

3/1/31 Rmc

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

**INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN  
OF THE COMMUNIST LEFT OPPOSITION**

**ENGLISH EDITION** Published for the International Secretariat by the Communist League of America (Opposition), 84 East 10 Street, New York **PRICE 10 CENTS**

No. 2

March 1, 1931

CONTENTS

ON THE CONVOCAION OF A CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN SECTIONS.

LETTER TO THE BULGARIAN COMRADES by L. TROTSKY.

THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN GREECE

- 1. Resolution of the National Conference of the Archic-Marxists.
- 2. Letter of the International Secretariat

ON THE QUESTION OF THERMIDOR AND BONAPARTISM.

THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN BULGARIA.

Resolution of the "Osvobodienie" Group.

THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN HUNGARY.

A NECESSARY WARNING!

ABOUT THE "DRAFT PROPOSAL" OF THE E.C. OF THE BELGIAN OPPOSITION  
by J. Obin.

LETTER TO THE E.C. of the BELGIAN OPPOSITION by L. TROTSKY.

ON THE CONVOCATION OF A CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN SECTIONS.

Dear Comrades:

The growth of our ranks, the strengthening of our organizations, the adherence of new national sections, place new tasks before us, and impose new obligations on us.

Up to now our work had an essentially critical and propagandist character. We have subjected and still subject to criticism the luckless experiences in policy of the centrist bureaucrats and their direction of the C.I. This aspect of our activity should not only be continued with the same emphasis in the future, but should be broadened and deepened. At the same time the Left Opposition should participate more actively in struggles of the proletariat, formulating on each occasion its evaluation of the situation and the slogans which flow from it.

It is quite evident that this task requires a far closer international consolidation of the Opposition ranks. That is why the International Secretariat considers the preparation for the world conference as one of its most important tasks.

We consider the convocation of the European Conference as especially pressing. In the framework of the world whole Europe represents not only a geographic unit but also an economic and political unit! It is unnecessary to recall that on this fact is based the slogan of the Soviet United States. It is precisely now that the problem of Europe as such is posed in a particularly acute form. The knot of the problem is Germany, her destiny; her ultimate development. Recent elections in Germany have revealed with unprecedented acuteness that the extremely unstable equilibrium of forces in German society can develop in the next period into the proletarian revolution or into the fascist counter-revolution. In either case, Europe - Europe above all - will be drawn into the whirlpool of great events. The International Opposition must work out a uniform estimation of the situation in Germany, in Europe, and in the entire world, and raise for the different countries well co-ordinated slogans, flowing from a uniform general conception.

That is why we think indispensable the convocation of a preparatory European Conference at the very beginning of next year. The two or two and a half remaining months should be used for the most serious and minutest preparation for this conference.

The conference of our German section which is at present taking place will certainly furnish us with the most important materials for the evaluation of the political situation and the tasks of the Opposition. The preparation for the conference of the French Communist League will be made in the same spirit. Its resolutions will be communicated on time to all the sections. The theses sent by the editors of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition on "The Turn in the C.I. and the Situation in Germany" should be considered as a document intended for discussion in all the sections in their preparatory work for the conference. We intend to devote Number 3 of the International Bulletin principally to questions concerning the European conference. We invite all the sections to send us immediately documents and material which clarify their position and their work in the domain of actual tasks, and on the other hand to declare their positions on any documents already sent and on those which they may send later carrying amendments, counter-proposals and additions.

It is self-evident that we are concerned with a conference of organizations which stand on a common basis of principle, tested by experience in struggle and international discussion. It would be absolute nonsense to return at this conference to questions already settled (one or two parties, the class character

of the U.S.S.R., the class content of the Chinese Revolution, etc.), since the line of demarcation inside the Opposition has already been established in these fields. Only that which is acquired through struggle is solid and durable. The task of the conference does not consist in again opening to question acquired positions, but, on the contrary, in formulating clearly and precisely the ideas and methods common to us, and in making of them the corner-stone of the Opposition programme. In this manner the European conference will mark a great step forward -- the preparation for the most important task of the world conference -- **A PROGRAM OBLIGATORY FOR ALL THE SECTIONS.**

We hope that our initiative will meet with your approval and your support. However, we ask you to send us, as soon as possible, your definite reply on the subject of the desirability and importance of the conference for January, 1931.

EXTRACT FROM COMRADE TROTSKY'S LETTER TO BULGARIAN COMRADES

October 4, 1930.

What constitutes the basis of the regime in the U.S.S.R.? Let us recount the essential elements: (a) the Soviet system as the state form; (b) the dictatorship of the proletariat as the class content of this state form; (c) the leading role of the party, in whose hands all the threads of the dictatorship are united; (d) the economic content of the proletarian dictatorship: nationalization of the land, the banks, the factories, the transport system, etc., and the foreign trade monopoly; (e) the military support of the dictatorship: the Red Army.

All these are closely connected with one another and the elimination of one of them may mean the collapse of the entire system. The weakest chain in the link at present is undoubtedly the party, the corner-stone of the entire system.

Does the proletarian dictatorship still exist in the U.S.S.R.? Yes, despite everything, it still exists. In spite of all the disastrous policies, in spite of all the vacillations in economy toward the right and toward the left, the government continues to defend the nationalization of the means of production and the foreign trade monopoly. The transition of power into the hands of the bourgeoisie can take place only by means of a counter-revolutionary insurrection. In the meantime, the regeneration of the proletarian dictatorship is still possible by peaceful means. The probability of a peaceful regeneration of the dictatorship cannot be estimated in advance, a priori. It is necessary to await the test of experience. The powers of the proletariat must manifest themselves in action, must stand a living test, in struggle. Such a test can present itself through a growth of the inner contradictions, as well as through an attack from without (blockade, war).

It has been said above that the weakest line in the chain is at present the party. We speak of the party as party, i.e., as a free selection of the proletarian vanguard and as of an apparatus merged in one system with the state. One could say with a certain amount of justice that the party as party does not exist at present. The essential functions of the party, collective elaboration of views and decisions, free election of functionaries and control over them -- all these have been definitely liquidated. When we consider the party as excluded from the Soviet system, when the whole system must go to pieces in no time. Freed from the control of the party, the trusts would immediately pass over to the position of, first, state capitalist, then, private capitalist enterprises. The conflicts between the trade unions and the trusts would very quickly become transformed into class struggles. The state would become an organ of the trusts and the banks. The foreign trade monopoly would be pierced through in several places even before its abolition. The Red Army would go through a similar process of evolution. All this would probably be accompanied by a whole series of convulsions and outbreaks of civil war.

Since the party as party does not exist, is not then the process of degeneration described above and the decline of the regime inevitable, and in the shortest time at that? The fact is that in this official "party" -- which together with the youth embraces more than four million people, in order to confound them to silence and obedience -- that in this enormous, scattered mass, held together by the bureaucratic apparatus, there are dispersed the elements of two parties. The Bessedovskys, the Hajurovs, the Agebekovs, show how from the official party there is emerging a party of the counter-revolution, the elements of which exist at various stages of maturity. A symmetrical process is taking place on the opposite, on the proletarian pole of the party, above all in form of the Left Opposition. The loose mass held together by the apparatus is becoming differentiated in two directions. While the apparatus carries on its bitter struggle against the Left Opposition, which has been and remains its chief enemy, it gives direct support to the Thermidorians. The question reads: Who whom? It will be immediately decided, not by the economic statistics of the socialist and capitalistic economic tendencies, but by the relation of forces between the proletarian and Thermidorian flanks of the present so-called party.

The axis in the process of crystallization of the proletarian elements of the party is the Left Opposition. At present it is weak, in the sense that between its cadres and the elements tending toward it the connections have been broken. The struggle for the re-establishment of these connections, that is, the patient, illegal work for the reconstitution of the Bolshevik Party, is the fundamental, the most important and the most urgent task of every Bolshevik.

The first great test of events will show that the Stalinist bureaucracy has no social basis. It will be suspended in the air between the Thermidorian elements and the Bolsheviks. The crystallization of the Left wing will take place all the more rapidly, the better its cadres are prepared, the wider its connections with the working class become. Under similar conditions (international situation, internal conditions) the fate of the proletarian dictatorship will depend upon the relation of forces between the proletarian and the Thermidorian wings of the present official party. The results cannot be foretold. Now, we must do everything to see that it turns out favorably.

Let us, however, assume for a moment that the Thermidorian wing is victorious. That will mean the liquidation of the proletarian dictatorship and a precipitant turn about-face for the country in the direction of capitalism. Even in such a hypothetical case the work of the Opposition retains its full force; for it will defend the heritage of the revolutionary party. With the aid of the Soviet state one cannot create the party. With the aid of the revolutionary party one can, however, create a second Soviet state when the first has collapsed.

However, the tasks of the Opposition are not determined by the situation in the U.S.S.R. alone. The Comintern in its entirety has become a weapon of the centrist bureaucracy, which undermines and destroys communism and by that alone worsens the conditions in the U.S.S.R. The Opposition has finally become an international factor and from this perspective we must also regard the work inside the U.S.S.R.

== == == == == == == == ==

THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN GREECE

The development of the Communist movement and of the Left Opposition of Greece has taken an extraordinary course. The Greece working-class never had any social-democratic traditions before the war. It could be said that up to 1917 the laboring masses of Greece had passed through no socialist school of revolutionary sentiment. Only after the October revolution did the soil become favorable for class propaganda among the workers and poor peasants. A socialist Labor Party was formed, which set itself at the head of the masses and animated by the great inspiration of the Russian Opposition sought an issue out of the ruins and the misery in mass actions.

- Int'l Bull #2, p. 3

But the socialist Labor Party could not reflect exactly the aspirations of the working class. It did not possess the ideological arm indispensable for that -- Marxism -- nor the necessary cadres. The revolutionary upsurge of the masses makes this young party pass through a rapid evolution toward communism and join, under the influence of a little nucleus, "Kommunismos", the Communist International.

The change of name and the formal adherence to the C.I. do not, however, in the least change the confusing character of the Labor Party. The absence of Marxist traditions and of advanced cadres allows politicians of every shade to use the new Communist Party for their own interests and to cause the party to go through the most opportunistic experiences, very often to the direct advantage of different bourgeois cliques.

This party, without any solid working class base, followed blindly the Stalinist faction in the C.I. and transferred its slogans faithfully on Greek soil. In 1927 an opposition begins to appear against the C.P. leadership. Little by little, this opposition approaches in its criticism that of the Left Opposition in other countries. It gathers around the review SPARTAKOS and attempts to influence the leadership and save the debris of the party. Expelled by the ever more corrupted apparatus, the SPARTAKOS group lives in the meantime only on the more or less correct interpretations of the ideas of the Russian and the International Left Opposition. It does not succeed in organizing a solid nucleus in the party, capable of drawing the class organizations after it.

But aside from the reactionary leaders, the open agents of the bourgeoisie, no organization of a reformist or socialist character succeeded in lining up behind it the Greek working class, which has in the meantime become much more numerous and much more militant. The official C. P. has fallen completely into discredit due to the only too well-known absurdities of the "third period", and has reduced its forces to a few hundred, of which a great number are functionaries of the Stalinist apparatus.

Who, then, is to undertake the heavy task of organizing the Greek proletariat which in several years has grown from 80,000 to 500,000 workers? Under the given conditions, it can be only the party, which in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice will succeed in forming cadres of clear-sighted and conscious workers. It is the organization of the "Archives of Marxism" that these tasks are charged upon.

A communist tendency running parallel to the official Communist Party has been created in Greece and has set itself the task of supplementing and correcting the shortcomings and mistakes of the official party. Already in 1921 the comrades who had come to the party from the KOMMUNISMOS group struggled heatedly for a Marxist upbringing of their cadres. Fought by the leadership, these comrades created the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM, in which they published for the first time in Greece the chief works of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, and the classics of socialism in general. The politicians of the Greek C.P. -- a half-social democratic, half-anarchistic party -- decided to expel the comrades who founded the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM and since then a struggle has been waged between the small nucleus of revolutionary Marxists and the official party.

The ARCHIVES OF MARXISM set itself as its primordial task the propagation of the ideas of Marx and the Russian revolutionists. They considered the question of education as the preliminary condition for revolutionary action. This position (academically exaggerated) forced them to withdraw to narrow circles for the study of Marxism and to abandon for a certain time the labor movement to the politicians of the official party.

Up to 1925, the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM could group about itself advanced workers from the industrial centers. From 1925 to 1927 its underground activity was seriously damaged by the Pangalos dictatorship. But the revolutionary education of the preceding years had not been in vain. Taking advantage of the few liberties

Granted by the new regime, the circles of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM reconstituted themselves anew. They began to publish their review again and decided to undertake a long labor of penetration into the working class. After two years of intense activity, they gained a considerable influence in the trade unions, among the unemployed, the poor students, the refugees, etc.... Their own organization grew in proportion to their influence, despite the rigid forms and the severe internal discipline imposed by the conditions of illegality.

What has been the political evolution of the ARCHIVES? Deprived of all international connections, this young and unexperienced movement, under conditions favorable for the development of reformism and the different forms of trade unionism, could easily fall into confusion with one of these tendencies. But neither the history of the labor movement of Greece, nor the objective conditions created by rapacious capitalism, Greek and foreign, have left any forms of intermediary labor struggles between communism and the open treason of the reactionary leaders. The ARCHIVES OF COMMUNISM, while remaining outside the ranks of the C.I., were inspired in all their actions by the ideas of the Russian revolution. The fact that they maintained their independence after 1922-1923 has even been favorable to the ideological development of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM in the sense that they were made immune to the intoxications of the falsifiers of Leninism in the Stalin faction. After 1923 the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM began to take an interest in the struggle of the Left Opposition of the U.S.S.R. They studied in their circles the criticism of the Russian Opposition toward the German revolution of 1923, toward the defeat of the Chinese revolution, toward the Anglo-Russian committee and all the questions concerning Soviet Russia, approving of it unreservedly. They translated into Greek the works of Comrade Trotsky and distributed them among wide circles of revolutionary workers. The assimilation of these ideas of the International Left Opposition went hand in hand with the penetration into the trade unions and economic struggles of the working class.

After they had reached an important stage of development in the country, the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM understood the danger of their national isolation and in June, 1930, they sent their application to the International Bureau of the Left Opposition.

This unique development of an isolated opposition current which has thrown itself into the general flow of the International Left Opposition aroused the interest of the International Bureau and lately two of its representatives went to Greece to make a detailed inquiry into the situation and the perspectives of the Greek Left Opposition. The results of the inquiry testify to the fact that we encounter in Greece an altogether new phenomenon in the Opposition movement. Beside the official party, which has left only a few feeble traces of its existence on the political life of the Greek proletariat, there is growing a Communist opposition movement, organized in every industrial city in the country and in the countryside, having a considerable influence in the trade union movement.

The organizations of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM have been built up in the manner of the old Russian socialist parties who had to work illegally. In broad study circles of elementary Marxism, a selection is made at the end of several months of experience from among the most devoted comrades. They pass over into more intimate circles and to the study of more serious problems of Marxism and are charged with responsible work. After this stage, which consists of about 18 months, they are admitted into the units which constitute the base of the organization. For conspirative reasons, we cannot give all the details of their organization, but suffice it to say, in order to get an idea of their strength, that after so careful a selection the membership of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM organizations numbers more than 1,500 comrades. Their trade union influence embraces more than 20,000 members. The trade union councils of the Concrete Workers, the Shoe, the Tobacco Workers, the Carpenters, the Bakers, and other branches of industry, as well as of the Public Utilities, are controlled by the comrades of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM. The trade union papers, published by our comrades, are read by more than 7,000 workers. The leadership of the organization of the war veter-

influence of our comrades. Here also our comrades publish a widely read paper.

The activities of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM among the unemployed have lately aroused the ire of the entire bourgeois press and the savage reprisals of the police. The demonstration of the unemployed and their petition to Athens were directed by the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM. The bourgeoisie, in its press, well takes note of the danger which this organization represents against it. The student demonstrations in 1929, which were accompanied by bloody battles with the police and which were directed not only against the University authorities but also against the bourgeois state (they were the talk of the entire Communist press of the West in their time), were led by the student fraction of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM with the direct collaboration of the workers of that organization. Among the poor refugees, also, our comrades display an intense activity. (1)

In all these spheres the influence of the official party is negligible, if not in-existent. To demonstrate their zeal to the bureaucrats of Moscow, those of Athens have tried to create a Trade Union Center, but the skeleton-like character of the unions which they have grouped into this Center have made of it a fictive organization which exists only on paper.

As in all other countries, but with even greater venom, because it is more impotent, the C.P. of Greece has employed against the Opposition the Stalinist methods of "ideological" struggle, violence. In a leaflet issued by the official party organization of Cavalla (Greek Macedonia) it literally says, "Comrades, the Archio-Marxists are police agents of the worst sort. Show no moderation towards them. Chase them out of the factories. Smash them wherever you find them. Beat them up before the tobacco depots, etc..." This furious appeal to violence was naturally followed up by actions. Two of our comrades were killed by the organized bands of the party.

The Archives organization did not delay with its reply. The Opposition workers would not tolerate the Stalinist terror, which held free sway under the approving eye of the police. They have organized their self-defense corps in the entire country, and after some serious struggles they have been able to impose silence on the small Stalinist sect. The struggle of the Archives against the official party and their calumniators was made especially difficult by the fact that they did not possess a political paper of their own, in which to defend their political point of view in public and to refute the calumnies of their opponents. (The papers of which we have spoken above bear a strictly trade union character.) We must note that our comrades of the Archives for a long time considered external political work, with a paper and all the forms of struggle of a political party as premature. (In our opinion this was wrong.) Only after they had attained real influence in the country and among the working class did they decide to publish a weekly, FALI TO TAZARON, and a monthly theoretical journal, DAVLOS.

This decision has led them to pose another question, which in Greece more than in any other country is posed in all its amplitude: should they work as a faction of the official party or must they seek the road to a new party?

The national conference of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM which was held in Athens in October in the presence of two representatives of the International Bureau discussed these questions widely. The conference marks a decisive step in the development of the "Archio-Marxist" movement, which according to the decision of the conference will henceforth bear the name: Bolshevik-Leninist Organization of Greece (Opposition).

The most important decisions of this conference are expressed in the principle resolution unanimously adopted (and reprinted elsewhere in this issue of the Bulletin).

(1) We have just been informed that our comrades have distributed leaflets of

As we have said above, the conference in its resolution marks an important step in the evolution of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM. The period of theoretical preparation and the consolidation of the cadres is finished. A period of broad political work is beginning. At the same time, a wide current of "Organizations of Bolshevik-Leninists (Opposition)" is replacing the Archiv-Marxists in Greece.

Are they going to take on the character of a new Communist Party, which will supplant the discredited Greek C.P.? The membership of these organizations will in the course of the next few months decide. At any rate, the Greek Opposition will, as the resolution says, "follow attentively the development of the Greek party and will support it in all actions capable of involving the laboring masses in a revolutionary movement".

The experiences of the last few years in the struggles of Greek Left Opposition and the important successes obtained show that it has taken the correct road. A clear and precise political line will, with the aid of the International Opposition, help it create a healthy Communist current which will attract the best elements from the party and the new opposition which has come out from it (the SPARTAKOS group). As long as a fusion of this opposition organization with the Archives does not take place, a serious and loyal discussion must mark the relations between the Archives and Spartakos.

Before all of the Left Oppositionists of Greece a task of great importance is posed: the creation of a genuine Communist Party, worthy of the teachings of Marx and of Lenin.

This party will be independent of the Stalinist apparatus and of the bureaucrats of the official Greek C.P. This will not, however, prevent it from considering itself as a section of the III International and from working hard to rebuild it. The example of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM shows that the less dependent a revolutionary organization is of the Stalinist apparatus, the more militant and the more devoted is it to the cause of the International of Lenin and of Trotsky.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ARCHIV-MARXISTS

After a discussion of all the points on the Agenda, after a review of past activities and an estimation of the perspectives for political and trade union activity, the National Conference of the group Archiv-Marxists has adopted the following resolution unanimously:

The Archiv-Marxist movement issued from the first revolutionary cadres in Greece, which were formed in 1919 around the Kommunismos group and which fought for the entrance of the Socialist Labor Party into the C.I. After its dissolution in the ranks of the new party, the members of Kommunismos had to fight against the confusionist policies of the leadership and the regime instituted by them. Up to 1923 they fought for the application of the decisions of the first World Congresses of the C.I. and for the ideological training of the party cadres. For this purpose they created the journal, ARCHIVES OF MARXISM. Expelled from the party, calumniated and persecuted by its leaders, the group of the Archiv-Marxists continued to exert its influence upon the party, gathering and educating the best workers whom the false policies of the C.P.G. has repelled.

In the differences of opinion on the crisis in the C.P.G., the U.S.S.R. and the C.I., the Archiv-Marxists, with their poor means, in their publications, courses and propaganda, their solidarity with the Left Opposition (Anglo-Russian committee, Chinese revolution, socialism in one country, party and trade unions).

After the influence of the Archiv-Marxists had permeated broad circles of the working class, they increased their activities and began to participate in the proletarian struggles and later on to lead them. Despite the persecutions of the government and the police, they were able to build up their secret organizations



and to maintain their cadres.

In spite of their bitter struggle against the Archio-Marxists, in spite of the calumnies, the provocations and even murders (which forced the Archio-Marxists to organize their self-defense), the C.P.G. did not succeed in holding the Archio-Marxist movement in check. On the contrary, it issued from this period stronger than ever, with a following of workers and with solid cadres.

The conference recognizes that after this long preparatory period the Archio-Marxist movement enters into a new stage of development, which imposes upon it great tasks in all the problems of the international labor movement.

The considerable forces which it has won through long years of perseverant struggle; the actual influence which it exercises among the most advanced and most class-conscious layers of the Greek working class, pose before the Archio-Marxist movement the inevitable task of adopting all the forms of open political struggle of the International Left Opposition and to take the path of broad political work.

The long years of serious ideological preparation of the Archio-Marxist cadres in the sense of the criticism of the Russian Opposition and the principles of the International Opposition are a guarantee that the basis of the open political activity, which the Archio-Marxists are going to conduct henceforth, will be the guidance of the ideas and the principles of the International Opposition alone.

The conference poses before all the members the question concerning the form that our political activity is to take on in the future. Should we follow the example of the Left Opposition of the other countries and work as a faction of the C.P. or shall we, considering the exceptional conditions in Greece and the favorable relation of forces between C.P.G. and the Opposition, enter upon the road of a Communist Party?

The conference calls the attention of all its members to two obstacles which are raised before our movement on the road to the formation of a new party, the importance of which we must in no way overlook nor under-estimate.

(a) The subjective obstacle: Since it has worked for years in narrow educational circles, the Archio-Marxist movement does not possess all the necessary experience of a Communist Party.

(b) The objective obstacle: The C.P.G., which has in the past held broad sympathies, particularly during the war in the Near East and in the period immediately following upon it, is at present passing through a process of unprecedented decay. However, although almost deprived of cadres, and completely discredited by its inconsistent and adventurist policy, the C.P. can nevertheless gain a new lease of life due to the authority of the C.I. as the official defender of the U.S.S.R. and the October revolution.

The conference calls upon the followers of the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM to discuss this question seriously during the next few months before the fundamental features of our future political activity have been established.

For the present the conference suggests, considering the obstacles indicated and the objective conditions, an intermediary form, at least as a beginning, between an independent party and an opposition, which while placing itself at the head of the economic and political struggles of the working class will follow attentively the development of the Greek Communist Party and will support all its actions, which are capable of involving the laboring masses in a revolutionary movement. In order to undertake a revolutionary political struggle and in order to draw in large masses into the struggle, the conference has decided the publication of a political paper under the direct control of the leading organs of the Opposition. This paper will bear the name: *Pali Ton Takseon* (The Class Struggle).

The paper will, in the first place, carry on an energetic and unequivocal struggle against the capitalist regime and against all forms of political support to it.

The paper will give special attention to the trade union movement; to the real and effective defense of the Soviet state, to the revolutionary education of the working class in the spirit of the first four congresses of the C.I. and of the ideas of the International Communist Left Opposition.

The conference underlines the fact that our fruitful activity in the trade union movement has helped the ARCHIVES OF MARXISM to organize a considerable part of the working class into trade union organizations. It opposes the demoralizing actions of the Greek C.P. which in virtue of the slogans of the "third period" attempts to drag the workers into adventures and to create fictitious trade union organizations which divide the efforts of the revolutionary elements of the working class.

However, the conference poses itself as an immediate aim the preparation of the ground for the creation of an independent trade union organization corresponding to the genuine needs of the working class.

The conference energetically raises its voice against the regime of "democratic" dictatorship of the Venezelos government and expresses its solidarity with all the victims of the repression, regardless of the tendency to which they belong.

The conference adjourns with heartfelt greetings to the deported, imprisoned and exiled Russian Oppositionists -- with L. D. Trotsky at their head -- to the victims of the savage reprisals of the Stalinist apparatus.

\* \* \* \* \*

TO THE COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION (BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS) OF GREECE

Dear Comrades:

The recent visit of two representatives of the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition, the profound inquiry they have made on the situation of the Left Opposition in Greece and the direct contacts they have established between your organization and the international center of the Left Opposition, give us an opportunity to address to you the following observations, which we believe will bring the necessary clarity into our relations and precision into the political activity which you are about to undertake.

(1) In the resolution adopted by your conference you mention the Communist International. Although your relations with the Communist International follow from your general position, they require nevertheless a more exact formulation. In no case are we ready to abandon to the Stalinists the banner of the C.I., its traditions and its proletarian core. We are fighting for the regeneration of the III International and not for the creation of a fourth. It is in this way that we define our role as an international faction. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that in one country or another where the official party is extremely weak that the Opposition will have to assume, partially or totally, the functions of an independent political party (leadership of the trade unions and strikes, organization of demonstrations, nomination of candidates). It is impossible for us to decide to what degree such a situation is characteristic of Greece but no matter how you decide this question in the near future that will not change the general line of the Left Opposition. Even while acting as a party you must consider yourself as a section of the III International, regarding the official party as a faction; and proposing to it unity of action in relation to the masses. A principle declaration on your part on this question would be --

The illegal existence of your organization demands no doubt a rigorous conspirative form, great foresight on the part of your leaders in order to avoid superfluous arrests and victims. But the members of your organization, and especially all its responsible militants, must remember when they are arrested that they are in front of the tribunal of the fighters of their party and their class. It is perfectly permissible to refuse in the course of the cross-examination to make certain statements, especially in case these statements can serve to incriminate the accused or other persons. But it is altogether impermissible before the tribunal to disavow the banner of the party or to misrepresent its aims and its methods through the veiled ideology of the bourgeois state. Such methods can only in rare cases lead the prosecutors and the judges off the track, but on the other hand they usually mislead the workers and undermine the revolutionary authority of the party. For revolutionists the tribunal remains one of many tribunes. We have noted with satisfaction that the comrades responsible for such incorrect conduct before the tribunal have been expelled from your organization. We believe it altogether essential for you to lead a public action on this case, explaining the causes of the expulsions and clarifying your principle position in the question of the inquest and the tribunal.

We have permitted ourselves to make these suggestions with the firm conviction that the experience of the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition will be of certain service to your young organization and will enrich your political action.

With Communist Greetings,

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

ON THE QUESTION OF THERMIDOR AND BONAPARTISM

Comrade Well of the German Opposition was charged by the German Opposition to ask Comrade Trotsky for certain explanations on the question of Thermidor. We publish below the reply of Comrade Trotsky:

"Concerning the question of Thermidor and of Bonapartism, I will only speak very briefly, for I have already expressed myself several times on the necessity of developing this theme in an article. The danger in this question, as well as in every other historic question, consists of the fact that we are too apt to draw analogies too formally, no matter how important and fruitful they may be, and that we are wont to reduce the concrete process to abstractions. Thermidor was a transitional form between Jacobinism and Bonapartism. What was really characteristic of the Thermidor was the fact that the government was formally controlled by the members of the same party. Part of the Jacobins, or quasi-Jacobins, destroyed the other part, the true Jacobins, by an appeal to open civil war. Bonapartism signifies the victory of the bureaucratic-military centralist power over all the various phases of Jacobinism. In the language of the class struggle, this means the gradual change of power from the sans-culottes to the leisure class.

If we take into consideration theoretically the possibility of a counter-revolutionary victory in the Soviet Union, that does not mean that the latter must take on the form of the French Thermidor. It may skip this stage directly to Bonapartism, or intermingle the two, just as the October Revolution intermingled the end of the democratic revolution with the beginning of the socialist revolution. Such a mixture of historic stages corresponds perfectly to the social development of Russia and to its entire history.

What we must take into consideration above all is the immense role of the Russian Party or rather, at present, of its apparatus. With us the party is far more advanced than the State apparatus. For example, Rykov, from the point of view of the party, has been entirely liquidated, but still remains the head of the state. Thermidorian elements have materialized in the life of the party: genuine "Jacobins" have been replaced by opportunist but

developed largely, that is in the selection of the apparatus according to a single commandant (Stalin). Weakening of the character and of the spine is a very important preparatory work of Bonapartism.

The counter-revolution has not yet become victorious, the question is not yet settled, and that is the reason for our implacable struggle against the Korschists and the other howlers. One physician says: the man is sick, there is hope of curing him; it is my duty to do all in my power to put him on his feet again. Another says: no, he must die, and turns his back on the patient. What can these two physicians have in common?

But when the counter-revolution does come, will it take a Bonapartist, a Thermidorian or a combined third form? It is impossible to say, but our duty consists in observing attentively the existing elements of the possible variants of counter-revolution and their dialectic development.

Comrade Landau writes me that some comrades have expressed the opinion that the proletariat is the weaker class in Russia. This question cannot be solved nor even correctly posed in cross section. We must look at it dynamically. Theoretically speaking, it is not impossible that a victorious counter-revolution will prove that the Russian working class has become so weakened that it is no longer able to hold the power in its own hands. But that can only be done by open civil war. Politically we must prevent this possibility by reinforcing the political and economic points of support of the proletariat. There is no economic or political scale by means of which we could daily weigh the relation of forces and in this manner decide upon a "point quotation". The most important fact is that the bourgeoisie is as yet far removed from victory, but that within the present regime the germs of very important elements of its victory are growing.

So much for the present, on this question."

-----

#### THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN BULGARIA

The heavy defeats of the revolutionary movement have scattered the best forces of the Communist Party in Bulgaria for years. The weaknesses and mistakes of 1923, the adventurist crimes of 1925 and the stupidities of the Molotov-period in the Comintern resulted in Bulgaria in the complete destruction of the revolutionary mass movement and the discouragement of the best representatives of this movement. The Communist movement of Bulgaria is at present very weak and has no influence at all upon the political and social life of the country; The slogans of the Kolarovs and the Demidovs are followed only by a small sect in Sofia, which cannot, will not, exercise its influence upon the proletariat and the peasantry.

The old militants of the C.P.B. --- those who have been spared by the white terror -- have long ago left the movement. The entire policy and tactic of the Comintern in Bulgaria was altogether too un-Marxist and too counter-revolutionary for these fighters, who went through the school of Rakovsky and the Russian revolutionists, to swallow in silence the incoherent and stupid policy of the Comintern. The luckless experiences of the Comintern in Bulgaria were more than sufficient for these comrades to draw the balance sheet and to sharply criticize the activities of the Comintern after Lenin's death. But they lacked the experiences of the Communist parties of the other countries.

After groping about for a long time, hindered by the strict fascist censorship, the comrades discovered that a Bulletin of the Russian Opposition and Opposition publications exist in France. They find in these the confirmation of their analysis concerning the mistakes of the Comintern. Their agreement with the views on the situation in the U.S.S.R. and in the entire world brought them nearer to the international center of the Left Opposition.

is published in this issue of the Bulletin, our comrades decided to organize themselves into a group and to declare their adherence to the International Bureau of the Left Opposition.

The young Bulgarian Opposition has already issued a manifesto to the Bulgarian Communists in the form of a pamphlet, in which they submit the Comintern policy in Bulgaria since 1923 to merciless criticism. The serious and profound analysis of this manifesto testifies to a firm Marxist schooling. Despite its local character, it has an international importance, for the tragedy of the Bulgarian Communist Party, equal to that of the German Party in 1923, is at the same time the tragedy of the Comintern.

This manifesto as well as the basic ideas of the International Opposition form the fundament of the Bulgarian Opposition. Its constituent meeting, which took place in the presence of a representative of the International Secretariat, has adopted a basic resolution, which serves as the basis of their organization, "Osvobodniennie". In this resolution, our comrades greet especially the two leaders of the International Opposition, Trotsky and Rakovsky, whose teachings have remained dear to all Bulgarian Communists.

The young organization, "Osvobodniennie", is still weak. Nevertheless its manifesto is being read and has aroused a lively discussion among the workers and peasants in Sofia and in the provinces.

Especially in the prisons, among the most advanced militants, the manifesto has received a good reception.

No doubt, the expelled militants or those who have left the illegal party and have regarded the stupid policies of the Labor Party of Bulgaria with suspicion, will join the Left group, "Osvobodniennie".

Our comrades intend to found more "Osvobodniennie" groups in the provinces in the near future. Favorable conditions exist for our work there.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Resolution of the "Osvobodniennie" Group

The undersigned former members of the C.P.B. (legal and illegal) considering on October 19, 1930:

(1) The manifesto issued by a group of comrades, in which the revolutionary labor movement of Bulgaria since June 9, 1923 -- the day of the bourgeois coup-d'etat -- up to the present day, has been evaluated and which ends with an appeal to clove the ranks on the basis of Marxism with the aim of "ideological clarification" and the "rebirth of the organization" of the proletariat and the movement which has fallen into complete decay because of the great tactical mistakes, despite the favorable objective conditions for proletarian struggle.

(2) In view of the fatal weakness of the Bulgarian labor movement, a reflection of the general decline of the international labor movement since 1923, which is due to the adventurist tactics of the leading group of the Comintern, which has zig-zagged from right to left and back again and which has led the proletariat from one defeat to another as, for instance, in Germany, in Bulgaria, in China and elsewhere. The Stalinist leadership was incapable of applying correct tactics to the new conditions of struggle and to link up the proletarian vanguard with broad layers of the working class by means of the tactic of the united front.

(3) The Stalinist mistakes have led to the famous policies of the "third period", which called the situation immediately revolutionary and threw the working class into adventures, without taking into account objective conditions and the

(4) In view of the fact that the policies of the third period have found their expression in the field of organization in the bureaucratization of the Comintern apparatus and of all its sections, in the disappearance of all criticism and democratic centralism, which has made impossible control by masses,

Decide:

- (1) To endorse fully the ideas expressed in this manifesto.
- (2) To constitute ourselves as a centralized Marxist workers' group, "Osvobodienie", which will take as its basis the manifesto of the International Left Opposition and will consider it its duty to propagate these views in the country at the same time supporting all correct actions of the Bulgarian Labor Party.
- (3) To greet all the victims of bourgeois repression in Bulgaria and other countries, who patiently endure in their readiness to sacrifice for the proletarian cause.
- (4) To send our warmest fighting salutations to the brave comrades of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition in Russia, who under the leadership of our masters, Trotsky and Rakovsky, are obstinately struggling against the crimes of Stalinism and for the recuperation of the revolutionary international movement.

The resolution is signed by the members of the "Osvobodienie" group.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN HUNGARY

The Left Opposition in Hungary consists of an organization of young workers. The organization has lately declared its adherence to the International Bureau.

Our young comrades are publishing a paper which defends the interests of the workers and especially of the young Hungarian workers. Due to the fascist dictatorship, our comrades cannot give the paper an openly Communist and Opposition character. Moreover, our comrades are cut off from the life of the International Opposition. Unemployment, which has hit most of them, the difficulty of obtaining even the most elementary literature of the Left Opposition, the difficulty of getting international connections, all these are the reasons why our comrades are forced to forego the indispensable education in the line of the ideas and methods of the Left Opposition. They, therefore, see in the Communist Party only the bureaucrats who calumniate them in their press and disregard the workers organized in the party. The close connections which have lately been established between the International Secretariat and the organization of the young Budapest Oppositionists, has permitted us to make clear to them the question of our relations to the party, as well as other political and tactical questions.

To facilitate the education of the members of the Hungarian Opposition, a theoretical and information bulletin will soon appear in the Hungarian language. This bulletin will also serve as a basis of contacts with the Opposition living in emigration, scattered in the cities of Europe and America.

The organization of the Youth Opposition has been in existence for over two years. In the field of organization and revolutionary propaganda among the young workers it has many successes to its credit. But their means of propaganda are as yet too weak to influence adult workers. There exist besides, in Hungary, different working class organizations who are more or less sympathetic to the Opposition. The ideological clarification and the consolidation of this Opposition is a task that has yet to be carried out.

A NECESSARY WARNING

The situation of the Stalin fraction in the U.S.S.R. and the Communist International, which is becoming more and more critical (its ideological base is completely undermined and is shown to be so more clearly each day) and the indubitable successes of the Communist Left Opposition are forcing the Stalinists forward onto the road of a continual sharpening of their struggle against us. This struggle takes on will take on different forms, which can be reduced to three principal kinds, as follows: (a) physical repression; (b) slander; and (c) provocation.

Physical repression leads in the U.S.S.R. to legal assassinations of Bolshevik-Leninists (Blumkin, Silov, Rabinovitch) by the G.P.U., that is to say, by the Agabekovs, or the Yagodas, who differ not a whit from the Agabekovs. In China and Greece, the assassinations are perpetrated in ambush. In the other countries they have not yet gone to the point of murder -- they content themselves in the meantime with raids and beatings (as for example, at Leipzig).

Slender in its turn takes different forms, preserving invariably its character of cowardice. Thus Bluchet, by the order of Stalin, spoke of two "Trotskyist" deserters from the Red Army in the Far East. The Soviet journals have talked about sabotage on the railroads by "Trotskyists" and the preparation of railroad disasters by them. News stories of this kind, fabricated under the immediate direction of Stalin (in this domain he is particularly skillful) are systematically flung into circulation. Their aim is precise: to prepare new bloody reprisals against the blameless revolutionists who refuse to betray the October Revolution.

In Europe this slender takes on a more circumspect and vague character: "counter-revolutionary", "against the defense of the U.S.S.R.", "support of the social democracy", etc. Dividing, poisoning and weakening the proletarian vanguard, the Stalinists exert themselves to prevent a conciliation between the Left Opposition and the proletarian base of the party, because this conciliation, which is indispensable to the success of Communism, would strike a powerful blow at the Stalinist apparatus. Here again is confirmed the fact that the Stalin regime has become the principal obstacle in the development of the U.S.S.R. and the C.I.

The third form of the struggle -- provocation -- is considerably facilitated by the fact that it takes place among members of the same party. The G.P.U. floods the Opposition units, groups, colonies of deportees, etc., with its agents, who afterwards repent or incite others to repent. These same G.P.U. agents, who impute to the Opposition "Kerensky officers", real or pretended, deserters, railroad disasters -- are thereby preparing bloody aggressions.

It is certain that in proportion to the growth of the International Opposition the methods of provocation are applied more and more widely against the other national sections. Here opens a vast field of danger. Stalin has already shown that in the struggle against the Left Opposition he will stop at nothing -- not even at a bloc with the diplomats and the bourgeois police. The conditions of Trotsky's expulsion alone tell all. The agreement of Stalin and Thalmonn with the social-democratic government on the subject of the interdiction of Trotsky's entrance into Germany; the conference of Cachin with Bessedovsky and Doygalevsky on the same subject; Stalin's bloc with the German editor of Kerensky's calumnious book; the scandalous character of the expulsion of our friend, Andres Nin, the leader of the Spanish Communists, into reactionary Esthonia -- all are but a small part of the many exploits of this sort.

The Italian Stalinists publish in the press the conspirative names of the Oppositionists, thus exposing them to the attacks of the police. Useless to the Agabekovs, who swarm within the organs of the G.P.U., raised for the struggle against the Bolshevik-Leninists, are quite capable of betraying the Oppositionists into the hands of the capitalist police: no chastisement in any fashion by Stalin threatens them for that.

The Opposition is thus exposed more and more to the simultaneous and sometimes

united blows of Stalin's agents and the bourgeois police, and often it is not easy to distinguish from which the blow comes. For example, quite lately, two agents provocateurs tried to penetrate the central organ of the Opposition, under the mask of Oppositionists, and it is difficult to decide in regard to each one, whether he is in the pay of the Polish Okhrana, the French police, or Stalin's agency. Similar cases are certain to multiply.

Our Leipzig comrades showed remarkable discretion when they refused to give to the social-democratic police, coming at the demand of neighbors, the names of those who carried out the attack on the house of Comrade Buchner. We expect judgment on the crimes of the Stalin agents, not from the social-democratic police, but from Communist workers. But it is altogether evident that, if aggressions and cases of provocation become more frequent, they will, by the inevitable logic of the struggle, and independent of our will, become public property, not to speak of the possibility that a new Agabekov, passing into the capitalist camp, may recount in the press the Stalinist plots against the Opposition, as Bessedovsky recounted his negotiations with Cachin. It is unnecessary to point out what damage is done in the end to the interests of the U.S.S.R. and the prestige of the C.I. by the poison that activities of this sort introduce into the working class movement.

What ought to be the attitude of the Opposition before the facts of repression, slander, and provocation?

1. We should be guided in our policy, not by a blind sentiment of vengeance toward the Stalin agency, but by a political end: to compromise criminal methods and the authors of them in the eyes of the Communist workers.

2. We should carefully avoid all steps which could, even by the direct will of the Stalinists, introduce, directly or indirectly, prejudice against the U.S.S.R. or the C.I. But we should not for a single instant identify either the U.S.S.R. or the C.I. with the Stalin fraction.

3. While we do everything in our power to prevent the Stalinist atrocities from being used by the class enemy against the proletarian revolution, it is indispensable, nevertheless, to communicate to the Communist ranks, by word of mouth, by circular letters, and by means of interpolations in party meetings, all the facts of aggression, slander, and provocation that have been ascertained.

4. After each new case capable of awakening the revolutionary conscience of the Communist workers, it is indispensable to explain, always anew, and to repeat, that the Left Communist Opposition wishes only an open and friendly ideological struggle in the interest of the proletarian revolution, and that the Opposition tirelessly calls upon the party members to establish methods of honest ideological struggle, without which the education of true revolutionists is impossible.

5. During the elections of delegates to conferences, members of local and central organs of the Opposition, editors, etc., the past of candidates must carefully be probed to prevent the admission of agents provocateurs. One of the best forms of control is inquiry among workers who have been in prolonged contact with the given person.

6. In cases where Opposition organizations learn of new acts of aggression or provocation prepared by the Stalin agency, it will be necessary to warn, in writing, the directing organs of the official Communist party, telling them that we hurl back responsibility for the crimes that are being prepared, before the Communist workers, upon the directors themselves.

7. All cases of the character mentioned above must be immediately communicated to the International Secretariat, with exact information of the circumstances, the names of the participants, etc. That will permit us to make a campaign on an international scale.

We do not at all doubt -- and all the past experience of the revolutionary



movement proves it -- that if all our sections show firmness, perseverance, and vigilance in the struggle, all the poisonous methods of Stalinism will be turned against itself, and can only serve as a strengthening of the positions of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

October 12, 1930.

-----  
ABOUT THE "DRAFT PROPOSAL" OF THE E.C. OF THE BELGIAN OPPOSITION

Since the Sino-Russian conflict the Belgian Left Opposition has been split into two parts. Despite the intervention of foreign comrades, the Opposition remains divided. The time has come to turn the attention of the International Opposition to the internal conflict in the Belgian Opposition, which has caused the collapse of one of its sections and particularly of its Brussels section.

What are the reasons that have forced the Federation of Charleroi to split away from the center from time to time during the Sino-Russian conflict and that force them even today "to pose the question of the leadership, whoever they may be, who want to withhold their actions openly or secretly from the control of the workers and from the leadership of the International Opposition" in a particularly acute manner (Le Communiste, July 20, 1930)?

What originally gave impulse to this struggle was undoubtedly the hostile and un-Communist position of the leaders of the Brussels Federation in the question of the East-Chinese Railroad. This question served as a touchstone for the entire Opposition. It was the baptism of the International Opposition, which was then taking the first steps in the direction of an international organization and many so-called oppositionists could not stand the test (Urbanus in Germany, Paz in France). In Belgium, Comrades W. van Overstraten and Hennaut, who were directing the work of the Brussels Federation and publishing the paper, Le Communiste, took a position coming very close to that of Urbanus and of Paz. Still we nurtured the hope that under the effective control of the worker-members, and in close co-operation with the Charleroi Federation, the leaders of the Belgian Opposition would adopt the views of the International Left Opposition in the question of the defense of the Soviet Union and in other important questions. The Charleroi comrades defended these views clearly and unequivocally. The subsequent development of the Belgian Opposition and particularly of the Brussels Federation has proved, however, that the mistakes of W. van Overstraten and Hennaut in the Sino-Russian conflict were not accidental. The "Draft Proposal Concerning the Orientation of the Communist Opposition" of the Executive Commission has not only persisted in the former mistakes, but has even heaped up new errors relating to almost all the problems of the International Left Opposition.

It is therefore important to examine thoroughly this "Draft Proposal", in order to understand wherein the point of view of the present leadership of the Brussels Federation differs from that of the International Left Opposition.

A Strange Conception of the History of the Comintern

A general remark concerning the spirit and the form of this "Draft" is indispensable. The author has obviously taken pains to avoid giving the manuscript the trite character we find in the reports of the C.P. and the Comintern, in which we are offered a melange of figures and economic facts, from which the desired political conclusions are drawn. But in doing this, the author has fallen into the opposite extreme: in his desire to avoid the Stalinist distortions of the Marxist methods he discards the latter completely from his work. All the political evaluations of the "Draft" and particularly the conception of the Comintern history are idealistic and entirely devoid of Marxist dialectics.

For the author of the "Draft" the greatest misfortune for the Comintern consists in the fact that it "was led from the first by Zinoviev, the notorious weakling of the October revolution". He is not attacked for his political line, but

for "having implanted into the Comintern the courtesan system", "secret diplomacy" and "his extraordinary intrigues". For the author of the "Draft" the personal mistakes of Zinoviev are of such significance that he even declares: "This is of utmost importance for the history of the Comintern." Subjective interpretations of this sort are not only the explanation of the bureaucratization and disintegration of the Comintern apparatus (which is only partially correct), but such subjective and simplistic arguments are also used to explain causes for such important events as, for instance, the defeat of the October Revolution in Germany in 1923. The false policy of the Comintern and the C.P.G., the criminal repetition of the weaknesses of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, "the crisis of the revolutionary leadership on the eve of the armed uprising" (L. Trotsky, at the III Congress of the Comintern), the objective situation in Germany which was ripe for revolution and the leadership of the C.P.G. and the Comintern which dragged behind events -- all this is completely ignored by the author of the "Draft". He is constantly concerned above everything else with the "professional outbidding", with "bureaucratic zeal" and the "intrigues" -- in short, with the devil that dwells in Zinoviev. And to all these misfortunes he ascribes "for the greatest part, the catastrophe of the German October Revolution of 1923".

We could cite similar points in the "Draft" from the beginning to the end to show how strange the objective method of dialectic Marxism really is to its author. In vain do we look for a trace of Opposition ideas as expressed recently by Comrade Trotsky and our Opposition comrades of France, Germany and America in their works. The attempt to liberate themselves from all external ideological guidance has led the leaders of the Brussels Federation into an isolation and into a so-called ideological independence which has only aggravated that which we called the original mistake of the Brussels comrades and has only added further mistakes. Later on we shall see that our Charleroi comrades were completely correct when they said in their resolution that "the spirit of national independence of the groups in regard to the control (which is identical with: executing commands without any discussion) of the International Opposition leadership represents a very serious danger". -- This danger has become manifest in all the activities of the Brussels leadership.

#### The Four Principal Questions

The "Draft Proposal" poses four principal questions which should help the International Opposition reconstruct the Communist movement. The questions are:

- (1) The present situation in the U.S.S.R.
- (2) The relations between the Soviet State and the Communist Party of Russia.
- (3) The relations between the C.P.R. and the Comintern.
- (4) The position of the Opposition in regard to the Comintern.

First of all, we must state that the definition of these "principal questions" is very unclear and in no way in harmony with the historic epoch in which the Left Opposition finds itself today.

Questions 2 and 3, as they are posed in the "Draft", are bound to cause great confusion among the workers. The relations between the Soviet State and the C.P.R. as well as between the C.P.R. and the Comintern are laid down in the Soviet Constitution and in the statutes of the Party and the Comintern.

The Left Opposition does not in any case doubt the necessity of the established relationships, but, on the contrary, fights with redoubled watchfulness for the maintenance of the close relations between the State, the Party and the Comintern.

It is the Mensheviks and the Russian Liberals who convert these questions into "transitional slogans" and speak of "Soviets without Communists", "No subordination of the State to the Communist Party", "Don't squander Russian money on the world revolution", etc., in their counter-revolutionary propaganda. These questions cannot be solved differently. As they have been formulated in the "Draft Proposal" they can be construed only as an attempt to revise the principle of the proletarian dictatorship itself, which the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party,

exercises in Russia. We grant the fact that the author of the "Draft" applies an entirely different meaning to these questions -- he speaks of the bureaucratization of the State apparatus, which influences in a reactionary sense the Party and the Comintern apparatus. But in that case, we must pose the question of the regime in the State apparatus, in the Party and in the entire Comintern, without forgetting the most essential point: the political line which must be pursued in these institutions. Every other method of formulating these questions produces an ambiguity that is very dangerous for the Opposition movement.

As to the other two questions (1 and 4) we shall not attack the author for the form in which he has put them. The solution which the "Draft" brings in these questions is far more important and deserves our full attention.

#### The Situation in the U.S.S.R.

Of all the paragraphs in the "Draft", the one which deals with "the situation in the U.S.S.R." is the most intelligible and the least unclear. Nevertheless, the psychological aspect, the internal political regime and finally "the obstinacy and the dogmatic incapability of Stalin" are particularly stressed.

It would be worthwhile to recall here the letter which Comrade Trotsky wrote immediately after his arrival in Constantinople "Concerning the different groupings in the Communist Opposition". He says there that "the ruling regime in the party does not possess any independent significance, no value in itself". "This factor depends upon the policy of the party. The most contrary elements nurture sympathies for the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy." To declare one's hatred for the dastardly system of repression against the Left Oppositionists, against the officious bureaucrats, to brandmark the tools of Stalin, is one of the less important tasks of the Opposition.

What is demanded of a Left Oppositionist is a serious examination of the class relationships in the U.S.S.R., a clear understanding of the present policy of the U.S.S.R., of centrism and a Leninist inquiry into the means with which to combat this disastrous policy. The "Draft" does not say a word about the three main currents influencing the labor movement in the U.S.S.R.: the Rights, the Center and the Left. A clear evaluation of these three currents would have, however, permitted the author of the "Draft" to come to a decision in favor of one of them. Centrism is the main current in Soviet policy and is characterized by its confusion of currents and conceptions, sometimes borrowing from the Right and sometimes from the Left. In its practical application, centrism may be described as a zig-zag line, whose extreme pole at times approaches the Left wing of the labor movement in the Soviet Union. It is this very fact which makes the task of our Russian comrades of the Left Opposition so extremely difficult and complicated. This alone motivated our Comrade Rakovsky in his declaration in the name of the Left Opposition; the declaration was "the application of the united front toward the official party" (Trotsky). True to its consequent Leninist policy, the Russian Opposition will most probably have to offer united fronts to the official party on other occasions. What does the author of the "Draft" think of this? We do not know. And yet this question is of utmost importance for the Russian Opposition which cannot without the support of the best elements in the party and the working class fight successfully for its present slogans, e.g.: to raise the living standards of the working masses; for an examination of the rhythms of industrialization, which are proceeding at the expense of the daily interests of the workers; for better quality in production; for a collectivization of the countryside that conforms with the actual means, etc.

The "Draft Proposal" is very reserved in all these burning questions of the Russian and consequently of the International Opposition. On the other hand, we are told at the end of the paragraph on the "present situation in the U.S.S.R." that the safety of the October Revolution demands "more than ever an inexorable struggle against the internal enemies".

praiseworthy, were it in harmony with the opinion of the author regarding the external enemies of the U.S.S.R. However, as we shall see presently the question of the defense of the U.S.S.R. is posed in a manner entirely unexpected -- of Left Oppositionists.

### Relation of the Opposition to the Comintern

It would be more correct to head this chapter: "Orientation and tasks of the Opposition." In reality it touches upon all the problems of the Left Opposition. Defense of the Soviet Union -- Party or Faction -- Relation to the official party -- Trade union questions, etc.

To pose as an Oppositionist, it was sufficient, a year ago, to express oneself against the theory of Socialism in one country, to defend the brutally persecuted Russian Opposition, and to publish the articles of Trotsky side by side with those of Louzon, Eastman and Panait Istrati. The Left Opposition has since taken serious steps toward international consolidation and in consequence to its actual struggle in the different countries, it has established its political line and its line of action in all fields of revolutionary activity. In order to be a Left Oppositionist today, it is necessary: To stand decisively for the defense of the U.S.S.R.; to fight against a second party and consequently against a Fourth International; for a faction; against the "independence and autonomy" of the trade unions, etc.

Let us test these three problems in their sequence as they have been developed and defended by the Brussels Federation.

### Defense of the U.S.S.R.

We have seen above that the "Draft" advises the Russian Opposition to fight inexorably against the internal enemies of the October Revolution. Regarding the external enemies, the "Draft" says: "Undoubtedly the defense of the U.S.S.R. and its safety is in the near future in a very large measure dependent upon the Russian Opposition. The International Opposition can come to its aid. It is, however, unnecessary and dangerous to exaggerate its forces and its means."

#### What is the meaning of this subterfuge?

Of course, if it were a question of the little Brussels group, then the aid as well as the damage it can bring the U.S.S.R. is indeed insignificant. But it is a question of the influence the Opposition can and must exert upon the workers. At the time of the East-Chinese Railroad affair, Le Communiste, under the editorship of the Brussels comrades told its 1600 readers and workers every week that the U.S.S.R. was unjust toward the Hangman Tchang-Kai-Shek. Is this important, from the international point of view, for the U.S.S.R., which at that time was involved in a conflict with the Imperialists and their Chinese agents? Of course it is! And only thanks to our Charleroi comrades, who refused to distribute the Communiste to their 800 readers, was the damage reduced to half.

The attacks of Imperialism against the U.S.S.R. have not, however, limited themselves to the conflict of the East-China Railroad. Recently we have seen an economic war proceed from America under the most deceitful and hypocritical pretences. We know well that in the White House and in Wall Street there is very little concern with the American Opposition and with its organ, The Militant. According to the "Draft", our American comrades would have to say: We are too weak to participate in this conflict: our Russian comrades are strong enough, let them take care of it. This is the opinion of Brussels in the question of international solidarity in general and of the defense of the Soviet Union in particular! Those who know the position of the Brussels leadership in the Sino-Russian conflict will not blame us for having brought the anti-Communist views of the author of the "Draft" to their logical conclusion.

Our Charleroi comrades are completely correct when they say that the Sino-Russian conflict "has permitted us to judge to what degree they have brought their

actions into harmony with their declarations concerning the defense of the U.S.S.R.\*

### Party or Faction?

The question of a second party plays an important role for the Belgian Opposition. Since the split, the Opposition has taken the course of a second party. The perspectives for expansion were far more favorable for the Opposition than for the official party. The best revolutionary forces have left the party and joined the Opposition. The Stalinist bureaucrats, with Jacquemotte at their head, were compromised and entirely without influence in the eyes of the Belgian workers.

The Opposition had every reason to believe that the sympathies of the revolutionary minority of the Belgian proletariat would turn its way. But for that, a correct policy and a correct orientation were necessary.

Our Belgian comrades, however, satisfied with the results of the split and certain of their ideological superiority, separated themselves from the official party suddenly as from some alien body with the one view -- to crush it.

The sharp struggle against the corrupt Belgian section of the Comintern at the same time drew the Opposition into a no less sharper struggle with the entire Communist International. This struggle took on a clear-cut form during the general elections in May, 1929.

In order to explain to the revolutionary workers why the Opposition puts up candidates of its own, Comrade W. Van Overstraeten wrote in Le Communiste of March 3, 1929; "This majority (the majority of the Russian Communist Party) can in no way represent the interests and inclinations of the revolutionary proletariat. This is the first reason why it would be nonsensical to demand of the revolutionary workers that they vote for the ticket of this majority."

And three weeks later, Comrade Van Overstraeten declares to the readers of Le Communiste (March 24, 1929) that we must make war against the bourgeoisie, "against the social-democracy and their new prophets, against the III International". And he advises the revolutionary workers "to attack this threefold enemy with full force".

This systematic struggle against the modern trinity (bourgeoisie, social democracy, III International) "for the rebirth of Marxist ideology" has borne fruit. The results of the elections were a keen disappointment for the Opposition. The official party received fourfold our vote in the districts in which we put up a candidate against it. For the entire country, their votes ran up to 45,000 to 7,000 for the Opposition. It would be a mistake to attribute the election gains of the official party exclusively to the financial advantages and to the electoral sensationalism of the Stalinist apparatus.

We must openly realize that 45,000 workers expressed their confidence in Communism, in the October revolution and the Soviet Union despite and sometimes even against the Jacquemottes and Lahauts.

The Opposition should have taken this experience into account and drawn the necessary lessons from it. The first, most apparent lesson, was to reject the sharp struggle against the III International and the idea of a second party (The label "Trotsky party" was very easily affixed to the Opposition in contradistinction to the official "communist party". In this manner the way was paved for the Stalinist calumnies about "Trotskyism").

Instead of drawing these lessons, the "Draft" says: "In other countries (except those like France and Germany, in which the party is strong, Ob.), especially in Belgium, the Opposition must aim for the creation of a second party."

The International Opposition must fight with all its force the mistakes into

Just as the Comintern fought against the principle of two parties for one and the same country (e.g., Germany), so the International Opposition must fight consistently for the rectification of the errors and crimes of the Comintern in the factional way.

The advantages which several local organizations of the Opposition have over the official party can in no way justify the creation of a second party. Our Charleroi comrades, for instance, who have considerable influence among the workers, are united in an excellent organization of Opposition Communists. In opposition to them there are only a few wretched Stalinist functionaries. They can and must substitute for the party in its economic and political activity and at the same time explain to the workers that they are only a faction of the C.P. and the Comintern.

The desire to build a new party at any price is comparable to the nonsensical "Attack against the threefold enemy" against the holy trinity of Van Overstraten (bourgeoisie, social democracy, and III International). This has nothing in common with the International Left Opposition.

### Trade Union Question

In the resolution which we have mentioned, our Charleroi comrades say that a strict line of demarcation must be drawn in regard to the groups and elements who "openly or under cover sympathize with syndicalist or political groups, hostile to Communism".

An attentive perusal of the "Draft Proposal" permits us to come to the conclusion that the accusations of the Charleroi comrades is made not in the abstract -- on the contrary, it is unequivocally meant for the leaders of the Brussels Federation and the author of the "Draft" could recognize himself in the Charleroi Resolution as in a mirror.

What does the "Draft" say about the tactics of the Opposition on the trade union field? After the "Draft" has declared that "a correct theoretical appraisal must be made of revolutionary syndicalism as regards the Communist party" the conclusion is drawn that it would be a great mistake "to neglect the possibilities of class action" jointly with the Syndicalists.

The leaders of the Brussels Federation have apparently learnt nothing from the struggle of the Communist League and the Unitary Opposition of France against the "Committee for the Independence of the Trade Unions". They repeat time and again that "the bad leadership of the Comintern has brought the Syndicalists in opposition to the Communist party". They do not see that the entire activity of Monatte and Chambelland is directed not only against the Communist party, but against Communism in general. They do not see that the independence and the autonomy of Chambelland drives his followers (and often against his will) directly into the arms of the reformist C.G.T.

It must be emphasized that the "Draft Proposal" does not give all the views of the Brussels leadership on the trade union question.

The verbal declarations of Van Overstraten are much more far-going than the reticent proposal to collaborate with the syndicalists. We know that it is hard to bring verbal statements to the fore. But it is impermissible to allow Van Overstraten to continue the policy of the man under arrest, who denies everything unless he is caught in the act. At a meeting of the Brussels Federation we drove him to the unequivocal declaration that "the Left Opposition in France must support the slogan of the independence of the trade unions", and the comrades of the Communist League and the Unitary Opposition "are worthless if they cannot co-operate with Monatte".

Basing himself on the latest experiences in the trade union struggle in France, Comrade Trotsky writes in the Verite of June 27, 1930: "One thing is certain --- [line of struggle] is diametrically opposed to that of the "Autonomists

struggle", for we are steering on the road of Marxism, while Chambelland and his friends lead to the road of reformism."

For Comrade Trotsky and the Left Oppositionists of France, our line of struggle is diametrically opposed to that of Monatte. According to Van Overstraeten, the Opposition is incorrect not to steer onto the autonomist course of Monatte.

Is Comrade Van Overstraeten a syndicalist?

Oh, no! We can assure Monatte that Van Overstraeten's flirtation with the independence of the trade unions is of a purely platonic nature. In order to be a syndicalist one must be (1) closely connected with the workers in their trade union organizations; (2) these workers must still harbor the impressions of the old traditions of "revolutionary syndicalism" within them. Neither the first nor the second conditions are fulfilled in the case of Van Overstraeten and his "platonic syndicalism".

But one thing is certain, namely, that in the struggle of the International Left Opposition, Van Overstraeten will find himself on the side of the syndicalists against the International Opposition.

\*\*\*\*\*

We have examined the three main problems of the Left Opposition. In all the questions we have taken up, the "Draft Proposal" of the leaders of the Brussels Federation is in direct contrast to the Charleroi and the International Opposition.

The discussion of the Belgian comrades is highly important for the Opposition of the other countries.

The Opposition comrades of the various countries will have to judge if it is possible to defend the point of view developed in the "Draft Proposal" under the banner of the International Left Opposition.

J. OBIN

-----

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE BELGIAN OPPOSITION

Bugukada, October 12, 1930.

Copy to the International Secretariat in Paris and to the Opposition Group of Charleroi.

Dear Comrades:

I hardly believe that after a year of ideological struggle, anything fundamental can be added in this letter to what has already been said on both sides in the press. I will restrict myself here to one question alone, namely, to the perspectives of one or two parties in Belgium.

The struggle for the Communist International is the struggle for the vanguard of the world proletariat, for the heritage of the October Revolution and for the preservation of Bolshevism. We are in no way inclined to believe that the revolutionary heritage of the past is at present incorporated in the "ideas" of the Urbahns group or of some of the Brussels comrades. The revolutionary heritage is mighty. We must learn to realize it.

Our general line does not exclude the possibility for one or the other country, according to the relation of forces, to assume the role of an independent political party. Such an exclusive condition in one isolated country, would not, however, change in the least our fundamental line for the regeneration of the Comintern. The independent party of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Opposition) in one country would have to act as a section of the Comintern and would have to regard the weaker off-  
by employing the tactic of the united front and thereby

throwing the responsibility before the workers for the split on its shoulders.

As you see this position has nothing in common with the one you defend. But as a perspective for Belgium, the possibility which I regarded as an hypothesis has proved to be unrealizable. Two years ago, the Belgian Opposition certainly represented a force that had to be taken seriously. But the present Brussels leadership has manifested during this time a lack of decisiveness in principle, an unpardonable wavering in every question and an inclination to support every group which has opposed the International Opposition in the fundamental questions. Openly or in secret, you have supported Urbahns, Paz, Monatte and others against the Left Opposition, although these groups have nothing in common with one another, except their hatred of the Bolshevik-Leninists. The consequences of such a policy are patent. While in all other countries without exception, the Opposition has made serious progress in every direction or at least consolidated itself ideologically, in Belgium the Opposition has become constantly weaker. You can well understand that the International Opposition has no reason to throw the responsibility for this tragic state upon any one but the Brussels Executive Committee.

In the minutes of the International Conference in April, I read the following words of Comrade Hennaut: "I believe that if the Charleroi comrades will persist in their irreconcilable point of view, it will be impossible for us to co-operate any more. For, the basis of a common struggle must be a minimum of confidence." The International Opposition must apply these words to the Brussels E.C. today.

The International Secretariat is no letter-box. It is an organism which unites a faction with common ideas on an international scale. As you well know, I insisted last year that the Charleroi comrades continue to co-operate with you. Together with the French comrades I had hoped that on the basis of the experiences of collaboration, a conciliation could be brought about. This hope has not been realized. There only remains to be said that which is a fact and above all, that we do not belong to the same faction, and to draw the necessary conclusions.

I, therefore, subscribe to the conclusion drawn before me by the Charleroi comrades, by the editors of La Verité and by Comrade Obin in their criticism of your declaration.

With Communist greetings,

L. TROTSKY

-----

CONCERNING THE PRAGUE STUDENT GROUP  
(Prague Faction)

Czechoslovakia

In their resolution (Int. Bulletin No. 1), the Charleroi comrades quite correctly stress the necessity of a final delimitation from and exclusion of all those groups which under the name "Left Opposition" discredit the program of the International Left. The international discussion, the political activity of the International Opposition and of its sections, have considerably accelerated this process of demarcation during the last few months. The living experiences of struggle have detached the Lefts from the pseudo-Lefts. While the discussion with the Urbahnites of the Belgian stripe are drawing to a close, a few words still remain to be said in this place of the Czechoslovakian Urbahnites, who represent a particular sort of confusion and degeneration. They are a group of about ten to fifteen Prague students under the leadership of the high-school teacher, Dr. A. Pollak, who as the "Left Opposition, Prague Faction" have recently declared their adherence to the International Conference. This group displays no political activity whatsoever; it refuses altogether to participate actively in the life of the Communist movement and has retired to the position of a sterile Freethinker group, that unites all sorts of petit bourgeois elements. Still less can we speak of solidarity with or participation in the activities of the International Left Opposition.



to this Czechoslovak "Opposition" as confederates and ideological allies. It is true that the Prague students share the views of Urbahn in all the disputed questions (relation to party, Soviet Russia, Chinese question, etc.). However, the Prague middle-heads have gone further than the latter, intensifying their confusion, putting it into programmatic form and setting themselves no less an aim than -- as they say in a letter to the International Secretariat -- of convincing the International Opposition by joining the latter of the danger and the harmfulness of Trotskyism (Trotskyism without quotation marks. They, therefore, take themselves a hundred times more seriously than the one hundred per cent Stalinists).

What is the program to which the Prague students want to convert the International Left? Before us we have the pamphlet of their leader, the garret philosopher, Dr. A. Pollak: Marxism and Catholicism, which is supposed to represent -- as the program of the "renovated Marxism" -- the counterpart to "the complete destitution of Trotskyism in programmatic questions".

The Prague students represent since 1926 a peculiar "conception" in regard to fascism. Fundamentally it relates to the following: Since they have made the enormous discovery that bourgeois democracy as well as fascism realize the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, they equipose the democratic form of the dictatorship to the fascist, for -- form is for them "incidental". Quite a successful parallel to the Stalinist confusion of "social fascism". Now, the metaphysician Pollak has discovered a new law: we are no longer to be concerned with "simple fascism", but with the "social" - "demagogic", "economic" - "demagogic", "cultural" - "demagogic" content of the broadest and most reactionary phase of fascism (nothing but fascism!), namely -- catholicism! However, not simply of catholicism generally (we haven't reached the end yet!), but of a "concrete neo-catholicism". Therefore (the latest program), "Marxism versus speculative neo-catholicism".

What have the speculators of neo-catholicism to say about the problems of the Communist movement and the International Opposition? Here are some samples of their philistine wisdom: "The once proud Leninist Party has been split up into two (two, not three) factions: ...The faction of dogmatic Leninism, under Stalin's leadership, and the second faction, which has given up the spirit of Lenin (the executors of which the Prague petit bourgeois believe themselves to be) together with his words in favor of -- Trotskyism, that is, of the intuitive art of political oppositionism, resting on Trotsky's personal talent ... to lead the Stalinist faction from one defeat to another (!) then retrospectively (!) to scorn the inability of the Stalinist faction, thereby corrupting all the existing motives for healthy factional formations (our anti-neo-catholics do not however know better than to seek to attach themselves to this corrupt faction of political oppositionism)...then to insult (sic) the deserting Trotskyites." We must admit that not even the most insipid Stalinist bureaucrats and the most shameless capitulators, whom Pollak is faithfully attempting to shield, consider the matter so lightly.

Now, the question arises, where the honorable Professor Pollak, who only lately -- after many years of leisure in his quiet little cabinet -- has dared to go out into the world again, where, in the midst of this unconsolable ruin of the once proud Leninist Party, does he find the point for the continuation of the "Leninist heritage"? Let us permit him to answer himself:...."Is there any sense, therefore, to turn the factional ruins of the once (?) proletarian party? No, they have all proved that they can make Marxist theory serviceable only within the framework of their factional dogma..." as against that Marxist theory, which "based on itself, creates its own organ, an organ which exists still after the factional collapse (!) of the proletarian world party and after the factional collapse of the proletarian trade organizations (a veritable deluge!)....To this organ I turn with my theoretical program -- to the League of Proletarian Freethinkers", local Prague.

In the Noah's Ark of pseudo-revolutionary confusionists and ascetics, the Pollakites deserve fully and indisputably a place in the very foremost ranks. What we cannot, however, grant them is a place in the ranks of the International Left Opposition.

IMPORTANT CORRECTIONS  
to the "International Bulletin No. 1"

Page 1: line one should read: "The International Communist Left Opposition appeals (not only) to its own adherents etc."

Page 3: seventh line from the bottom: "reacting bureaucrat-ically to the blows of the opposition and the pressure of the working class"...

Page 4: line 15: "in" the party itself disintegration (pro-ceeds) in two directions..."

Page 5: line 25: "(while) the Communist Left of the capital-ist countries..."

Page 8: line 6: "The 'International Bulletin' should be the arm in this discussion..."

Page 9: line 6 from the bottom: "It is also necessary to note that (1) several national groups etc..."

Page 12: line 14: "... in the measure in which it will be able etc..."

Page 24: large center paragraph, third line: "is not (un)-important..."

Page 28: Next to last paragraph, line 6: "proletariat, who are at the head..."

(All words in parentheses have been omitted, all those under-lined, were misspelled.)

\*\*\*\*\*

N O T E

No. 3 of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN will be out within a fortnight after this issue. It will contain an article describing the development and the activities of the Czechoslovakian Left Opposition, important organizational decisions of the International Bureau, further information on the Greek and the Bulgarian Oppositions and a special section devoted to the Chinese Left Opposition, etc. It will be noted that some of the documents published to date in the English edition of the Bulletin are somewhat out of date. This is of course due to the lack of facilities for an English edition when they first appeared. In the future the English edition will appear as far as possible simultaneously with the French and the German editions. A special section devoted to American questions is being prepared for one of the forthcoming issues.

The Editors.

### International Bulletin of the Communist Left Opposition

Published every month under the responsibility of the International Secretariat of the Communist Left Opposition

FRENCH-GERMAN EDITION AT 45, Boulevard de la Villette, 45, Paris 10c. France.

ENGLISH EDITION AT 84 East 10th Street New York.

### La Verite

[TRUTH]

Published every week as the official organ of the Communist League of France (Opposition) at 45, Boulevard de la Villette, 45, Paris 10c. France.

### The Militant

Published twice a month as the official organ of the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street

New York New York.

### Der Neue Mahnruf

[THE NEW CALL]

Organ of the Communist Opposition of Austria (Left Opposition) at Gartengasse 1,

Vienna 5 Austria.

### Pali Ton Takseon

[THE CLASS STRUGGLE]

Published every week as the official organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Left Opposition (Archio-Marxists) at

Athens Greece.

### Jiskra

[THE SPARK]

Organ of the Czechoslovak Left Opposition at Prague Czechoslovakia.

### La Verdad

[TRUTH]

Organ of the Communist Left Opposition of the Argentine Republic at

Buenos Aires Argentine.

### A Luta de Classe

[THE CLASS STRUGGLE]

Published twice a month as the official organ of the Communist Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Brazil (Communist Lenin Group) at

Rio de Janeiro Brazil

### Byulleten Oppozitsii (Bolshevik-Leninist)

[BULLETIN OF THE OPPOSITION: BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS]

Published every month by the Russian Communist Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) at 6, rue de Milan, Paris France.

### La Lutte de Classes

[THE CLASS STRUGGLE]

Published every month as the theoretical review of the Communist League of France (Opposition) at

45, Boulevard de la Villette, 45, Paris 10c. France.

### Der Kommunist

[THE COMMUNIST]

Published twice a month by the Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Germany (Bolshevik-Leninists) at

Wiesenstrasse 6, Berlin, N. 20. Germany.

### Prometeo

[PROMETHEUS]

Published twice a month as the official organ of the Italian Left Faction at

Martens, 114 rue de l'Indépendance Brussels Belgium.

### Klorkeit

[CLARITY]

Published every month as the Yiddish organ of the Communist Left Opposition at

45, Boulevard de la Villette, 45, Paris 10c. France.

### Davlos

[THE TORCH]

Published every month as the theoretical review of the Communist Opposition at

Athens Greece.

### Claridad

[CLARITY]

Published every month by the Communist Left Opposition of Mexico at

A. Gonzalez, 84 East 10th Street, New York New York.

### Spartakos

Published every month by the Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Greece (Spartakos group) at

Z. Monastiripis, Poste Restante Athens Greece