

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

ND DOCUMENTS
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INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF THE COMMUNIST LEFT OPPOSITION

ENGLISH EDITION

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#8

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THE UNIFICATION OF THE CHINESE OPPOSITION (1).

We publish below the letter of our Chinese comrades, bringing news of the unification of the four Opposition groups. The entire International Left Opposition rejoices in welcoming this event.

The first of May, 1931, the day on which the Unification conference of the Chinese Opposition was held, will be an important date in the history of the Chinese revolutionary movement. The Communist vanguard, most conscious and most tested in the heroic struggles of the Chinese proletariat, on that day realized the two conditions essential to its development—the unity of its ranks and their ideological clarity, for unity was achieved on the basis of a common platform adopted at the Conference.

The tragic defeat of the Chinese Revolution resulting from the criminal policies of Stalinism, had as its consequence, not only the physical destruction of tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters and the destruction of the organizations of the Chinese proletariat. This defeat brought with it also, a frightful confusion in the ranks of the advanced workers, who had been betrayed and derailed. Instead of correcting their own errors, the leaders of the C. I., in their cowardice and cynicism, attributed them to the feeble, young Chinese party. This fact only exasperated all the more, the Communist militants, sincerely devoted to the proletarian cause. The dispersion of the revolutionary forces was accentuated, the disagreements became deeper and deeper.

The disorder created by the defeat of the revolution and by the shameful attitude of the C. I. in China had its repercussions also in the ranks of the Left Opposition. The criticism of the International Left Opposition on the errors committed by the C. I. before and during the revolution was recognized as correct by a great number of comrades in the Chinese Communist Party: the immediate cause of the defeat was too apparent and the test too weighty to create differences on this subject. But the C. I. continued to sow confusion even after the revolution was crushed. In the name of the "third period", with which the misfortunes of the Chinese Communist Party were scarcely patched up, the C. I. discovered, contrary to all evidence, a revolutionary upsurge in the country. Consequently, it called for strikes and manifestations that were doomed in advance to defeat. It called the detachments of the revolting peasantry and their anarchic movement, which was merely a direct consequence of the betrayed and aborted agrarian revolution—"Red Army" and "Soviet Power". The C. I. condemned every democratic slogan for this period as "opportunist".

The Chinese Opposition came face to face with all these problems which are of vital importance for the revolutionary movement. There was a heated discussion, serious disagreements became manifest. Last year we were confronted with four Left Opposition groups: the "Our Word", the "October", the "Militant", and the Chen Da Hsiu groups. The discussion among the four groups concentrated mainly on the question of the Constituent Assembly on the one hand and on the estimation of the "Red Army" and the peasant "Soviets" on the other. Some of the comrades hesitated before adopting the democratic slogans, and particularly, the slogan of the Constituent Assembly in the present period, afraid of being charged with opportunism by the C. I. Others considered the slogan of the

Constituent Assembly as a "popular formula for the dictatorship of the proletariat". In the question of the "Red Army" and the "Chinese Jacqueries" the opinions were also divergent. Some said the anarchic struggle of the peasants had no revolutionary significance and ought to be condemned as banditism. Others, on the contrary, declared themselves on the occasion of the seizure of Changsha by the "Red Army", "for the insurrection, for the peasant power", etc. without sufficiently taking into account the indifference of the Chinese proletariat toward this movement of sporadic revolt.

The letter of Comrade Trotsky, addressed to all the Opposition groups (see INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN #5) brought the necessary clarity into all these questions. In one of their latest letters, the Chinese comrades write, after they had laid down the differences which separated the various groups from one another: "fortunately the letter of Comrade Trotsky arrived. All the groups today experience the same desire to establish unity." A basis for an agreement was found. A platform and resolutions were elaborated. Today, the ideological and organic unity of the Chinese Opposition is a fact. The Chinese proletariat now possesses a firm nucleus, determined to guide the exploited masses on the road of Lenin, toward victory.

In the name of the entire International Left Opposition, we bring here our solidarity and our support to the unified Chinese Opposition. We wish it success in the realization of its revolutionary tasks.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

To the International Secretariat, Report #1
To Comrade Trotsky.

Shanghai, May 9, 1931.

Dear Comrades:

The Unification Conference of the Chinese Opposition was held on the historic day of the first of May, at Shanghai. There participated 17 delegates with decisive and 4 with consultative votes. They represented 483 members of the 4 groups. The Conference adopted our common platform and a number of resolutions drawn up previously by the unification commission. A National Executive Committee was elected, composed of 9 members and 4 candidates. The secretariat of the Committee consists of 5 members. Our organization has adopted the name "Left Opposition of the Chinese Communist Party". Our organ is "The Spark". Our platform and resolutions will be translated into the foreign languages very shortly.

The unification of the Chinese Opposition has received the greatest attention from the reactionaries as well as from the working masses. We hope, that under the leadership of the International Left Opposition, our organization will be able to accomplish, and accomplish effectively, a great historic task. We hope that close and uninterrupted relations will be established between the Secretariat and the Chinese section.

The news of the fire in which the library of Comrade Trotsky perished, came to us through the bourgeois press and has been confirmed by your circular. We have created a special-committee for its rehabilitation.

With Oppositionist greetings,

The Secretariat of the Left
Opposition of the Chinese
Communist Party.

**THE LEADERS OF THE UNITED CHINESE OPPOSITION IN THE HANDS OF
CHIANG KAI-SHEK!**

Right on the heels of this joyful news, we receive a letter from our Chinese comrades, telling of the arrest of 13 of our comrades, most of the members of the Executive included, by the hang-man Chiang Kai-Shek. The arrested are facing the fate of so many other Communists before them: Certain death by the sword of the butcher of the Chinese proletariat. The United Chinese Opposition has suffered the first heavy blow immediately after its unification. It is a blow that the entire International Opposition feels with it.

EDITORS OF THE ENGLISH EDITION.

THE ITALIAN OPPOSITION AND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.

We publish here the preface by Comrade Trotsky to the Italian edition of his pamphlet on "The Spanish Revolution in Danger". The pamphlet is published in Italian by our comrades of the "New Italian Opposition".

It is hardly necessary to stress the importance of this work for the development of the Communist movement in Spain and in the other countries. The events in Spain should give occasion to all Communists, and particularly to the Left Oppositionists, to study and to go deep into the questions of revolutionary strategy. The mistakes and the theoretical confusion of the present leaders of the C. I. become more evident every day, in all their bareness, in all their hideous wretchedness, when they are illuminated in the light of revolutionary events. In his latest pamphlet on the Spanish revolution, Comrade Trotsky submits to a profound examination all the questions which on the field of the International Revolution, have separated the Left Opposition from the Stalinist epigones since 1923. That is why we call the attention of all the national sections to the necessity of spreading this pamphlet in large numbers among wide circles of advanced workers and of raising within their own ranks a serious discussion on the question treated therein.

PREFACE TO THE ITALIAN EDITION.

I can only heartily greet the idea of the "New Italian Op-

position", of publishing the present work in Italian. In my correspondence with the comrades of the new Opposition, I put forth the hypothesis last year, that in the course of the period of the liquidation of the Fascist regime, democratic slogans can take on a certain importance in Italy. Today, in the light of Spanish events, I would formulate this same thought in much more categorical fashion. The Spanish experiences leave no doubt remain, that the Italian revolution will have a longer or shorter democratic "pre-face" before entering the decisive phase of the immediate struggles of the proletariat for power. During that preliminary period the proletarian vanguard will not, in any case, be able to turn its back on the problems of democracy. The position of the "prometeo" group, which rejects democratic slogans in principle, appears in the light of the Spanish events theoretically inconsistent and politically disastrous. Woe to them that will not learn from great historic facts!

The central theme of this work, at the same time as it is an attempt to clarify by means of recent experiences the Marxian attitude toward democratic slogans, consists in criticising the myth of the neutral, "popular" revolution, above the classes, and of the classless and sexless "democratic dictatorship". In Spain, the leadership of the C. I. is at present attempting to erect a temple to this idol, to which hecatombs of proletarian victims were brought, in China. We must face this attempt of the centrist bureaucracy well armed. In this problem, the fate of the Spanish revolution resumes itself. Once again, it seems to me that the Italian comrades ought to follow attentively more than anything else the development of great events on the Iberian peninsula. The same problems, under another form, and with a different relationship of forces, will be posed sooner or later--we hope sooner--before the proletariat in Italy.

L. Trotsky

Kadikoy, June 9, 1931.

THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE SPANISH LEFT OPPOSITION

Our Spanish comrades held their second National Conference on June 7, at Madrid. Below we give extracts from the minutes of the conference, sent to us by the Madrid comrades. As can be seen from what follows, the question of the tactics of the Left Opposition in the elections to the Cortes particularly occupied the attention of the delegates to the Conference. The question of our attitude toward the C. P. as a whole is at present in the course of being elaborated in concrete political action and under complex and very difficult circumstances. In submitting this discussion to examination by all our national sections, we want to induce the whole International Opposition to participate in the work of elaborating the policy and the tactics of one of our sections which stands today at the point of revolutionary struggle.

Madrid, June 10, 1931.

TO THE GROUPS AND COMRADES OF THE S. C. O.,
TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT,
TO COMRADE L. D. TROTSKY.

Dear Comrades:

The Spanish Communist Left Opposition has just held its second National Conference, on June 7 at Madrid, and the Executive Committee considers it its duty to inform the comrades of the entire Left Opposition of the resolutions adopted and also of part of the debates that took place at the Conference between the representatives of the different groups in the Spanish Opposition.

This was the second Conference of the S. C. O. The first was held at Liege (Belgium) by the Spanish Opposition groups at the beginning of 1930. It was there that decisions were made on the organization of the Left Opposition in Spain and a plan of work elaborated. This was emphasized by Comrade Lacroix in the political report given in the name of the Executive Committee. After supplementary reports were given by the delegates representing the various districts, the political report was unanimously accepted.

One particularly encouraging fact resulting from the report of the E. C. and the supplementary reports is the following: despite the material hardships, despite the defection of a few hesitants, despite the difficult circumstances and the continuous arrests, the Spanish Opposition has developed in a firm and imposing fashion. From a little group of comrades (residing in Luxembourg) who made a declaration of solidarity with the deported Russian Oppositionists, growing into groups of Left Communists in Luxembourg and in Belgium and reentering Spain at the moment when the C. I. gave the Spanish Communists the order to return to Spain, we have become an organization grouping within it the best comrades in the Communist Party of Spain, having little nuclei in regions in which the official party never had an organization before—in Extremadura, for instance. On all political questions, on the situation of the Communist party and the working class organizations, on the tactics of the C. P.—it is the Spanish Opposition alone which expresses the correct point of view and gives the correct revolutionary slogans. The Left Opposition, the vanguard of the Communist party, always struggles for Communist unity, struggles to make the C. P. a strong party capable of becoming the leader of the revolution.

The theses and resolutions adopted at the Conference should be studied by all Oppositionists and urge them to express their point of view in order to help us elaborate our platform.

DECISIONS—On the Political Situation in Spain.

A very broad discussion is opened on the political situation, the tasks of the Communists, the reorganization of the C. P. S. and the position of the S. C. O. (the Opposition). After the discussion, the conference decides to charge the E. C. with the task of editing the theses on the political situation, taking into account the second pamphlet of Comrade Trotsky on Spain. The review

COMMUNISMO will publish this pamphlet under the title "Communist Publications". The theses will be published in #3 of COMUNISMO and submitted for discussion as well as for the approval of the isolated groups and comrades.

In the course of the discussion on the present day political situation, an important debate takes place on the forthcoming elections* to the Cortes. In the name of the E. C., Comrade Lacroix proposes the following resolution:

The S. C. O., which has always fought for a clarification of the principles, policies and tactics of the C. P. S., as well as for the reestablishment of Communist unity which was disrupted by the bureaucracy of the party, leaving aside, for the moment, the question of a Unification Congress of Spanish Communism, appeals and proposes to all Communist groups--to the Catalonian Federation, to the Madrid "Agrupacion", to the E. C. of the official party, to all Spanish Communists without exception--to constitute a Communist United Front for the coming elections. The Left Opposition will continue its criticism of the adventurist policies of the leaders of the official C. P. It proposes the united front at the elections, knowing full well in advance that the Stalinist E. C. will oppose the constitution of a Communist united front. If the official C. P. will, despite all this, continue to sabotage the unity of all Spanish Communists, even if only for the electoral struggle, the Spanish Communists, with the S. C. O. at their head, will denounce this criminal splitting tactic of the Executive Committee by pitilessly unmasking before the masses, the enemies of unity. But, at the decisive moment, in the moment of struggle, the Communists must all unite to vote for the candidates of the C. P. and must not permit the presentation of other candidates from independent Communist organizations.

Comrade Lacroix defends the proposal of the E. C., pointing out that in this manner the S. C. O. is making still another effort for Communist unity at the same time as it denounces the enemies of unity. Comrades Nin, Andrade, and Loreda Aparicio are against the resolution of the E. C. They claim that by voting for the candidates of the official party, authority would be given to people who do not possess any now. Lacroix intransigently insists that the proposal of the E. C. must be defended. He poses the following question: If the Catalonian Federation calls upon the workers not to vote for the candidates of the official party under the pretext of not giving any authority to the E. C. of the official party, what will the attitude of the Left Oppositionists be in this case? Nin: The Catalonian Federation does not and will not propose a united front with the E. C. or the official party, because in Catalonia it has an enormous majority over the official C. P. Andrade: Believes we ought to restrict ourselves in our resolution to saying that the S. C. O. proposes the united front, without speaking of the possibilities of realizing the united front nor of the electoral tactic itself. Lacroix: According to Andrade we should leave in suspense, without giving a clear answer, a question as important as that of the tactic of the Communists in the elections. But the S. C. O. will fail in its task as the vanguard of the C. P. if it will leave this question unanswered. Comrade

Nin does not want to give the bureaucrats of the official party any prestige by voting for the, but in voting for the Catalanian Federation, which is "oppositionist" only insofar as the E. C. of the C. P. S. alone is concerned, we would merely increase the confusion. At Barcelona, the C. F. will have its own candidates, because it is the strongest there, and at Seville, or in Biscaya, for instance, where the party is stronger, we must vote for its candidates. In this manner, the slogan of unity only becomes a camouflage.

Taken to a vote, the resolution presented by Lacroix is adopted. Comrade Nin declares that it is probable that a Communist organization in Catalonia will present him as its candidate in the elections. The resolution adopted by the Conference will make his position in the C. F., in which we have a great future, very difficult. Andrade is of the opinion that Nin's nomination is incompatible with the resolution. Comrade Nin ought to accept a nomination for the elections. Lacroix is against the presentation of Nin as a candidate. The S. C. O. is not a party but a faction, striving to change the political course of the C. P. but not to combat it, especially not in an election struggle. If any of the sections of the C. F. will nominate Nin, even though he is not a member of the Federation, it is because Nin is a banner around which the Catalanian Federation can gather votes. Comrade Nin must not fall for this trick, not being a member of the C. F. Nin declares that he will not be a candidate before formally joining the C. F.

The resolution previously adopted is up for discussion again. A motion is made to nullify it; only the part giving the arguments in favor of unity ought to remain. A declaration is made in which the S. C. O. proposes that the candidates nominated by the local organizations be voted for. Comrades Estaban Bilbao and Lacroix are opposed to this proposal because it only reinforces a faction that is against the C. P., a faction full of political errors, with whom we cannot declare our solidarity.

On the second ballot, Nin's proposal is adopted.

The theses on the reorganization of the party, published in the review COMUNISMO, are adopted with minor modifications. The E. C. is charged with editing them before the final publication of the platform of the Spanish Communist Left Opposition.

THE THESES ON THE TRADE UNION QUESTION.

A very interesting discussion takes place on the trade union question. After this discussion, it is decided to introduce two new points in the trade union thesis: one, on the united front of the existing trade union organizations for a labor struggle on the basis of immediate demands; the other, on the constitution of factory and shop councils. A modification is also made regarding the activity of the Communists in the reformist trade unions of the UGT (General Labor Union under socialist leadership).

THE THESES ON THE NATIONALITIES PROBLEM.

The Conference voices its unanimous agreement with the draft theses on the national question. These theses are published in #2

of COMUNISMO.

THE THESIS ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION.

A draft thesis on the agrarian question is studied by the Conference. The draft is adopted. The Conference decides on their publication in #2 of COMUNISMO and calls upon the groups to discuss it before taking it as a basis for the platform.

THE LIFE OF THE REVIEW "COMUNISMO".

The entire conference rejoices at the information given by Comrade Oredo Aparicio that the 1500 copies of the first number of the review are almost all sold out and that there are not enough left to cover important orders in many places. The number of subscribers is increasing constantly; the perspectives for COMUNISMO are very good. But we need the aid of the comrades, especially their material aid. The Conference charges the E. C. with the circulation of monthly collection lists for the review and calls upon the comrades to exert all their efforts for COMUNISMO, both from the financial point of view, as well as for its distribution among the workers. Comrade Nin will have to organize its sale in Catalonia, because the first number is almost unknown in Barcelona.

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

The first pamphlet by Comrade Trotsky on the Spanish revolution was a big success. It was well distributed and aroused lively discussion in various circles in Spain. The conference decides to publish the new pamphlet of Comrade Trotsky on the current situation in Spain, immediately.

The Conference ratifies the Executive and Central Committees elected by the meeting of the Madrid militants in agreement with the delegate of the International Secretariat.

Before adjourning, the Conference decides to send its warm greetings and an expression of its complete solidarity with the leader of the world revolution, to Comrade Trotsky and the Russian revolutionaries imprisoned and deported by Stalin, and to the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition. An address of solidarity with all the victims of bourgeois oppression in every country, is also adopted. The Conference adjourns with cries of: Long live the Communist Left! Long live the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky!

For the Executive Committee of
the Spanish Communist Opposition

Henri Lacroix.

THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRAZIL.

We are publishing two documents of the Communist League of Brazil that bear a principle character and determine the position of our comrades in regard to the official C. P. of Brazil and its trade union policy. The first document is an open letter of the Communist League of Brazil to the leadership of the C. P. E.

Our comrades present a striking picture of the adventurist policy of the C. P. of Brazil in the trade union question, which had as its direct consequence, the reinforcement of the anarchists and the reformists in the trade union movement. Whether it be in Spain, in Greece, or in Brazil—everywhere the Stalinist bureaucrats only discredit Communism by the artificial creation of General Labor Federations that lead a phantom existence, that divide the organized working class to the greater profit of the anarchist or the reformist tendencies.

The second document sets down the trade union orientation of the Communist Opposition. These two documents show once more that only the Left Opposition defends Communist principles in the trade union movement, against all tendencies hostile to Communism.

TO THE EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(BRAZILIAN SECTION OF THE C. I.).

Comrades:

Before taking a public position against the policy which you have impressed upon our party in the trade union question, the Communist League (Left Opposition) considers it its duty to address itself to the party comrades, to explain to them, in a loyal manner, its views on this very important question and to propose a Communist united front against the antagonistic tendencies (the anarchists, the anarcho-syndicalists, reformism, fascism, etc.) that seek influence in the proletarian trade union movement of Brazil.

Let us begin by defining our position with regard to the party so that it will not be able to cast any doubt on our attitude. We do not constitute ourselves as a second Communist party; we are the Left Wing of the C. P. B., organized as a faction opposed to the centrist faction which is in power. Our fundamental objective is to lead the party back on its class political line. We are organized as a faction, not because we want to be, but because we have been forced to do so by the stupid, splitting policies of the party leadership. Our policy as a faction only aims, therefore, at the unity of the party on the basis of a correct policy, genuinely proletarian, revolutionary, and internationalist in its essence.

Consequently, in our role as a faction of the party, and with the aim of preventing its persistence on a wrong policy, we address ourselves to the ruling faction of the C. P. B. We hope that the sincere and devoted workers who are in their ranks will understand what a responsibility the party faces in the period which we are going through at present.

Let us enumerate the facts which should be made known to all Communists in order to be able to examine in all objectivity the proposal for a united front, that we formulate below.

1. The movement for the reorganization of the labor unions of Sao Paulo, begun immediately after the collapse of the P. P. P., was the common work of the militant workers within them, at that

period. The Workers' Committee for Trade Union Organization, which was constituted then, was headed by anarchist-, official Communist-, anarcho-syndicalists, and Oppositionist Communists. In order to unify the activity of the Communists as well as that of the WCTUO in the trade unions affiliated to it and in order to avoid the domination of tendencies opposed to Communism--a special conference of the comrades of the different tendencies was called, at which there was established, on the basis of a program of concrete demands, a united front for common action in the trade union field. The result of this agreement was the acceptance and the publication by the WCTUO on November 28 last, of a manifesto to the workers of Sao Paulo containing our slogans of struggle. However, soon afterwards, under the pretext that we, the Opposition, were playing the game of the anarchists, but in reality, because we did not want to be partners in the adventurist policies of the comrades of the ruling faction, the latter deserted the WCTUO, thus leaving the organization in the midst of a struggle to which we attached so great an importance. This fact clearly demonstrates how far the ruling faction has deviated from the genuinely Leninist policy of the party. An error, which, by the way, has been recognized by the South American Secretariat of the C. I. itself (see: Revista Comunista #2-3).

11. Although our forces were reduced, still we remained inside the WCTUO seeking to realize the tasks of the party within it. Of course the chances of success in the struggle against the anarchists were greatly reduced. Still, we have been able to maintain ourselves firmly on our conquered positions. During this time, aggravating their original mistake even more, the comrades of the ruling faction undertook a campaign of slander against us, which could have no other result but the demoralization of the Communist movement of Brazil.

111. As was to be expected, the anarchists got a foothold, and in the course of a plenary meeting of the WCTUO resolved to found the Workers' Federation of Sao Paulo, on the basis of the same program as that of the general organization. The majority of the representatives of the trade unions of this city (eight) approved this idea and the other unions (five) soon followed suit. The foundation of the Workers' Federation of Sao Paulo was therefore accomplished fact. The organized proletariat of Sao Paulo supported the federation. To leave this fact out of account and to claim the contrary to be the case, would be to hide the truth. Under such circumstances, to struggle against a trade union organization, means to play the game of the bourgeoisie, in dividing the proletariat.

IV. The Workers' Federation of Sao Paulo, due to its anarchist leadership, of necessity had to begin with mistakes, as demonstrated by the strike of the "Light" (*). The anarchist elements capitulated before the police authorities, sending out to the press a typically class-collaborationist statement regarding the strike. We had to combat this mistake and denounced it energetically in two meetings of the Federation, and we can say without

(*) "The Light and Power": a Canadian trust which is very powerful and controls the public utilities of the large cities in Brazil.

any fear of contradiction, that the majority of the representatives of the unions sided with us in our opinion that this was a serious mistake.

V. The error of the ruling faction in taking the initiative toward a split in the trade union movement of the Sao Paulo proletariat was no less serious. The W. F. S. P., under pressure from our group, decided to call a Workers' Conference for the State of Sao Paulo, in the capital of the state, about the middle of March. At that time, the comrades of the ruling faction, in order to sabotage this conference, created an improvised "Committee" of the General Labor Federation and called a "Regional Trade Union Conference" for an earlier date, for the first of March, which was later postponed to the eighth of the same month. Did not the intention to split the movement become evident, by this step?

VI. Now it will be better understood why the G. F. L. has not at present any organic existence and how the false and dishonest attitude of the ruling faction of the party blackened its name in Sao Paulo, not leaving the slightest Trade Union basis, without meeting any preparations for such a step. The G. F. L. was completely disorganized, not only because of police repression, but quite evidently also because of the incapability and the opportunism of the party leadership. (See the Open Letter of the RILU to the Trade Union Commission of the party's Central Committee).

VII. Even if the G. F. L. were leading a real existence and not one in name only--or at most as a banner of struggle for Communism in Brazil--even in that case the attitude towards the Workers' Conference of the State of Sao Paulo should not have consisted in fighting against the Workers' Federation of Sao Paulo. One is merely the trade union organization of one state; the other is a national trade union organization. The conference embraced one state; it was called by the Workers' Federation of Sao Paulo. Since the Federation had not as yet become affiliated to the G. F. L., it was the task of the latter to fight for this affiliation and not to fight against every possibility in this direction. The assertion of the so-called "Committee", declaring that the Workers' Federation of Sao Paulo desired to separate the workers of this state from the workers of the rest of the country were, consequently, most absurd. It is actually this "Committee" which manifested such a desire of separation by discrediting the program of the G. F. L. in the eyes of the Sao Paulo proletariat and by dividing the workers of Sao Paulo through the call for a new regional trade union conference,...."of the organizations of the interior".

VIII. The comrades of the ruling faction in the party, through the intermediary of their pseudonym, "Committee of the G. F. L.", have charged the W. F. S. P. and the militants at its head with "reformism", "fascism", "counter-revolution", etc. The Federation has committed grave errors, but its program is a class struggle program and its activity, especially of late, has not belied this program. Read the Federation's manifesto of January 20, comrades, its resolution on the Vacations Law, in which the reactionary policies of the provisional government are openly denounced, as well as those of the Sao Paulo government and the Ministry of Labor, and you will convince yourselves of the truth of our contentions.

IX. The comrades of the ruling faction complain about the fact that the Workers' Federation of Sao Paulo and the majority of the trade unions are in the hands of the anarchists. But, whose fault is it? Is it our fault? Lenin said that "anarchism has often been a sort of punishment for the sins of opportunism" ("The Infantile Sickness of Left Communism", F. 24). That is the real fact. The labor movement of Sao Paulo is undergoing the "punishment of being led by the anarchists—solely and precisely because the "opportunist sins" of the C. P. leadership have permitted and continue to permit them to lead.

X. Finally, in order to convince the comrades of the ruling faction once for all times, how dishonest, dangerous and counter-revolutionary the policy which they are imposing upon the party in the trade union question really is—let us quote here the ideas expressed by Lenin on the necessity of working inside the reactionary trade unions. Have you ever read the pamphlet: "The Infantile Sickness of Left Communism"? Lenin condemned the "non-participation of Communists in the trade union movement under reactionary influence" and the creation of labor unions that are "quite new, quite correct, as if made to order (and more often, quite young)"? Do you forget, comrades, that Lenin called "light-headedness", that attitude among Communists, who proceeding in this manner, dared to speak of the great necessity of action on the "masses"? Do you forget, comrades, that in referring to this fact, Lenin proved "how they deceive themselves on the meaning of this word: masses"?

From another angle, how is the influence of the party on the masses to be measured? Let us see what the theses and resolutions of the III Congress of the C. I. have to say on this subject.

"The best test for the strength of a Communist Party is its actual influence on the masses of the workers organized in the trade unions. The party must learn to exercise the most decisive influence on the trade unions without in the least attempting to hold them on its strings. Only the Communist fraction of a union is subject to the control of the party, not the union as a whole."

Consequently, "the followers of the RILU must offer their assistance to every opposition movement against the ruling bureaucrats". (Resolutions of the III Congress of the RILU).

Therefore, putting aside our general political differences for the moment, we propose to the Executive of the party a united front for the organization of a revolutionary trade union opposition against the anarcho-syndicalists in power. To this end, we offer the following as a basis for the united front:

1. All personal attacks against Left Oppositionists are to cease immediately.
2. Repudiation of the attempt to create a new "Regional Trade Union Federation".
3. Every member of the party must be active in a trade union for the industry in which he works, and if none exists, he must seek to organize one.
4. A preparatory meeting of Left Oppositionists and members of the ruling faction of the party must be

unified platform to be defended at the Workers' Conference of the State of Sao Paulo and in the unions affiliated to the W. F. S. P. This platform must contain the slogan for the reorganization of the General Labor Federation of Brazil.

5. All the units of the party must be informed of the process of the work, and discuss broadly, with all freedom of criticism and opinion, the subjects relating to the trade union question.

With the hope that the comrades will make the present letter known in a general meeting of the party members of Sao Paulo and with the hope that we will receive an answer before the eleventh of March, we send our Communist greetings.

The E. C. of the Communist League
(Opposition)

THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION AND ITS TRADE UNION ORIENTATION.

The Communist minority (Left Opposition) presented the following draft resolution on the "trade union-orientation", which was rejected by the anarchist majority:

"The Workers' Conference of the state of Sao Paulo, in session the 13, 14, and 15 of March at Sao Paulo

In view of the fact that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a consequence of the economic regime of private property and of commodity production which characterize capitalist society;

In view of the fact that the labor power of the worker therefore has become a commodity which he is obliged to sell in order not to die of starvation;

In view of the fact that, towards that end, the supply of hands on the market leads to competition even among the workers themselves, thereby facilitating the exploitation by the bosses;

In view of the fact that for the struggle against this exploitation arises the necessity of the workers to align themselves, the trade unions being the form socially appropriate for the organization of the proletariat as a class;

In view of the fact that no correct orientation can be given for the activities of the unions without taking into account on the one hand, the economic situation of the country and of the proletariat which works in this country, and on the other hand the previous experiences of the labor movement, on a national as well as on an international scale;

In view of the seriousness of the economic situation that is traversing Brazil and of the fact that this situation is closely bound up with the world crisis of capitalism, which after the last war and the Russian revolution has entered its final imperialist phase of wars and revolutions;

In view of the fact that, due to this crisis which affects the major branches of production, the industrial and agricultural proletariat is subject to a ruthless offensive of the bosses against the most vital interests of the workers;

In view of the fact that, in order to repulse this offensive and to assume the counter-offensive, the proletariat must organize itself into powerful unions on an industrial basis, equipped with a fundamentally revolutionary class struggle orientation;

In view of the fact that the experiences of the labor movement in Brazil as well as in the rest of the world teach us the inconsistency of the old anarcho-syndicalist antipolitical orientation of neutrality and indifference for the labor unions in the political struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie;

In view of the inevitable interdependence of the economic and political interests of the proletariat in the face of the economic and political exploitation and oppression exercised against it by the bourgeoisie, from which flows the conclusion that every class struggle is a political struggle;

In view, however, of the fact that the specific function of the unions, as mass organizations of the proletariat, without distinction of nationality, race, sex and political or religious beliefs--consists in the permanent struggle for the common economic and immediate interests of the working class;

In view of the fact that, although the workers' party has as its specific function, the struggle on the political field--is nevertheless to the interest of the proletariat as a class, and consequently, to the interest of the unions, to establish intimate collaboration between the two organizations;

In view of the fact, however, that this collaboration must not arrive at a point of fusion of the unions with the party--since that would be equal to confusing the class with its conscious vanguard--the union losing thereby its organic and administrative autonomy and becoming a simple appendage of the party;

In view of the fact, finally, that only the Communist party; that is to say, the political party of the proletariat, which represents in fact the fundamental interests of its class, has an historic grasp of the revolutionary process of its social emancipation and always acts in this sense; that only such a party can be considered as the revolutionary party of the proletariat

THE WORKERS' CONFERENCE OF THE STATE OF SAO PAULO DECIDES

upon the following trade union orientation for the workers of Sao Paulo:

1. To condemn all tendencies of syndicalist anti-politicism, of neutrality or indifference toward the political activities of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Such tendencies result from bourgeois influences inside the working class.

2. To fight intransigently against all manifestations of

expressions of class collaboration.

3. To protest energetically against all attempts to incorporate the labor unions into the state, which the bourgeoisie contemplates doing at present through the intermediary of its Ministry of Labor and which aims at the danger of a transformation of the labor unions into fascist organizations.

4. Action must be taken against all manifestations of division. The spontaneous tendency of the proletariat itself to unite in its trade unions must be developed and systematized, with the view of obtaining the unity of the working masses in practical revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie. In the struggle against the capitalist front all the tendencies existing side by side inside the trade union movement must disappear in the hour of practical action. The conquest of the majority of the working class dominates all trade union activity and fuses with the struggle for unity.

THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN GREECE.

Of all the sections of the International Left Opposition, the Greek section ("Archio-Marxists") has been subject most to slander and persecution by the Stalinist apparatus in the C. I. That in itself is nothing to be astonished at: The Left Opposition in Greece is a real factor in the Greek proletariat and among the Greek working masses, while the official party with its incoherent policies and its impossible internal regime is obliged to cede more ground every day to the organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxists). The Greek Opposition always places itself at the head of the revolutionary struggles of the exploited masses with admirable perseverance and courage. Leadership in strikes, in unemployed demonstrations, in the organization of the war refugees and invalids, in the strikes and revolutionary struggles of the poor students have linked up their fate with that of the revolutionary workers. These are the daily activities of the "Archio-Marxists". By its firm roots in organized working class within the trade unions, by its numerous ramifications in all layers of the exploited people, the organization of the Leninist-Bolsheviks of Greece is the most serious revolutionary force fighting the Greek bourgeoisie and its government.

Such an influence is not acquired in one day, nor even in one year. Our Greek comrades have struggled under difficult and most peculiar conditions for a period of ten years. They have prepared their cadres in a methodical and persevering fashion, taking the Russian Bolshevik party as their model. Due to this stubborn work, they have been able to raise an entire generation of militant workers devoted to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The Greek bourgeoisie employs all sorts of methods against our comrades in their persecution. After each strike, after each demonstrations, Greek Oppositionists are tried and deported by dozens to desert islands or imprisoned for many years. But of all the hardships it has to encounter, the demoralizing struggle of the Stalinists who will not shrink back from the use of the most

desperate weapons against the Greek Opposition, is the most serious obstacle to the development of Communism in Greece. We wrote once before (see International Bulletin #2) and the fact deserves to be recalled by our readers, that the Greek Stalinites did not even stop at assassinations to prevent the activities and the development of the "Archio-Marxists". Comrades Eli Georgopodakas, a bakery worker, and Theodore Ladas, a shoe worker, were cowardly assassinated by Stalinites. The "Archio-Marxists" took up their defense. They organized self-defense corps; they gave a few of the more zealous Stalinite forces of the ideological struggle with knives and guns, a sound lesson. They forced the Stalinist sect into silence. Then the Stalinites in Greece and abroad began to cry blue murder in the "Inprecorr" last year, writing that the Greek "Trotskyites" were "fascists" and partisans of physical violence. Of course, no mention was made of the crime committed by the Stalinites, of the assassination of our two comrades. Thus, in order to cover up their own crimes, the Stalinites slandered the Greek Opposition.

In the country itself, such calumnies cannot have a great effect. A great organization like that of the Archio-Marxists cannot be slandered so easily. But abroad, that can sometimes succeed. Badly informed people are very easily deceived. And the Stalinites have spread their calumnies against our Greek comrades, in the "Inprecorr" by thousands of copies. Today, these attacks are snatched up by the people who have deserted the International Left Opposition, in France by the Gourget group, in Germany by the Landau group. The "Bulletin" of Gourget writes that the Archio-Marxists practice the united front with the party by "exchanging shots with revolvers and by refusing to fraternize with the militants of the party even in the prisons". These elements, which have become detached from our movement and from every proletarian movement in general, do not realize, in their light-headedness and their irresponsibility, what an ignominious deed they are committing against the dozens and dozens of deported and imprisoned Greek Oppositionists, by spreading these lies. We shall print in the International Bulletin a series of correspondences from our Greek comrades, which will refute all these calumnies and slanders on the basis of precise facts and documents. The question of the united front in the Salonica elections is treated in the correspondence we publish below. It is true that our comrades vacillated on this question. The principle of supporting the candidates of the official party in the elections is not an untouchable principle for the Left Opposition. In its open letter addressed to the organization of the "Archio-Marxists", the International Secretariat, after having defined our role as an international faction, declared: "that does not exclude the possibility that in a country in which the official party is extremely weak, the Opposition will be obliged to assume, partially or totally, the functions of a new independent political party. (leadership of unions and strikes, organization of demonstrations, nomination of candidates)". Our comrades had every reason for considering this conditions as characteristic for their country; both by their influence on workers organized in the trade unions, as well as by their actual forces, they are stronger than the organization of the official party. But they did not take into consideration a factor vastly more important than the local relationship of forces between them and the party--the existence of the USSR and of the Comintern, and the fact that in the minds of

the unorganized and less militant masses (precisely those who are called to the polls) the party is, to speak, the legitimate representative of communism, of the USSR and of the CI. In the lack of recognition for this important factor resided the mistake of our comrades. They understood and corrected it since in the senatorial elections in Salonica, a short time afterwards. So much for the legend of the Salonica elections.

In their correspondences, which we will publish in the coming issues of the "International Bulletin", the Greek comrades will inform the international Opposition of their continual, honest and loyal united front activity with regard to the party, in the trade unions, in the strikes, on May 1, etc. We shall tell of the difficulties that our imprisoned comrades are undergoing, refused defense by the ILD and forced to organize solidarity among the prisoners themselves, in full agreement with the imprisoned workers of the official party.

M. M.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE GREEK OPPOSITION.

The National Conference of the Archio-Marxist organization in September-October, 1931, marked an important step in the history and development of this organization. It was at this conference that adherence to the organization of the International Left Opposition was definitely decided upon and achieved. The presence of two delegates from the International Opposition facilitated this task. This date also marks the entrance of the Archio-Marxist organization into the political arena, with the publication of its paper, "Pali Ton Taxeon", and with its direct participation in the different political struggles in the country. These are the facts that we want to dwell upon in this article, relating briefly but concretely, their history.

One of the first important political manifestations immediately after the conference, were the municipal elections at Salonica. At these elections, the Archio-Marxist organization presented its own candidate; this did not conflict with the principles of the Left Opposition. The position had as its basis, the following thesis of the Left Opposition: "In relation to the position of the Opposition with regard to the Communist party of each particular country, that depends upon the existing subjective and objective factors and on the relationship of forces between the party and the Opposition."

Now, insofar as the relationship of forces is concerned, the Archio-Marxist organization has an incomparably larger membership than the Greek Communist Party. The former members of the party who have come to us and who are active in our ranks, are alone greater in number than those of the party, in the most important cities in Greece.

Insofar as the influence of the Archio-Marxist organization on the working masses in their daily struggles is concerned, there is sufficient proof for that to be found in a whole series of unions, in the organizations of the unemployed and in other organizations, in the strikes, in the demonstrations led by the Archio-

Marxists at the same time as the party did not play any important role in all these movements.

While the central organ of the party, the "Rizcpastis", has a circulation of 150 in Salonica, our "Pali Ton Taxeon" has a circulation of 3,000 in this same town.

A similar relationship of forces is to be found at the meetings and even in the election campaigns.

As we have already said, the National Conference marks the date of the entrance of the Archio-Marxist organization into open political activity, and thereby, for the first time it participated in the struggle on the parliamentary field.

The Greek C. P. has accumulated, in its development, heavy ballast of bureaucratic adventurism, particularly in the municipal elections at Salonica.

Thus for instance we witnessed at the preceding elections, the alliance of the party with the reactionary Patricios, whom the party presented as its candidate and even called a Communist. He took good advantage of the title Communist that the party accorded him, to get himself elected mayor of Salonica. After his election he began a political friendship with the dictator Pangalos, and later on, under the Tsaldaris government he turned democrat. To get himself elected, Patricios even went to the monarchists.... Another time, there was the alliance with the Pusso-Greek menshevik Passalides, who also turned, after the elections, against the party, against Communism, and against Soviet Russia!

Basing itself on these facts, and with a view of once more winning over to Communism, even on the parliamentary field, the working masses that the adventurist policy of the party had repulsed more and more, the Archio-Marxist organization presented itself in the elections as a section of the International Left Opposition, with its candidate, the worker Macropulos, a tested Communist and a former member of the party.

However, the results of the elections showed that the candidate of the party received eight times as many votes as the candidate of the Archio-Marxists. This could not be explained otherwise than by the fact that the 2,500 workers who gave their votes to the party, while in their daily struggles they followed the Archio-Marxists, expressed by means of their vote, their attachment to the CI and to the October revolution, whose "official" and "titular" representative in Greece was, in their eyes, the Communist party.

In their analysis of the situation before the elections, the Archio-Marxists did not take into account this important factor, which, as we have seen, plays such a great role among the workers. Therein lay their mistake. The Archio-Marxists were the first to recognize it and like real Bolshevik-Leninists they corrected it immediately after. That was at the senatorial by-elections in the city of Salonica, which were held two months after the municipal elections.

The results of the municipal elections prove the deeply "prac-

tical" dialectic capacity of the workers, who follow the lead of the Archio-Marxists in their daily struggles because they are convinced of their abilities by their activity, but do not yet follow them where the influence of the CI plays a greater role, because they have not as yet convinced themselves in practise that the Archio-Marxists, despite their opposition, are for the International of Lenin and for the October revolution.

In order to convince the workers in practise on this point the Archio-Marxists made a united front--in spite of the Stalinite bureaucrats--in the senatorial by-elections at Salonica, supporting the candidate of the party.

Here is the appeal issued by the Archio-Marxists on this question in the "Pali Ton Taxeon" of Feb. 6, 1931:

To the Oppressed of Salonica!

Workers, Peasants, Refugees, Employees!

At the senatorial elections on Sunday, vote for the candidate of the Greek CP--C. Grozo--demonstrating thereby your confidence, not in the adventurist and ruinous policies of the Greek and the International Stalinist bureaucracy, but in the banner of

the International of Lenin and of Trotsky,

thus manifesting your firm desire to fight on the line of

the International Left Opposition

~~WIKI/IA/TE/LE/.../.../...~~ Marxist wing of the III International, for your immediate economic and political demands and for your final emancipation.

Vote for the candidate of the Communist Party and demand of him THE ADOPTION OF THE COMPLETE SLOGANS OF THE Communist Organization of the Leninist-Bolsheviks (Archio-Marxists).

Fight under the standard of the Communist International and along the line advanced by the International Left Opposition for... (17 revolutionary slogans and demands follow. The appeal ends:)

- Long live the Communist International!
- Down with the Stalinist bureaucracy!
- Long live the United Front of all the Revolutionary Forces!
- Down with the corrupt Stalinist agents!
- Long live the Leninist-Bolshevik Organization of the Archio-Marxists in Greece!
- Long live the International Left Opposition!

While at the senatorial elections in 1929, the party received only 1,618 votes, the by-elections in Feb. 1931, in which the Archio-Marxists campaigned for the candidate of the party, brought the latter 2,804 votes.

Aside from all we have said above concerning the strength and the influence of the Archio-Marxist organization, it must also be mentioned that this organization has a strong base among the young

workers and that its influence among the youth—in contradistinction to that of the party—very great. Naturally, this force is not reflected in the elections.

Myrtos.

(To be continued next issue)

COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE NATIONAL SECTIONS

Supporting the Proposals of Comrade Trotsky

TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION, Paris.

Dear Comrades:

The present crisis in the German Left Opposition can have disastrous consequences for the entire future of our movement, if we do not take energetic measures quickly. The crisis must be crushed in the embryo by the effective methods that democratic centralism offers us. In this sense, the proposals formulated by Comrade Trotsky in his letter of Feb. 17 seem to me to be entirely correct, and I give them my unreserved support.

Fraternal greetings,

Andres Nin.

Resolution of the Parisian Branch of the French C. L.:

"After hearing the reports on the German crisis and on the relations between the I. S. and the German section, the meeting of the Parisian Branch of May 17 declares its agreement with the practical proposals of Comrade Trotsky and with those of the I. S. and supports the delegation of the I. S., composed of Comrades Souza and Frank, who ought to make all possible efforts to preserve the unity of the German section on a clearly defined political basis."

Unanimously adopted.

The American League agrees with the proposals made by Comrade Trotsky for the German section. We condemn the factional activities of Comrade Landau. We support the proposed plenum to be participated in by representatives of the International Secretariat.

National Committee
Communist League of America (Opposition)

Sao Paulo, April 20, 1931.

Dear Comrades:

"We have received your letters of March 10 and 11 as well as

circular #6 and a circular letter from Comrade Trotsky dated March 7, concerning the conflicts between the I. S. and the A. S. in which Landau participated. Our NEC declares its complete solidarity with the point of view expressed in the letter of Comrade Trotsky."

NEC of the C. L. of Brazil.

Athens, April 4, 1931.

Dear Comrades:

"According to the documents you have submitted to us and the letter of Comrade Trotsky we can perceive that we are faced with a case of factional activity that must be absolutely condemned... It is the duty of all the sections of the L. O. to condemn and denounce the activities of Landau before the comrades of the German section as impermissible within the ranks of the International Opposition."

Executive of the Organization of
the Leninist-Bolsheviks ("Ar-
chio-Marxists").

Charleroi, April 6, 1931.

Dear Comrades:

"The Charleroi Federation, assembled in its federal plenary session, after discussing the letter of Comrade Trotsky on the crisis in the German Opposition, unanimously rallies to his conclusions."

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
(Adopted at its session of June 11, 1931.)

I. After receiving the report of Comrade Frank regarding all the measures taken to preserve the unity of the Left Opposition in Germany, the I. S. approves all the steps taken and expresses its regrets that they have not succeeded due to the bad faith of one of the parties, putting itself voluntarily outside of the ranks of the International Left Opposition and rejecting the proposals approved by the great majority of the sections.

II. The I. S. asks the sections of the Left Opposition to pronounce themselves on the measures taken by it, and on the methods employed by the Landau group, as well as on the decisions adopted by the comrades who have accepted the proposals of the International Opposition and thereby constituted themselves as the German section of the I. O.

III. The I. S. condemns the procedure employed by Landau to maintain himself in the leadership of the organization. Acting disloyally toward the comrades, Landau has split the German Opposition without a political discussion that would have brought out the two fundamentally different lines. The sectarian and dialectal

methods of Landau are unworthy of a member of a proletarian organization. If the Stalinist bureaucracy favors such methods, then only to the detriment of the strength of the C. P. The Left Opposition, one of whose tasks is to rid the party of such methods, cannot tolerate them in its own midst.

IV. The Left Opposition will expose the attitude taken by Landau before all the workers who are still following him because he has hidden the letter of Comrade Trotsky and the communications from the sections of the I. L. O., from them.

V. The Left Opposition approves of the measures taken by the comrades who have decided to continue the work of the Left Opposition in Germany. The immense tasks facing our German comrades cannot be accomplished without the aid of the entire international Opposition, conscious as it is of the importance of the revolutionary problems of present day Germany.

The Left Opposition will participate in the preparation of the national conference of the German Opposition on August 22, it will collaborate on its theoretical organ, it will support all its efforts to propagate the point of view of the Left Opposition inside the C. P. G.

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Note: The European edition of this issue of the Bulletin is completed with the resolution by the I. S. on Weisbord, that appeared in "The Militant" in English.