## New Expulsions in the Comintern

The much-vaunted "ideological conso-; the socalled "Group" of Celor, Barbe, thoroughly reliable agency. This gang lidation" imposed upon the Communist Lozeray and others, who had only the of political bandits was uncovered by International by the Stalinist apparatus day before been the leaders of the party. other, similarly virtuous bureaucrats, had for years been of a kind that went In this campaign to find a scapegoat only when a sacrificial offering had to hand in hand with an organizational dis- for the stagnation and retrogression of be thrown to the party ranks in order integration. The "consolidation" never the French party, the "Group" served ad- to put the quietus on the mounting distook place around a straight central shaft mirably, for its spokesmen humbly ac- contentment. of cohesive dictrine. Such a consolida- knowledged the justice of all the terrible tion, absolutely necessary in the Commun- accusations made against them. In one ist movement, would have permitted the case at least, it now appears that there attraction of homogeneous elements in was method in this servility. The case increasing number. What passes for rev- is that of the principal leader of the olutionary doctrine in the Stalinist camp, "Group" himself, Celor. During the however, has formed a disjointed, eccentric, badly geared axis, put together out that this group of leaders had associatof odd scraps borrowed from every con- ed itself without the slightest pretense ceivable tendency in the working class of a platform, and had systematically bute to the fear which Bolshevism in saying. He probably did it with more movement. This is what accounts for and successfully occupied itself with tak. spires in the hearts of the bourgeoisie. real conviction than most bureaucrats, the bumpy voyage on which the Stalinists ing over the whole party apparatus. It But that such agents can so easily reach for his hatred of Trotsky and the Left have taken the Communist Internation al, zig-zagging through the class struggle in accordance with the momentary pointed leader of the party by none other commentary, on the internal regime es. which employed him versus the revolueffectiveness-not of the axis as a whole, but of this or that joint in it.

At each turn in the road, the Centrist apparaus has had to cast out elements now from the Right, now from the Left. As its ideological baggage diminished, so also did those who carried it. The base of the bureaucracy in the International has steadily narrowed, so that nobody can say today who will be the representative spokesman of the apparatus tomorrow. The foreknowledge of their struggle for the redivision of the earth. precarious position has not always helped the Stalinist functionaries to remain stable in their loyalties. In some cases, they have anticipated the inevitable and hastened the break with the apparatus, before the apparatus consummated its break (plus the attendant humiliations and petty preliminary persecutions) with them. This category includes a wide range of people-from Bessedovsky and Agabekov to J. T. Murphy of England and Paul Marion of France.

In the last few months alone, expulsions and near-expulsions have taken place in several countries. The official party press has either passed them over in silence or commented upon them with the maximum of obscurity. Each instance, however, sheds its own share of light upon the state of affairs in the Stalinist camp, the policies it has pursued and the manner in which it rules. Almost a year ago, we commented extensively in the Militant upon the cam-

paign begun in the French party against

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about

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campaign a year ago, i was revealed than the central Stalin faction itself,

covered that M. Celor was a police provocateur all the time! 'To our knowl- and none from the masters above-their edge, this is the first police spy who support was automatic so long as his ever penetrated as high as the Executive servility, was unexhausted. Committee of the Communist International. That the police send their agents transigeantly against "counter-revoluinto the Communist movement is a tri- tionaly Trotskyism"? It goes without was further evident that Celor, who was the highest instances of the Interna- Opposition sprang from the deep wells present and falsify the views of the a member of the ECCI, had been ap- tional, is not a tribute, but a striking of a class antagonism: the bourgeoisie tablished by the Stalinists. Celor came, tionary protetarian wing of Communism. so to speak, out of nowhere, like most But this too is no tribute to the Stalinwhich found in this clique (as it did in of the figures who now adorn the Cen- ists and their regime. the Neumann clique in Germany) a trist household. The elementary tests to

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 concern about being checked up or controlled by that constant democratic interrelation between ranks and leadership. A few weeks ago, it was suddenly dis. He could go his own way arbitrarily. with no fear from the "sheep" below,

Need it be added that Celor fought in-

(To be continued)

## Hoover's Last Message to Congress

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

## THE MILITANT

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aim! to strengthen the position of the will be ironing out the problems. not bankers and further to beat down the of the workers, who have no represendisorganized and badly directed energy of latives, who cannot carry out their prothe working class.

The attempt to balance the budget is class and the middle class. The series of proposals from wage cuts, the cut in veteran's relief, less public building, to the sales tax are all aimed at the classes below the leading capitalists in Am-

The demand for the reorganizing of the action as Mr. Hoover has done the branch system is the most funda- warning for Congress to carry out the mental and far-reaching reform in the imperialists needs. 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 classess 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 Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, For helping the workers and farmers-and eign \$2.50. Five cents per copy, a demand for beer, but under it all they slogan of "Self-Determination in the

gram through the capitalist state, but the problems of the capitalists in genforcing drastic inroads into the working ers! and the imperialists in particular whom they represent.

The editorial comment of the "New York Times" on the Hoover message again gives Congress a warning. It ends the editorial with the following words, The country will be lucky if Congress takes to heart and does as well in banking system and the advocating of recommendations." As usual, this is a

HUGO OFHLER

The Philadelphia Branch held its regular Thurs. Forum of Dec. 8 with Hugo Oehler speaking on the American Negro and the Class Struggle. An audience of about thirty five was present with a good number of party members, white and black, and some young socialist workers.

The discussion hinged mainly around the Scottsboro case and the Stalinist Black Belt." Not one of the party functionares or members present took the floor to disagree with the position of the speaker.

In the main, the questions and discussion were of the character of informa-

The speaker called upon the party to proceed at once to the moblizing of the masses through a united front to save burning of these boys in the electric methods and technical blunders with

the Communists always present clearly the true nature of the capitalist system before the eyes of the masses. Upon this correct presentation, the Communists formulate a scientific program of organization for immediate action and for the final overthrow of the capitalist system. In contradistinction to this, the Stalin-

works down to the propaganda leaflets.

ists, in their fight against the Left Opposition, always and unfailingly misre-"Trotskyists". They categorically clare everywhere that we are counterworking class, and agents of the international bourgeoiste.

When comrade Trotsky, before the in creasing 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". When he analyzes the events in Manchuria and points out that Japan cannot attack the Soviet Union due to its weak position before the powerful Red army, and that the immediate danger is in Germany, he is again accused of being an agent in the service of Japanese imperialism. When he criticizes the errors of the Five Year Plan, similar accusations are made.

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. The issues raised by our organ, Kommunistie, are thus avoided.

Empres 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. They therefore leave it to the Greek "Political" Bureau and the Food Workers Union to expose and denounce his disruptive activities.

The Empres 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 rethe Scottsboro boys. Now that the Su- | mark of Empres that I wanted to enlightpreme Court verdict is a victory for en the CPG therefore means to say: the Communists, it is at the same time "Rank and file: do not question the ina decision clearing the road for the fallibility of the line of the leadership!; legal murder of the innocent boys. The carry out orders the way I, the func-Supreme Court does not object to the tionary, do." How is it that the Greek Bureau, which reprinted in the Empros, chair. It only objects to the crude the statement of the District Committee on my expulsion, made no comment at which the southern bourbons went about that time about my alleged un-Communist conduct in the Greek field?, and only now

Opposition With Slanderous Attacks In all Communist literature not a sin- | four months later they undertake to above? This test he pased with superb gie line of slander or lies can be found expose me? It is simply a maneuver to ease. As leader ex-machina, he had no as an argument for the fight against avoid the arguments raised in my article the exploiting class and its multicolored on the language sections and the trade agents within and outside the labor move- unions, published in the October Komment. From the highest theoretical munistis.

Greek Stalinists Meet Arguments of Left

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 union, and for the benefit of the party, I chalenged them to a debate before the union on Trotskyism. Up till now I have not received a reply. However, the following facts should be enfrevolutionists, enemies of the working ficient to explain my conduct in the un-

> 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 Seviet 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. John Steuben, of the TUUC, and member of the D. C. of the C P district 2, in addressing the convention said: "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 Kommun-

istis. 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, to their respective political groups, 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 Empres to the effect that when the bourgeoisie appraise the posilight, he, the revolutionist, must be danby six, this space being allotted in the take almost any position that is of some dormitories to two or three workers. profit to themselves. To make the Overcrowding, poor food, bad sanitation, above point clearer to the Greek bureau, confinement-no wonder tuberculosis is let us take up the question of Vassardakis. the scourge of Japan! All unions make with which they are very well acquainted. the demand that the dormitories be ab. Didn't he shift his position towards the olished or, more immediately, that food Empres when he clashed with the National Herald clique and is extremely Not only in the dormitories is there friendly with you? Does not this indic-

However, the quotations from Lenin its foreign representative Duranty, is in agreement with Stalinist policies as aganst Trotsky; while the leader of the The wages of men in the silk-reeling Left Opposition, comrade Trotsky, exiled

sum in many cases. Not oinly does this views have been settled and that they strike lasting for 217 days in 1927-28, The Greek militants can no longer allow has a more powerful capitalist class in Over eight percent of the textile work- the strike was lost but the company paid Vassardakises to use the Empros for close alliance, as yet, with the feudal ers are women. The present Japanese \$190,000 to the strikers dismissed, each their satisfaction. Empres must become The process of land concentration and landed aristocracy. This renders it more factory laws permit children of 12 to one receiving over \$200 and, despite the a genuine Communist paper. In the ortheir portion ever growing. The "petty peasant exploitation occurs here as else- difficult for the relatively weak prole- work in factories and there are over company's refusal to recognize the union, ganization of the unorganized, as well as the rural population, hold 2 1-2 acres on land. The peasantry owes over 2 1-2 seize power in a revolution. Neverthe- 16 at work. The exploitation of these terly these allowances have become a revolutionary movement, Empres must the average. In 1928 only 70,000 families | billion yen to the banks. As in Amer- less its role in relation to the peasantry women and children can be duplicated cheap means of avoiding any unemploy- take the initiative. This is the role of a Communist paper.

-SEBASTIAN PAPPAS,

## 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 of all modern countries. division of labor that is brought about | Just as the tenant system with crop by the exchange of commodities is the sharing grew out of slavery in the South, cleavage between town and country. We so this same system grew out of feudalmay say that the whole economic his- ism in Japan. In the course of the first sive exploitation of the town industrial- than 30 percent of the farm workers. ists through the capitalist market. The utter hypocrisy of Japanese "planned" economy is revealed in the indescribable living conditions of peasant and worker resulting from the "blind" play of capitalist economic forces.

Status of Japanese Farming Half the population of Japan is still dependent on farming for its livelihood, a proportion equalled only in Italy and Russia. Considering the arable land only the density of population reaches the extreme figure of 1375 per square mile. Necessarily the land is cultivated by the most intensive methods to feed this overare still crude hand methods, human labor being the cheapest of all comodities. It has been figured that whereas it requires 2 days of labor for the southern U. S. farmer, with the aid of a team of horses, to grow an acre of rice, the Japanese peasant gives 110 days of labor to this most important crop. Every Japmake slow headway against the poverty small size of peasant holding.

lords retained over half of the cultivated land. Today the large landowners own 54 percent of the arable land with

each rural family, Japan is worst off

Bankrupt Rural Economy

crowded population. But these methods the extremely underpaid silkworm indus- ism. Starting from these same premises, and worker, is permeated with feudal resort also to weaving, spinning, etc., the rural family being the unit of domanese peasant uses electric light but the half a million persons migrate from the starting point for the consolidation counts of city life, presents, payment of mechanical farming methods of the West country to town each year, half of them of proletarian victory in all countries. women. However, just as in pre-revoluand the cheap labor and, above all, the tionary Russia, there is a constant mig-When, after the Restoration, the Jap- tics show that a quarter of those who remained so backward with industry so to be kept behind locked gates in fac- the famous Noda Shoyn Brewing Co. party press against the Left Opposition. anese "enclosures" occured, the feudal return home have tuberculosis, the terri- advanced. Unlike Czarist Russia, Japan tory dormitories. ble scourge of modern Japan.

The Solution

"The (Japanese) peasantry in its entirety represents an elementary rebel-This rebellion manifests itself ortory of society is summarized in the de- twenty years of this century, the num- dinarily in Japan through tenant unions velopment of this cleavage between town ber of tenant farmers increased by 30 which fight first of all for rent reduc- FEUDAL REMNANTS IN and country." (Marx, "Capital"). In the percent. The present crisis accelerates tion. These tenant unions grew from 130 CAPITALISM development of capitalism this cleavage the process at great speed, the area cul- in 1917 to 4,065 in 1926 with a memberoccurs by the increasing subjection of tivated by tenants is constantly increas- ship of 368,000. The tenant unions have playment during the prolonged crisis in the system of agriculture to the inten- ing, the tenantry already represents more the sympathy and support (sometimes Japanese capitalism marks a distinct the leadership) of the workers' unions turning-point in its development as well in the cities.

What with the scarcity of land in It was his analysis of the revolution- there appeared for the first time in Japan terms of demand, land rents are extreme- ary significance of the Russian peasants the American type of hobo, symbol of ly high. Tenants are forced to hand over that led Lenin to his concept of the role | the end of a period of labor shortage in 50 to 60 percent of the crop in kind, a of the proletariat in a democratic agrar- industry and the beginning of the new fact which gives complete control of the ian revolt. The peasants can be put at epoch of permanent unemployment for an market to the capitalist-landowner, per- the service of the revolution only by the increasing section of the proletariat. mitting him to rig the market with ease force that takes over the state power. Japan's rising labor costs, in the face of against the small farmer. At least 13 The seizing of the land and the democra- low labor productivity, act increasingly percent of the crop goes to pay for fer- tic aspiratons of the agrarians can be to force rationalization,-in essence the tilizer, the rest being insufficient to sup- fulfilled only through the leadership of use of more productive machines and less port the rural family. To make up the the proletariat which, however, does not labor. Japan reaches the heights of modeficit created under these conditions, the stop short at this goal but establishes dernity! ideas involved, ideas primarily applica-

Japan and Russia

owners" of land, forming 70 percent of where through the mortgaging of the tariat to assume the leadership and to a quarter of a million girls from 12 to \$40,000 going to the strike fund. Lat- in all the other great tasks facing the out of 5 1-2 million cutlivated more than ica during the present crisis, the banks must follow the broad outlines set by only by England in the early 19th cen- ment dole.

for our Japanese comrades, showing the way to the only real solution!

The appearance of nation-wide unemas in that of the working class. In 1930

farmer is forced to resort to extra work. the dictatorship of the proletariat for: Despite this up-to-dateness the rela-Two million peasant families engage in the transition from capitalism to social- tionship between master and man, boss .90 to 1.00 yen per day. This meagre visa to all bourgeois countres. This try, thereby doubling their income. They Trotsky generalized and broadened the remnants in unique fashon. Prior to the present crisis, depite the extreme poverty ble to backward countries, and formu- of the villages, the peasantry avoided estic economy, notoriously a sweatshop lated in greater detail and more precise- factory labor, thus creating a continual system. Furthermore to secure a little ly than previously the idea of permanent shortage of industrial workers. The emready cash the peasant hires out his revolution, applicable to world economy ployers were forced to send recruiting daughter to the textile mills or even in such manner that a successful prole- agents to the farms, these agents luring sells her to the city brothels. Nearly tarian victory in one country becomes young girls to the city by glowing ocbadly needed cash in advance to the parents and advance of transportation apply in case of discharge but even in will not debate those who "have no It is a peculiarity of Japanese economy money. Every year 200,000 girls were strikes the bosses are obliged to pay the masses behind them." Then why this ration back to the vilage. Official statis- that in no other country has agriculture thuus lured to the textile mills, there returning strikers for the time lost. In incessant, increasing campaign in the

12 acres. In its 1-2 acre per member of find it more economic, and less fraught the Russian example. It is possible that tury. Half the factories have dormitor-

with danger, to await "better times" be-, Japan's evolution may follow a different lies which "imprison" 1-5 of the men and fore foreclosing on the bankrupt farmers. course, but only if the vanguard of the over half of the women hands. The The capitalist economic system permits working class does not organize into a factory act permits a nominal workday tion of some revolutionist in a favorable the industrialists to fasten the burden of strong Communist party ready to lead of 11 hours for women and children but the crisis on worker and peasant. With workers and peasants. There are forces this is honored only in the breach. The gerous to the working class. This is true. the silk market completely shattered, the at work already to shunt the peasant re- dormitory permit the prolonging of the Does it follow, therefore that when a peasant's labor goes begging and his volt over to pseudo-Fascist rails. Tach- work-day with case. The dormitories dissatisfied petit-bourgeois writer speaks conditions of living become indescribable, ibana, assassin of Premier Inukai, pecu- are also the breeding-place of pros- in favor of the Soviet Union, or when a He eats the food intended for his ani- liar combination of social revolutionary titution fostered by the bosses. The theatrical company imports Russian film mals, the seed for planting, the few cat- terrorist turned fascist, reveals clearly food provided by the companies at for business purposes, are shown to the tie remaining—and then he starves mis- the attempts of the military bureaucracy a "nominal sum" (in reality part of the masses and consequently benefits the Soto place itself at the head of any incipi- low wages) means slow starvation for viet State-does it mean that the Soviet ent movement of revolt on the part of the victims. Japanese workers do not State ceases to be the Fatherland of the the peasants so as to render it abortive. sleep in beds but on mats, covered by working class? Far from it. The poli-The Russian example must be the beacon quilts. A mat occupies a space three feet | tically headless | petit-bourgeoisle | will and sanitary conditions be improved.

overcrowding. It is common for two ate the character of this petit-bourgefamilies, each of five persons, with board- ois? Unfortunately, Vassardakis was ers as well, to occupy three mats in permitted to use the pages of the Empres workers' homes. The infant mortality for his own satisfaction. rate among workers' families is extremely high. Mothers, after long hours of and Lassalle apply fully to Stalin and his toil, cannot nurse their babies. Here we policies. For the official press of the have the "normal" conditions under Jap- bourgeoisie, like the N. Y. Times, through anese "planned" economy.

WAGES AND DISCHARGE ALLOWANCES

and cotton spinning mills average from in Prinkipo by secret agreement between wage is augumented by bonuses (defer. fact alone shows the violent bostility of red wages) granted at the pleasure of the bourgeoisic against the Left Opposithe boss and constituting an excellent tion. If Trotsky is what the Stalinists means of defrauding workers. However, call him, then it would be a simple matthe remnants of feudal psychology have, ter to convince the workers by a public up till recently, led to a recognition of debate in which both sides would have the duty of the employer to continue the the opportunity to present their respecworker in employment. Thus if a tive standpoints. But this is something worker is discharged he is granted an the Stalinists dare not undertake. allowance amounting to a considerable They lie when they say that Trotsky's

(To Be Continued)