

Appeal to the League Convention

Comrades! The Sixth Convention of the Young Communist League of the U. S. A. meets at a time when the gap between the rich opportunities for Communist advance and the isolation of the party and League is especially wide. This fact requires a thorough explanation and therefore a thorough examination by all young Communists and by this convention.

The present leadership has shown itself incapable of giving such an analysis. Its theoretical ignorance and immaturity, its lack of independence, its origin—appointment by party bureaucrats—disqualifies it from the careful and objective study necessary, and which alone can form the premise of the growth of the Y. C. L.

Why the gap? Why has the party and especially the Y. C. L. made no real progress?

To begin with, an understanding is necessary of the reasons for the expulsion of the supporters of the Left Opposition from the American League and Party since the latter part of 1928.

When leading comrades of the party asked for a discussion of the questions which were threatening the very foundations and life of the Russian party and the Comintern,—the policies pursued in the Soviet Union, China, England and elsewhere by the Communist International, and expressed their solidarity with the views of the Russian Left Opposition led by comrade Leon Trotsky, they were summarily expelled. This made any thorough and honest discussion of these vital matters impossible. The leadership of the American party, at that time Lovestone and Foster, used the methods of the Stalinist bureaucrats in suppressing documents (in Russia: Lenin's Last Testament, Lenin's speech against Stalin on the national question minutes of the April 1917 meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian party, the statements and theses of the Russian Left Opposition on the Russian and the Chinese questions, Anglo-Russian Committee). Groups of party and League functionaries were sent to slug the comrades of our group. Raids were made on our headquarters where wholesale burglary took place. This prompted many rank and file members of the party and League to ask for a discussion of the issues involved, and to protest against these anti-Communist actions. Such comrades were immediately expelled. It is no accident that the directing force in our expulsion was the Lovestone group. This faction, which represents most consistently the opportunist tendency in the Communist movement, is the most logical antagonist of the Left. Nor is it by chance that the most ardent and violent organizer of the hooligan squads employed against us, Bert Miller, is now to be found in the ranks of social reformism, the Muste movement.

Against Class Collaboration Policies

What are the views, the support of which has led to the expulsion of many tried revolutionists in every important Communist party in the world?

Following the defeat of the German and Bulgarian proletariat in 1923, the revolutionary movement in the West experienced a decided setback. Gradually the feeling set in among the leaders of the Russian party and Comintern, that the proletarian revolution in the West, WHICH LENIN AND THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY HAD COUNTED UPON TO AID THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, was postponed for decades. This essentially pessimistic and false view led to the theory of the ability of the Soviet Union, by its own inner forces, to construct an isolated socialist economy within its national borders. That is that Russia, after a few years, could separate itself completely from the international market and live in a self-sufficient, national socialist economy. This reactionary and utopian theory leads to the policy of class-collaboration inside the Soviet Union as well as outside of it.

In the Soviet Union, the party was confronted with the question of strengthening the proletarian state and the socialist sector of economy, in a country with an overwhelming peasant population and in the midst of a capitalist encirclement.

The policy of the Left Opposition led by comrade Trotsky signified a definite continuation of the policy of Lenin: the state power of the working class to base itself in the village on the agricultural worker, and poor peasant, form an alliance with the middle peasantry and to carry on a class fight against the kulaks, the exploiters of the village, the course for a rapid increase

of industrialization, especially in heavy industry, of the country; to collectivize agriculture on the basis of industrial progress, so as to bring the peasants nearer to socialism. This internal policy was based on the perspective of the development of the proletarian revolution in the highly developed capitalist countries, the victory of which would bring immeasurably closer a radical solution of the contradiction inherent in an isolated workers' state.

The Right-Center bloc (Bucharin-Stalin—1925-28), on the basis of the theory of socialism in one country which they developed jointly left the path of Lenin with his support on the agricultural worker and the poor peasantry, and instead based itself on the middle peasant and yielded to the kulak. At the same time the policies led to a tremendous growth of the party and state bureaucracy, that is, of a caste of officials who have become accustomed to routine and peaceful functioning and, living a life separate and apart from the party members and Russian workers, seek to raise themselves "above the classes." This not only weakens the proletarian state but threatens its very existence.

Under pressure of events (for example, the kulak "grain strike" of Feb. 1928), and the proletarian element of the party, the Left Opposition the bloc with the Right, who believed in the possibility of the kulak peacefully developing into socialism", was broken, and a course to the Left was begun. However, the Stalinists regime is incapable of a genuine Left policy. Instead it led the country into ultra-Left adventurism which threatened the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry as well as to throw the country into a serious crisis. The course away from the ultra-Left was commenced with the change of front on the "complete collectivization in two-years" policy. The mass admissions in to the party which has virtually liquidated it, the inactivity of the proletariat, the abolition of factory committees, the growth of the party and state bureaucracy, the anti-proletarian foreign policy (Kellogg Pact Litvinov's speeches), very sharply pose the

serious dangers of the degeneration of the Soviet State.

The theory of socialism in one country and its logical conclusion of class collaboration, led to the defeat of the revolution in China 1925-1927, and the stultifying of the tremendous possibility for growth of the C. P. of England in 1925-1927.

In China, the leaders of the Comintern, in order to extend the so-called "pro-soviet front" (for Chiang Kai-Shek was supposed to be anti-imperialist, pro-soviet!) the workers and peasants were subordinated to the capitalist bourgeoisie, and their agents were supported. In England because of the so-called pro-Soviet character of the Anglo-Russian Committee and the British trade union fakers, Purcell, Hicks, etc., the Stalin-Bucharin bloc supported it even after their betrayal of the British General Strike. This harnessed the big move to the Left considerably.

The Y. C. L. and the Communist Youth Leagues are politically subordinate to the Comintern and the Communist parties. This political guidance and leadership by the party should be maintained through a party cadre in the League, correct policies, and through discussion in the League of party policies. Only by understanding the tactics and policies can the youth be expected to carry them out.

The Situation in the Y. C. L.

In the United States, the Young Communist League has been unavoidably involved in these processes with disastrous consequences. The period since the last convention, two years ago, has been marked by the ultra-Left zig-zag, the adventurism of the "third period" which is now silently sneaking into oblivion. The sectarian policies have resulted in an enormous decrease in membership in complete isolation from the proletarian youth, loss of what little influence it had in the past. The activity of the League in the past two years is symbolized by the stupid and innumerable "shock-plans" which set fantastic and unrealizable aims altogether out of proportion to the realities of the situation, and which always end in miserable failures.

The League has failed to arouse any

The Spanish Bourgeoisie Gets into Action

(Continued from page 1)

great deal upon the support of the strongest Latin section in the Comintern—the French Communist Party. However, the bureaucratic spirit and the Stalinist degeneration which prevails at the present time throughout the Comintern, are driving the French C. P. to turn its back upon the Spanish Communist movement which, as a result of an intolerable regime of a few "loyalities" in the Comintern apparatus, is developing outside the ranks of the official C. P.

The organ of the C. P. F., *l'Humanite*, published the notice of the arrest of the Communist group in the International Salon without comment like all the bourgeois papers. Since then, it has shown no interest in the fate of the arrested comrades. Why? Because these Communists are not "loyalites", are not 100 percent Stalinists. It matters little to the bureaucrats that the whole party is behind these comrades, that the workers follow them in the trade unions, that the republican-socialist government persecutes them: they are inscribed in the archives of the Comintern as "expelled". That is enough for the zealous bureaucrats of the C. P. F. not to lend the slightest attention to these "heretics". Now what does their heresy consist of? Let us recall it briefly again to our readers.

The "Crime" of the Expelled

The whole Madrid organization, as a bloc, as well as the Catalonian-Balearic Federation, has refused to follow the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain in its splitting adventure in the National Confederation of Labor. The Executive Committee has succeeded only in Seville where it was able, thanks to the entirely personal influence of Manuel Adame, to create a trade union movement under its leadership. In Madrid, as everywhere else, the Executive Committee was not even followed by the ranks of the C. P. S. The whole organization was then expelled. It is this organization (Agrupacion Comunista de Madrid) which now leads a few trade union organizations and which always places itself in the forefront of the revolutionary struggles of the Madrid

proletariat. Is it "Trotskyist"? Does it adhere to the Left Opposition? No! But the Agrupacion, rid of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Comintern, permits Communist discussion and the collaboration of the Leninist Opposition within its ranks. It conceives of workers' democracy as Lenin conceived of it in the Bolshevik party and in the C. I. There is its whole "crime"! It also seeks, on the basis of democracy, to unify all the scattered Communist forces to create a solid Communist party. The Spanish Left Opposition, conscious of the great importance of a unified party in the present revolutionary situation, is helping the Agrupacion de Madrid with all its strength in the work of gathering up and unifying the Communist forces.

It is the Comintern and its bureaucrats who are the only obstacle at the present moment to the creation of a solid Communist Party of Spain. This is a truth which the Spanish Communists observe today with considerable bitterness. As for us, it is not surprising: it is the consequence of the Stalinist degeneration of our Communist International.

The Left Opposition in every country considers as its greatest duty the support of the Spanish Communists persecuted by the bourgeois republic. A campaign of sympathy and financial aid must be organized without delay. The International Red Aid [International Labor Defense] must organize the defense of all the persecuted Spanish revolutionists, regardless of whether or not they are partisans of the Executive Committee of Madrid.

Whoever does not understand these elementary duties of international solidarity is a traitor to the nascent revolution of the Spanish proletariat!

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M. MILL.

WATCH YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NUMBER!

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substantial movement against the withdrawal of mailing privileges for the *Young Worker*. This is to be explained by the fact that the *Young Worker* has no influence among the working youth, by its extremely poor contents, as well as by the abandonment of the united front tactic by the League leadership.

The special youth activities and youth demands were practically abandoned, as evinced by the elections of last year and the unemployment campaign. The Y. C. L. became more and more only a junior appendage of the party. Such phases of activities as opponents youth work have either completely disappeared or are carried on "spontaneously." The tactic of the united front was discarded as a "relic" of a previous period. Recently (and correctly) it has been revived in connection with the inviting of the Y. P. S. L. to the National Youth Day Conference in New York. But this has been done without explanation and in complete contradiction to everything that has been said in the last two years.

There has been no stable and competent leadership. Changes have been very frequent with the purpose of concealing the real nature of the crisis. Arbitrary appointments and removals by the party bureaucrats have only plowed the ground for careerism. In addition to big losses of members the turn-over has been whirlingly rapid, revealing the emptiness of the League's inner-life. The ideological level has never been so low, and the educational work has never been so poor and scarce. The right to question the correctness of party decisions has been denied, thus crushing the possibility of independent thought and theoretical growth.

The pre-convention discussion thus far has been of an extremely superficial character, as is to be seen from the contributions in the *Daily Worker*. It has not risen above the level of a unit discussion on some technical problem or other. From reading the articles no one would suspect that the Y. C. L. is afflicted with a political and organizational crisis. No one dares to make a true analysis of the conditions of the League or to discuss its problems from a political point of view. It is for the purpose of radically changing this stagnant situation, of elevating the discussion to a Communist plane, of arousing every young Communist to a realization of what confronts him that we address ourselves to the Y. C. L. convention. But we cannot be satisfied with this alone. We want the right to participate in the struggles of the young workers together with the members of the Young Communist League. We want united action of the Y. C. L. and the youth of the Left Opposition. We demand to know why the petty-bourgeois Y. P. S. L. can be invited to a conference called by the Y. C. L. and the same right is not extended to the Communist youth of the Communist League of America (Opposition)!

We call upon the Communist youth once again to unfurl the banner of Marxism and to struggle in the front ranks against opportunism.

We call upon the young Communists to demand the reinstatement of the expelled Left Oppositionists into the League, the Party, and the Comintern.

Forward to the revolutionary unity of the ranks of Communism!

National Youth Committee
Communist League of America (Opposition)

The Militant

Official Organ of the Communist
League of America (Opposition)

The *Militant* is indispensable for an understanding of the problems and developments of the labor and revolutionary movements in this and other countries. It presents, through the regular contributions by Leon Trotsky and other spokesmen of the International Left Opposition, an invaluable aid towards clarifying the position of the Communist movement. Two dollars brings the subscriber fifty-two issues; one dollar—twenty-six issues. Send all subscriptions and funds to

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