LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Stalinists Sabotage United Front

the demand of the Left Opposition rade Roberts had to force the issue pointed out that the entire program in membership (10,000 members in Front Unemployed Conference prevent it from being taken to a gram which we had been urging cumstances. Committee. And from this com- vote. mittee trade union and organizational committees were to be elect- ence took is indeed significant. The olutionists". ed to work for the Permanent Uni- S. P. conference was called to ted Front movement and the call- meet the following Saturday. In ing of the conference work by the about the crisis in Germany? Why Bedacht, that the German Communing of the second conference.

come before the workers with any posals to send delegates to a sim- the agreed upon Tuesday (Feb. 21) opposition to this. The committee ilar meeting, because we would committee meeting. ing at the Labor Lyceum on Tues- But now! the meeting decided (1) "the Beezly branch, I. L. D. reday, Feb. 21st. The Opposition to elect an official committee of quests the C. C. of the Unemployand its auxidiary organizations sent ten and have it represent this con- ed Councils to carry out the decithree delegates to this meeting.

lobby became nervous and there conference. was much running to and fro and

last named delegates however, did o. k." not suffer the same fate as that

auditorium where an "open" meeting of the Unemployed Council

Two Unemployment Conferences

ist Unemployed Councils; the other tured". by the Socialists. To both the local branch of the C. L. A. (O.) sent delegates, to present our program and to participate in the work. At task remains, to prove our sincere munist League of America (Opposithe Left wing conference our delegation was seated. At the socialist conference they were, in common with all other radical or- in action—for approval of the as a broad defense organization of ganizations, not even admitted to the hall.

Unemployed Council's "Conference joint meeting of both committees stentions. Against the State Comissionary and the calling of a conference Relief Plan meeting, 260 delegates with proportional representation. representing about 150 organiza- This will remove the rejoinder of tions, and many visitors enthusias- the fakers that the Communists tically greeted the first marked want to capture them. It will give erganizations toward a broader the outside we can't meet. It can united front. The week previously well start in Philadelphia and in the Socialist party was forced by the State a broad united front the calling of this conference, to knitting together the employed and sand out their own call for a sep- the unemployed, the organized and arate conference in conjunction the unorganized in a common with their Unemployed Citizen's struggle for the needs today, of League organization and the Hosi- the workers. In such a united ery Workers (A F of L) Union front of action our program will which they dominate. The U. C. demand its adoption and prove its provisional committee, over the correctness. signature of comrade E. Bender, coped with it, in the form of an open letter addressed, lo and behold, not to the rank and file below, but to the organizer of the Oppositionist

The various reporters and speakers at the conference recognized correctly enough the splitting tactic of the local socialists, but there attendance of about ten, the last they stopped. The united front did meeting was filled to overflowing not extend to an offer of joint with the tense and heated faces of

Comrade Lecomte presented our resolution on program and tactics before the conference body; urged the necessity of offers of common action with the Socialists on the immediate demands outlined by us gates to the Unity Conference. In -as a true method to either force his report Payer outlined the genthe hand of Daniels, etc. or to fur- eral program adopted by the Unither expose their claim to any de- ted Front Unemployed Conference. sire for united action. He offered This included demands of immedithe full cooperation of the League ate relief, unemployment insurance, in the furtherance of the work of six-hour day and Long Term credits

a broader representation of the sisting of one delegate from each working class and a broad and organization to carry out the fol-

far reaching enough program to cope with the unemployment pro-St. Louis.-The Unity Conference report was discussed by the dele-

New York you recall, party lead- central committee of the Unemploy-The bureaucreats did not dare to ers attacked our comrade's pro- ed Councils-by the failure to hold was supposed to hold its first meet- increase the prestige of the fakers. Payer introduced the motion that ference, to the socialist conference sions of the united front unem-The opportunities for sabotaging on Saturday. And (2) urged; nay ployed conference by immediately the committee were made up for insisted, that all delegates present calling the proposed meeting of at the Labor Lyceum. As soon as be delegated by their organizations the U. F. U. C. committee consist-

much whispering. Our efforts, to breaking out of their long third ed-all the Stalinists naturally find out in what room in the three period stage had no intention of a voted against. storey building of the Labor real Leninist United Front and Then a Stalinist motion-"To ac-Lyceum the Committee was to prepare to jointly work and fight cept the report of all delegates to meet, were in vain. We were final- for their program to the extent of the conference with the exception ly led into a room on the second offering proportional representation of Payers'". On the question (by floor where we sat twidding our is I think undeniable. But what Casano) as to what was wrong thumbs for about a half an hour a vindication of all our propaganda with Payer's report none of the when we were informed that this That many of those present recog- Stalinists could give a reason. was an S. L. P. section meeting nized it cannot be doubted. The However they replied by votingand asked what our business was conference accepted our delegate 22 affirmative, 5 negative. Roberts as one of its committee of Then another Stalinist motion With the exception of the dele- ten. After the meeting individual "to get down to business" to expel gates of the Left Opposition and Party comrades speaking to us Payer from the branch because of two delegates from the Socialist said, "Well, you got your kind of being a "disrupter.". In the disparty no one else showed up. The a United Front at last; I think its cussion that followed Paper en-

of the Left Oppositionists outlined Unemployment" (Saturday, Feb. the organization and not he. He in the preceding paragraph. It is 25.) resembled even in many of its pointed out his record in the ILD significant that the only one of the details what the reports bring us branch since organized; showed Stalinist organizations represented of the similar conference of the how all committees, all delegations was the Unemployed Councils S. P. in New York City. Almost to which he was elected were sabwhose delegate was Stone. Com- none of the Left wing-Red-organi- otaged by the higher S. E. C. Due rade Goldberg, who came late and zations received or could get the to interruptions from the Stalinby the merest chance stumbled into official invitation and so they made ists he was not allowed to continue. the committee meeting, informed out credentials of their own, Lack- "He spoke too long already" was us of this fact and also that not ing the official o. k. of the So- the substance of what about a only was no regular meeting held cialist party organizer, Dan dozen Stalinists were saying at but no definite date was set for iels, a "Militant", they were rethe same time. The vote was 19 the next meeting of the committee. fused admittance. Even organiza- affirmative, 5 negative with three In the course of our search of tions which had obtained the of- absentions. the course of our search of the committee meeting we found guards downstairs in front of the are organizations."

In the course of our search of ficial paper, but, being radical were payer was then ordered to leave the hall. After Payer left, one of ate organizations."

was in session. Thinking that we ficult time to get in! Comrade skyism" made a motion for an desired to enter these faithful Kornfeld who came representing open discussion on the "Trotskykeepers of the gate informed us the Hosiery Workers' Union, and ists" with speakers from both sides. that it was a private meeting and a few others who did get in, de- Pandemonium broke loose. The that it was a private meeting and no one would be allowed to go in. With this we took our deparature. The upshot of the whole affair was a little error. The photograph is that idea which served as the point of departure for the organisms of Stalin at a massuerade ball in the little error. The photograph is defined a little error. The photograph is defined as the little error. The photograph is described as the little error are little error. The photograph is described as the little error are little error are little error. The photograph is described as the little error are little error with the IWW made a united front taining. The motion lost, but only to keep the Communists out of by a small margin. their united front. Outside, in the At the very same time Payer ante-room milled about the party was being expelled at the South organization delegates and our- Side I. L. D. the following motion selves; enough of them by far to was made and vigorously defended swamp the socialist conference if on the floor at the North Side Philadelphia. Last week saw two admitted. No wonder the S. P. Mooney branch of the ILD by "United Front" conferences in fakers who called their meeting George Roberts and Harry Gold-Philadelphia on unemployment only after the Communists called berg:" The Mooney branch pro-One was sponsored by the Commun- one were in fear of being "cap- tests to the National Committee,

desire for united action of the tion) called "Trotskyists". We de-

St Louis.—Although the Beezly branch of the ILD has an average the South Side branch of the Communist party!-not five of whom carry membership cards in

The first order on the agenda was the report of the ILD deleto the Soviet Union; the formation What the conference lacked was of a permanent U. F. U. C. con-

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lowing activities; arrange March the C. P. to adopt and for which The final action that the confer- we had been called "counter-rev-

the Left Opposition showed up the to the Socialist confab to fight for ing of one delegate from each orbureaucrats hanging around the the adoption of the program of this ganization represented at the conference". The vote was 4 affirma-That the party leadership, just tive and 20 negative, three abstain-

deavored to show that it was the The Socialist "Conference on Stalinists who were "disrupting"

the newer Stalinists, Horrum, I am told the Yipsels had a dif- thinking to further expose "Trot-

I. L. D., against the expulsions of What shall we do-the resolu- workers from ILD branches because tion we had-calling for joint of their political affiliations, in sessions was not admitted. The particular, members of the Comworking class against hunger-our mand their Jmmediate reinstatewillingness to show our program ment in order to maintain the ILD working class; to propose this all workers". The motion was lost must be done by the Executive but also by a narrow margin; 7

More will be heard from St. Louis 4th joint demonstration for imme-later. Already the Stalinist budiate relief; send speakers to all reaucratic have pointed (publicly) working class organization in the to other members of the L. O. and city asking for a speaker from to sympathizers and stated that each tendency; issue 20,000 popular "they were next". We will naturblem. It narrowed its aims down leasiets explaining the aims of the ally fight against the expulsions to the State Hunger March and U. F. U. C. program; make ar- with all our forces by relentlessly Demonstration. No organizational rangements for the calling of a exposing the absolute bankruptcy second conference; organize a trade of the Stalinist bureaucrats-in held in St. Louis by the Unemploy- gates. Our resolution was unre- union committee to concentrate on whose hands the working class deed Councils unanimously passed ported by the committee and com- getting union support. Payer fense movement has actually lost for a standing committee of each from the floor. The bureaucratic adopted was our "Trotskyist" pro- 1929—only 8,500 in 1932!) despite party of splitting the workers be- the Inprecor cable to the Daily assaults of the murderous Fascists? organization to compose a United steering committee was able to gram. This is the very same pro- the most favorable objective cir- cause it insists on addressing its Worker:

-MARTIN PAYER.

Communist workers: Why is the He also report upon the sabotag- Communist International silent is Stalin silent?

A Political Swindle Exposed

phasis—G. R.)

(Continued from Page 1) obviated by the collapse of the proletarian movement—as happened ready been tested: in 1923, when it saves itself the expense of the inevitably ensuing sanguinary conflict, a period of 'stabilization' sets by dozens of articles and speeches in, and the Fascist movement begins to decompose. And with it, the revolutionary proletarian party, Such a conclusion can be drawn theme of the German crisis, Love- ments of the Anti-Fascist League efficiency". only by those for whom the class stone does not mention by a single and the Reichsbanner." (Our emstruggle begins at the ballot box and ends with the parliamentary International and its "leader" 33.) mandate." (Our emphasis.).

Now, finally, for the Militant, of Feb. 24, 1933, containing the article by comrade Trotsky:

"Hugenberg's government represents the quintessence of social parasitism. But just because of this, when it became necessary, in its pure state, it became impossible. Hugenberg requires a screen. As yet today, he cannot hide behind the mantle of a Kaiser, and he is forced to resort to the brown shirt of the Nazi. If one cannot obtain the sanction of the highest heavenly powers through the monarchy for the property owners, there remains the sanction of the reactionary and unbridled rabble. The investiture of Hitler with power served a twofold purpose: first, to decorate the camarilla of property owners with the leaders of a 'national movedirect disposal of the proprietors."

Further on in the same article: 'When the official Communist party states that the social democracy is the most important prop of bour-When the bourgeoisie invites it to that tolerates the social democracy. as a Bolshevik. But even when completely discarded from power, the social dem- THE MILITANT ocracy continues to suport bourgeois society, recommending to the workers that they conserve their forces for battles, for which it is prepared never to issue a call. By paralyzing the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, the social democracy provides bourgeois society with an opportunity to remain alive under conditions when it is no longer capable of living, thus turning Fascism into a political

As for branding the Brandler-Last Sunday, February 19, the Committee of our Conference-a negative, 5 affirmative with 7 ab- ist theory and practise of the "uni- Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year,

Opposition pleads guilty. In theory and practise, Brandlerism has alby the same Lovestone, from 1923

to 1929! While we are on the subject of Stalin! Not a word about the criminal silence of the C. I. Not a syllable about Stalin's treacherous muteness on what is happening in Germany. And for cause! Lovestone gives a fig for the German books and the sense of philosophy ists? and the beginning of all good and proper things.

A MISTAKE IN THE DAILY WORKER

The Daily Worker of March 6 prints a picture of Joseph Stalin with the following caption: "The above picture, printed for the first time in the United States, shows ment'; and secondly, to place the Joseph Stalin, present secretary of fighting forces of Fascism at the the Communist party, Soviet Union; as he appeared in 1919 on the south front in the struggle against the white guard bands of Denikin and Wrangel, who unsuccessfully attempted to invade the Soviet Ungeois domination, it repeats only ion." The Dally Worker here makes tive and 8 affirmative with 8 abs- zation of the Third International. of Stalin at a masquerade ball in power, the social democracy casts disguised himself as the Organizer its vote for the capitalist regime, of the Red Army. He lost first The social democracy tolerates costume prize only to Martinov, (suffers) any bourgeois government who appeared at the ball disguised

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Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck Monday MARCH 6, 1933 Vol. VI, No. 16 (Whole No 163)

ted front" opportunist, the Left Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy, tions on the one hand, and increas-

In the Daily Worker of Monday, a united front proposal to the So-| munist party) and the Reichsban-February 20, Max Bedacht, member cial Democratic party. It stands ner (controlled by the Social Demof the Central Committee of the for the socalled united front from ocratic party) to defend a parlia-Communist party writes: "They, below. Since such, according to mentary meeting, why not a united too. (the Left Opposition and Bedacht, is the position of the Ger- front of the Anti-Fascist League others) come with the proposals of man Communist Party perhaps he and the Reichsbanner, the Commununited fronts between the Commun can explain the following incident ist party, the Social Democratic

Noskes, the Scheidemanns and the Reichstag met today under the Wels, but to the masses of social chairmanship of the Socialist Dedemocratic workers." (Our emputy Loebe, whereupon the Fascist deputies repeated their tactics of Thus it is clear, according to howling down Loebe and preventist Party is opposed to addressing ing a session of the Committee. He therefore, again declared the session adjourned; whereupon the Fascists pushed him from the

chairman's table, The Communists.

Socialists and other oppositional

"The Central Committee of the

members then left the room.... word the role of the Communist phasis-G. R., Daily Worker, 2-15-

> other member of the Central Committee answer:

If the Stalinists are opposed to revolution. Bah! He's making proposals to the leaders of and his clique. To take but one against Browder and Co.; he's for the Social Democratic party, why Stalin, whom he zealously offers did they propose common action to his services as flunkey-in-chief in the Reichstag leaders of the Social the American party for the inter- Democratic party to defend the national Stalin apparatus. There- Reichstag Control Committee from he knew how to do justice to the in, for him, lies the wisdom of the the disruptive actions of the Fasc-

> the party policy of only the united flattering appreciation he showed front from below?

parliamentary united front, with amazed by it. 'Yes, yes, I know. the leaders of the Social Dem- They tell a lot of lies about my ocratic party in the Reichstag, relations with him. Yes, they tell which is a united front purely from a lot of lies-and especially about the top, and opposed to a united me and Trotsky.' front with the Social Democratic party on the basis of a common clared: 'Show me another man who minimum program of struggle against Fascism, which will draw model army and win the respect of the masses into action?

united front of the Anti-Fascist thing. And so we'll do wonders." League (controlled by the Com-) Comment superfluous!

An End to Stalinist Confusion -- For the United Front l ists and the Social-Democratic reported in the Daily Worker, Feb. party, and the trade unions, to de-

Let the Stalinists cease their policy of confusion! A clear-cut policy of the united front tactic of Lenin and Trotsky before it is

'Trotsky's Genius Denied'

too late.

With this headline, today's World Telegram prints a United Press dispatch from Moscow which reads as follows:

"Leon Trotsky's leadership of the Red Army during the Civil "In the afternoon the members War period is bitterly attacked in in October 1923—the bourgeoisie led the German working class to of the oppositional parties met to a speech delivered by Climenti defeat and demoralization, as at- discuss the situation. The Social- Voroshilov, present commissar of tested, among more decisive things, ists declared the Constitution had war, made public today. Voroshibeen violated and proposed that lov denied the world-wide belief protests be made to the Fascist that Trotsky, now in exile,, pospresident of the Reichstag, Goer- sesses great military genius. He ing, and to President Hindenburg, claims that Joseph Stalin 'really From this it does not follow that Messrs. Swindlers and Forgers of The Communists declared such pro- saved the situation on all endanthe Fascist danger to the German the Lovestone group, it is instructests were useless, and proposed a gered fronts', and that the Red proletariat is now eliminated, or tive to point out that in their new meeting of the Control Com- Army was built up to an imposing even definitively on the decline, whole "critical review" on the mittee to be defended by detach- strength in spite of Trotsky's in-

Voroshilov is spitting in the wind. Better men than he have tried in the last ten years to re-write the Therefore, we would like to history of the party and the Red know, and let Bedacht or any army as it never happened. The "world-wide belief" was not founded on myth and falsification, as is the fable manufactured by Stalin quotation out of hundreds in those days, we cite from Gorky's mem-

"Yes, I have often heard him (Lenin) praise his comrades, And energies of even those with whom he was supposed to be personally Was this proposal in line with unsympathetic Surprised by the for one of them, I remarked that Why are the Stalinists for a a good many people might be

"Pounding on the table, he decould organize in a year an almost military experts besides. We've If the Stalinists can propose a got that man. We've got every-

Crisis Breaks Out not of great consequence; it may

(Continued from Page 1) of the crisis.

Party and Crisis

crisis like the present would have the profoundest social results. It would be part of a general retreat as it is, can and will find its way in struggle of a demoralized bour- out of such immediate predicaganized, well-staffed and victorious army of the proletariat.

sign it any such importance. It masses are organized for struggle becomes one of a series of episodes under the leadership of a powerful in the development of the crisis, Communist party. The rearming like the heavy gold withdrawals and development of the Party to of September-October 1931 and a scale commensurate with its April-June 1932, which were met tasks is the basic function of the by temporary financial manipula- Left Opposition.

ed pressure on the workers and the invoked in this particular case i be the issue of Clearing House ecrip, or a tax on gold, or an embargo on gold exports, or a guarcarrying through its own solution antee of deposits by the government of a banking pool, etc. That increased exploitation of the masses will be the next step to be at-Under such conditions, a banking tempted is the one thing sure.

The main point is that the bourgeoisie, panicky and demoralized ments as the present banking crisis. on the backs of the proletariat and As things stand, we cannot as the working masses, unless the

International Pre-Conference of the distance of the Official C. P. as a mass to appeal to which from the Composition Presents Thesis of thinking, the Soviet bureaucracy levelution of the Comintern during the last ten years as a mere re-ly into reformism. The political

lication of the most important of the theses adopted at the international Pre-Conference of the International Left Opposition which concluded its sessions last month in Paris. Representatives were present from the Russian, Greek, Swiss, American and other sections of the Opposition. The theses which we reprint here is now up for discussion in the membership of the Opposition, for final adoption at the regular international Conference which is planned for convocation later in the year.—Ed.)

the last four years, has created of Leninism by Stalinism.

solution of this task.

in the U.S.S.R.

(We begin today with the pub- | revolution. Complete counter-rev- talist countries. It is far more within the world Communist party. tries without exception has conclution means the displacement of inclined to trust in the "revolu- In the development of the interna- firmed and every new day confirms the rule of one class by that of tionary" Kuo Min Tang, the "Left" tional labor movement there were the correctness of this classificaanother; reaction begins and devel- bureaucracy of the British trade internal reasons of its own which tion and its living reality. ops while still under the rule of unions, the petty bourgeois "fri- drove the young Communist sec- It was and remains in the highthe revolutionary class. As the ends of the Soviet Union", the libbearer of the reaction against Oct- eral and radical pacifists, than in ober there appeared the petty bour- the independent revolutionary ini- everywhere, particularly in Europe, bourgeois masses, the bureaucracy won a very far-reaching independence of the proletariat. After it had replaced in fact the program The task of the coming Confer- national-reformism, it made the ence of the Left Opposition (Bol- theory of socialism in one country shevik-Leninists) consists of accept- its official doctrine. The Left wing ing a clear and precisely-formu- of the proletariat suffered under lated platform and organizational the blows of the alliance of the statues, as well as of selecting the Soviet bureaucracy with the petty leading bodies. The preceding bourgeois, predominantly peasant, state. But even in its bureaucratheoretical, political and organiza- masses and the backward strata of tically degenerated form, the Soviet tional work of the Left Opposition the workers themselves. That is in various countries, especially in the dialectics of the replacement To transform the struggle against cracy of the other sections breath- danger of the Right Opposition; on

sufficently prerequisites for the After the organizational break- struggle against the Soviet state, spective opened before them a road of this danger paralyzes those leading-up of the Left Opposition, the The fundamental programmatic official policy became definitively safae level as the Stalinist clique, process of the international rev- through their whole past are bound and political documents of the Left a policy of empirical oscillation Opposition are issued in no less between the classes. The dependthan 15 languages. The Left Op- ence of the bureaucracy upon the position disposes of 32 periodical proletariat meanwhile expressed itpublications in 16 countries. It self in the fact that, in spite of of every revolutionary proletarian conditions for a successful admin- ves, the Right wing (Brandlerists) has reorganized and strengthened a series of blows, it did not dare that the Left Opposition tolerates strative punishment of the Left Op- has no field of activity. Insofar its sections in 9 countries and in or was not able to overthrow the in its midst no vacillations or the past three years created new essential achievements of the Oct. doubts on this question. As before, sections in 7 countries. But the ober revolution: the nationaliza- it will break ruthlessly with all most important and most valuable tion of the land, the nationaliza- groups and elements which attempt achievement is the undeniable rais. tion of industry, the monopoly of to occupy a "neutral" role between ing of the theoretical level of the foreign trade. Still more-when the Soviet Union and the capitalist International Left Opposition, the the Party bureaucracy in 1928 felt world (Monatte-Louzon in France, growth of its ideological solidity itself endangered by its petty bour- Urbahns group in Germany). and of its revolutionary initiative. geois allies, the kulaks, in its fear The Organ of the Left Oppostion of losing its whole support among the proletariat it carried out a

to a new turn to the Right. proletariat. Bureaucratic Centrism is the

worst degeneration of the workers' Union remains a workers' state. the centrist bureaucracy into a which declares, "The State-is I". The unreserved defense of the Soviet Union against world imperialism is such an elementary task

The Left Opposition in

Imperialist Countries

The Third International arose ing Party of the first workers' tion, the thoroughgoing collectivi- of post-war upheavals, and particu- wing.

tions to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

geoisie, particularly the leaders of tiative of the proletariat. But, a period of expectancy of the near- current most nearly related to it the peasantry. Its spokesman be through the necessity of defending by overthrow of the rule of the in principle, but never made a bloc came the bureaucracy which stands its position in the workers' state, bourgeoisie. But at the moment with the Bolshevik-Leninists close to the petty bourgeoisie. Sup the Soviet bureaucracy is forced when the internal crisis of the against the Right. As to the Right ported by the pressure of the petty every time into sharp collisions Party broke out, most of the Eur- wing on an international scale, with the reformist hand-maiden of opean sections had suffered their like every form of opportunism it capital. In this way under unique first great defeats and disappoint is marked by an extraordinary historical conditions a fraction of ments. Particularly depressing was variety and contradictoriness among bureaucratic Centrism has separ- the powerless retreat of the Ger. its national constituents, while they of the international revolution by ated out of proletarian Bolshevism, man proletariat in October 1933. A all have in common hostility to the and has laid a heavy hand on a new political orientation became an Bolshevik-Leninists. whole epoch of development of the inner necessity for the majority of In the U. S. S. R., under the Soviet Republic and of the world the Communist parties. When the conditions of the dictatorship, in Soviet bureaucracy, exploiting the the absence of legal opposition disappointment of the Russian parties, the Right Opposition inworkers with respect to the Eur- evitably becomes the tool whereby opean revolution, set forth the na- the class forces which are hostile tional-reformist theory of Socialism to the proletariat exert their presin one country, the young bureau- sure—therein consists the main ed a sigh of relief; the new per- the other hand, the consciousness would be to place oneself on the to Socialism independent of the ers of the Right Opposition who olution. In this way the internal the Communist party all the shades reaction within the U. S. S. R. coin- up with the Party. In capitalist cided with the reaction in the capi- countries, where to the right of talist countries and created the of reformism can spread themsel-

> But in their further movement Tang, the real bureaucracy of the Trade Unions and of the Social-

state. The delay in the develop zation, and the administrative larly in the October revolution. In the camp of Communism, paign of lies and slander against ment of the October revolution had breaking up of the kulaks. The necessarily called forth a political disorganization of economy brought reaction in the land of the October about by this unconsidered policy International, and therefore also three fundamental groups: the

--B. J. FIELD. led at the beginning of this year | the influence of its internal strug- | Marxist wing (Bolshevik-Leningles on the development of the ists); the Centrist fraction (Stalin-According to the conditions of its other national sections. Still, it ists), and finally the Right, or prohas many features in common with ing the last ten years as a mere re- ly into reformism. The political the reformist bureaucracy of capi- flection of the fractional struggle development of almost all coun-

> est degree characteristic of cen-The first post-war years were trism that for long periods it went hand in hand with the right as the

position by the centrist bureau- as the Right Opposition has mass organizations, it turns them over directly or indirectly to the social to the Right, the official Parties democracy (Czecho-Slovakia, Swecollided with the real Kuo Min den), except for the revolutionary elements who find their way to the Bolshevik-Leninists (Czecho-Slov-Democracy, just as the Stalinists akia, Poland). The Brandlerist collided with the real kulaks. The elements who have remained indenew zig-zag to the side of an ultra- pendent here and there (Grmany, Left policy carried out thereafter U. S. A.) build their calculations The Left Opposition arose in sharp turn to the Left. The final as the immediate result of the ex- led to the split of the official Com- on being called back and pardoned 1923, ten years ago, in the land of results of the zig-zag were: the perience of the advanced workers intern majority into the ruling sooner or later by the Stalinist buthe October revolution, in the rul- adventurist tempo of industrializa- in the imperialist war, in the epoch Center and the Right oppositionist reaucracy; in the name of this perspective they carry on a campaign of lies and slander against