

# IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

## Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

### Terror against the Greek Opposition

**ATHENS, GREECE**  
The capitalist regime of Greece is carrying a reign of terror against all revolutionary workers and is concentrating its efforts especially to exterminate by all means at its disposal, the comrades of the Opposition (Archio-Marxist-Bolsheviks) on account of their valiant activities in the front ranks of the class struggle.

Now that the edifice of the capitalist system of Greece is enfeebled by the acute economic crisis, the bourgeoisie of Greece are desperately trying to suppress every workers' resistance by exterminating the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communists, dark imprisonment for many years in their cells, and they deport them to desert islands, and very often apply terrorist measures, as in the case of our comrade Theodore Baboucoupos.

Comrade Baboucoupos has been a member of the Archio-Marxists for the last two years and has participated with all the Archio-Marxists of Athens in the demonstration that the party called on Omonia Square to celebrate the 14th anniversary of the Russian revolution.

The Rizospastis, the Stalinist organ in Greece, merely reported the arrest of a few Archio-Marxists, and later mentioned our comrade as a hero, inferring at the same time that he is a member of the Youth League, The Pali Ton Taxeon, organ of the Left Opposition, in its issue of December 29, 1932, prints a letter sent by comrade Baboucoupos from his bed in the Municipal Hospital!

We bring his letter in full below:  
"To the Communist Organization of Bolsheviki-Leninists (Archio-Marxists),  
Comrades,

"As is known, I was arrested with another member of our organization, comrade Cotoul for the events of the 14th anniversary of the Russian Revolution during the demonstration at Rotzi lair by the lackeys of Charalambidi, who followed us about and they sentenced comrade Cotoul to three years imprisonment and two years deportation and myself to one and one-half years imprisonment and two years deportation.

"They threw me and 7 other Archio-Marxists into the cave that the bourgeoisie calls 'reformatory' and they began our extermination by applying the archaic methods of the 'Holy Inquisition.' What to describe most, I don't know... the more I try to think of it the dizzier I get. Later on, when I'll overcome the danger hanging over me, I'll write you in detail.

"The last 'scene' took place because we protested against the suppressed measures as a means of punishment, they forced us to run like horses around the prison-yard.

"When we refused to run, the bestial guards knocked us down unconscious and then they placed our feet into the frog bars, beating us for hours at a time until our feet began to bleed and the wounds and only fatigue exhausted our hangmen. I was left within the prison without a doctor's care for ten days and my

foot became sore. When my comrades and myself protested we were told: 'I have not got anything' and when the pollution progressed and the gangrene rotted my foot and threatened my very life they brought me here and cut off my foot and at present I am struggling with death.

"Another question that I wish to pose is this: The Rizospastis attempts to present me as their own comrade. I declare that I denounce the Rizospastis and the Stalinists and that I was and I'll always be a Bolsheviki-Leninist (Archio-Marxist).

"The life of our comrades in the prisons is in danger. The state is planning assassinations. Fight for general amnesty! Fight to save them!

With comradely greetings,  
**Theodoros Baboucoupos,**  
Municipal Hospital!"

**The Crimes of the Capitalist Prisons must be brought to light!**

Our comrade Baboucoupos is struggling with death. This horrible crime shall not be left without consequences

for the bourgeois class. All the horrible tortures, all the crimes which Capitalism pursues in order to exterminate the victims of the proletarian struggle must be brought to light. A committee of workers and intellectuals must be formed to visit all the prisons in which revolutionary workers are detained and undertake a broad and thorough investigation and bring to light all the criminal activities of the capitalist organs against the imprisoned and deported revolutionaries.

**The Victims of Capitalist Atrocities Are In Danger**

The assassins of Comrade Baboucoupos refuse to give even medicines. Comrade Baboucoupos is the victim of the cannibalism of the watch-dogs of the capitalist regime, and is in a critical condition. The fever fluctuates between 30 to 40 degrees centigrade.

Following the amputation of his foot, two wounds were opened up on his shoulders and one on his arm.

During the last few days a new bag of pus has formed on his other arm. It

### German Opposition Documents

is possible that they may have to open this, too. Our comrade is passing grave moments and the doctors openly express their fears.

Characteristic of the bestiality of the capitalist regime is the criminal indifference that the administration of the Municipal Hospital shows toward the condition of our comrade.

His food is miserable, medicine are refused him. The comrades collected money among themselves for the purchase of medicines. The Labor Defense does not follow at all the condition of our comrade and has neglected to meet his needs.

The Stalinists do not allow any discussion at the I. L. D. Branches on this question in order to conceal the fact that he is an Archio-Marxist.

Many workers' organizations have protested vigorously against the Czarist methods.

The Leather Workers, the Cigarette boxmakers and Lithographers, Stevedores, Hotel Workers, I. L. D. Branches of Tombras' Salonika, Neapoles, etc., Needle Workers Union, and Cafe and Confectionery Workers Union, are among these.

—PALI TON TAXEON.

### False Strategy -- False Tactics

#### Dangerous Perspectives

Just as a proletarian revolution in Germany would open up a new epoch for the revolutionary proletariat, Fascism in Germany will open up a new epoch of reaction in Europe. A victory for Fascism would lead to the last attempt of capitalism to postpone its impending destruction for decades through the destruction of the proletarian movement.

A victory for German Fascism means war against the Soviet Union. An alliance between the Soviet Germany and the other imperialistic countries, France not excepted, in a campaign for the annihilation of the Soviet Union is more than probable. Should it come to that, it would mean that the social revolution would be made impossible for an entire epoch.

Does that mean, that there is no way out of this situation? To maintain this would be pessimism and would signify a complete surrender of the faith in the inner forces of the proletariat. Should the Comintern and the party change their strategy and tactic, were the Soviet Union and the Red Army to actively take their stand as the organizing forces of the German revolution, Fascism will not even reach the threshold of power.

To allow Fascism to get as far as the threshold of power, that is to permit them to enter a coalition government, means to clear the road for the full seizure of power by Fascism. To believe that the right moment for an action against Fascism is the time of its "expuening" in a coalition government with Bruening—only people who are planning to coddle the enemy and to capitulate are capable of. At the moment Fascism enters the government, the signal will be given for a struggle against the proletariat. The only answer to that is the proclamation of the General Strike. That is the point of time at which the defensive of the working class begins, which is transformed in the course of struggle into the offensive. The General Strike will deal the Fascist bands their first blows and open up the mass struggle against the bourgeoisie. Its outcome will be neither Fascism nor a Bruening.

The moment the united front of the proletarian class is established in the course of struggle, the real disintegration of Fascism begins.

"Nearer to the social democracy and trade union masses! This is the burning slogan of the moment, if the struggle is not to end in a defeat United front with the S. P. G. and A. D. G. B. (Trade Union) organizations is the command of the hour.

—PERMANENTE REVOLUTION  
(January 1932)  
(To Be Continued)

## HISTORY MADE TO ORDER - ala STALIN

We must come back once more to the article by Stalin in the *General Proletarian Revolution*, in which the General Secretary of the Russian Communist Party violently attacks the "rot in liberalism" which exists among the Communists with regard to "Trotskyism."

What is the reason for all this writhing of Stalin's? The "chief of the world revolution," proclaimed as such by all the bureaucrats, who dare no deny their master anything, and celebrated as such at all official occasions and by the entire Stalinist international press—what has he to fear from "Trotskyism" which has been feared and annihilated for years? And moreover, who are those rotten liberals who have introduced the Trotsky poison into the history of the Russian party without his knowledge?

### STALIN CREATES A HISTORY OF APOLOGETICS

In his leisure time, whenever it is granted to him by the affairs of state, Stalin has taken the trouble to go over the history of the revolution and the Russian party. Imagine his surprise to see that in almost all the publications conducted by people who are loyal to his own person, his role as leader of the Russian party ever since the first weeks of the February revolution (before Lenin's arrival in Russia), he has not been presented in sufficiently laudatory terms! Certain historians said, for example, that immediately upon his arrival in Petrograd, Lenin found it necessary to radically change the orientation of the Bolshevik party led by Stalin and Kamenev up to that time.

Others, like Slutsky, even went so far as to employ the term "rearming" of the party used by comrade Trotsky in his history of the Russian revolution, to designate the April Theses of Lenin and the

tremendous activity he unfolded in spite of the resistance of the so-called "old Bolsheviks" to get his theses adopted by the entire party.

But the reading of these passages of the history of the party was not yet the height of his chagrin. He mobilized a whole legion of censors and obedient functionaries who reported that the "Trotskyist" ideas have not only slipped into the historical article of some party candidate, some Slutsky, but that in the complete works of Lenin, the "smugglers" have introduced monstrous distortions of history which have to be rectified immediately. It was discovered, for example, that a certain Orsinnikov, working under the personal supervision of Kamenev, wrote in Note 79 to Volume XIV of the Complete Works of Lenin that (1) "Trotsky class paper, the Pravda destined for Russia" and that "Trotsky broke with the Mensheviks"; (2) that Trotsky "at the beginning of the imperialist war adopted a clearly internationalist position".

In this same Note the author dared "repeal" the Trotskyist legend according to which it appears that he led the insurrection of October 25 (Pravda of December 15, 1931) "It is impossible to tolerate such 'Trotskyist smugling'?"

### A RED HISTORIAN DARES QUOTE LENIN

Another historian, Volosovitch, did not merely content himself with narrating the historical events already known universally from the testimony of John Reed (*Ten Days That Shook The World*) or from the memoirs of Shliapnikov on the February revolution and the shameful role of Stalin in that period. Volosovitch also attempted to analyse the fact and the political positions adopted in the past by the Bolshevik party, to draw the logical conclusions flowing therefrom. Here is what the *Pravda* (12-17-1931) says about him: "The 'historian' Volosovitch 'proves' (this plethora of quotation marks is the *Pravda's* own brand of irony—M. M.) that Lenin in 1915 did not pose the question of building socialism in one country. Volosovitch distorts the history of the party in the Trotskyist manner by opposing the tasks of the world revolution to the question of the complete possibility of building socialism in one country, as it was posed by Lenin (our emphasis, M. M.) In falsifying history and in slandering Lenin, Volosovitch writes that for Lenin 'the question is not posed from the point of view of the growing over of the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution but solely from the angle of the fundamental Bolshevik slogan of the given period, notably, that of the transformation of the imperialist world war into a civil world war. Consequently the question of building socialism in our country does not even enter' (Third Edition, page 64). Volosovitch even goes further. He declares that 'even when this growing over (mentioned above) becomes an established fact, the question of building socialism in our country alone while the other countries remain capitalist, is not a question for the present'. (Page 65)."

### THROUGH TEN EDITIONS

And Smil'ch, the author of the article in the *Pravda*, cannot contain his wrath any longer, concluding: "And it is these smuggled Trotskyist gods that Volosovitch offers to the reader under the cloak of quotations from Lenin, 'profound meditations, etc.'" This unhappy censor will still have to affirm with great bitterness later on in the same article that what is most revolting about the whole affair is the fact that "these smuggled goods have gone through ten editions."

Stalin's article in the *Proletarian Revolution* was not only a manifestation of impotent wrath in the face of historical truth, it was also a decree for all the state publishing houses to make a complete revision of everything relating to the history of the Bolshevik party and

the revolution. The effects of this decree have not failed to be evident. We read in the entire Soviet press, that Yaroslavsky, one of the unfortunatest blamed for the "Trotskyist smugling" in his "History of the Party" has recognized his mistakes and has promised to go ahead energetically with the correction of all the books already published on the history of the party" in order to root out Trotskyism. Radek who was mentioned very indirectly in the Stalin article, has also repented... by renouncing for the 20th time, his former mistakes and by denouncing these... Luxemburgist errors "which have led, as if fatally, to the Trotskyist opposition".

### STALIN DOES A BIT OF "REARMING"

Thus, the history of the Russian revolutionary movement and its relationships with the revolutionary movement of the West, is going to be recast! Stalin is going to make his history "to order", just as he has made his apparatus to order. Already in depriving D. B. Riazanov of his functions as director of the Marx-Engels Institute, Stalin began a well-prepared "scientific Marxist" basis for an apology of his policy. Now, he wants the history of the party (instigate) and that of history as a whole, to play the same servile and unworthy role. But just as socialism cannot be constructed in one country, history cannot be made in one country. Stalin may, perhaps, succeed in suppressing all the publications of the "History of the Party" and the complete works of Lenin in the U. S. S. R. and replace them with his own history of apologetics. In this manner, he will undoubtedly be able to derail, for a certain time, the young Communists in the Soviet Union. But the history of the revolution, which is unique and universal, and which, for a Marxist, ought to be "not an apology of political positions, but a concrete and coherent image of the actual process of the revolution" (*Trotsky: The History of the Russian Revolution—Russian edition*) is a history written on the basis of documents and living testimony of the epochs by revolutionary Marxists in the various countries. The *History of the Russian Revolution* by L. D. Trotsky written on the basis of historical documents and numerous testimonies by active participants in the revolution, will permit the younger revolutionary generations of all countries to reestablish the image "of the actual process of the revolution".

—M. MILL  
(Paris)

### Left Opposition in Toronto

Our Toronto comrades have recently begun to unfold activities which speak very promisingly for a real growth of the Canadian Left Opposition in the near future.

They are among the most active participants in the Open Forum being conducted by the Toronto Workers' Club, at which comrade Maurice Spector lately gave a successful lecture on "Lenin-Luxemburg" during the course of which discussions of a more comradely nature than has been the custom for some time took place, with leading members of the official party taking part in them.

The Toronto group is also involved right in the midst of the struggle against the government reprisals against the Communist Party of Canada, which goes under the name of the "Repeal Section 98 Movement". Delegates from the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) were seated at the conference called by the party's defense committee and the Opposition's proposals and views for carrying on this work are gaining a ready ear, some of them already adopted and bringing good response. Articles dealing with the exceptionally interesting developments in the "Repeal Section 98 Movement" will shortly appear in the *Militant*.

### The "Uprising" of Nov. 7th. 1927

(Continued from page 1)

#### WHAT REALLY HAPPENS?

1927? Naturally, the Opposition also participated in the demonstration of the Tenth Anniversary. Its representatives marched together with their shops, factories, institutions of learning and Soviet institutions. Many Opposition groups carried their banners in the general parade. It was with these banners that they left their shops and other institutions. What sort of counter-revolutionary banners were they? Let us recall them once more:

- "Carry out the testament of Lenin!"
- "Direct the fire toward the Right—against Nepman, Kulak and bureaucrats!"
- "For genuine workers' democracy!"
- "Against opportunism, against a split—for the unity of the Leninist party!"
- "For a Leninist Central Committee!"

Workers, employees, soldiers of the Red Army, students and pupils walking side by side with the Oppositionists who were carrying their banners. There were no clashes. Not a single worker with a sound mind could interpret these banners as banners directed against the Soviet power and the party. Only after several individual factories had joined the general current of the demonstration, did the G. P. U. send out special divisions upon instructions from the Stalinist secretariat to assault the demonstrators who were carrying their banners peacefully! After that several clashes took place, consisting entirely of attacks by the divisions of the G. P. U., who tore their banners away and heaped blows upon them. A selected group of Red Army commanders broke down the door of Smilga's quarters and forced their way in, on the balcony there were hanging the banners of the Opposition and the portraits of Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev. This, then, was the uprising of November 7, 1927.

The slogans: "For workers' democracy", "Against Nepman, Kulak and Bureaucrats!", "For the unity of the party!", were considered—naturally not by the working masses—but by the Stalinist apparatus as counter-revolutionary. Nevertheless, at that time no one of the apparatus people dared as yet to speak of an armed uprising. Such an invention would have seemed altogether too shameful and insolent in the eyes of the participants in the demonstration. When more than a year after Trotsky had been exiled by Stalin, the G. P. U. accused him of preparing an armed uprising. It was not with regard to the demonstration of November 7, but something quite new, which the G. P. U. could not, however, refer to by name. After the exiling of Trotsky, this accusation was not repeated by anybody. Stalin did not dare introduce it into the press. The very memory of it disappeared, went up like smoke.

Only when the facts began to fade from memory, did the Stalinist school of falsifications begin to spread the legend of the attempted uprising of November 7. The fact that this legend has, to a certain degree, become the central point of the campaign, is politically significant. That proves that the real actions of the Bolsheviki-Leninists do not appear to be "crimes" in the eyes of the masses of workers and party members. Stalin actually complains that despite the eight-years long campaign, Trotskyism is still being regarded as a Communist tendency inside of the party! For his policy of reprisals, Stalin needs some basis of support that lies outside of the real activity of the Left Opposition. This basis of support, he tries to find in the police myth of the rising of November 7, 1927. Even if we had no other signs, this fact alone would suffice for us to say: the personal dictatorship of Stalin and his plebeian regime are in a bad way!

—L. TROTSKY.  
January 2 1932

SIMON AND SCHUSTER Inc.  
announce  
the publication, February 27, 1932  
of  
**THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**  
by LEON TROTSKY  
Translated from the original Russian  
BY MAX EASTMAN  
Volume I--The Overthrow of Tsarism  
(February to June 1917)  
\$4.00