

# Leading Functionary Exposes Stalinism in Greece

Wherever the Left Opposition raises its head, the Stalinist bureaucracy puts its machinery of slander, calumny and falsehood in motion against it. The fiercer the bureaucratic methods of the Centrists against them. As the readers of *The Militant* already know, the Greek Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxists) are the strongest Communist organization of that country.

Counting a few thousand members in every part of Greece, organized firmly under the tested Bolshevik plan (legal and illegal), enjoying a broad and powerful influence in the trade unions and in the mass organizations of the Greek proletariat, the Archio-Marxists have been a particularly uncomfortable thorn in the side of Stalinism. All the despicable methods of the international bureaucracy have been applied against them and still they continue to grow and take root.

The methods of open violence and physical destruction—these are the most recent methods of the Centrists against the Left Opposition. They are the methods of utter despair, they indicate the complete state of bankruptcy of the Stalinists. Of late, the successes achieved by the American Left Opposition (anti-war congress, Germany, etc.) have called forth especially sharp manifestations of these self-same flowers of Centrist bankruptcy and despair. The American Stalinists fight to pogroms against the Left Opposition, provoke police action against it—for the same reasons as the Greek Stalinists, because they are alarmed at the growth of its influence and sympathy in the ranks of the Communist workers.

Below we publish an account of the Stalinist methods of fighting the Left Opposition by a former member of the Greek C. P., who has since joined the Archio-Marxists. It is interesting and instructive because it paints a picture of Stalinist corruption that is universally applicable. The experience of comrade Bambakas, the author of this account, is undoubtedly the experience of numerous Communist militants all over the International and in the American party as well. Sooner or later, they too will draw their conclusions—just as this comrade did. The regime of Stalinist impotence, the regime of degenerated, disorganizing Centristism, the regime of physical violence against the Bolshevik-Leninists is doomed in advance. The organizers of defeat have seen their best days. The victory of the International Leninist Opposition is assured by history, nothing can prevent it.

## THE STATEMENT OF COMRADE BAMBAKAS

What forced me to realize the dishonesty and corruption of those who do not follow the Communist line but rather the tactics of Stalin was the policy of the party toward the Archio-Marxists. In the policy of the party any means

## Statement of Comrade J. Bambakas

whatever is justified provided it leads to the extermination of the Opposition.

In 1928, when for the first time the Archio-Marxists appeared in our district, the party decided to use methods of sabotage to prevent them from getting employment so that they would be compelled to leave the city. While, on the one hand, we were telling workers the Archio-Marxists were stool-pigeons, on the other hand, we told the bosses the Archio-Marxists were Anarchists and disrupters.

When it was reported to the district committee that these means of sabotage were not sufficient, that in spite of it the Archio-Marxists were making progress, the party decided to turn to murderous attacks. Arming them with knives and iron bars the party organized groups and sent them out on their attacks. These attacks still continue.

In the district of Gyffica, they attacked a shoe worker who was later brought to the hospital unconscious. While the leaders were celebrating their "heroic" victory, this comrade refused to reveal the murderers to anyone although he knew them.

### ADMIT CONSTANT ATTACKS ON LEFT OPPOSITION

Another instance: at Suguglou another Archio-Marxist was attacked at the time he was speaking to a meeting of workers. Also, two Archio-Marxists were beaten up in Chatica. Comrade Str—, fanatical by the leadership, fired a gun at a carpenter, member of the Opposition, but luckily the gun jammed. This comrade Str—, who later realized the corruption of the party bureaucrats, confessed this to the Archio-Marxists and to me.

Further: we attacked comrade Alfudi, a tobacco worker, at the time he was leaving his work, and beat him up badly. Comrade Alfudi is a well known member of the Y. C. L., with a splendid revolutionary record. He is now serving a two year term in the medieval dungeon of Itzedin and will be exiled for one year after the jail term is ended. This comrade was refused admittance to the jail collectives—(comrades in jails organize collectives which are supported by the I. L. D.—Ed.) because he was a member of the Archio-Marxists since 1928.

All the Archio-Marxists were under a continual vicious attack from our part, and had they not taken protective measures, there would have resulted many more victims. This was verified, as you know, in the district committee.

These are not accidents nor isolated cases, but a part of the international policy of the Stalinist bureaucrats. When Stalin assassinates Blumkin and Zin-zadze and acquits Ramsin & Co., it is not at all surprising that the Greek Stalinists do not hesitate to soak their hands in the blood of two militant com-

rades, Lada and Georgopadatu.—(The above comrades were murdered on the way home from a meeting by a group of Stalinists who were hidden in a hallway.—Ed.)

Time and again the party sycophants accused the Archio-Marxists of being stool pigeons. Today, when hundreds of facts speak for themselves and the workers see in the face of the Archio-Marxists the true Bolsheviks, the party bureaucrats are forced to shift these accusations to only a few of the Archio-Marxist leaders. This is a miserable disgrace to the party bureaucrats, for not a single fact can prove the above accusations against the Left Opposition, while on the contrary a pile of facts prove that there are many stool-pigeons within the Communist party. Because of the corrupt conditions within the party, it is difficult to discover and expose them.

### ARCHIO-MARXIST EXCLUDED FROM PRISON-COLLECTIVES

I categorically declare I was not betrayed by Archio-Marxists, but by members of the district committee Y. C. L., Stambullis and Kokino. The former in a semi-covert form confessed to me when I was released from jail. The latter was caught in our trap which we had set for him and was proven to be a stool-pigeon.

Any betrayal that leaks out of the party is ascribed to the Archio-Marxists. The party bureaucrats poison the minds of the members against the Archio-Marxists to such an extent that even in their dreams they see the Archio-Marxists conspiring with the police. For this we can not blame the party members.

The attitude of the party against the Archio-Marxists in jail is absolutely shameful and disgusting. Comrades who courageously faced the courts and raised high the banner of Communism before the capitalist judges, for which they were sentenced to long prison terms, are not permitted to enter the jail collectives in spite of the decisions of the central committee of the I. L. D.—(brought about by the mass-pressure of party workers) not to exclude them.

### PARTY MEMBERS RESENT EXCLUSION OF ARCHIO-MARXISTS

Why is this happening? The corruption is so great that the bureaucrats fear the whip of criticism from the Opposition. This attitude of the party against the Archio-Marxists is strongly condemned by every honest, thinking party member. Comrade Floros, who was jailed with five other Archio-Marxists but later released while his comrades still had to serve two year jail sentences and one year exile, speaks with great enthusiasm about the Archio-Marxists.

"The brave heroic attitude of Archio-Marxists before the courts and their comradely attitude in jail, left a profound impression on me", he said. And still the five Archio-Marxists are refused admittance in jail-collectives of Komotini. In the Kavalla jail we investigated some soldiers, who were sympathizers of the movement, to attack the Archio-Marxists

in their cells. This dirty tactic must be fully stigmatized and condemned. How contemptible were the words spoken to the soldiers when the latter were informed that the Archio-Marxists were not jailed for revolutionary activities but were deliberately sent by the police in order to spy on the prisoners.

When the party and Y. C. L. members will fraternize with the Archio-Marxists, when they will break down the barriers that have been mechanically built up by the adventurist and corrupt leaders of the party then, and only then will they realize that the Archio-Marxists are the genuine and militant revolutionists, and they will understand the true meaning of the party's policy towards the Bolshevik-Leninists.

### PARTY MUST CHANGE TACTICS

Under the present crisis great sections of the exploited masses are turning to the left, toward Communism. Will the party be able, even if its influence is strengthened, to utilize these conditions for the final victory? The strength of the party is measured not only by its influence but primarily by its internal ideological base and its organizational ability. No victory can be expected from an organization whose foundations are decayed and rotten. History has proven this and especially in the history of the Greek movement.

—J. BAMBAKAS.  
Sec'y of Section Committee of Dramas, Sec'y of Y. C. L. of Kabalas, Member of Dist. Committee of Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace.

# Party Voices on the Frame-Up

## Condemn Disgraceful Action of Stalinist Leaders

We have received a number of letters from party members and sympathizers, expressing their indignation and resentment against the latest Stalinist frame-up against the Left Opposition. Voices are coming up from the ranks, speaking out clearly, denouncing the shameful, provocative actions of the party bureaucrats. We have no doubt that these voices will grow even more powerful in the future. The impotence of Centristism is revealing itself more and more every day. The eyes of the Communist rank and file are being opened. Below we give excerpts from a few of the letters we have received:

"August 27, 1932  
"The moment I read the first article on the question in the *Daily Worker*, I was indignant like hell. I understand from the very beginning that some 'party hooligans' busted up your meeting. This action of the party will not add an iota of prestige to its name, but instead will antagonize workers towards the movement. . . .  
"I have spoken to some of the comrades in my shop and they also condemn the party for its provocative tactics. . . .  
"I also want to state that nobody in the shop believes the statements in the *Daily Worker* and those that are in the movement or are acquainted with it know very well that the party is to blame more

than anybody else.  
"I have read the leaflet (The leaflet issued by the N. C. of the Communist League with regard to the frame-up—Ed.) and I fully agree with what is written there.  
"I sincerely hope that ideas of your organization will grow in the hearts and minds of all the workers. . . ."  
—PARTY MEMBER.

"August 25, 1932.  
"The accounts given in the *Daily Worker* of August 23 and 24 of what took place on Avenue A and 7th Street at your meeting last Saturday night and the little hints and insinuations that go with it are outrageous. The editors of the *Daily Worker* seem to be intent on whipping up a lynch spirit against the comrades of the Left Opposition.  
"No matter what disagreements we may have with the Opposition, such tactics are impermissible. I didn't believe that Stalinism is so corrupt. I never really grasped what you meant by Stalinism before. Such disgraceful methods could never issue forth from a healthy Communist movement. . . .  
"The method employed by the *Daily Worker* shows that there is something wrong that goes deeper into the policy of the party. It is setting a good many of us thinking. . . .  
"As Communists we cannot allow this shameful action to go unchallenged."  
Comradely yours,  
—A. Y. C. L. E.

"August 27, 1932  
"The accusations of the party against the Left Opposition are a plain frame-up. Nobody in the movement can take them seriously. . . .  
"You must come before the Left wing workers and explain to them what happened and what the action of the party leaders means. They will listen to you and I am sure will support you."  
—NEDLE TRADES WORKER.  
"August 28, 1932  
"I wish to let you know that many of us, members of the I. L. D. and of the F. S. U. protest against the attitude of the *Daily Worker* and the C. P. In connection with your meeting on August 20 and the deaths of Semen and Krasuk.  
"The leadership of the party is capitalizing the tragic deaths of these two workers to arouse hostile sentiment against your Opposition. The workers in the movement are sure will disapprove of this, just as they have in general disapproved of the party's methods of breaking up open air meetings of other organizations. . . .  
"A leadership is bankrupt which has to resort to such methods."  
—MEMBER OF THE I. L. D.

# Unemployed Activity in Retrospect

(Continued from page 2)

In one respect the resolution marked an advance over Browder's directives. The resolution restored the fight for relief to a more nearly correct basis. It placed on the agenda again the fight for unemployment insurance. It made it the central slogan. It reaffirmed the seven hour day without motivating the demand by any reason or figures. And it added at the end of its program, the demand for "the development of trade relations with the Soviet Union, in order that the idle factories may work, fill the constantly growing demands of the successful construction of the workers' government and its Five Year Plan."

Around the slogans of the resolution the National Hunger March to Washington was organized. With this march and its repercussions the party resurged the fight for unemployment insurance. In this sense the resolution marked a limping, half-step forward.

### The Draft Program

With the termination of the Hunger March of last December the fight for unemployment insurance was again relegated to the background. And the fight for "more not less relief" as one placard in a demonstration announced, was more oriented on the road which led to the opportunist swamp.

It is now in full swing headed toward the Relief March, scheduled for September 10. Its demands, slogans and organizational forms are incorporated in a Proposed Draft Program of Fighting Methods and Organization Forms of the Unemployed Councils—A Manual for Hunger Fighters. It is issued by the National Committee of the Unemployed Councils of the U. S. A.

It is understood that this is not a Communist program in the sense of, let us say, a party election program. It cannot be a statement of Communist aims and receive the endorsement of workers in the unemployed movement who are just awakening to class consciousness. But it must present Communist ideas in an elementary form so that when they are applied in the class struggle they become steps toward the final, inevitable goal. If the program fulfills this requirement it is a Communist document.

But this is precisely what the Draft Program is not. It is enough to glance at the section, The Typical Issues and Demands, to realize that it is not a Communist document. The first typical demand is concerned with cash relief; the second with hophouses; the third with breadlines and food-kitchens; the fourth with food for children; etc.

—T. STAMM.  
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# Bourgeoisie, Petty Bourgeoisie and Proletariat - - - By LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

## THE DECLINE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORMS

But precisely with the war there begins the distinct decline of capitalism and above all, of its democratic form of domination. It is now no longer a matter of new reforms and aims, but of cutting down and abolishing the old ones. Therewith the bourgeoisie comes into conflict not only with the institutions of proletarian democracy (trade unions and political parties) but also with parliamentary democracy, within the framework of which arose the labor organizations. Therefore, the campaign against "Marxism" on the one hand and against democratic parliamentarism, on the other.

But just as the summits of the liberal bourgeoisie in its time were unable, by their own force alone, to get rid of feudalism, monarchy and the church, so the magnates of finance capital are unable, by their force alone, to cope with the proletariat. They need the support of the petty bourgeoisie. For this purpose, it must be whipped up, put on its feet, mobilized, armed. But this method has its dangers. While it makes use of Fascism, the bourgeoisie nevertheless fears it. Pilsudski was forced, in May 1926, to save bourgeois society by a coup d'Etat directed against the traditional parties of the Polish bourgeoisie. The matter went so far that the official leader of the Polish Communist Party, Warski, who came over from Rosa Luxemburg not to Lenin, but to Stalin, took the coup d'Etat of Pilsudski to be the road of the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship" and called upon the workers to support Pilsudski.

At the session of the Polish Commission of the Executive Committee of the C. I. on July 2, 1926, the author of these lines said on the subject of the events in Poland:

### A FEW LESSONS OF THE PILSUDSKI "COUP"

"Taken as a whole, the Pilsudski overthrow is the petty bourgeois, 'plebeian' manner of solving the burning problems of bourgeois society in its state of decomposition and decline. We have here already a direct resemblance to Italian Fascism.

"These two currents indubitably possess common features: they recruit their shock troops first of all from the petty bourgeoisie; Pilsudski as well as Mussolini worked with extra-parliamentary means, with open violence, with the methods of civil war; both were concerned, not with the destruction, but with the preservation of bourgeois society. While they raised the petty bourgeoisie on its feet, they openly allied themselves after the seizure of power, with the big bourgeoisie. Involuntarily, an historical generalization props up here, recalling the evaluation given by Marx of Jacobinism as the plebeian method of settling accounts with the feudal enemies of the bourgeoisie. . . .

## Jacobinism, Social Democracy and Fascism - - The Political Programs of the Petty Bourgeoisie

That was in the period of the rise of the bourgeoisie. Now we must say, in the period of the decline of bourgeois society, the bourgeoisie again needs the "plebeian" method of resolving its no longer progressive, but entirely reactionary tasks. In this sense, *Fascism* is a caricature of *Jacobinism*.

"The bourgeoisie is incapable of maintaining itself in power by the means and methods of the parliamentary state created by itself, it needs *Fascism* as a weapon of self-defense, at least in critical instances. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie does not like the "plebeian" method of resolving its tasks. It was always hostile to Jacobinism, which cleared the road for the development of bourgeois society with its blood. The Fascists are immeasurably closer to the decadent bourgeoisie than the Jacobins were to the rising bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the sober bourgeoisie does not look very favorably even upon the Fascist mode of resolving its tasks, for the concessions, although they are brought forth in the interests of bourgeois society, are linked up with dangers to it. Therefore, the opposition between *Fascism* and the bourgeoisie parties.

"The big bourgeoisie likes *Fascism* as little as a man with aching molars likes to have his teeth pulled. The sober circles of bourgeois society have followed with misgivings the work of the dentist Pilsudski, but in the last analysis they have become reconciled to the inevitable, though with threats, with horse-deals and all sorts of trading. Thus the petty bourgeoisie's idol of yesterday becomes transformed into the gendarme of capital."

To this attempt at marking out the historical place of *Fascism* as the political reliever of the social democracy, there was counterposed the theory of social *Fascism*. At first it could appear as a pretentious, blustering but harmless stupidity. Subsequent events have shown what a pernicious influence the Stalinist theory actually exercised on the entire development of the Communist International.

### IS THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE BIG AND THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE INDISSOLUBLE?

Does it follow from the historical rôle of Jacobinism, of democracy and of *Fascism* that the petty bourgeoisie is condemned to remain a tool in the hands of capital to the end of its days? If things were so, then the dictatorship of the proletariat would be impossible in a number of countries in which the petty bourgeoisie constitutes the majority of the nation

and more than that, it would be rendered extremely difficult in other countries in which the petty bourgeoisie represents an important minority. Fortunately, things are not so. The experience of the Paris Commune first showed, at least within the limits of one city, just as the experience of the October revolution has showed after it on a much larger scale and over an incomparably longer period, that the alliance of the petty bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie is not indissoluble. Since the petty bourgeoisie is incapable of an independent policy (that is also why the petty bourgeois "democratic dictatorship" is unrealizable) no other choice is left for it than that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

In the epoch of the rise, the growth and the bloom of capitalism the petty bourgeoisie, despite acute outbreaks of discontent, generally marched obediently in the capitalist harness. Nor could it do anything else. But under the conditions of capitalist disintegration and of the impasse in the economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie tends, seeks, attempts to tear itself loose from the fetters of the old masters and rulers of society. It is quite capable of linking up its fate with that of the proletariat. For that, only one thing is needed: the petty bourgeoisie must acquire faith in the ability of the proletariat to lead society onto a new road. The proletariat can inspire this faith only by its strength, by the firmness of its actions, by a skillful offensive against the enemy, by the success of its revolutionary policy.

But, woe if the revolutionary party does not measure up to the height of the situation! The daily struggle of the proletariat sharpens the instability of bourgeois society. The strikes and the political disturbances aggravate the economic situation of the country. The petty bourgeoisie could reconcile itself temporarily to the growing privations, if it arrived by experience to the conviction that the proletariat is in a position to lead it onto a new road. But if the revolutionary party, in spite of a class struggle becoming incessantly more accentuated, proves time and again to be incapable of uniting the working class about it, if it vacillates, becomes confused, contradicts itself, then the petty bourgeoisie loses patience and begins to look upon the revolutionary workers as those responsible for its own misery. All the bourgeois parties, including the social democracy, turn its thoughts in this very direction. When the social crisis takes on an intolerable acuteness, a particular party appears on the scene with the direct aim of agitating the petty bourgeoisie to

a white heat and of directing its hatred and its despair against the proletariat. In Germany, this historical function is fulfilled by National-Socialism, a broad current whose ideology is composed of all the putrid vapors of disintegrating bourgeois society.

### THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GROWTH OF FASCISM

The principal political responsibility for the growth of *Fascism* rests, of course, on the shoulders of the social democracy. Ever since the imperialist war, the labors of this party have been reduced to uprooting from the consciousness of the proletariat the idea of independent politics, to implanting within it the belief in the eternity of capitalism and to forcing it to its knees time and again before the decadent bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie can only follow the worker when it sees in him the new master. The social democracy will not follow a lackey. The politics of reform teaches the worker to be a lackey. The petty bourgeoisie deprive the proletariat of the possibility of leading the plebeian masses of the petty bourgeoisie and thereby alone convert the latter into cannon fodder for *Fascism*.

Politically, however, the question is not settled for us with the responsibility of the social democracy. Ever since the beginning of the war we have denounced this party as the agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie within the ranks of the proletariat. Out of this new orientation of the revolutionary Marxists arose the Third International. Its task consisted in uniting the proletariat under the banner of the revolution and thereby to secure for it the directing influence over the oppressed masses of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns and on the countryside.

The post-war period, in Germany more than anywhere else, was an epoch of economic impasse and of civil war. The international conditions as well as the domestic ones pushed the country imperiously on the road to socialism. Every step of the social democracy revealed its decadence and its impotence, the reactionary import of its politics, the venality of its leaders. What other conditions are needed for the development of the Communist party? And yet, after the first few years of significant successes, German Communism entered into an era of vacillations, zigzags, alternating turns to opportunism and adventurism. The centrist bureaucracy has systematically weakened the proletarian vanguard and prevented it from bringing the class under its leadership. Therewith, it has robbed the proletariat as a whole of the possibility of drawing under its direction the oppressed masses of the petty bourgeoisie. The Stalinist bureaucracy bears the direct and immediate responsibility for the growth of *Fascism* before the proletarian vanguard.  
PRINKIPO, August 4, 1932. L. TROTSKY.