IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Statement on the Recent Decree Depriving Comrade Trotsky of Soviet Citizenship

(Continued from page ·1) against the nomination of Stalin to the her as he killed Zinzadze, Blumkin, and post of General Secretary: 'this cook many other revolutionary Bolsheviks. will serve us a peppery dish' . . . This Rakovsky is tied down to Barnoul, in cook has not yet exhausted the culin- which the harsh climate is practically ary science completely.

"This prediction of Lenin's is being verified anew. The decree of expatriation was another-and not the lastpoisoned dish from the Stalinist kitchen"

The decree is the product of wrath and weakness. The choice of names in the list of those expatriated is dictated by the necessity of a political amalgam. The Thermidorians have always combined the named of their revolutionary adversaries with those of the representatives of the counter-revolutionaries, in their reprisals. The names of Don, are obviously dragged in by the hair. which issued the news of a planned assfrom the right and the left and which Secretariat of the League of Nations, adthe same pot in order to mask its Cen- vinoff on the part of the same White trist character. At the same time the Guard terrorists. Although he has at Stalinists continuee to fill up the places his disposal data of such an importance of deportation. The colonies of Bolshe- and such concrete facts, Stalin has nevervik exiles in Siberia and Central Asia theless not brought them to the attention are constantly growing. Those confined of comrade Trotsky, nor to this friends in the solitaries, after serving their time, up to the present; neither with regard have been condemned to supplementary to the character of the terrorist organiconfinement. Stalin does not want them zation, its composition, its connections, to leave the solitaries alive. Only a few weeks ago the old Bolshevik Tsuiukidze, aware of all these circumstances can the a member of the Party since 1905, was militants of the Left Opposition, in the finished off by a series of ignominous extremely unfavorable conditions of their Thermidorian acts. This sick old Bolplace in which more favorable conditions ions-in-arms have more than once ad- and for the development of the internashevik, instead of being transferred to a for her state of health exist, as she was dressed these demands to the represenpromised, was deported to Aklomiusk, "the worst spot in Central Asia. In reply to her protests, she was beaten. Our unflinching comrade could not re sist his maltreatment more than a few

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months and succumbed. Stalin killed destroying the health of the old fighter.

tical causes, also has a personal motive. Rakovsky which is based on the fact that responsibility in the case of a successful to the same degree to which Stalin is attempt on the part of the white terrorthe incarnation of bureaucratic brutality ists. In that case, it will not be a matand disloyalty, Rakovsky is the image of ter of a Soviet citizen! This miserable genuine revolutionary magnanimity. The decree of expatriation against Trotsky and his family has an additional purpose and is linked with the terrorist designs of the White Guards Abramovitch, Potressov and the others against Trotsky. The Soviet government It is a matter of creating a combine that assination by Turkul in the Rote Fahne, would be compromising to the name of attaches an extremely great importance of the Soviet Republic and the leader of Trotsky. The necessity of an amalgam to the information furnished by the G. is dictated by the very nature of Cen- P. U., which is evidenced by the fact trism which cannot help having enemies that it addresses itself officially to the sets itself the task of throwing all into vising it, of the danger threatening Lit-

nor its methods, etc. Only by being

tatives of Stalin abroad. No information,

no aid has been given to them. In other

(Continued from page 1)

Farmers of Saskatchewan at their last

conventions, and the provincial conven-

tion of the Alberta Trades and Labor

Councils have also taken this resolution

up. In spite of the sabotage by the labor

bureaucrats, the mass pressure from the

rank and file forced them to take definite

action. A notice was also sent out call-

ing an Eastern Canada Emergency Con-

ference in Hamilton, Ontario, for Feb-

ruary 6th and 7th, to plan further a

stated that the invitation was issued to

every body and person in sympathy with

the views of the Conference, regardless

Comrade J. Silver was sent to the

Hamilton Conference as the representa-

tive of the local Toronto Conference,

comrade Panitch represented an auxil-

iary organization, and comrade Green

went as the direct official delegate of

the Toronto branch of the Left Opposi-

In spite of the short time and lack of

preparation in calling the Conference, it

opened with 283 delegates representing

166 organizations, and 117 individuals.

The Liberals, as usual, were prominent

by their absence. Of the 19 trade unions

represented, over half were A. F. of L.

locals. The other delegates were from

various auxiliary organizations, unem-

ployed associations, language and cul-

tural bodies, I. L. P., etc. Comrade

Silver was elected on the resolutions

committee and took an active part in the

deliberations on that body; comrade

Panitch was appointed to the Advisory

Committee. The eight arrested leaders,

then still out on bail awaiting the result

of their appeal, were enthusiastically

A. E. Smith presented the political

report, giving an outline of the crisis,

the reasons for the severe reaction in

Canada, and cited the figures of the

Class Terror in Canada in 1931, when

720 workers were arrested with 155 con-

victions: 78 workers were beaten and

wounded, 3 miners brutally killed in

Estevan, and 96 demonstrations and

meetings smashed. The war danger was

given emphasis, and a set of organiza-

tional proposals were adopted which

called for the further broadening of the

united front. Tim Buck and Tom Ewen,

two of the arrested leaders, in their dis-

free speech and assemblage, and the re-

peal of Section 98. Buck also stated

even force the A. F. of L. to take ac-

tion, and render them also liable to

Perspectives

greeted and appointed as honorary Presi-

dium members.

Section 98.

tion; all our comrades were seated.

of political belief or affiliation.

Reaction in Canada

He is gravely ill. The terror against

Rakovsky, besides having general poli-

words, the Stalinist clique is concealing before Trotsky and his friends all the concrete data which it possesses concerning the planned assassination of

In jurdical language, this manner of action is called-in case there is no direct complicity - concealing evidence. Stalin understands that very well. His personal responsibility is only too clear. Seeking for some way out, he came upon the idea of expatriating comrade Trotsky. Stalin believes that if he withdraws comrade Trotsky's Soviet pass-Stalin nurtures an old hatred against port, he will thereby diminish his own refuge will not be of any avail, just as all the other measures of a similar na-

> This decree, born of wrath and im potence, may cause comrade Trotsky and his family personal difficulties. Bu will not change the fact, that today just as on October 25, 1917, Trotsky remains, together with Lenin, the founder the October revolution; that he was the organizer of the victory of the Red Army and that he is today the outstanding fighter for the proletarian revolution; while Stalin is only the candidate for the post of grave digger of the proletarian dictatorship.

Nor will this prevent what is inevitable, the downfall of the dictatorship of the degenerated Stalinist clique. This downfall is inevitable. It will not be the preparation for the downfall of the proletarian dictatorship, as the enemy classhopes, but on the contrary, for the deof the Comintern. It has become the al bureaucracy. indispensable premise for the success of exile, take the necessary preventative socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. measures. Comrade Trotsky's compan-

> INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

The Conference was but a beginning in

Our comrad's in the various organiza-

-S. GREEN.

number of workers within the movement

shown what can be accomplished.

For the Unity of Spanish Communism

An Open Letter of the Spanish Left Opposition Addressed to all Communists

With the publication of the "Open Letter" of the Communist International to the C. P. S., the profound crisis which has been hovering over Spanish Cons munism as a consequence of the fundamental errors committed by the national leadership with the full acquiescence of the International has broken out into the open. A whole series of mistakes are stigmatised in this document, mistakes that the Spanish Left Opposition was the first to point out at a time when the correction of these mistakes would have marked a victorious advance of the revolution. Only when the mistakes blossoming within the party grow to their full length does the International, which defended and supported these erroneous policies and approved those responsible for them so resolutely, decide to put forward its criticism under the pressure of the rank and file and in the face of evident symptoms of the demoralization of the party, symptoms which are manifesting themselves in their full force. Two days before the publication of the "Open Letter", simple militants who had the courage to bring gistering this brilliant victory of its up criticisms less severe than that of the point of view, is obliged to show to all International in their units-were expelled from the party with the sanction of international organisms. The present crisis was not produced by a logical development of the organization, that is to say, by means of a free discussion tion with it was undeniably a fruitful the leadership. In the face of the imwithin the party, but was fabricated one. It would be still greater if the possibility of any sort of criticism and

It is logical that the leadership of the International, those most responsible for the mistakes of the Spanish leadership. are doing everything in their power to cover up the catastrophic consequences of the policy pursued in Spain. Historically, the damage caused by these poli-The Working Class United Front Against good. When the rhythm of the revolution starts its process of decline, the bureaucracy of the International poses the question of the reorganization of the party. The International bureaucracy tranged from the party. mission that their previous strategy was gave its assent, its support to everyopted this resolution; since then the United ited Farmers of Alberta and the United ited Farmers this development. To embrace a larger is now the main task. Without clarity in principle and theory, there can be no the party. Practically, the C. I. and the whole series of eclectic conceptions sary to reorganize it immediately. The stable movement, and the adoption of Spanish leadership, the Bullejos-Trilla- that the Stalinist school has introduced development of events has clearly shown the principle of the united front has tions must see that this movement is teenth of April.

program of work. The call specifically not allowed to drift away, but to bring it into further contact with the masses. ist International are reproduced the the disastrous article known as Stalinsame criticisms that, since the beginning ism.

of the Spanish revolution, were formuit was insulted with the worst sort of remarkable for its absolute lack of conepithets. The following accusations are made against the leadership: inability to adapt itself to the masses; sectarian nar- pose as a definite condition, the demonand file: the split policy in the National Confederation of Labor. The Spanish a new change of policy, imposed upon the party in a bureaucratic manner, would not have been brought about without the frank exposure of the mistakes that we have practiced. In this respect, the Opposition sees in these facts a new victory of its defense of revolutionary Marxism, applied to the Spanish revplution and the role of the party.

The Communist Left Opposition, in reproletarian Communists that the "Open Letter" is a direct result, although a belated one, of our criticisms. This shows clearly that even though we have been expelled from the party, our collaborasists in keeping the Bolshevik-Leninists blind obedience. within the ranks of the Opposition, es-

culminative period of the revolution. the lack of political understanding on More than that, the International cov- the part of the national leadership, but itical mistakes of the leadership. Yet, ered with the cloak of its authority the from the theory that dominates the presplit in the ranks of Spanish Communism sent course of the International-Stalin- forced to admit that the party is disormaintained by the official leadership of ism. The root of the evil lies in the ganized and that it is absolutely neces-Pumarega combine, were the liquidators into Communism since the death of that the Left Opposition was correct and of the immediate perspectives opened up Lenin. The defeats of the Chinese, the that it was the only one to foresee the for the Spanish proletariat by the Four- German, the Bulgarian and now, the Spanish revolution are the consequences In the "Open Letter" of the Commun- of the wrong tactics that derives from

What solutions are proposed in this lated by the Opposition, and for which "Open Letter"? The whole document is crete solutions... It does not even prorowness: anarchistic tendencies; false strative elimination of the direct authanalysis of the political situation; issu- ors of these political crimes which are ance of slogans incomprehensible to the denounced within it. These leadmasses and failure of realizing a serious ers served the International burwill to put them into practice; a false eaucracy too faithfully and are aldonception of the role of the Soviets; together too disposed to continue servfailure to understand the meaning of the ing it, for the latter to get rid of them. shop committees; clique control; stran- The solution of the problems is left to gulation of the expression of the rank the congress of the Party, which is to meet in March, so as to give a certain democratic appearance to the bureau-Left Opposition believes and declares cratic maneuvers that are now being pre-

The leadership of the Spanish party

with the consent of the International expelled all its political opponents, the most capable militants of the party, within the last few months and accused them of the horrible crime of not withholding their criticism of the adventuristic policies pursued by this leadership. The leadership was, in this manner, able to maintain the condition of monolithic tranquility. A pogrom atmosphere was created within the party, an atmosphere of terrorism against all independently thinking militants and of a systematic persecution against all sincere militants that disagreed with these methods of democracy. It signifies the regeneration artifically: imposed by the Internation-Opposition were allowed to occupy the in the face of the reign of persecution, place that belongs to it within the ranks many old militants left the party. The of the party. It goes to show once more, bureaucraticization of the units killed off that if the internal regime were one of all their internal political life. The free and democratic discussion, which leaders were more interested in upholdis indispensible to every revolutionary ing the personal prestige of the secretproletarian organization, the criticism ary of the unit than in upholding the would be far less acute than under the political line of the worker-Communists present state of division, and the cor- active in the units. The active militants. rection of the mistakes would take place fearing expulsion from the party, curtical mistakes is very difficult to make more rapidly and more effectively, and tailed their own opinions and did not would be immeasurably less painful. But follow the dictates of their conscience. the International bureaucracy fears the The militants were robotized; what was revolutionary truth and therefore per- asked of them was not discipline, but

It is in such a situation that the party

convention is being prepared, which can The "Open Letter" takes special pains be denounced in advance as a bureauresulting especially from the latest polthis very International leadership is policy corresponding to the needs of the party at every step in the revolution. All our activities and all our writings are the proof for this. Once more, the historic necessity of the existence of the Opposition has been justified, on a national as well as on an international scale. Nevertheless, instead of readmitting all the Oppositionists expelled for their opinions into the party, the "Open Letter" demands that the patty carry on an "energetic" struggle against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". For the purpose of struggling against "Trotskyism", a whole factory of slanders and calumniations against the Opposition and its most outstanding militants will start to function within a short time, with full steam and in extra shifts. It will take recourse to verbal and journalistic violence at first and later on, even to physical violence. In this manner, the party bureaucracy will expiate for the mistakes it has committed, mistakes fatal for the destiny of the Spanish pro-

The Communist party will not be able to take the road it must take, if it does ers was the command of the necessity ly eliminating the whole leading clique present situation. These inept and incapable leaders, veritable illiterates in so far as revolutionary Marxism is concerned, are those who are morally responsible for the defeat of the Spanish revolution. All the worker-Communists who love their party must demand the political condemnation of Bullejos and Under these conditions-I tell you this in Co. The latter, with a stroke of remarkable political cynicism, are trying to evade responsibility for the debacle by resorting to accusations against the rank and file of the party, who are guilty merely of the crime of being too patient. Correct as these reasons were, they The Communist workers will not consent any longer to have all the blame for cellent revolutionists, proletarians were the mistakes which are exclusively due heads. The national bureaucrats have learned from their International allies "The creation of the army", Trotsky tatorship and of casting responsibility said, "is for us a question of life and for the failures on their shoulders. There is one more thing that the Left Opposi-There was no administrative appar- tion cannot conceal. The present leadfirst pithy war material of the Republic. dissimulate before the working masses. (To be Continued)

Hail the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Red Army!

On the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the founding of the Red Army, we reprint below an account of the event by Victor Serge and several of the first Soviet documents bearing on the subject. Victor Serge is the translator of the French edition of the complete works of Lenin. He is a Franco-Russian Communist of long standing and a member of the Left Opposition. The chapter printed below forms part of his work Year I of the Russian Revolution (in French) and is of especial interest at present in view of the Stalinist distortions of revolutionary history in general and that of the Red Army in particular. The Red Army, in the organization of which comrade Trotsky took the leading part, was created as the army of the International revolution. Today, on the fourteenth anniversary of its foundation, with the sharpening of the class conflicts and the imminence of social struggles of an international scope, it is especially well to remember this. Long live the Red Army, the army of the world proletariat!

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BIRTH OF THE RED ARMY

. . . .

Finland, the Baltic countries, the Ukraine are occupied by the Austrians and the Germans. The Turks are entering (Trotsky On Lenin), "we will never get Caucasia, at that time "independent", The British are occupying the Baku. The Rumanians are seizing Bessarabia. The cussions, emphasized again and again Japanese are landing at Vladivostok (April 6). The revolution is surrounded that the Conference was not a Communist organization, but a movement embrac- in a circle of iron and fire. It needs an ing any labor body and liberal elements army. This army must be created from who agreed with its aims of fighting for the void.

On January 2 (15), while negotiations are going on at Brest-Litovsk, a decree Army of volunteers.

the Left Opposition. The course taken for it by these first improvised units. about the ease with which the Bolshein this conference is an involuntary ad- A Supreme Army Council was formed on viks recruited the technical personnel

days of the creation of the army, Trotsky And the patriotic sentiment also played appeared as the tireless animator of the its part. And then, there were many project. "We need a well organized who were to remain enemies of the revarmy, a new army", he exclaimed at the olution as officers in the Red Army. Moscow Soviet on March 19. "We shall Conspirators appeared to install themwork twelve hours a day if necessary selves permanently inside the army. Trotof discipline, of work and of creative who feared that the army-in the conaction". "Obstinate work, revolutionary ddct of which the former generals pardiscipline". He repeated these slogans, ticipated-would become an instrument carried them out, implanted them in the of the counter-revolution. Composed of minds. The decree on obligatory and workers and poor peasants and held togeneral military instruction was promul- gether by a framework of Communist gated on April 22 upon his proposal. It commissars, it did not, he argued, have part of the population remained hostile treacheries. He had to combat habits to the regime. The army about to be created by the revolution itself. For organized had to be formed of volunteers months, the military commanders had whose first qualifications were to be their social origin and political opinions. But a modern army is a complicated of democratizing the old army. "As long of adventurers which have led it to the machine. Its mechanism cannot be built up, its functioning cannot be assured! without the specialist's skill. Where were the war technicians to be taken from? There were those of the old regime, those of the enemy classes. Trotsky very early envisaged the utilization of these specialists. In order to carry this out, he had to overcome numerous obstacles and not a few legitimate fears. Even Lenin at first objected and only consented later on:

"Without serious and experienced military men", I said to Vladimir Llyitch

out of this chaos". "That seems to be quite true. But what if they will betray us?" "We shall attach a commissar to each

one of them." "We shall attach two", Lenin cried out, "two who will have a solid weight There is no lack of strong-arm Com

munista".

The type of the leading organisms of that the pressure of the masses may is issued on the establishment of a Red the army was conceived in the following manner: one specialist, one regular of-The Red general staff-whatever has ficer and two Bolshevik commissars. The remained of the former general staff- military men, it appeared, accepted these calls upon the local Soviets to show positions and this control without many Due to the bankruptcy of the Stalin-I their initiative by constituting new corps, difficulties. Accustomed to passive obediist policies, loss of membership, prestige, the battalion of 150 men to be adopted ience and to state service, they submitetc., the Party was forced to adopt the as the unit. This appeal did not go un- ted immediately as soon as authority was Leninist principle of the United Front. answered. The real Red Army was to imposed upon them. In their memoires This is a vindication of the program of be created later, under the cover formed the White Guard generals complained

the First of March. During these early of the Red Army. They had to live. . . . but we will go forward in the way sky had to refute the arguments of those was a preparatory measure; a great to fear anything outside of individual been elected. The election of command- not begin its reorganization by completeas the power belonged to the enemy class, as long as the cadres of the army were the instrument of this class, it was our task to break the resistance of the command through the election of the commanders. But today the power is in the hands of the working class from the midst of which the army is recruiteed. all frankness-the election of officers is no longer of any political utility, it is technically inadequate and a decree has already annuled it in fact."

did not win out painlessly. What! Exto be placed under the command- even to the party "leaders", cast upon their though controlled by commissars (incompetents!)-of generals who only yesterday shot them down and of counter- the consistent method of submitting the revolutionary officers! It was necessary, rank and file to a most abominable dicdeath."

atus capable of mobilizing the forces ership of any other leading body arising necessary for the formation of an army. from the party itself will not be able The party, revealing once more the deci- to restore its political welfare if it is sive importance tf its historic role, had going to apply to the Spanish movements to supplement the state. The Red the internationally disastrous methods Guards, the partisan units (numerous in of Stalinism. The Spanish revolution the inland country, but anarchic, indis- is another proof for the world proletarciplined, infinitely difficult to control) iat of how Stalinism leads directly to and a few other hardly regular units defeat. This is precisely what the hired tha survived from the old army were the Stalinites in Spain are attempting to

(Continued on page 4)