

THE MILITANT

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In Stalin's Exile

RAKOVSKY IN DANGER!

The silence of the leadership of our Party and the International continues to be profound. We will continue without cease our appeal to the workers for the Bolshevik Oppositionists deported by Stalin.

Above all, comrade Christian Rakovsky must be saved!

The workers must be informed, and to those responsible for the Party's policy, we must constantly raise the question: What are you doing to the Left Opposition in the U.S.S.R.? Why do you persecute it? Justify your repressive measures if you can!

On Rakovsky

(Extract from a Letter)

... Rakovsky is writing an enormous amount. Whatever reaches us is read by all; in this sense Christian Georgevitch is doing a great work. His position does not differ one whit from our own (that of Trotsky); like ourselves, he is resisting the Party regime. Here are some extracts from one of his last cards:

"All our warnings have been verified much more rapidly and fully than we might have imagined. Right now a retreat is being beaten, and the positions are being abandoned, evidently by the usual zig-zags. The slogan of 'generalized collectivization in three years' still continues only for the purpose of frightening the middle peasant and increasing the retail price by its pressure. The middle peasant will be the axis around which the turn of 180 degrees in Centrist policy will revolve.

"After Centrism, without resistance, ruined the economy of the middle peasant, it will again begin to make a fetish of him, with the ritual sacrifices, not on the backs of the bureaucracy—which everybody would have to approve—but at the expense of the poor peasants and the proletariat" . . .

Letter from Russia

... By chance I received some information on the solitary prison of N. One of our comrades confined there previously developed the theory of the "ferment" that is, that we are ferment of the next revolutionary rise, but today, in his letter, a change is to be felt. Everybody works to deepen and increase his theoretical knowledge, they study and strengthen their knowledge of foreign languages, with a marked preference for German. The discussions go on without cease. The subjects: knowledge of the world, space, time, mechanics, the sorties of the Right wing, the "third period", etc., etc. Nothing more can be learned of the essence of the discussions, since all abstract considerations are censored or held back by the censor; even the situation with regard to food is part of the mystery of the solitary prisons. Hunger strikes are frequently carried on. The causes are the regime, and apparently, the food; after the first hunger strike, they forced the permission to receive twelve letters instead of four letters a month. The strike was long, there were many seriously ill. The second hunger strike was a protest against the bastonnades (beating with sticks). As a result, the prisoners were refused all communication with the outer world. The old social democracy left the prisons and places of exile much more healthy than the Bolsheviks will leave the solitary prisons of Stalinism . . .

June, 1930.

—N.N.

Issues in the Elections

Capitalist Parties Put Up Fake Issues to Conceal Jobless Sufferings

Sufficient has occurred in the last few weeks to show on what basis the twin capitalist parties intend to conduct the election campaign: Prohibition—~~for and against!~~ The faithful servant of Tammany Hall, Governor Roosevelt, has issued a "courageous" statement for the repeal of the 18th Amendment. The "wet" Republicans of New York are warning the Party high priests that unless they do the same, the parched Party sheep will flock to the flowing brooks of the "Democracy". In Illinois, the Democratic senatorial nominee, J. Hamilton Lewis, has declared the great issue to be bringing the government back to "the principle of the fathers", which, if he refers to the George Washingtons, means cheap booze. Michigan has already defeated two prominent dry Republican Congressmen in the primaries. Vermont has given an unknown "wet" a nomination over a prominent "dry". The same comedy is being enacted everywhere.

The so-called prohibition issue is the best one that could be chosen—for the capitalist class. It conveniently cuts across party lines so that neither singly nor together can they be made responsible for anything. It is an expedient gas gun for shooting clouds around fundamental and really burning issues.

Is there mass unemployment, misery, starvation, suicide in the country? Booze will solve that! Are wages being cut to the very marrow? Booze will make the workers forget that! Is a form of social insurance needed by the workers? No, it's beer and light wines they need! Are the workers clubbed during strikes, bludgeoned at demonstrations of the jobless, evicted from their homes? Prohibition caused it all! Do the workers want bread? Give them beer and they won't need bread! Is there a bleak winter ahead, a winter of deepened crisis of horrible suffering, of food riots perhaps and certainly of bitter strug-

gles to resist the offensive of the capitalist class? Give them a prohibition prize-fight to distract their minds from woe and struggle!

The dislike and total incapacity of the capitalist parties to face the real problems the masses are confronted with, are quite understandable. Republican or Democrat—they are the ramparts of the system that produces wars, unemployment, crises, misery, child labor, exploitation, inequality and oppression with an ever-increasing frequency and permanency. Their crimes and festering corruption are the crimes and corruption of capitalism, with which the whole country is reeking like a pestilence. For a worker to support them is to kiss the chains that enslave him and with gratitude the blows he receives.

Reformist Aides to Capitalism

Then should he support the Socialist party? No. If the Republican and Democratic parties are the ramparts of capitalism, the Socialist party is the ditch around the fortress that traps those who seek to storm it. The socialist party has removed every mention of the class struggle from its program, constitution and works. But it has not left the class struggle; it has only become an assistant to capitalism. It is the party of the petty bourgeoisie. It is the party of the respectable business men who faithfully manage the municipal affairs of Reading and Milwaukee for the capitalist class. It is the devoted workman who goes about his master's house, with plaster and trowel, begging for permission to cover up the more unsightly holes in the decaying structure.

Does it offer promises to the workers? Certainly! More even than its masters offer. It offers a MacDonald regime in the United States, a regime which has so effectively "solved" unemployment in England that millions are still on a miserable dole; it has "solved" the oppression of imperialism in India by massacring the Indian people. Haven't Hillquit and Co. endorsed the British "Labor" government? Aren't they in one and the same "socialist" international? Are they not "comrades" of Zoergiebel, the butcher of Berlin's proletariat, and Boncour, the agent of the French war mongers? Are they not in the party of the "socialist" trade union racketeers who practise for power by beating up and expelling Left wing workers? They are the gay deceivers of the working class, typified by Mr. Heywood Brown and Mr. Norman Thomas, who keep the workers from fighting their class enemy by telling them that their lot can be improved by voting against capitalist politicians.

Vote Communist

The worker's vote should go to the worker's party—the Communist Party. All our differences with it, our criticisms of its internal regime and its ruinous policies, does not change the fact that it is the only political party of the working class in the field which stands for a revolutionary struggle against capitalism and all power to the proletariat. The casting of a paper ballot does not and cannot decide the burning problems of the workers. But support for the Communist campaign draws the workers more closely together, and enables them to transform the electoral farce into a genuine fight for the demands of the workers—not in futile polling booths, but in serious class struggle.

Vote Communist!

A Yankee Revolution in the Argentine

Militarist "revolutions" in South America are occurring with bewildering frequency and abruptness. First Bolivia, then Peru, now Argentina, and tomorrow, perhaps, Brazil. In virtually every one of these countries, the boiling over of conflicting elements results from the volcanic heat generated by the world capitalist crisis. Even more precisely, the "revolutions" in question mirror the unconcealed rivalry between Britain and the United States. In both these imperialist powers, their anarchistically organized industries and means of distribution are paralyzed, their home markets sluggish and contracted, their financial systems in disorder. Primarily for these two, it has become a matter of economic existence to fight tooth and nail for a larger share of the world market, limited as it is. This struggle for markets, raw material, spheres of influence and the like, produces the most violent eruptions in every corner of the world, of which the recent events in South America are only characteristic.

The overthrow of the tyrannical butcher of the Peruvian tolling masses, Leguia, the Wall Street adjutant who was surrounded by American financial and naval "advisors", marked an offensive of Britain against the Yankee dollar—never very popular with the Latin American masses—which has yet to say its final word.

With almost the precision of a military counter-offensive comes the engineered uprising in Argentina with its removal of the notoriously pro-British Irigoyen administration and the establishment of the pro-American Uriburu dictatorship. Both the American and British imperialist press treat the event with a frankness for which we can only be thankful: the former greets it with unfeigned glee, the latter with apprehension. The United States, with its hypocritical "policy" of not recognizing Latin-American governments that have succeeded to power by "violence", is quite prepared to make an exception in the Argentine case.

In all these "revolutions", the native bourgeois demagogues have skillfully utilized the dissatisfaction of the masses with the economic crisis and tyrannical dictatorship. They have used the workers and peasants for "troops of the popular revolu-

tion" and coolly driven them back to a position of quiescence and subjugation as soon as they have seized power. For the masses, in a word these "revolutions" have no progressive significance, and often a more reactionary one.

What is even more disturbing is the complete absence of the Communist movement in these affairs. They appear nowhere as a political factor. They do not even appear to attempt to turn the guns of the masses against the militarist puppets of the native bourgeoisie and imperialism. The truth is: They have been crushed and rendered impotent by the ravages of Stalinism, which has virtually dissolved the once promising Communist movement in the Latin-American countries.

The German Elections

We go to press too soon to report the outcome of the elections in Germany, and must therefore leave it to the next issue to contain a detailed analysis of the results. In this case, however, as in all capitalist elections, the casting of ballots is far from the decisive question. The fate of Germany and its working class will be decided in the open field of the class struggle. The problem for the bourgeoisie is its ability to unload the burden of the crisis upon technico-industrially weaker countries and by intensified exploitation of the working class, in order to carry out the Young Plan. The answer depends largely upon the Communist Party and its ability to mobilize for struggle the workers still in retreat. The failure of the Communist Party can bring the same ruinous consequences to the proletariat as did the failure of the Brandler leadership of the C.P.G. in 1923. On the temper and mood of the proletariat, which will be partially gauged by the elections this week, depends the question—in a political sense—of whether the bourgeoisie will go forward with its "democratic" dictatorship supported by the servile collaboration of the social democrats, or prepare for an open Fascist dictatorship. Unfortunately, the Communist Party under the misleadership of its Thaelmanns, Remmeles and Neumanns offer too insufficient guarantee or hope of an intelligently revolutionary leadership of the masses for today and the coming day.