

New Expulsions in the Comintern

The much-vaunted "ideological consolidation" imposed upon the Communist International by the Stalinist apparatus...

the so-called "Group" of Celor, Barbe, Lozeray and others, who had only the day before been the leaders of the party...

thoroughly reliable agency. This gang of political bandits was uncovered by other, similarly virtuous bureaucrats...

At each turn in the road, the Centrist apparatus has had to cast out elements...

In the last few months alone, expulsions and near-expulsions have taken place in several countries...

Hoover's Last Message to Congress

(Continued from page 1) struggle for the redification of the earth...

Congress and the House are busy with their "Beer Bill". The Hunger Marchers answered this democratic bunk with the slogan of "bread before beer".

The approach of the president and congress to the most vital problem of unemployment and the crisis has but one

aim! to strengthen the position of the bankers and further to beat down the disorganized and badly directed energy of the working class.

The attempt to balance the budget is forcing drastic inroads into the working class and the middle class. The series of proposals from wage cuts, the cut in veterans relief, less public building, to the sales tax are all aimed at the classes below the leading capitalists in America.

The demand for the reorganizing of the banking system and the advocating of the branch system is the most fundamental and far-reaching reform in the interest of the imperialists to be taken internally. Once they obtain this, and everything points in this direction, it will strengthen their position not only against the other classes within the country but will give them a stronger home base of operation against the contending imperialists of other nations.

After all, Congress has just opened and is getting down to business. There will be lots of steam and talk about helping the workers and farmers—and a demand for beer, but under it all they

which a Communist is—rather, should be submitted, were never put before him. He was given only one test for leadership: Was he sufficiently lacking in integrity, independence and knowledge to qualify him for the post of ever-ready servility and obedience to command from above?

Need it be added that Celor fought intransigently against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism"? It goes without saying. He probably did it with more real conviction than most bureaucrats, for his hatred of Trotsky and the Left Opposition sprang from the deep wells of a class antagonism: the bourgeoisie which employed him versus the revolutionary proletarian wing of Communism. But this too is no tribute to the Stalinists and their regime.

(To be continued)

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CHICAGO NEW YEAR'S EVENING CONCERT & DANCE. SATURDAY, DEC. 31, 8 P. M. at HUMBOLDT HALL, 2229 W. Division St. Peppy Orchestra - Excellent Food - Plenty Fun

Greek Stalinists Meet Arguments of Left Opposition With Slanderous Attacks

In all Communist literature not a single line of slander or lies can be found as an argument for the fight against the exploiting class and its multicolored agents within and outside the labor movement.

When comrade Trotsky, before the increasing danger of Fascism, criticizes the wrong policies of the C P G, and proposes a Leninist united front of all working class organizations as an urgent necessity to combat and destroy Fascism, he is accused of "helping the social democracy".

The Greek functionaries, loyal servants of their masters, no less than they were faithful to Lovestone in his time, in their fight against the Greek comrades of the Left Opposition. Time and again could not but apply the same methods through the pages of Empros, the party paper, slanders describing us as enemies of the working class, co-workers of the National Herald, a capitalist sheet.

Empros of November 26, after a repetition of the usual slanders, announced in effect that the character of the five or six Greek Trotskyists has already been exposed in the past with the exception of Sebastian Pappas, this "New hero of the National Herald" who wanted to enlighten the German Communist Party.

The Empros editors know that in the statement to the party for which I was expelled without even a hearing, I did not formulate any new ideas of mine to enlighten the CPG, and that I only proposed a discussion of the views of the Left Opposition in Germany. The remark of Empros that I wanted to enlighten the CPG therefore means to say: "Rank and file: do not question the infallibility of the line of the leadership; carry out orders the way I, the functionary, do."

four months later they undertake to expose me? It is simply a maneuver to avoid the arguments raised in my article on the language sections and the trade unions, published in the October Komunistis.

As to the Food Workers Industrial Union. Immediately after my expulsion, when the D. C. avoided the issue I raised in my statement, and instead brought out that I was always a "disruptive element" in the fraction and the union, I addressed a letter to the C. P. fraction pointing out that I was ready to discuss my conduct openly with the membership of the party, I challenged them to a debate before the union on Trotskyism. Up till now I have not received a reply. However, the following facts should be sufficient to explain my conduct in the union.

Since the inception of the union, I was always in its leading committees. And also for years, I was a member of the leading fraction of the union till April 1931, when my health broke down and I was forced to withdraw from all activities. In the summer of 1931, the cafeteria section voluntarily collected \$324 for the purpose of sending me to the Soviet Union for recovery. On December of the same year, the convention of the union unanimously decided that I should be sent to the S. U. immediately at the unions' expenses until I recovered completely.

Your decision in sending comrade Pappas to the S. U. whose health is undermined due to his activities in the union is the highest example of your class solidarity. Steuben knew that I was for years sympathetic to the ideas of the Left Opposition. For two days before the convention, this same Steuben criticized severely some comrades who dared to propose the Trotskyist Pappas as secretary of the union. Why, then, did he not expose me as a counter-revolutionist before the convention instead of speaking very highly and enthusiastically about me? Do these facts show that I was "always a disruptive element in the union"?

I repeat the arguments of Kommunistis. The National Herald, in its efforts to combat the accusations of the Empros, so as to appear whitewashed before the masses, exploits our differences in our criticism against the Empros, by pretending to favor the Opposition. The National Herald is a bourgeois paper, the same as Atlantis, and in their competition for business on the one hand, and their desire to win over Greek workers, on the other, will resort to any methods to accomplish their goal. The duty of the Empros is to reveal the reactionary character of both papers. Instead the silence with respect to the Atlantis which lately poses as a workers' friend strengthens its influence among the Greek workers. On the other hand, the articles written in the Empros by Alex Mikros, for an entire period against the National Herald, in some cases was harmful to the Greek workers in that they spread illusions as to the justice of the capitalist courts, etc. Time and again, the Greek bureau quoted Lenin and Lassalle in the Empros to the effect that when the bourgeoisie appraise the position of some revolutionist in a favorable light, he, the revolutionist, must be dangerous to the working class. This is true. Does it follow, therefore that when a dissatisfied petit-bourgeois writer speaks in favor of the Soviet Union, or when a theatrical company imports Russian film for business purposes, are shown to the masses and consequently benefits the Soviet State—does it mean that the Soviet State ceases to be the Fatherland of the working class? Far from it. The politically headless petit-bourgeois will take almost any position that is of some profit to themselves. To make the above point clearer to the Greek bureau, let us take up the question of Vassardakis, with which they are very well acquainted. Didn't he shift his position towards the Empros when he clashed with the National Herald clique and is extremely friendly with you? Does not this indicate the character of this petit-bourgeois? Unfortunately, Vassardakis was permitted to use the pages of the Empros for his own satisfaction.

However, the quotations from Lenin and Lassalle apply fully to Stalin and his policies. For the official press of the bourgeoisie, like the N. Y. Times, through its foreign representative Duranty, is in agreement with Stalinist policies against Trotsky; while the leader of the Left Opposition, comrade Trotsky, expelled in Prinkipio by secret agreement between Kemal Pasha and Stalin, is refused a visa to all bourgeois countries. This fact alone shows the violent hostility of the bourgeoisie against the Left Opposition. If Trotsky is what the Stalinists call him, then it would be a simple matter to convince the workers by a public debate in which both sides would have the opportunity to present their respective standpoints. But this is something the Stalinists dare not undertake.

They lie when they say that Trotsky's views have been settled and that they will not debate those who "have no masses behind them." Then why this incessant, increasing campaign in the party press against the Left Opposition. The Greek militants can no longer allow Vassardakis to use the Empros for their satisfaction. Empros must become a genuine Communist paper. In the organization of the unorganized, as well as in all the other great tasks facing the revolutionary movement, Empros must take the initiative. This is the role of a Communist paper.

—SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

Not only in the dormitories is there overcrowding. It is common for two families, each of five persons, with boarders as well, to occupy three mats in workers' homes. The infant mortality rate among workers' families is extremely high. Mothers, after long hours of toil, cannot nurse their babies. Here we have the "normal" conditions under Japanese "planned" economy.

(To be continued)

DON'T WORRY about STOCKS AND BONDS. INVEST \$2.00 in 4 Paid Sub Cards. Sel them or give them to other workers. Use the \$2.00 as a Revolving Fund and Finance. THE MILITANT 126 East 16th Street, N. Y. C. CLUB PLAN FOR NEW SUBS ONLY. Enclosed find \$2.00 for which please send me 4 PAID SUB CARDS. Name Address City State

JAPAN Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat By Jack Weber. The Agrarian Problem. The foundation of all highly developed division of labor that is brought about by the exchange of commodities is the cleavage between town and country.

The Solution. "The (Japanese) peasantry in its entirety represents an elementary rebellion." This rebellion manifests itself ordinarily in Japan through tenant unions which fight first of all for rent reduction. The tenant unions grew from 130 in 1917 to 4,065 in 1926 with a membership of 368,000. The tenant unions have the sympathy and support (sometimes the leadership) of the workers' unions in the cities.

FEUDAL REMNANTS IN CAPITALISM. The appearance of nation-wide unemployment during the prolonged crisis in Japanese capitalism marks a distinct turning-point in its development as well as in that of the working class. In 1930 there appeared for the first time in Japan the American type of hobo, shortage of the end of a period of labor shortage in industry and the beginning of the new epoch of permanent unemployment for an increasing section of the proletariat.

WAGES AND DISCHARGE ALLOWANCES. The wages of men in the silk-reeling and cotton spinning mills average from 1.20 to 1.60 yen a day, women receiving .90 to 1.00 yen per day. This meagre wage is augmented by bonuses (deferred wages) granted at the pleasure of the boss and constituting an excellent means of defrauding workers. However, the remnants of feudal psychology have, up till recently, led to a recognition of the duty of the employer to continue the worker in employment. Thus if a worker is discharged he is granted an allowance amounting to a considerable sum in many cases.