ing is to fill the gap between the steadily cut down, fill in the gap in its reports of developments in change the fact that in the eyes 3-4 billions of gold and the hun- with emergency paper of some sort the Soviet Union an the Comin- of the socialist masses in particu- dreds of billions of money trans- as long as the panic continues, lar, the prestige accruing to the actions which are based on gold. then retire it as soon as a "nor-The Comintern manifesto and the initiator of the united front goes The banking system is a device for mai" basis for banking has been Pravda editorial do not go unre- to the social democracy-thanks filling this gap by means of credit, restored. This happens when gold ported in the Daily Worker, to be to the insufferable blundering of in other words, paper. Every dol- and currency begin coming back iar of gold received by the Federal into the banks, so that deposits

> As a result of this mechanism, money. Deposits have been cut with which the business of the

Pravda today. That is the Comin- ed, with the murderers of Lieb- would mean that we would abandon democracy (see the last elections! The Communist Incornational has tern's answer to Adolf Hitler's knecht and Luxemburg, with the our correct Bolshevik policy." (Ibid, page 36.)

-S.), the more do the Brandler- reformist organizations must in come apparent in action with each ites and the Trotskyites shout for deed be appealed to, they must be passing day. When the ceiling Less than two weeks ago (Feb- a united front with the social dem- called upon to fight for the united overhead bursts into flame, the ruary 27, 1933—and the Comintern ocratic leaders.... Bolshevik tactics front. That goes without saying. most stubborn bureaucrats must manifesto was dated January 22, made the Communists the strong- But unless the Communist party needs forget about prestige. Even 1933!). Bedacht still wrote in the est single party in Berlin. Bol- offers directly to the Social Dem- genuine privy councilors, in such against those in the party who in-clined in our direction: "The tactic-munist party united front with the integration (?!) of the social dem-a proposal for united front negotia-their underwear. The pedagogy of social democratic workers is cut- ocratic party."

The Significance of the Turn

posals of the Berlin district lead-The blows of the International ally addressed itself directly to front. Left Opposition against this light- the social democracy. "The Comthe Fascist torch was being applied, forth direct and comprehensible thus far the turn is one of words ized that it is inadequate, incom-This is what is revealed by the In its editorial comment, the blows which the policy of the Communist Interna- social democracy of the possibility Trotsky a year ago. "More than whelmed by enthusiasm and to

Centrist bureaucracy: half-hearted-against the Fascist dictatorship." we see the continuation of the ness, obscurity, covering up the

mands "negotiations between the tions given us by Buchwald, how, ism." leaders of the Communist Party of ever, it appears (one must look for If words have any meaning, this Germany and the Social Democratic a clear statement with a micro- "united front appeal" is simply a

our regret, it is impossible to wel- German social democracy is now ably characterize the turns of the ers?-S.) and advance the fight Just what does this pompous

false judgment of the role of the traces in the interests of the theory ambiguity signify concretely? In "The Communist International", front declaration" which the so-Buchwalds' radiogram quotes from cialist leaders prevented the Comcoupled with a surrender in the bureaucratic ultimatism of the de- tian trade unions to join in calling ings in favor of unity which are Communist party"? If a repetition Fascism and the employers. In the Communist workers, are our the first place the victory of proof the past policy is all that the this hour of the greatest peril, the first concern, for without a clear- letarian revolution in Germany And again, attacking Trotsky who turn signifies, then it would be a Communist party again calls upon headed party, which understands would signify the liquidation of the wants in all seriousness, to see miserable dressing up in the trap- the workers organized in the Social- what it is doing and why, even the bureaucratic dependence of the the Communists going hand in hand pings of a more guarded phrase- ist party, the Free and Christian best policy is worth very little. Communist party upon the Stalinwith the murderers of Liebknecht ology of the bankrupt policy of yes- trade unions at once to join us in Therefore, it is imperative that the ist apparatus". and Rosa Luxemburg," who de- terday. From the Pravda quota- larginning the fight against Fasc- turn be elucidated, the reasons for

Party of Germany".-Thaclmann scope) that the Comintern has fin- rephrased "united front from be-

The Banking Crisis in the United States

TWO BILLIONS IN CURRENCY AND GOLD HOARDED, THREATENING TO CRIPPLE THE FINANCING OF BUSINESS; PLANS BEING WORKED OUT BY BOURGEOISIE TO TIDE ITSELF OVER CRITICAL PERIOD, WITH INFLATION MENACING PROLETARIAT

increase instead of decreasing.

Just what has happened in the

present banking crisis? Banks

have been shut odwn by whole

states at a time, and depositors

have been withdrawing their

billions, at the same time as gold

on hand has been reduced from 4

How do the banks and the gov-

Evidently there is a difference

In its public declaration, the Reserve Banks can become the

3-4 billions in gold supports 5-7 from 44 to 42 billions, while note billions in paper money which in circulation has gone up over a turn supports 44 millions of bank billion dollars, from 5 to over 6 deposits, which are the real "funds" country is transacted. All of this to 3 1-2 billions. In other words, works well enough until and unless about 2 billions of currency and the people who have bank deposits Executive Committee of the Gertween the amount of gold actually man social democracy and its available and the amount of business which has to be financed, is With this we were only repeating what the Left Opposition has far without raising the possibility when everybody wants cash. stubbornly insisted upon for the that the first 3-4 billions of deposits last few years, particularly in conmay be paid off in gold, and the nection with the situation in Gerentire rest of the banking strucmany. Against our point of view ture be left without any gold founthe Stalinists never tried of launch-

To put it somewhat differentlynounced as traitors and counter- if all the economic life of the counrevolutionists for defending the try were to be restricted to what idea of a united front from organi- can actually be financed on a cash ship not excluded. The united duced, not to 50% of "normal" as ing. front, retorted the Stalinists, can at present, but to about 3%. In

The plan being carried through by Gov. Lehman of New York State is to have new Emergency Certificate Corporations organized which

> This kind of paper is backed by the particular assets against which it gram of action against Fascism. is issued, not by the general credit At the same time, to call upon the issue handled, and driven home, as of all the banks in a given district, like the Clearing House certificates. A third plan is being worked out leaders agree to meet, discuss, work by Woodin, Secretary of the Treasury, for the issue of Federal Reserve notes of a special kind against only therein lies the true signific-

banking corporation.

Will There Be Inflation? is actually carried into practice, tee "united fronts from above." gold have gone into hoarding. The the result will be an increase in danger of a reduction in deopsits the amount of paper in circulation. the other capitalist countries, the and credit reaching the point of Does this mean inflation? Not nec- Communist party must approach 14th and Cass Aves. All readers crippling the financing of business essarily. If the total amount of the social democracy and the trade of the Militant invited to attend. became imminent. As a result of all these new issues, of whatever unions in the same manner, de- Tuition is free. Sufficient literathe hoarding, there is not enough kind, is kept down to the amount manding a united front to mobilize money to go around, and credit is of money which has gone into the masses in France, Enlgand, the not able to fill the gap because it hoarding, it will merely keep the United States and elsewhere for cut down. This cannot go very is being withdrawn, not extended, total of cash plus credit in the an international movement of status quo before the rush on the struggle against Hitlerism and banks started; if the amount of solidarity with the German prolenew paper issued is less, it will be tariat. ernors and president who speak for even a further deflation and reducthem propose to meet this situation? tion in the amount of circulating aries. The latest events have only In the same way as such situations medium. If, on the other hand, fortified the standpoint and the have always been met-by putting more new paper is issued than the confidence of the Left Opposition. out something which will take the amount of cash that has gone into Our vigilance will not be diminishplace of money until the emergency hoarding, or if it is kept in circu- ed for a moment; our irreconcills over, i. e., until money comes lation and not retired while the able opposition to Stalinism will back out of hoarding and credit, hoarded cash comes back, it will not be moderated; our role will along with deposits, stops declinresult in a net increase in the total not be reduced. On the contrary. amount of means of payment ac-

(Continued on Page 2)

tions with a concrete fighting pro- facts will come to the assistance gram-the agitation in the reform- of our criticism." ist ranks is confined to a Commun- The pedagogy of facts, the inist recruiting campaign which is in transigeant, unyielding, persistent no sense a substitute for the united blows of the Left Opposition, have

The Communst International has icy. The turn is in the right direcminded Neronian fiddling while munist International is for setting been forced to make a turn, but it cannot be over-emphashave now compelled a turn in the appeal, the Comintern deprives the the Stalinists is inevitable," wrote plete the turn is not to be overof claiming that the Communists once in the past it has happened swallow everything uncritically, The Left Opposition enthusiast- are against unity if the question that the Stalinist bureuacracy, hav- but to strike twice as hard for the ically welcomes the turn! But to is about unity for struggle.... The ing spoiled paper in hundred tons views of the Left Opposition. It in polemics against counter-revolu- is only by acting in this manner years and has reverted to a unitary and advocated of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreservedly. In the latconfronted with the question of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreserved with the part of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreserved with the part of the Berlin-Brandenburg district come it unreserved with the part of the Berlin-Brandenburg di right direction though it is, we de- ment with the followers of the tried to fulfill the program of the the partial turn which has now been tect all the features which inevit- Communist party (only the follow- Left Opposition-in truth, some- effected,

The workers in the ranks of the correctness of our position will be-

forced a turn in the Stalinist pol-

What Must the Party Do Now?

Internatoinal Notes report a "united passive resistance to the old Stalin- tainly permit the attack of Fascism ist policy was not the least factor to be beaten off," Trotsky wrote in in forcing a change, will be remiss 1932. "In its own turn, the seriin his revolutionary duty if he ous victory over Fascism will clear all workers' parties (!) the pro- reading at the Socialist demonstra- fails to drive ahead now. The turn the road for the dictatorship of posals to create joint fighting front tion in Berlin on February 7. The must be completed; it must be made the proletariat. But even at the munist press at least in the Mos- citary elections of the Hitler-Hug- mation of our own power among the against the onslaught of the capi- declaration read as follows: "Dur- concrete; the bureaucratic loopholes helm of the revolution, the Comcow Prayda. Was the Communist enberg regime showed so crushingly working class, for the organization who ing the past few weeks it (the C. (and there are far too many of munist party will still bear wihworld-outside the immediate ranks that the past policy of the "united tion of widespread demonstrations or what? Is the reference to the P.) has repeatedly appealed to the them already apparent) must be in itself many contradictions. The

it made clear, the blunder of yesterday revealed and condemned to written, and invaluable time crimprevent its recurrence, and bureau. inally squandered by a bureaucracy cratic prestige sacrificed in the in- jealous of its prestige, it remains terests of clarity. The party, essentially true, Fascism can still which has been so horribly dis- be conquered. The proletarian revoriented and miseducated, must be olution may still be put at the top re-oriented and re-educated: in a of the order of the day in Gerword, it must be re-armed.

Second: the turn must be made genuine and concrete. We have not the slightest reason to doubt that the party leadership will content itself with the issuance of peal to the social democratic party, through its executive committee; ditto to the trade unions; to propose in this appeal a public meet- Dear Comrades: ing (before the eyes and under the will take over assests from banks the representatives of both move- foundly impressed by the sincerity and issue certificates against them. ments to discuss a concrete proreformist masses to demand that the German crisis has by the Left their leaders accept the Communist Opposition. united front proposal, that their out a fighting programs and act with the Communists. Therein and bank assets; something like the ance of a "united front from be-Lehman plan but on a national low" as distinguished from the scale and without forming a new Stalinist conception of yesterday (and to a certain extent of today), as well as from the Chiang Kai-

These are elementary prelimin-"Should the Communist party be

compelled to apply the policy of the

The Communist worker, whose united front, it will almost cermission of the Left Opposition will First: the party membership, tain sense it will only begin. In

Even though much water-and blood-has flowed since this was many, and consequently throughout Europe. The Left Opposition. the Bolshevik-Leninists stands at the watchposts of the world revolution!

Wed., March 8, 1933.

SPARTACUS YOUTH AFFAIR

The Spartacus Youth Club will hold an entertainment and dance leaders, the Stalinist leaders will Street. Admission is only 15 The correct and only procedure is cordially invited to attend and ac-Opposition youth.

RESPONSE FROM MONTREAL

control of the working class) of last month and have been pro-Have read the Militant for the of the paper.

It warms my heart to see an

Enclosed herein please find \$2.00 to add my bit for the cause. Internationally,

GEORGE KELLEY.

ST. LOUIS CLASSES The St. Louis Branch, Interna-

tional Workers' School is conduct-

ing a study class on the "Fundamentals of Communism" with Mar-No matter which of these plans Shek and Anglo-Russian Committin Payer as instructor. Sessions are held every Monday evening. Third: outside of Germany, in 7:30-10:00 P. M. in the downstairs club room, Cruden Branch Library, ture is available to all students.

> Newark Meeting at the Hungarian Workers Home 37-16th Ave.,

Newark, N. J. Saturday Evening, March 11th, THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT AND FASCISM

Speaker: JAMES P. CANNON EVERYBODY WELCOME! Communist League of America

(Opposition) Newark branch LABOR TEMPLE

MANHATTAN After the German Elections-What Now?

MASS MEETING

After the German Elections-What Now?

MAX SHACHTMAN

Auspicos: Communist League of America (Opposition)

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