

New Militant Forces Join the Ranks of the Left Opposition

Papcun's Statement

To the Rock Island Section Committee of the Communist Party
To all Communist Party members and Young Communist League
Dear Comrades:

Greetings. With the greatest joy do I greet the proposal of the Section Organizer for the purpose of discussing my reinstatement into the Communist party. The thought that the invitation for my re-entry was made in all sincerity is especially heartening since it refutes the obviously absurd and altogether unfounded charges made by Jack Wilson at the conclusion of the debate on Friday, September 30, 1932.

I take it that you have realized the injustice of those slanders and the invitation extended by the Section Committee by your Organizer Jack Wilson

We print here extracts from a number of declarations which have been made by well-known militants in the Communist movement, associating themselves with the Communist League of America (Opposition). It is with great joy that we

to rejoin the party is proof of that.

Now, as at all times since my expulsion, I am eager to rejoin the party. I want to re-enter the Communist party because I believe that it is the only real party of the working class...I stand ready to participate in all party activities and abide by Communist discipline—by the Leninist first principle of organization—by the principle of democratic centralism.

The reason for my being out of the party is, I believe, well known to you. I am not out of the party by my own free will. Briefly stated, at the present time I am out of the movement because I was rudely and bureaucratically expelled by the Stalinist leadership for my refusal to condemn the position of the Left Opposition and of comrade Trotsky as counter-revolutionary. My expulsion is due to my refusal to subordinate Communist principle to the bureaucratic leadership, for not condemning the views which I hold to be Marxian and for not belly-crawling before a leadership whose course runs counter to Marxism—Leninism.

The leadership that expelled me is part of the same Stalinist leadership which is responsible for driving out the best fighters from the Communist International, for exiling comrade Trotsky, for imprisoning comrade Rakovsky, and thousands of our Russian Bolsheviks who had the courage of conviction to fight for Leninist policies....

Comrades, at this moment it is not only my readmission which is in question. It is the re-entry of all the thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists who have become the victims of the bureaucratic regime of Stalin and Stalinism. If you desire my return, you must also strive for theirs. The Communist movement stands in need of these comrades. It is only the Left Opposition which is capable of returning the party and the Communist International to a Marxian course and thereby placing it at the head of the working class.

The demand of the Left Opposition has always been that we want to return to

welcome these fighters into the ranks of the Bolshevik-Leninists, confident that they are only one small section of the numerous Communist workers who will continue to swell the ranks of our movement.

the ranks of the Communist International, carrying on activity and abiding by Communist discipline. In re-entering we do not demand that the party accepts our views but that we merely be free to exercise the rights guaranteed by democratic centralism,—the right of presenting our stand before the membership at convention time, and having the membership judge the correctness of our position. After the judgment is passed by the membership we shall abide by its decisions, be they what they may....

Comrades, you have invited me to rejoin the party. My answer is that I stand ready. But if you ask me to repudiate the Marxian principles of the Left Opposition I refuse. For me as for every real Communist, Marxian principle stands supreme. In spite of my differences with the present leadership I am ready to take my place in the ranks. Davenport, Iowa.

—GEORGE J. PAPCUN.

Declaration by Pappas

To the Communist League of America (Left Opposition)

Dear Comrades:

In connection with the menace of Fascism in Germany and the ruinous policy of the German Communist Party and the ECCI—especially on the question of the united front as the most effective weapon with which to combat and sweep away the Fascist reaction—I addressed on August 8, a lengthy statement to my party unit and to the District and Central Executive Committees of the C. P. U. S. A. In it, I pointed out that no conscientious Communist can keep silent any longer on the crimes of the Comintern leadership. I criticized the silence of our central organ, the **Daily Worker**, and brought out the necessity of opening up a discussion to come to the aid of our German brother party.

For doing this, I was summarily expelled from the party by the District Secretariat without any hearing or trial. In the statement of expulsion appearing

in the **Daily Worker** of August 18, the District Secretariat of Dist. 2 avoided the entire issue raised in my document, substituting for arguments, lies and slanders (calling me a disruptive element, charging that I refused to appear when called to trial, etc., etc.). I immediately appealed the action of the District Secretariat to the highest body of the party, the Central Executive Committee. The Central Committee answered my appeal with contemptuous silence. I can readily understand that all this is not accidental, that it is, in fact, the fullest and highest expression of Stalinist bureaucraticism in our party.

Since the Fall of 1927, that is since the wholesale expulsion of the Opposition in Russia and the vicious campaign of the party leadership against Trotsky was in full swing, I, time and again, (Continued on page 2)

at I.L.D. Meet ence of Discussion by Members

But where are the conclusions drawn? What about our past activity and our plans for the future? That we did not hear, for there was no time at the convention to deal with the several resolutions introduced at the last moment. It is true that certain achievements have been made and important battles have been and are being fought by us. We are justified in taking pride. But to spend a whole convention priding ourselves on our achievements, however small or great, criticizing the membership to the extent that we forget to learn from the past and consider the future, is false and detrimental. We must be able to give ourselves an accounting of the masses we approached in our struggles. Have we organized these masses? How well are we able to retain the recruits we make? The complete turnover in our membership during the first seven months of this year (see October 1932 Labor Defender), is no accident but speaks for something significant.

In the face of this, it was indeed painful to hear that the point stressed most at the convention was that the membership is not sufficiently active, hence the stagnation in our organization. But what else could be expected, since the

Bankruptcy a Theses Fail to Give a Reply to the

The thesis of the 12th Plenum of the ECCI, published in the **Daily Worker** of October 20th (City Edition) once more gives us an inside picture of the bankruptcy of Stalinism. A resolution with more mistakes and with a greater number of meaningless revolutionary phrases is difficult to conceive of. A thesis of the vanguard of the revolution must present the determining factors of the world situation. The C. I. thesis gives more space to secondary questions, leaves out some determining factors and does not deal correctly with the important factors which are taken up.

A Communist thesis for 1932 even though it leaves out the fact the Communist International is itself going through a profound crisis under the Stalin leadership must at least give an answer to the following problems: (1) the world crisis and the perspective. (2) the danger of Fascism in Germany. (3) the role of American imperialism in the present period. (4) the invasion of China by Japanese imperialism (5) the position of the USSR after 15 years and the relation of its contradictions to the imperialist contradictions. From this analysis, directives for the sections of the C. I. must be formulated. The C. I. thesis does not take up these points.