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THE MILITANT

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Workers of the World,
United!

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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 "executed front appeal" signed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which, according to the Moscow dispatch, 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?

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."

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?

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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 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?

WE WANT TO KNOW:
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 has 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 obliged 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, with 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, traitors though they are, to force them into a common struggle 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 Tartuques and Elmer Gantrys. 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 sophism 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 these 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 decentralized, small-scale, competitive relics of a pre-imperialist era represented by the American 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. Monopolistic tendencies of developed imperialism, and the decentralized, small-scale, competitive relics of a pre-imperialist era represented by the American banking system, is being solved ruthlessly in favor of monopoly by the "new deal".

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 so in Germany in 1923-24, 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...

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
927 E. 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 of 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

(Continued on Page 2)

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

(Continued on Page 2)

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 relief of 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 chicaneries. 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-

ST. PAUL MEETING

Speakers:
HUGO OEHLER

CARL SKOGLUND

ST. PAUL LABOR TEMPLE

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

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—

(Continued on Page 2)