pathizers.

4. On the other points raised: Work

pendent work wherever possible there is

general agreement. The National Youth

Committee will have to concretize these

tasks and outline definite ways of pro-

ceeding. The youth comrades will be

The Youth Thesis

The future growth of the American

section of the Left Opposition depends

in a great measure upon our ability to

win the youth to its banner. For this

end we must understand correctly how

to attract and secure their political and

organizational support. The youth reso-

lution, despite weaknesses of a minor

character, correctly establishes our ap-

proach to this problem and a successful

realization of its aim. On fundamental

approach there is agreement. Our task

At our first conference, over two and

proach to this problem by asserting that

ranks, was to work as oppositionists in

the general struggle of the Communist

ganization. This continues to be our

The exigencies of the first period of

our existence have passed. Our problems

remain basically the same-but that an

organizational and political stabilization

has taken place nobody can deny. The

American Left Opposition is here to stay.

Our problems today are broader. Our

movement is much stronger and our foun-

task on a much larger scale.

JOSEPH CARTER.

called upon to aid in this work.

### DISCUSSION ARTICLES

#### Tasks of Our National Conference

history of American Communism, whose ing point in three years of preparatory petus to this development. labor for the gruelling battles yet to come. Its deliberations have been grounded by all that has gone before and its results can be anticipated, even now, with reasonable assurance.

Our ranks have been welded together on the basis of a correct political line. If the Conference accepts the proposals of the National Committee it will not find it necessary to confront the organization with any new or surprising turns, Our theses and other recommendations only represent a synthesis of the policies and methods already worked out and applied in our daily work and agitation on the basis of our platform. The approval of this line by the Conference will necessarily carry with it an endorsement of the course on which the National Committee has guided the movement and a repudiation of the criticisms brought against it. Any kind of indefiniteness on this point is out of the question. The Conference is to draw the balance and decide. Proceeding from this the National Conference is then obliged to declare an end to controversy over the disputed questions and to prohibit any further discussion of them. It can do this with full authority and with assurance that its command will be supported throughout the organization. Our conference preparations have been triumph of proletarian democracy, a model illustration of its processes-the

The discussion has been thorough, free and untrammelled by any kind of suppression. The selection of delegates proceeds in the same way. After this, it will be impossible to question the representative character of the Conference or its authority to speak for the entire organization. The membership as a whole will wait for its signal to terminate the discussion and concentrate all attention on the concrete tasks worked out on the basis of the fundamental decisions.

only methods yet discovered whereby a

living workers' organization can assert

its collective judgment.

Outstanding among the questions concerning which the National Committee the Conference-because it has been the tion activty. The adult comrades also do us to task for a number of omissions and one subjected to the greatest dispute-is not appear to understand the importance commissions in the thesis. I will briefly the question of our attitude toward the of youth work. Party. The Platform adopted at the First Conference answered this question correctly. Without that the Left Opposition would long ago have suffered shipwreck. Now, with the help of the second National Conference, we must take anwhich proceed logically from the general recommendation already submitted in the thesis of the National Committee.

of the Conference should run approxim- ization of a fraction in the Y. C. L., and ately as follows:

of the Left Opposition as a faction of the party, and putting a stop to all argument about it, we must intensify our work within the party ranks, organize a practical program for the direction of their work. The proletarian militants of the party and its peripheral organizaposition: This is the idea which must guide our work and from which we must not depart. Closer to the party, deeper

into the party-these are our slogans. The Oppositionists must strive by all means to draw nearer to rank and file party members, approach them in a fraternal spirit and explain the great work in factories where our young commost patience and persistence. This work its corrupting influence, an unrelenting struggle against it.

2. Tighten up the organization. Make a decisive break with the habits of looseness and slackness which hamper the Bolshevist development of the League. Impose tasks on every member and hold every member to account for his activity. Establish discipline worthy of a Communist organization and close the door to windbags and trflers.

3. Begin the actual formation of a cadre of professional revolutionaries who put themselves entirely at the dis- thought expressed in it is that: posal of the organization. Select a group, out of the younger and foot-loose elements, and train them deliberately for demands, slogans and special oragnizafull-time professional work. Accept for tional forms should be put forward not this grouping only those who mean it earnestly, who are not afraid of sacri- have universal validity but rather with fices, who are willing and able to learn a view of testing them in practise, exand boot aside the wise-acres and the amining the results, and thereby laying know-it alls.

Even the beginning of such a work slogans, etc." This, in my opinion would

is so well-known.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

The Revolution in Spain . . . . 10c

The Spanish Revolution in Danger . . . 15e

These two pamphlets will give the reader an invaluable analysis of the

present situation in Spain and the prospects of the further development

of the revolution. The standpoint of the Opposition, in contrast to that of

all the other groups involved in the present Spanish situation (the official

Communist party, the Maurin group, the syndicalists, and others), is pre-

sented with the exceptional clarity and pentration for which the author

Send Orders and Funds to the

The Second National Conference of the, will signify an enormous step forward, Communist League will mark an impor- for the Opposition cannot succeed with tant milestone in the development of our its great historic mision, unless it preorganization and, consequently, in the pares its soldiers for the coming day. A formal decision of the Confernce, putbanner we bear and whose future we re- ting such a selection of forces on the present. The conference is a culminat- order of the day, will give powerful im-

4. Finish the Expansion Program before the end of the year. Raise the balance of the fund. Stabilize the Weekly Militant. Start the theoretical magazine. Arrange at least two national tours. Establish the system of field organizers on a permanent basis

5. Conduct a campaign for fifty new members out of the circle of sympathizers of the Opposition. Our opponents may laugh at the modesty of such a goal, but we need not worry about that. We do not claim to be a mass movement. Our aim is a selection of the vanguard, and fifty new members, a number which can be recruited with a determined effort-will mean a material strengthening of our movement which will guarantee the success of every one of the practical tasks of the moment. Bigger things will follow.

6. Enroll every member of the Comtematically organize their work for the constructive building of these organizations and the propaganda for our ideas within them. Rejecting all phrase-mon- sense. But it will indubitably raise our munists and to sink its roots as an oring fast to our essential function as pro- enough. No more can reasonably be expagandists, we ought nevertheless to in- pected from the Second National Confercrease out activity in the class strug- ence. There is every reason to expect gle, particularly in those fields which that it will not yield less. bring the Oppositionists into contact

with members and sympathizers of the tact with the League members and symparty. That means, in the first place, to penetrate the non-party mass organizations and unions and work actively in the Y. C. L., educational work, indethere. A special decision of the Conference along these lines is quite necessary.

7. Strengthen the central apparatus of the Communist League. Reject all amateurist conceptions which make a virtue of political leadership on a sparetime basis. Strain in the direction of a larger and full-time staff which continues to expand the growth of the organization and its tasks. Settle this question in principle and explain the views and methods of Lenin regarding professional revolutionary work.

It will be seen at once that the suggestions indicated above, taken all together, do not constitute a very ambitious program. All the tasks enumerated are small ones, they are comparatively simple and they are all easily possible. Yet it would be a mistake for the Conference to go far beyond them.

It is not for us to adopt grandiose projects which are beyond our capacities at at the present time is to set upon a the moment, which are soon forgotten practical solution to the problem of winand never accomplished. We are under ning the youth to our banner. no compulsion to imitate the bluff-programs of the Stalinists. We do not have half years ago, we signalized our ap-

to "make a showing" before anyone. We are only obliged to know what to the task of the youth members in our do next with the forces at our disposal and do it.

The practical proposals which have Left without concentrating on specific munist League in at least one of the been outlined here proceed from this youth questions. We understood correctnon-party mass organizations, and sys- point of view. If we accomplish all of ly that during those days our main task them-and we can do so without undue was the establishment of the Left Opstrain if we have the will-it will not position in this country, to make known change our position in a qualitative its position among the American Comgering agitation about "mass work" and hard-pressed faction to higher ground and "independent work" in general, and hold- prepare it for a further ascent. That is

-JAMES P. CANNON.

#### The League and Problems of the Youth

The Draft Thesis on the Youth Ques-; be ever before us when discussing youth tion attempts to state in concise terms methods and means of work. the position of the youth under capitalism, the need of a Communist youth ist International "Clarity and Action" league, its attitude toward other youth should be revived. The educational and organizations and finally the tasks of cultural character of the youth emphasthe Left Opposition youth. We essayed ized in the thesis. We should not for-

The scantiness of the discussion on the youth is one of the none too few the theoretical with the practical, the in this field of our work. Among the studygroup with the field of the classsigns that there is not enough interest struggle". It falls upon us to carry out youth comrades there are many who have as much of this work as our forces will never been in the Y. C. L. or carried on permit. activity among young workers; others will insist on a categorical decision of are too absorbed in the general Opposi-

From this follows the necessity of Youth Committee of five, the election of at least one comrade in each branch to

tion, education and consolidation of a our forces into a firm group and work out revolutionary, capable, and advanced Communist youth cadre". In the immediate sense this means the winning of the Communist youth for the Left Options are the future troops of the Op- position. Through participation in the work and affairs of the Y. C. L., through classes on fundamentals of the Communist youth movement, Communism, on this question in our interal, youth Marxism, etc., by spreading the Militant, and our literature we can attract the young Communists. At the same time through open-air meetings, independent questions again and again with the ut rades are, and by improving the Young Vanguard, making it more of an educagoes hand in hand with a fiery proletar- tional page we can win young workers ian hate of the Centrist bureaucracy and who have never gone through the Y. C. L. for Communism. If these activities bear fruit we can be assured of a youth club in at least several of the cities which have functioning branches. In New York, immediately following the Conference it is planned to take steps for the

> The success of this work depends on first, the participation of all of the youth comrades and second, a clear idea of Communist youth work and our aims and tasks. The Thesis endeavors to answer these questions. An important

organization of a youth club.

"Limited experience with Communist youth work requires that youth tactics, as dogmas or finished products which the ground for more effective tactics,

The old slogan of the Young Communto include only that which is essential. get that "Communist training and education requires the intimate linking up of

Comrade Bord ("Shortcomings in the Youth Thesis", Militant, 8-22-31) takes touch on the points raised

1. The thesis treats "the youth as making the young comrades "youth con- though it were some queer product of scious"; proving to the adult comrades society complete in itself, and having no that youth work is essential and can be relation to anything else."! If this were done. Towards this end, the Draft so then it would be wrong to say, as Thesis proposes: the issuance of an in- comrade Bord does in her opening senother step forward on the same path ternal youth bulletin, the publication of tence, that "The thesis of the youth queswe have travelled heretofore. This the Young Vanguard as a semi-monthly tion on the whole treats the problem stands first in the list of concrete tasks section of the weekly Militant on the well." On the contrary, I would favor one hand, and the section of a National the complete rejection of such a thesis, But fortunately the criticism cannot be accepted. Throughout the thesis, it In our judgment the practical program be in charge of youth work, the organ- is stressed that the youth is a section of the working class, that the problems of the organization wherever possible of a the class are the problems of the section, 1. Settling all disputes about the role youth club. If this work is successful etc. In the section on Youth in America we will be in a position to issue a separ- it is explained in some detail. In fact, ate youth paper by the next conference. the first sentence of the thesis reads: "Capitalism draws the youth of the pro-The aim of our youth is "the organizaletarian families into the productive process. Does this imply a "queer product of society complete in itself, and having no relation to anything else"?

2. The slogan of "equal pay for equal work". The thesis does not enumerate any youth demands. We intend carrying on a discussion after the Conference, bulletin. At the same time I would like to comment as follows: The above demand was taken from the program of the Y. C. I. which holds good for European conditions. As a general demand in this country it is wrong because (1) in unskilled trades, automobile, textile, coal, etc., there is little wage discrimination between adult and youth who do the same work; (2) In other industries, demands for the youth have to be formulated on the basis of the specific conditions and position. In many of these cases the slogan "Equal pay for equal work" will apply. (3) For workers under 18 years special hours (and therefore labor performed should be formulated.

3. On the question of youth auxiliaries. The thesis states: "A thorough examination of the functions of Youth auxiliaries and the actual activities of the existing ones is needed. If this is not dene, this important part of League activity will continue to yield no results." In other words we do not come out against all auxiliary youth organizations. Sport clubs united into the Labor Sports Union, under certain conditions, youth educational clubs are accepted forms of auxiliaries. What the thesis takes issue with is the formation of such organizations as the Youth Liberators, the Young Defenders (Youth of the I. L. D.) and Youth Section of International Workers' Order. These were formed afto its task: Become the cultural center above perspective, would involve in genand political leader of the youth. Their eral repetition of the 1923-1929 situaexistence facilitates the conversion of tion of slow paralysis of the labor move- imperialist war by or on behalf of Am. then presented. the Y. C. L. into a youth party.

For example, the youth section of the I. W. O. states: "We give expression to the cultural, athletic and social requirements of the youth." Who will be attracted? Primarily the youth sympathetic to the Left wing and Communist movement; children of adult Communists. These can be won directly to the youth league—assuming correct tactics,

organizational methods and leadership. At the same time we, the Left Opposition youth, should work within these 4. Imperialist conquest of foreign

An estimate of our membership will show that the youth make up one of its largest sections. They are a vital part of the organization, and have contributed a great share toward its growth. It is, however, necessary, in view of a changed situation, to organize the youth activity for our younger comrades who can now devote their attention to it. Our approach is based on the analysis that while hitherto our younger comrades were not in a position to devote their time and energy to youth activity-that period

has changed and it is absolutely urgent

dation is a solid one.

animous opinion among all our comrades. matters in an organizational sense. But the most important problem is that of finding a form through which our young comrades can operate. In this pre-coaference discussion it is necessary to consider various propositions. We submit here, the proposal for the organization of a series of youth clubs wherever possible throughout the country. We consider at this moment something tangible which can be realized: the organization of youth clubs, whose function it will be to win the Communist youth and young workers to our ideas and to our ranks. The work in such an organization must consist in the main of education, social and sports. If properly understood and correctly organized this can successfully be carried through. It can serve as a basis for the advanced idea of a Communist Opposition youth movement. The proposal of Spartacus youth Clubs under the guidance of the organization, unified nationally through the efforts of our comrades appears to be at this moment the most logical step to take. In such organizations our young comrades must devote their main efforts. —A. GLOTZER.

#### Maurin and the Catalonian Question

less work. In reality, the further the anything in common with the International Left Opposition. Without interrevolutioary perspectives, the Catalonian Federation is reduced to guide itself by of the October revolution and of the petty bourgeois nationalism. revolutionary movement in general. The declarations by Maurin which we quote later on, show what confusion and what haziness prevails in the mind of these chance leaders. In his speech at the Madrid Ateneo, Maurin said among other things: "It is necessary to demand not useless Constituent Corteses, but a revolutionary convention. We need a deliberative and an executive assembly with a committee of public safety." In concluding his speech, Maurin said that "it is precisely by its national character that the Spanish revolution will have a universal radiation". (La Batalla, 6-25-31.)

a direct hand in the spontaneous struggles of the Spanish proletariat, will not take up any of the burlesque language of their leaders, but that they will employ the language of the proletarian revolution, that is, of the October revolution, of the Comintern of Lenin and Trotsky.

the official C. P. in Catalonia, the confusionist and Right wing leadership of Maurin still remains at the head of the most numerous Communist Federation, in the most industrial region of the country. But in order to preserve his leadership, Maurin wants to discredit the "Spanish Trotskyists" who are obviousy disconcerting him. Jordi Arquer is the one charged with this job. In a series of articles in La Batalla, he denounces the "epigones of Trotsky, the that they participate in full force in youth sowers of falsifications". Not having the courage to stand up directly against the The general problems of a theoretical ideas developed by Trotsky in his latest nature and political sphere find a un works, he crudely attempts to oppose our Spanish comrades of the Left Op-This will help very much to facilitate position to Trotsky. "Nin and the other Spanish 'Trotskyists' reproach the Catalonian Federation", he writes, "for having a false position in the Catalonian question. But they have read Trotsky badly. Hasn't he written in one of his letters (the Spanish revolution from day to day) that 'in the present stage of development and with the existing relationship of social forces, Catalonian nationalism is a progressive revolutionary factor'? This is how the epigones of Trotsky falsity their master!"

The letter by Trotsky which we publish further on, will prove sufficiently to the members of the Catalonian Federation that their leaders were not happy in their idea of defending the thoughts of Trotsky against his "epigones". It will be seen from the first part of this letter that the separatist position of Maurin is just as far from the Leninist conception of the national question as his "committee of public safety" from the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviets.

Thanks to the extreme weakness of

Once more on the subject of the timely questions of the Spanish revolution. 1. Thus, Maurin, the "leader" of the

# Perspectives of the American Crisis

this crisis, in the immediate. The means whereby this will be done will apparently be through a drastic wage-cutting campaign designed to restore the margin of surplus value to the capitalists. Because of this, the perspectives of increasing militancy of strikes and radicalization of the masse are justified, also in the im-

2. This does not imply accepting perspective of long-time stabilization for capitalism in America, which economic analysis indicates to be improbable. The long perspective implied is of temporary stabilization on a lower plane, accompanied by further crises and temporary stabilizations, with a generally downward trend. The quotations from Marx and Lenin as to the impossibility of a permanent crisis in no way exclude such a process of decline. England since the war is an example of a generally declining capitalism in the sense meant by

the writer. 3. A long period of years of general ter the Y. C. L. had failed to live up capitalist advance, the opposite of the tions, not lessen their crushing weight. ment. A short period of advance, in the other hand, in which capitalism solves its immediate problems by cutting the wages of labor, on the contrary, would not involve a deadening of labor resistance, but rather an intensification of it. We see this in the strike and political activity today, which would be still further increased by a wave of wage cuts beginning with steel and railroads, regardless of the "prosperity" based on

youth auxiliaries and thereby gain con- markets is by no means as immediate

1. The writer has consistently stated a solution for capitalism as wage-cuthis belief that America will recover from ting, but will unquestionally result from the intensification of present contradictions. Owing to the advanced state of the general capitalist crisis and the position of America with respect to the rest of the world, imperialist conquest cannot solve America's contradictions for any long period. To apply the methods of primitive accumulation of capital, as possible in India or China, to solve the contradictions of a world capitalism in an advanced state of dissolution is to offer an old man the remedies applicable accomplished overnight, and is not the to children's diseases. When peasants in the most backward countries are torn lose out of a self-supporting village economy into the production of "commodities" for the world market, at a time when the world market cannot absorb ery from the present crisis, as an expresincreased amounts of raw material, the sion of the fact that contradictions have new production must displace an equi- become even more acute than at prevalent supply from older sources, in most cases the United States. For this political crisis of an imperialist war on reason, we say imperialist conquest of top of a series of economic crises of inforeign markets will merely shift the creasing acuteness, will pose the quesscene of American capitalist contradic- tion of the social revolution in all its All of this refers, of course, to the longer outlook over a decade or more. An ship to cope with the objective situation erica, with the ideological and material

La Batalla, organ of the Catalonian workers' and peasants' bloc shares the Federation, is taking many pains to show point of view of separatism. After certhe Comintern bureaucrats that it is tain hesitation, he has resolved himself not "Trotskyist". It is really a need; into the Left wing of petty bourgeois nationalism. I have already written Spanish revolution develops, the more that Catalonian petty bourgeois nationalthe Catalonian Federation shows, by its ism in the present stage is progressive. activity and by the very "original" posi- But on one condition: that it develope tion of its leaders, that it has never had its activity outside of the ranks of Communism and that it is always under the blows of Communist criticism. To pernational connections and without exact mit petty bourgeois nationalism to manifest itself under the Communist mask means at the same time to deliver a perthe sage theories of its local chiefs, in fidious blow to the proletarian vanguard capable of profiting by the great lessons and to kill the progressive significance of

2. What does the program of separatism mean? The economic and political dismemberment of Spain or, in other words, the transformation of the Iberian peninsula into a sort of a Balkanic peninsula, with independent states, divided by customs barriers with independent armies and conducting independent Hispanic wars. Of course, the sage Maurin will say that he does not want this. But programs have their own logic, something Maurin hasn't got.

3. Are the workers and the peasants of the various parties of Spain interested in the economic dismemberment of Maurin and his young disciple, Jordi Spain? In no case. That is why, to Argquer, boast in La Batalla of being identify the decisive struggle for the independent of the orders coming either right to self-determination with propafrom the Comintern or from Trotsky, ganda for separatism, means to accom-As a sign of independence, Maurin has plish a fatal work. Our program is the engaged in copying servilely the voca- Hispanic Federation with the indispensbulary of the bourgeois revolutionists of able maintenance of economic unity. We the French revolution of 1789. From the have no intention of imposing this prolips of a leader of a Communist organi- gram upon the oppressed nationalities zation, this language is simply ridicui- of the peninsula with the aid of the arms ous. We are convinced that the revolu- of the bourgeoisie. In this sense, we tionary workers of the Catalonian Fed- are sincerely for the right to self-deeration who, by their class instinct, take termination. If Catalonia separates, the Communist minority of Catalonia, us well as of Spain, will have to conduct a struggle for Federation. 4. In the Balkans, the old pre-war soc-

ial democracy already put forward the slogan of the democratic Balkan Federation, as the way out of the madhouse created by the separated states. Today, the Communist slogan in the Balkane is the Balkan Soviet Federation (by the way: the Comintern adopted the slogan of the Balkan Soviet Federation, but at the same time it rejected this sloga's for Europe!) Can we, under these conditions, make our own the slogan of the Balkanization of the Spanish peninsula? Isn't it monstrous?

5. The syndicalists, at least certain of their leaders, declare that they will figat against separatism even with arms in hand. In this case, the Communists and the syndicalists would find themselves on two sides of the barricades because, without sharing the separatist illusions, while criticizing them, on the contrary, the Communists must stand up pitiless:y against the hangmen of imperialism and their syndicalist lackeys.

6. Should the petty bourgeoisie succeed-against the advice and the criticism of the Communists-in dismembering Spain, the negative results of such a regime will not take long in manifesting themselves. The workers and the peasants of the various sections of the peninsula will speedily arrive at this conclusion: yes, the Communists were right. But this means precisely that we must not assume a particle of responstbility for Maurin's program.

7. Monatte hopes that the Spanish syndicalists will create a new "syndicalist state". Instead of this, the Spanish friends of Monatte are integrating themselves successfully into the bourgeois state. It is the story of the luckless hen who sits on duck's eggs. Today, it is very important to follow all that the Spanish syndicalists say and do. This wil open up possibilities for the Left Opposition in France to deal a harsh blow to French anarcho-syndicalism. One cannot doubt for a single instant that under the revolutionary conditions the anarcho-syndicalists will discredit themselves at every step.

The gifted idea of the syndicalists consists of controlling the Cortes without particpating in it! To employ revolutionary violence, to fight for power, to seize the power-all this is not permitted. In its place, they recommend the "control" of the bourgeoisie which is in power. A magnificent picture: the bourgeoisie takes its breakfast, it lunches, it dines, and the proletariat led by the syndicalists "control" these operationson an empty stomach.

—L. TROTSKY.

Kadikoy, July 13, 1931

preparations which it implies, cannot be immediate answer to the present crisis of capitalism.

Rather do we expect such an imperialist war to break out in the course of the long downward trend after a recovsent. Such a situation, superposing the force, and will test the ability of the subjective factors of revolutionary leader-

-B. J. FIELD.

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