CENT

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

at last spoken on Germany!

The alarm signal sounded by the Left Opposition in the ranks of the

has reversed its policy of Communist party exclusiveness of recent years and has reverted to a 'uni- in Turkey, a year ago advocated

The Communist International has 22 and published in the newspaper tlast spoken on Germany!

The Communist International has 22 and published in the newspaper tlast spoken on Germany!

Pravda today. That is the Cominist International has tern's answer to Adolf Hitler's tlast made a turn in policy on the strength of social low" all over again!

We cannot sit down, they protest down they protest would mean that we would abandon the democracy (see the last elections!

The Communist International has the cominist International at last made a turn in policy on success and the 'unparalleled camthe united front with the social paign of provocation and terror against the whole working class of Plenum of the Comintern, the "his-Germany.'

"The Communist International vocated by Trotsky." "M. Trotsky, tional, 1-15-1933, page 35.) from his exile on Prinkipo Island, under a manifesto issued January social democrats and Communists".

### From January 22nd to March 6th

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 ed to elapse between the alleged date of the "date of publication". The date of the issuance of the "united manifesto on the united front was by us, because it expressed an overfront manifesto" of the Comintern withheld until the last moment estimation of the degree of matur-(January 22) and its first public (assuming that it was really writappearance (March 6) in the Com- ten January 22), until the plebis- ocratic workers, and an underestimunist press-at least in the Mos- citary elections of the Hitler-Hugcow Pravda. Was the Communist enberg regime showed so crushingly world—outside the immediate ranks that the past policy of the "united of the Executive Committee—front from below," had not sucof 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 feelwas not, what reason was there for withholding it from attention Social Democratic Party of Gerall during the recent period, when the official Communist press con- lishing that genuine united front, tinued to advance the idea that the "united front with the socialist sential prerequisite for the victortraitors" was a species of "Left social Fascism" peculiar to the "Trotskyist vanguard of the coun- serious blunders were added to the ter-revolution"? If the Communist parties were aware of the existence 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 in the American party points of support, has been gain-press), or, if it was available but ing in insolent confidence, has been why was it not referred to in the press, or, strike blow after blow at the work at the very least, why wasn't the ing class-precious time during ch nge in policy which it represents which the Communist party has re reflected in the line of conudct of mained passive and impotent. the parties? How could the responsible general staff of the world (and the German social democracy this: In the United States, the years of imperialist and civil war City group wants to issue Clearing revolution permit itself the costly which paved the road for Fascism 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, vi lly important a document for to take the formal initiative in calla period of six weeks during which ing for negotiations with the Comevents of paramount significance munist International for the pur were beating down upon the heads pose of establishing a united front. of the German proletariat like a That the yellow reformist Internathunderstorm? And why, when it tional reeks of hypocritical demis 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 it in the columns of the bourgeois 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,

Pravda editorial do not go unrel 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 sure, even if a day later than the Stalinism. Times. On page 4 of its March 8 Party maintains a permanent re-Moscow; it even has its own news-| clare: paper correspondent there, who is 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. such representation do not seem to accrue to the Daily Worker in prepared to sit down for a joint such crucial questions as the pre-

ST. PAUL MEETING

Speakers:

**HUGO OEHLER** CARL SKOGLUND

ST. PAUL LABOR TEMPLE

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

MANHATTAN

MASS MEETING

"The manifesto, signed by 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

The first cuestion which rises in | It is not difficult to surmise the

masses who continue to follow the many, had not succeeded in estab-

ious struggle against Fascism. By this, at least two extremely already over-long record of Stalin-

solid and mobile, which is the es-

1. Precious, irretrievable time

In its public declaration, the 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 Prayda publication but, of course, unaware of it), we stated presentative (more than one) in that the Comintern must now de

"The C. I. is prepared to negoti The German Communist Party is man social democracy and its

With this we were only repeatstubbornly insisted upon for the last few years, particularly in connection with the situation in Germany. Against our point of view the Stalinists never tred of launching their most envenomed diatribes. Up till yesterday, we were denounced 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 back out of hoarding and credit, Tuesday eve., March 14, 8:00 p. m. zation to organization, the leader- gold basis, it would have to be reship not excluded. The united duced, not to 50% of "normal" as

At the recently concluded 12th toric leader of German Communism", Ernst Thaelmann polemized against those in the party who inclined in our direction: "The tactical conclusions which have been drawn from the false estimation of the role of the S. P. G. in the above-mentioned article, are substantially on a par with the pro-posals of the Berlin district leadership (of the party)-proposals which were made to the Social Democratic party with a view to the holding of joint demonstra-This is what is revealed by the Moscow cablegram from Walter 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 Interna-

The article to which Thaelmann referred declared that "the demand of the Berlin-Brandenburg district ted front of all workers' parties cooperation between the German leadership to the Iron Front movement, to hold a joint demonstration against Fascism, is most appropri-"In this," replies Thaelmann,

we see the continuation of the "we see the continuation of the ness, obscurity, covering up the false judgment of the role of the S. P. G. The proposal made by the leaders of the Berlin district to the stige, ambiguity.

Just what does this proposal while interests of the theory ambiguity signify concretely? In the same issue, the Daily Worker's International Notes report a "united international Notes report ity attained by the social demmation of our own power among the working class, for the organiza-

leaders of the Communist Party of ever, it appears (one must look for Germany and the Social Democratic a clear statement with a micro-"united front appeal" is simply a

-S.), the more do the Brandler- reformist organizations must in come apparent in action with each 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 or atic leaders...Bolshevik tactics front. That goes without saying. most stubborn bureaucrats must manifesto was dated January 22, est single party in Berlin. Bol- offers directly to the Social Dem- genuine privy councilors, in such 1933!) Bedacht still wrote in the est single party in Berlin. Bol-Daily Worker: "The more the Com- shevik tactics caused the inner dismunist party united front with the integration (?!) of the social dem-social democratic workers is eut-

### The Significance of the Turn

the Fascist torch was being applied, forth direct and comprehensible thus far the turn is one of words ized that it is inadequate, incom-

right direction though it is, we de- ment with the followers of tect all the features which inevit- Communist party (only the followably characterize the turns of the ers?—S.) and advance the fight Centrist bureaucracy: half-hearted- against the Fascist dictatorship." ness, obscurity, covering up the

mands "negotiations between the tions given us by Buchwald, how ism."

The blows of the International ally addressed itself directly to front. Left Opposition against this light- the social democracy. "The Comminded Neronian fiddling while munist International is for setting our regret, it is impossible to wel- German social democracy is now est turn of the Stalinists, in the whether they come to an agree-

or what? Is the reference to the P.) has repeatedly appealed to the 'united front from below", to the Socialist party, the Free and Chrisbureaucratic ultimatism of the de- tian trade unions to join in calling mand for the "united front under upon the working class to oppose ings in favor of unity which are to be met with."

Communist party"? If a repetition of the past policy is all that the this hour of the greatest peril, the turn signifies, then it would be a Communist party again calls upon the communist party again calls upon the communist party again calls the communist party again calls upon the communist party again ca wants in all seriousness, to see miserable dressing up in the trap- the workers organized in the Socialthe Communists going hand in hand pings of a more guarded phrase- ist party, the Free and Christian with the murderers of Liebknecht ology of the bankrupt policy of yes- trade unions at once to join us in and Rosa Luxemburg," who de- terday. From the Pravda quota- beginning the fight against Fasc

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

# The Banking Crisis in the United States

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

national income in boom years was and the transition from capitalists House certificates, which represent a good deal of "united front from present about half of that; the est level reached was 18% of national wealth about 300 to 400 "normal". The complete wiping-wants to accept this as money can jected by the social democratic 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, "provents, and an excellent program of treacherous role which it and its 3 to 4 billions of gold in this coun-enough gold or currency to meet 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 mal" basis for banking has been Reserve Banks can become the increase instead of decreasing.

3-4 billions in gold supports 5-7 billions in paper money which in turn supports 44 millions of bank billion dollars, from 5 to over 6 deposits, which are the real "funds" with which the business of the country is transacted. All of this to 3 1-2 billions. In other words, works well enough until and unless the people who have bank deposits ask for paper money instead, and the people who have paper money discussion of the problem with the Executive Committee of the Gertween the amount of gold actually available and the amount of business which has to be financed, is ing what the Left Opposition has far without raising the possibility cut down. This cannot go very that the first 3-4 billions of deposits may be paid off in gold, and the entire rest of the banking structure be left without any gold foun-

dation. To put it somewhat differentlyfront, retorted the Stalinists, can at present, but to about 3%. In

The basic problem of banking is of the civil war, in 1920, after this is to be done. The New York billions. This income is realized in out of credit and the reduction of do so, but unlike "regular" money, part of the transfers of wealth paralleled economic collapse. When him to accept it. This is the detake the form of money as an in- there is a danger of this, as there vice that was used in 1873, 1893 based on gold. But there is only Civil War, the banks, not having ions it was redeemed, after cirlar of gold received by the Federal into the banks, so that deposits

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 As a result of this mechanism, money. Deposits have been cut from 44 to 42 billions, while note circulation has gone up over a billions, at the same time as gold on hand has been reduced from about 2 billions of currency and gold have gone into hoarding. The crippling the financing of business

How do the banks and the governors and president who speak for In the same way as such situations out something which will take the place of money until the emergency is over, i. e., until money comes along with deposits, stops declining.

Evidently there is a difference

culating for some months.

The plan being carried through by Gov. Lehman of New York State is to have new Emergency Certificate Corporations organized which will take over assests from banks and issue certificates against them. 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 of all the banks in a given district like the Clearing House certificates

A third plan is being worked out by Woodin, Secretary of the Treasury, for the issue of Federal Reserve notes of a special kind against bank assets; something like the ance of a "united front from be-Lehman plan but on a national scale and without forming a new

banking corporation. Will There Be Inflation?

is actually carried into practice, tee "united fronts from above." 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 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, dethe 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 is being withdrawn, not extended, total of cash plus credit in the struggle against Hitlerism and banks started; if the amount of solidarity with the German prolenew paper issued is less, it will be tariat. them propose to meet this situation? even a further deflation and reduction in the amount of circulating have always been met—by putting medium. If, on the other hand, hoarding, or if it is kept in circuamount of means of payment ac-

(Continued on Page 2)

gram—the agitation in the reform- of our criticism." ist ranks is confined to a Commun-

been forced to make a turn, but tion, but it cannot be over-emphascoupled with the blows which the claims. It offers to act and not only, and "clever", "diplomatic" plete, cowardly—in a word, typic-Fascists themselves were dealing, concoct joint declarations. In its words at that "The about-face of ally Stalinist. The way to comhave now compelled a turn in the appeal, the Comintern deprives the the Stalinists is inevitable," wrote plete the turn is not to be overpolicy of the Communist International.

The Left Opposition enthusiastically welcomes the turn! But to

Social democracy of the possibility of claiming that the Communists are against unity if the question is about unity for struggle... The

Our regret it is impossible to well. in polemics against counter-revolu- is only by acting in this manner come it unreservedly. In the lat- confronted with the question of tionary 'Trotskyism', thereafter in the past that the Left Opposimade an abrupt about-face and tion contributed its share even to tried to fulfill the program of the the partial turn which has now been Left Opposition—in truth, some- effected.

The workers in the ranks of the correctness of our position will bedeed be appealed to, they must be passing day. When the ceiling ocratic party and the trade unions situations, jump out of windows in tions with a concrete fighting pro- facts will come to the assistance

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 forced a turn in the Stalinist pol-The Communst International has icy. The turn is in the right direc-

### What Must the Party Do Now?

passive resistance to the old Stalin- tainly permit the attack of Fascism "The Communist International", front declaration" which the soBuchwalds' radiogram quotes from cialist leaders prevented the ComPravda, "much earlier offered to munist representative, Torgler, from all workers' parties (!) the proreading at the Socialist demonstrafails to drive ahead now. The turn the attack of Fascism is policy was not the least factor to be beaten off," Trotsky wrote in forcing a change, will be remiss 1932. "In its own turn, the seriin his revolutionary duty if he fails to drive ahead now. The turn the attack of Fascism
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ist policy was not the least factor to be beaten off," Trotsky wrote in forcing a change, will be remiss 1932. "In its own turn, the seriin his revolutionary duty if he could be proved to the country of the proreading at the Socialist leaders prevented the Comin his revolutionary duty if he country of the proreading at the Socialist leaders prevented the Comin his revolutionary duty if he country of the proreading at the Socialist leaders prevented the Comin his revolutionary duty if he country of the proreading at the Socialist leaders prevented the Comin his revolutionary duty if he country of the proreading at the Socialist leaders prevented the comin his revolutionary duty if he country of the country of the proin his revolutionary duty if he country of the country of posals to create joint fighting front in Berlin on February 7. The against the onslaught of the capidaction read as follows: "Durchalists." Much earlier than who ing the past few weeks it (the C. (and there are far too many of munist party will still bear withthem already apparent) must be in itself many contradictions. The plugged up.

What is to be done now?

the Communist workers, are our the first place the victory of profirst concern, for without a clearheaded party, which understands what it is doing and why, even the bureaucratic dependence of the best policy is worth very little. Therefore, it is imperative that the turn be elucidated, the reasons for it made clear, the blunder of yesterday revealed and condemned to prevent its recurrence, and bureaucratic 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 disoriented 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.

genuine and concrete. We have not the slightest reason to doubt olution! that the party leadership will con- Wed., March 8, 1933. ent itself with the issuance of a formal appeal to the social democracy, equivocally couched, with ing" the "hopelessness" of any "united front with the leaders". All young workers and students are to address a formal and public appeal to the social democratic party, through its executive committee; ditto to the trade unions; to propose in this appeal a public meeting (before the eyes and under the control of the working class) of last month and have been prothe representatives of both move- foundly impressed by the sincerity ments to discuss a concrete pro-At the same time, to call upon the reformist masses to demand that the German crisis has by the Left their leaders accept the Communist Opposition. united front proposal, that their leaders agree to meet, discuss, work out a fighting program, and act with the Communists. Therein and only therein lies the true significlow" as distinguished from the Stalinist conception of yesterday (and to a certain extent of today), as well as from the Chiang Kai-No matter which of these plans Shek and Anglo-Russian Commit-

Third: outside of Germany, in These are elementary prelimin-

aries. The latest events have only fortified the standpoint and the more new paper is issued than the confidence of the Left Opposition. amount of cash that has gone into Our vigilance will not be diminish ed for a moment; our irreconcil lation and not retired while the able opposition to Stalinism will hoarded cash comes back, it will not be moderated; our role will result in a net increase in the total not be reduced. On the contrary. "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 not at all be completed. In a cer-First: the party membership, tain sense it will only begin. In letarian revolution in Germany would signify the liquidation of the Communist party upon the Stalin-

ist apparatus". Even though much water-and blood-has flowed since this was written, and invaluable time criminally squandered by a bureaucracy essentially true, Fascism can still many, and consequently throughout Europe. The Left Opposition, Second: the turn must be made the Bolshevik-Leninists stands at

SPARTACUS YOUTH AFFAIR

The Spartacus Youth Club will hold an entertainment and dance Staurday March 11, 1933, at the headquarters of the International Workers School, 126 East 16th leaders, the Stalinist leaders will Street. Admission is only 15 cordially invited to attend and acquaint themselves with the Left Opposition youth.

RESPONSE FROM MONTREAL

Dear Comrades Have read the Militant for the of the paper.

issue handled, and driven home, as

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

Montreal. GEORGE KELLEY.

ST. LOUIS CLASSES

The St. Louis Branch, International Workers' School is conducting a study class on the "Fundamentals of Communism" with Martin Payer as instructor. Sessions are held every Monday evening, 7:30-10:00 P. M. in the downstairs club room, Cruden Branch Library, 14th and Cass Aves. All readers Tuition is free. Sufficient literature 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

Speakers:

MARTIN ABERN, Chairman

JAMES P. CANNON

MAX SHACHTMAN

LABOR TEMPLE FRIDAY, MARCH 10th, 8 P. M. 14th Street and Second Avenue LARGE HALL

**ADMISSION 15 Cents** 

After the German Elections-What Now? Auspicos: Communist Leagus of America (Opposition)

Communism and the Negro

## Fighting Lynching in the South

the struggle against lynching, particularly, and also in the struggle against all the other weapons the southern rulers employ to perpetuate racial antagonism in the ranks of labor-so as to keep the South

unorganized. to note that the only really effect to understand more fully it should tive campaign of the party against be borne in mind also that they led to and made known to the directed in the direction of organ-N. C., in which a fighting issue was South instead of almost exclusivesocial, political and economic equal- Belt". with the white workers, the Negro ed (there were many reasons subpicker room workers joined the strike. Negro workers in the waste the party, it suffered let-down af in protest against the frame-up of Fred Beal, the strike leader and fourteen other comrades and militant workers-this frame-up following the bosses' attack of June 7.

This frame-up changed the struggle into primarily a defense of the workers framed in the Gatsonia-Aderholt case, but the calls to every meeting and demonstration were addressed to and invited both Negro and white workers. Nevertheless, with the exception of Negro Communists, there were practically no Negro workers who defied the southern segregation laws and the ever-real terrorism in the South because of the institution of lynching to make their presence a response to the calls until the southern Convention of Textile Workers this will follow. If the capital- country, in order to answer all speakers. Large numbers of Comheld in Charlotte, N. C., October 12, 13, and 14, 1929, appeared as be best served by inflation, the prepregnant with the possibilities for a general movement to organize of scrip may afford them a favorthe entire working class of the able opportunity to carry it through. South. This convention to which This is by no means certain, howcame and participated, drove home to southern white workers present the fundamentally important fact that any serious movement to organize the South must develop not set that the ideas of the Left Opposition to the fundamentally important fact that any serious movement to organize the South must develop not set that the ideas of the Left Opposition have been greatly advanced as a result of this meeting. merely on the basis of wages, hours and shop considerations, but just as important or more so, on the basis of full equality for Negro paper to be issued, the "scrip", workers in the workers' organiza- will be depreciated and that it is

around Charlotte, N. C. especially, worthless paper while the banker meetings of defense of the framed holds on to his cash and gold. Unworkers, meetings celebrating the doubtedly the capitalist class inworkers, meetings celebrating the Russian revolution, meetings to organize the unemployed, etc., were responded to by workers of both races, and workers of both races, became members of the organizations, steps which in themselves were blows at the bosses' weapons of division, segregation and Jim workers of doubtedly the capitalist class in this meetings and after the lecture discussion took place among those present on the situation in Germany and the races of the Communists. Almost half of the audience was composed of members or sympathizers of the communists in the class struggle. This meeting, and after the lecture discussion took place among those present on the situation in Germany and the recitive possible of the communists. Almost half of the audience was composed of members or sympathizers of the communists in the class struggle. This meeting, and after the lecture discussion took place among those present on the situation in Germany and the specially on the recitive place of the Communist League of Americal Communists and the structure of the structure discussion took place among those present on the situation in Germany and the recitive place of Americal Communists. Almost half of the audience was composed of the Socialists and Communists in the class struggle. This meeting, and after the lecture discussion took place among those present on the situation in Germany and the recitive place of Americal Communists in the class struggle. This meeting and the proletariat. But merely to discussion took place among those city by the Left Opposition, at 126 East

16th Street, New York.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James T. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Americal Communist League of Americ preparatory to the only real strug- ary class policy on the basis of gle in the South carried on against a correct understanding of what is lynching as in these instances too going on. the workers had to be ever ready to defend themselves from attacks.

Senator Heflin of Alabama delivered his infamous speech in which he unwillingness to accept it, which southern Bourbons he represented a premium for dollar bills over to employ this weapon more fre-scrip. But this cannot be assumed quently as an aid in their efforts in advance. This scrip must not to push still more on to the shoul- be confused with something like ders of the proletariat, especially the scrip which the bosses use all the Negro proletariat, the burdens the time in many mining districts, of the deepening crisis, at a time for instance, which can be used when the strikers of the Leaks ille only in company stores, and constiand guidance of Communist organ- all times. izers, a time when in that town, 6 demonstration against unemployment were being frequently held.

In just a few days, several lynchprompted the comrades in the field accept it, under some such slogan dictatorship of the proletariat; the ternal counter-revolution. to call protest meetings in all sec- as "We want our full wages—cash, relation to the peasantry and to the tions of the South where even the not scrip". At the present time, beginnings of organization had there does not seem to be any been made. Certainly among the reason for such a slogan, and it ism; the policy of the united front) very first to get active were the should not be raised unless it is remain even today the highest exworkers and comrades in Charlotte meant and responds to the living pression of proletarian strategy in who held first a noon-day demonstration against lynching in front of one of the local mills and then opportunism in dealing with other advertised the special protest meeting. But "so full of artless jeal- "decisive mass action" by small ousy was guilt" on the part of the depositors to get their deposits out Charlotte police that they inter- in cash. This is a capitulation to Comintern, in which the gold of rupted the demonstration as a move the petty bourgeois psychology of Marxism has been rendered cominto Socialism". Recognition of against the lynching that was being "I don't care what happens to the pletely worthless by the centristic the necessity of a return to the realprepared in Charlotte at that time others, just so I get mine". It is instead of as a demonstration in no sense a workers' demand, against lynching as an institution, such as those for higher wages, or the sense of the decisions of the and as a result, the whispering campaign against a colored fellow being held in the Mecklenburg County jail at that time, charged with raping a dead white woman in a funeral parlor, leaked out because of their attack on the preparations for the protest meeting.

Of course, this transformed the intended educational and protest meeting into an experience or rather, a test of the forces in the locality for and against lynching. The armed thugs who congregated within less than half a block from the protest meeting, did not carry out their threats to break it up. They did not even dare to attack

But why was this the party's lynching in the South? Some comrades may well wonder. And the answer is, in this campaign, southern white as well as Negro work-It is of very great importance ers were active participants. But

ity for Negro workers. A Negro The campaign of the party organizer had been sent into the against lynching came to a halt as field there to pull out in solidarity far as being effective was concernworkers in the picker rooms of that ordinate to it) when it put forward mill and the result of his efforts the slogan of "self-determination were reacted to on the part of the for the Negroes of the Black Belt' June 7, 1929, the very night the letarian revolution in the South. When that change was made by the American mills of that town winning the South for Communism. -GEORGE J. SAUL.

# In the U. S.

(Continued from Page 1)

tuall- in circulation, the result of which is inflation.

This would mean higher prices for goods, less buying power of the workers' wages, and intensithe workers' standard of living.

ists decide that their interests will questions in detail. sent banking crisis and the issue

The Daily Worker has already decided that there will be inflation, and furthermore that the new all a trick to cheat the worker and

It is possible that too many scrip may be issued leading to inflation It was on February 8, 1930 that or that delay and confusion in get ting it out may result in a general

meetings preparatory to the March v hich it is proposed to issue here, individual practical consequences experience of the workers.

The typical Stalinist "two-class" classes is shown in the demand for unemployment relief. Workers' deposits are not their main worry. The slogan is a mechanical attempt Left Opposition sets up the followto harness the forces of the most ing principles, develops them theoradvanced section of the proletariat etically and carries them through to a reactionary-individualistic demand of a section of the petty bourgeoisie, a demand which is neither practicable on the basis of the letarian party, always and under existing order nor constitutes a step in a revolutionary direction.

-B. J. FIELD.

### LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

#### Successful Meeting In Newcastle

only effective campaign against fraternal and trade-union locals, lynching in the South? Some commany old militants active in the It was a very representative and selective audience.

lynching was possible only after were together because the party's and concentrated interest on the efforts to unionize the South had efforts and energies were being part of the audience. All phases of the German situation were givtn world the Loray strike at Gastonia, izing the industrial workers of the in their logical order and relationship, starting with a lucid consithe Communist demand for full ly the tenant farmers of the "Black deration of the objective factors: the economic crises and the German economic crisis in relation to the In Boston international situation, and the political crisis flowing from the during the discussion period, especially from the Stalinists.

The discussion period took such a turn, due to the political currents in the audience, that comrade Ochler actually gave a series of short talks on the history of the Comintern since Lenin, dealing with fication of the capitalist attack on the Chinese Revolution, the British General Strike, the situation in It simply cannot be predicted at the Soviet Union, and the problems the present time whether or not of the labor movement in this

> So intense was the interest, that the chairman, comrade Reyburn, had to declare the meeting adjourned at eleven P. M. after a threehour period of lecture and discus-

In the discus ion, three represenwith extended time at their dis- columns of the Militant.

posal, to defend the Stalinist stand -one of them asserting that the party's policy was now in favor of "united front with the leaders". This contention was adequther. Three worker guards kept there is a widespread interest in the Negro question and for those comrades who can recognize the contract of the porter in the negro of the porter in the congregate the workers would be a contract of the co the experiences of the party in the south as more authoritative than The result was that the jailed numbers, response, political reprethe decrees of the bureaucrats, Negro worker was transferred to sentation, and keen interest manithere are vitally important lessons the state penitentiary by state concerning tactics and strategy in the struggle against lynching. naringclass organizations including members present to disrupt the meeting by constant heckling. A very favorable impression was made, however, upon the workers labor movement for years attended. present in general. Added to the preliminary individual agitation work that has been carried on by our comrades in this section, this Comrade Oehler's lecture was re- meeting revealed the sentiment for ceived with the closest attention our movement and indicates that good organizational results will soon be forthcoming.

THE MILITANT

# Two Good Meetings

Boston .- Two excellent meetings economic. All these points which on the crisis in Germany were held are ABC to Marxists, were a very by the Boston branch of the Comvaluable and intersting lesson to munist League of America (Opthe advanced workers which com- position) last week. On Sunday bosses by their attack on the Na- which carried with it the aim of posed its audience. Passing from night, March 5, comrades Antiontional Textile Workers Union on agrarian revolution instead of protors, the role of the working class Martin Abern of New York spoke parties and their policies was of before an audience of over 80 in the most acute interest, as there tensely interested persons at the mill of Bessemer City, N. C. struck ter let-down, instead of rising to were Stalinists and Socialists in Belmont Hall in Roxbury. After a along with the white workers in greater heights on the uphill of the audience. The course embark- complete review by the speakers of ed on by the Social Democracy in the causes that brought the Fasc-1914, and the criminal policies of ist Hitler into power in Germany; Stalinism which aided both the So- the traitorous role of the social cial Democracy and Fascism by democracy of Germany from the building a wall between the Social- days of the World War up to now; The Banking Crisis | Standing a wan between the Social Fasc, mitted by the leadership of the through the theories of Social Fasc-1 mitted by the leadership of the ism and Third Period Zig-zags, Communist Party of Germany and these phases of the lecture drew fire the Stalinist Communist International in relation to the Fascist menace, the speaker's brought forward in detail the program of the Left Opposition, particularly the matter of the correct application of the united front policy in order to achieve a militant and victorious struggle against Fascism.

The remarks of the speakers were ery well received, and numerous juestions aimed still further to clarify the situation were put to the munists and Socialists, including quite a few numbers of the Young People's Socialist League who espouse the cause of the so-called 'Militant" group in the S. P. Copes of the Militant were sold and distributed and a large batch of comrade Trotsky's "Germany What Next?"; his speech at Copenhagen "In Defense of the Russian Revolution" and the brochure, "Soviet Economy in Danger",

On Friday March 3rd, comrade Martin Abern addressed an Open Forum, at which 40 people were in attendance, at Peabody, Two hundred and fifty workers Mass. on the subject, "The Crisis Crowism especially; but also steps working out an effective revolutionviews by comrade Max Shachtman. tivities of the Boston comrades, tatives of the party took the floor and these are reflected too in the

#### First Mass Meeting In Los Angeles

Los Angeles.-The first official appearance of the Left Opposition before the workers of Los Angeles was the mass meeting on the question of the "The Crisis in Ger-many." The results of the meeting of March 3 left the newly formed

branch highly enthusiastic. Over 85 workers including a score of members of the party and facts. As such it deserves com-Y. C. L. listened to the presentation of the position of the International Left Opposition The hall chosen for the meeting was far too small Every inch of standing space was taken and the meeting overflowed. The door was kept open to allow the workers who could not be accomodated within the hall to hear the speeches and discussion.

The speakers of the evening were S. M. Rose and C. Curtis. Comrade Sam Meyers was the chairman. After the speakers of the evening

had concluded the floor was thrown open to discussion. The comrades of the YCL and the party are have, however, plenty of that which goes as Marxism-Leninism in the present day.)

Driven into the corner by the irrestible flow of Marxism, one young comrade resorted to the inevitable retreat of an exposed person: slander. The meeting, finally, adjourned at midnight. ,We are sure that the comrades and workers are going to seriously consider the L. the issue within their organizations.

It is noteworthy that the C. P here has not taken notice of the German events. The necessity sensitiveness of a Communist to inby the years of the Stalinist regime. "More important things... shop campaigns, unemployed work

' the bureaucrats mumble. More important things than the defeat or victory of the most powerful working class movement outside the USSR!

The meeting resulted in a number of contacts for the L. O. and

quite a sale of literature. The comrades of the L. O. are very active in the mass unemployed movement and are the recognized spokesmen within the move ment for the Left wing. The Left wing of the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association (an organization of 40,000 heads of families), through the initiative of the L. O. participation in the work. The comrades of the C. P. are having quite a time of it. At one meeting we are counter-revolutionists, and at another we are comrades-in-arms. battling together.

#### THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the admits that under this danger of Post Office at New York, N. Y. Communism "the Left and Right Under the act of March 3, 1879.

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# China Report Confirms Opposition

The Foreign Policy Association, the prediction and analysis of the nardly known for its Communist Left Opposition. He characterizes leanings has recently issued a very the movement as having made interesting report on the class "steady gains in China's agrarian forces and relations in China. The hinterland". Not a word about the report issued over the signature of strength of Communism in the T. A. Bisson lacks the usual bour-geois bombast and makes the ef- how can it be otherwise? Augfort to confine itself to the actual menting their criminal errors in ment.

The central pivot of the Chinese

ituation, today, is the expanding influence of Communism in the interior of China, which the report declares, is the "key to political events in China". The recognition of this fact is most significant to revolutionaries throughout the world. It points to the complete bankruptcy of the Chinese bourgeoisie to solve any of the needs of clarity. the Chinese people. In spite of all the material support the Chiang Kai-Sheks have received from the American imperialists they have not been able to alleviate the indemarked here as elsewhere by a lack of any serious education. (They masses even in the most elementary manner. They have not been able to consolidate China and consummate its internal unity. They have seek to satisfy its supreme politilackeys of foreign imperialism tion, stability and security?" This Bisson states that the anti-foreign is the crux of the Chinese "puzpolicy, the drastic social and inter- | zle" just as it is of the chaos that nal reforms, which he claims "were reigns throughout the rest of the being rapidly and easily achieved world. during the 1925-1927" period no longer obtain today. This clearly bears out the analysis made by O. position, and are going to raise the Left Opposition of the reactionary role of the Chinese bour-geoisie in the revolution. We have declared many times, not only on the basis of the experience of the Russian revolutions but of the particular class relationships that ternational events has been blunted exist in China, that the Chinese bourgeoisie could not be a progressive factor. Our analysis directcontradicted the revisionist policy of the Stalin-Bucharin leadership of the Comintern, which lost the Chinese Communist Party in the camp of the Kuo Min Tang, because the latter would "fight against imperialism" because it feared the consequences of the action of the toiling masses who would necessarily have to be brought into motion. At this point we disagree with Bisson, who says echoing the Mensheviks of the Stalin faction, that the Kuo Min Tang had set an anti-imperialist movement afoot in the 1926-1927 period. Innumer able facts have been adduced to prove the falsity of this statement. Events have incontestably demon strated that the Kuo Min Tang has invited the C. P. into active bourgeoisie never fought against imperialism but against one or another imperialist nation with the support and sponsorship of some other imperialist nation.

The driving force of Communism still retains its vitality despite the defeat which Stalinism led it into and the four years of ruthless extermination of the flower of the movement by the butcher Chiang Kai-Shek and his hangmen. Bisson Communism "the Left and Right wings of the Kuo Min Tang-formerly quite distinct-have drawn so spare any forces from their campaign against the Communists.

On the character of this Communist movement in China the state-Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy. ment of Bisson further vindicates

the revolutionary period the Stalinist bureaucracy has turned its face away from the proletariat and has established what is virtually a peasants' party drawing on the belated echo of the rural areas to the revolutionary upsurge that has passed and which has not as yet re-arisen

in its real force. The fundamental problem of the future of the Chinese people is raised by Bisson with singular clarity. "Capitalist domination of the Kuo Min Tang however, has not suppressed the issue raised. With the progress of the Chinese Communist movement, the choice between reconstructing China on a socialist or a capitalist basis is pressed more and more insistently on Chinese leaders. On which of these bases shall China remained the compradores, the cal necessities — national unifica-

But this problem has passed from the domain of pedantic inquiry to the plane of tested reality. In China, no sooner, had the bourgeoisie seized the reins of government than it has found itself in a paralytic impasse, unable to solve any of the burning questions of its national economy, let alone the dire needs of the hungry masses. To put the question is to answer it ... Either capitalism will plunge the masses into the abyss of barbarism or the emergence of humanity on a higher plane will come through the triumph of the prole----CLARKE.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern is at least two years overdue. It muse be called immediately, with the Left Opposition participating!

#### Unemployment and the American Working Class by Arne Swabeck

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# What Next

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat. by LEON TROTSKY

pentrating 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 wor 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

7. Recognition of the necessity position of irreconcilable hostility centrism, and toward helping the of mobilizing the masses under to the Stalinist fraction which curtransitional slogans corresponding rently dominates the U.S.S.R. rid of Fascism but also to conto the concrete situation in each and the C. I. The recognition of quer power. Standing on the country, and particularly under these principles, on the basis of ground of the October revolution democratic slogans insofar as it is the decisions of the first four Con-

a question of struggle imperialistic dictatorship sm, Bonapartism, etc.).

of a developed united front policy acter, including the Social Democracy as a party. Condemnation below", which in practice means portunistic application of the uniers of the social democracy.

9. Rejection of the theory of

trism and its zigzag policies.

proletariat in the present period, from the danger of Thermidor designations, place the Left Opposition into a which has been brought closer by

against gresses of the Comintern, is an indispensable condition for the acceptance of single organizations. groups and persons into the composition of the International Left Opposition.

Faction and Not Party The International Left Opposition regards itself as a faction of and to preserve strict discipline of the Comintern, and its separate national sections as factions of the carrying on an irreconcilable strugnational Communist parties. This means that the Left Opposition on the basis of Party democracy. does not regard the organizational But today, under the conditions of regime created by the Stalinist bureaucracy as final. On the con- munist International cannot be extrary, it proposes as its aim to tear the banner of Bolshevism out of limitation, by refusal to assume the hands of the usurping bureau- independent political initiative and Russian Committee (bloc with the cracy and to bring back the Communist International to the principles of Marx and Lenin. That such a policy under the given con- not adapt itself to the Stalinist ditions is the only correct one, is bureaucracy, does not pass over proven both by theoretical analysis its mistakes and crimes in silence; as well as historical experience. | on the contrary, it subjects them to

to a final break with Menshevism set up competitive Parties against as early as 1912, the Bolshevik the existing Communist Parties, 9. Rejection of the theory of party remained on in the Second but in drawing the proletarian practice bound up with it as sory. International until the end of the nucleus of the official Parties over year 1914. The lesson of the world to our side and in this way revivwar was necessary, to pose the ing them on a Marxist foundation. question of a new International; 10. Differentiation of three group the October revolution was neces- ly and more sharply in the USSR ings within the camp of Commun-sary, to call the new International than anywhere else. The policy of

the class enemy; irreconcilable and the same way, the victory of Fasc- of the Party and of the workers systematic struggle against Cen- ism in Germany and the smashing state. Despite all the slanders of of the German proletariat would the Stalinist bureaucracy and of 11. Recognition of party dem- hardly allow the Comintern to sur- its admirers, the Opposition reocracy not only in words but also vive the consequences of its dismains fully and completely on the in fact; ruthless condemnation of astrous polices. But who in the ground of reform. the Stalinist plebiscitary regime camp of the revolution would today (gagging the will and the thought dare to say that the collapse of the International is determined by the of the party, the rule of usurpers, Soviet power and the victory of name of our faction: Left Opposideliberate suppression of informa- Fascism in Germany are inevitable tion. The content of our ideas and and invincible? Not the Left Op- methods is characterized with suf-The fundamental principles enupostion, in any event. Its policies ficient clarity by the name Bolshemerated above, which are of basic
are, on the contrary, directed tovik-Leninists. Every section must importance for the strategy of the ward defending the Soviet Union bear both of these complementary

German proletariat not only to get and of the Third International, the Left Opposition rejects the idea of parallel Communist parties.

The entire responsibility for the splitting of Communism lies naturally on the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Bolshevik-Leninists are prepared at my moment to return into the composition of the Cominten action, while at the same time gle against bureaucratic centrism the split, our adherence to the Compressed by organizational selfengage in mass work, but must be expressed by the content of our work. The Left Opposition does Although the special conditions an irreconcilable criticism. But of Russia had brought Bolshevism the aim of this criticism is not to

This question is put more crudea second party there would mean Such an historical catastrophe the policy of armed insurrection

# International Pre-Conference of endorsed, condoned and encouraged would lead to its depreciating in lynching, which was a signal to the price, which would take the form of

Continued from last issue Fundamental Principles of the Left Opposition

decisions, of which many had a Germany (platform of If this were the kind of scrip purely temporary character and in liberation"). in the trade unions; parliamentarthe epoch of the general crisis of capitalis.m

The Left Opposition rejects the and Sixth World Congresses and considers necessary a radical re-

In accordance with the spirit and first for World Congresses, and in continuation of these decisions, the practically:

1. The independence of the promunist party was dissolved in the ist one.

pacifist swamp.

2. Recognition of the international and thereby of the perman-The International Left Opposi- ent character of the proletarian tion stands on the ground of the revolution; rejection of the theory first four Congresses of the Com- of socialism in one country as well "national

3. Recognition of the Soviet or if the new scrip were really have been refuted by subsequent State as a Workers' State, in spite what the Daily Worker says it is, practice. But all the essential of the growing degeneration of the it would be the duty of all rev- principles (relation to imperialism bureaucratic regime. Uncondiings took place, the first and most olutionary organizations of the and to the bourgeois state; to tional command that every worker dramatically brutal being that of Jimmie Levine at Occila, Ga. This 4. Condemnation of the economic

policy of the Stalinist fraction both in its stage of economic opportunism in 1923 to 1928 (struggle against "overindustrialization" and staking all on the kulaks), as well as' its stage of economic adventurism in 1928 to 1932 (over-stretched tempo of industrialization, through revisionist decisions of the Fifth going collectivization, administrative. liquidation of the kulaks as a class). Condemnation of the crimstatement of the program of the inal bureaucratic legend that "the Soviet state has already entered

istic economic policies of Leninism. 5. Recognition of the necessity of systematic Communist work in the proletarian mass organizations, particularly in the reformist trade anions. Condemnation of the theory and practice of the Red Trade Union Organization in Germany and similar constructions in the other countries.

6. Rejection of the formula of all conditions; condemnation of the "democratic dictatorship of the the Kuo Min Tang policy of 1924-proletariat and the peasantry" as a 28; condemnation of the policy of separate regime distinguished from the Anglo-Russian Committee; conthe dictatorship of the proletariat, At this crucial moment of the Ger- demnation of Stalin's theory of which carries along the peasant man crisis, the Left Opposition two-class (worker and peasant) and the oppressed massed in genmust be readmitted into the party parties and of the whole practice eral behind it. Rejection of the with full party rights, to fight side based on this theory; condemnation anti-Marxist theory of the peaceby side with the other Communist tion of the policy of the Amsterful "growing-over" of the demit But the workers made plans workers for the cause of the pro- dam Congress, in which the Com- ocratic dictatorship into the social-to carry their struggle much far. | letariat!!

feudal relations, national oppression or different varieties of open (Fasc-8. Recognition of the necessity

mill in the vicinity of Charlotte, tutes an outright cheat on the N. C. were yet under the influence worker, to be fought against at intern. This does not mean that as of the policy of national Bolit with respect to the mass organitit bows before every letter of its shevism which complements it in zations of the working class, both of trade union and political charof the ultimatist slogan "only from the refusal of the united front and consequently the refusal to create Soviets. Condemnation of the opted front policy as in the Anglioleaders without the masses and against the masses); double condemnation of the policy of the present German Central Committee, which combines the ultimatist slogan "only from below" with opportunistic practise on the occasion of parliamentary pacts with the lead-

> practice bound up with it, as serving Fascism on the one hand and the social democracy on the other. ishm: the Marxist, the Centrist into being. and the Right. Recognition of the impermissibility of a political alli- as the collapse of the Soviet state and of a new revolution. The polance with the Right against Cen- would naturally sweep away with icy of the faction means steering a trism; support of Centrism against it the Third International too. In course toward the internal reform

tion from the party, etc.).