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UNITE

# THE MILITANT



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## Losovsky Unloads the Blame...

The Lesser Losovskys in their Old Role of «Whipping Boys»

When a false policy and a bureaucratic regime end as they must in the ditch of disaster—select the scape-goats and cast the whole responsibility upon them. This is the sacred creed of Stalinism. Losovsky, the General Secretary of the Profintern and consequently a wheel-horse in the Centrist machine, is a very adroit practitioner of this odious method. Things have come to such an appalling state in the American Left wing unions, despite the most favorable objective conditions, that some kind of an explosion could not be avoided. In a properly administered movement the situation would be reflected by an upsurge from below. Since that is forbidden we usually get as a substitute the horse-play of «self-criticism» from above. Losovsky performed this sickening ritual in his speech at the Eleventh Plenum of the Comintern. Speaking of the American unions there as reported in the *Impeccor*, he unburdened himself of the following remarks:

«What is the fundamental weakness of our American trade unions? They do not know how to intervene in the economic struggle of the toiling masses, and when they do intervene, they frequently do it bureaucratically. Our trade unions lack internal life and trade union democracy; every union has the ambition of going in for high politics, instead of concerning itself with the every day needs of the workers. Party leadership consists in the fractional nuclei substituting themselves entirely for the trade unions: the trade union members suddenly hear that since such and such a date not X, but Y is chairman or Secretary of the union.

«Functionaries are removed and appointed behind the scenes, as if this did not concern the rank and file members, party and non-party, organized and even unorganized workers who follow us. Workers to whom membership in revolutionary trade unions is connected with privations, with the risk of losing their jobs must have faith in their unions; they must know where they are going and whom they are following. One cannot therefore reduce the trade unions to a few officials and circular instructions. Such a trade union cannot grow. A trade union can grow in the midst of struggle, it can grow through the development of trade union democracy, it can grow, if every worker, every member, knows well his elective leading organ; the union will grow, if the leadership will carry every question to the masses. Nothing of this kind is as yet to be seen in the United States, and it is not surprising that the Seamen's and Miners' Unions have lost most of their members.»

This is rather plain talk about the state of affairs in the unions directed by the Communist Party of the United States, and every word of it is true. There is nothing new however, in the revelation. And if Losovsky speaks openly about the situation only now, it is not because he was in the dark about it before. Every one of the monstrous practices he condemns in the speech at the 11th Plenum has been concretely exposed time and time again in the *Militant*. Of course, our exposition of the evils that are sapping the life out of the Left wing unions was «counter-revolutionary slander.» But every militant engaged in trade union work knew the truth and could testify to it out of his own experience. The little Losovskys could confuse the issues with bluster for a time, but they could not prevent the policy from bringing forth its inevitable fruit. The tragic results of Stalinist administration of the trade union work have accumulated on every side to such an extent that the truth cannot be covered up any longer. Matters stood at this pass when the General Secretary of the Profintern with that pompous air of infallibility which distinguishes all the apparatus men when they criticize others, took occasion to tell what everybody already knew.

What Losovsky said is true enough but he did not tell the whole truth. To be honest with the Communist workers he would have to say that the Minks and similar Overguards, to say nothing of the Sazers, who have been having their fun with the Left wing unions, did not arrive at their positions by their own independent efforts and means. They are merely the office boys who have been appointed to these functions because of their unflinching readiness to do what they are told. The monstrous excesses they have committed against the revolutionary labor movement only represent the natural working of the nefarious system in which they have small and inconspicuous parts. To single out these inconspicuous errand boys for attack while leaving the system and its apparatus which they represent untouched, and to pass that comedy off as a serious remedy for the prevailing evils, is to practise deliberate fraud against the workers' movement.

Communist workers who nourish

the hope that Losovsky's speech signifies a better course in the trade union work are sure to be the victims of another terrible disappointment. The maneuver is designed to delude them and to head off their threatening mutiny. It may have a temporary success, as has been the case before. The Communist workers are long-suffering and patient. They have a great faith in the Comintern which has been disloyally and shamefully abused by the usurping apparatus under Stalin. But the day of reckoning draws near. The very fact that Losovsky has been driven to make these astounding revelations is an indication of its approach. No Losovsky, unloading the whole responsibility for the debacle on the little Losovsky, can affect the slightest cure. Centrist bureaucratism is the real disease. Losovsky and Company are its fountain head. The revolutionary workers must recognize this and direct their blows at it.

—J. P. C.

## Trotsky's Letter to the Pravda

Pravda, No. 180 of July 2, publishes an article by Yaroslavsky under the heading: «A New Assistant of Pilsudsky.» According to this paper, I am supposed to have written an article for the *Kurier Codzienny* of Warsaw against the Five Year Plan, against the Soviet power, etc., and this article or some other—Yaroslavsky is not very exact—is supposed to have made the rounds of a considerable part of the bourgeois press of America, of England, of Poland, of Rumania. . . . Leaving aside the political and other commentaries of Yaroslavsky I confine myself strictly to the material side of the affair.

I have given no article at all to the *Kurier Codzienny*, I have no relations of any sort with this journal and I learned of the very existence of the *Kurier Codzienny* from the article. The article published under my name in the *Kurier* is a forgery which differs in no way from the famous «Zinoviev letter» and other similar documents. From the information of friends, the *Kurier* continues to publish counter-revolutionary articles attributed to me.

I know absolutely nothing of what «a part of the bourgeois press of America, of England, of Poland, of Rumania» publish under my name. I have given no article to any journal of these countries on the Five Year Plan. Thus, in this case too it is a question of a forgery or what is most probable of a reprint of the article in the *Kurier*.

The *Manchester Guardian* is the only bourgeois journal to which I have given an interview on the Five Year Plan. This interview is devoted to showing the enormous historical importance of the Five Year Plan and of the necessity of collaboration between England and the U. S. S. R. This interview therefore pursues an aim directly opposed to that which is attributed to me by the forgers who have long ago established themselves in Warsaw, Riga and other places.

By Yaroslavsky's article, *Pravda* leads millions of readers into error. I believe that *Pravda* is obliged to publish my denial—out of respect for the millions of workers of red soldiers and sailors, of peasants, of students and of other citizens of the U. S. S. R. deceived by it. Kadikoy, July 15, 1931

—L. TROTSKY.

## 78 Trotsky Votes in Santander

We have received the following interesting report from Spain:

In the city of Santander during the elections to the national Cortes, 78 of the ballots were demonstrably filled out with the name of our comrade Leon Trotsky. What lends added interest to this report is the fact that in Santander there is neither a Communist party organization nor one of the Left Opposition. No Communist election propaganda, consequently, was carried on in the city. The spontaneous and demonstrative action of the 78 workers is therefore so much more significant.

## The Revolution in Spain

Conflict of Tendencies in the Ranks of the Working Class

THE FORCES OF THE SPANISH PARTY

The membership of the Spanish Communist Party has grown considerably in the past two months. The bureaucracy has seen in this flow of new elements a motive for renewing a violent series of attacks against the Communist Left. Our Stalinists are very zealously seeking to confuse us with the «splitters» of the Agrupacion de Madrid and the Catalan-Balearic Federation and accuse us of having created a second Communist party. Everybody knows, and above all the Stalinist bureaucrats, that the same differences separate us from the Federations of Madrid and Barcelona. In spite of this the argument is employed in order to create confusion in the Spanish working class and they assert that the party is growing and progressing in spite of the Trotskyist maneuvers.

But in spite of all the scoundrelism of the Stalinists, we are defending the organic and doctrinal unity of the Spanish C. P.

The S. C. P. has had the number of its adherents increase and in spite of this, it has admitted into its midst dubious elements of the petty bourgeoisie and unscrupulous adventurers. For example, it has admitted an individual who, during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, sent from the prison where he was confined a letter in which he renounces his Communist ideas and promises to be a «good boy» in the future. This individual has subsequently been entrusted with the management of one of the party organs.

Another typical case: it is not very long ago that the party expelled a bourgeois journalist, Antonio Espina. Four days later, this bourgeois journalist was made civil governor of a province by the Minister of the Interior, Maura, and our good journalist accepted with a smile; today he is ready to have every worker assassinated who does not defend the bourgeois republic.

Such cases could be cited by the dozens. Evidently, we are enemies of what the bureaucrats call «progress» of the S. C. P. We want the union of all the Spanish Communists to cleanse the party and make it stronger, but not that anti-working class and bourgeois elements should inject themselves into the ranks of the working class party.

PANIC IN THE TWO INDEPENDENT FEDERATIONS

The Comintern has sent the C. P. of Spain a delegation in order to settle the internal crisis of Spanish Communism. They have taken some very adroit steps around the Federation of Maurin by proposing the dispatch of a delegation

## MINE STRIKE CALLED OFF

Opportunity for National Movement Missed by Party Blunder

Confronted with the fact that the striking miners of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia «find their ranks reduced from an original 40,000 to a present 10,000», the National Miners Union has issued a statement which is tantamount to the calling off of the strike in the fields mentioned. No one even slightly acquainted with the conditions of this heroic battle can fail to see the correctness of this step. The miners fought courageously and unitedly, driven to bitter desperation by conditions in the

mine fields which human flesh and blood could stand no longer. That they rallied under the banner of the Left wing miners' union is tribute to their instinctive feeling that to strike under the besmirched and treacherous flag of Lewis would be equivalent to no strike at all.

The Heavy Odds

But the odds have proved too great for the moment. Against the miners were mobilized not only the bloated wealth and power of the coal barons, but also the power of their police, of their state and federal machinery, of their injunction judges ready for any arbitrary act, and—not the least of them—the John L. Lewis machine. Physical exhaustion from within, induced by years of unemployment, deprivation and in some cases downright starvation conditions, and physical assault from without, in the form of police clubs guns and tear gas bombs—these are the powers which, in the first instance, relentlessly drove the miners back to the pits. Out of the thousands who came out during the high point of the strike, only a small and not decisive minority remained. The call for a return quite properly acknowledged the existence of this indisputable fact and is the first measure to be taken to conserve the remaining energies of the coal miners in preparation for the struggles that are coming with the sureness of tomorrow.

Yet, before we refer to the pointed lessons which the whole movement must draw, one more aspect of the calling off of the strike must be mentioned and a warning raised against its consequences. The N. M. U. statement announces that «this change of tactics does not call off the strike, but only changes its character. . . . The next phase of the strike in the present strike zone will be primarily struggles around individual mines and groups of mines for local demands. . . . These struggles will lay the basis for broader and deeper strike struggles.» The same issue of the *Daily Worker* containing this statement (8-17-1931) adds in verification that the plan is for «changing the basis of the strike to a struggle for limited demands in the various mines. . . . This plan is new [?] in labor struggles in America».

Such a «plan» could have been evolved only in the minds of people ignorant of the «labor struggles in America» or so irresponsible that experience and reflection signify nothing to them. It is the custom of the labor skates to drag out a lost strike and its participants to the point of complete exhaustion, without ever calling it off definitely. The spirit and energy of the workers are thus smashed. A revolutionary leadership must have the courage to call a defeat a defeat, to explain its causes to those who followed it to outline a wise course for recovery. Our Stalinist «strategists» do everything but this in their «plan». Farther, the bankrupt policy of the I.

mine fields which human flesh and blood could stand no longer. That they rallied under the banner of the Left wing miners' union is tribute to their instinctive feeling that to strike under the besmirched and treacherous flag of Lewis would be equivalent to no strike at all.

But that is not all. In addition to the external factors combining to crush the strike, there is another factor which played a really tremendous role in injuring the struggle. The N. M. U. statement explains that «only a lack of organizing forces due to the youth and weakness of the N. M. U., prevented the immediate spread of the strike to include at least several times as many miners». What pitiful leaders are these who seek to explain their failures by anything and everything except an analysis of the policy they pursued. The truth of the matter is this:

The leadership of the N. M. U. and of the Communist party had an unparalleled opportunity to spread the strike. They could have sustained the movement by spreading the strike to other fields and thereby prevented three-fourths of the men from returning in despair of the outcome, a despair induced precisely by the fact that the strike was not spread. The *Militant* proposed the only effective manner at the moment of spreading the strike. The Stalinist leaders, incompetent through and through and concerned chiefly with the preservation of their bureaucratic prestige, rejected this possibility of spreading the strike. In this way, they light-mindedly threw away one of the best opportunities yet offered the Left wing movement to set into motion vast masses of workers.

Our Proposals

What did the *Militant* propose, not (Continued on Page 4)

## Try 35 Kentucky Miners

Red-Baiting Is Prominent Feature of New Frame-Up Attempt

In the midst of a fierce reign of terror to crush the fighting spirit of the miners in Harlan, Kentucky 35 miners have gone on trial for their lives, charged with the shooting of Deputy Sheriff Jesse Pace. Raids by deputy sheriffs and company gunmen on the miners continue unceasingly. Numerous arrests

have been made on the flimsiest pretexts. Jesse L. Wakefield, representative of the International Labor Defense, and Arnold Johnson, of the American Civil Liberties Union, have been jailed, Boris Israel, correspondent of the Federated Press was forced into an automobile driven out of the city limits and shot in the left leg.

The attempt to frame-up the 35 miners and send them to the electric chair is proceeding in an atmosphere of lynch terror. The court room and vicinity is dotted with company gunmen armed with rifles, machine guns and tear gas. The Judge, D. C. Jones, delivered a tirade against the «Reds», telling the jury that «Communism and law and order cannot sleep in the same bed. . . . We have our sins of course, but never until these snake doctors came here from New York and taught these doctrines, have we been troubled by Communism.» The States Attorney, W. A. Brock, threatened the miners with the «cold chills of steel.»

Workers everywhere must support the defense of these 35 miners faced with capitalist justice and death in the electric chair for struggling to improve their starving and miserable conditions. The mass pressure of the workers is the only method which can rescue these workers from the clutches of the coal barons.

SEE PAGE FOUR for comrade Leon Trotsky's thorough analysis of the latest speech delivered by Stalin before the conference of the industrial managers and economists.

## SPANISH OPPOSITION PRESS FUND INCREASING

The internationalist spirit of the Left clearly and concretely to the fore in the campaign we are now conducting to raise a fund for our comrades in Spain which will enable them to start with the publication of a weekly paper. The contributions, received from all parts of the country, are—we ardently hope—only a beginning. Every American revolutionist must bear in mind that the situation in Spain is pregnant with magnificent revolutionary possibilities. In the midst of the torn and confused Communist movement of that country, our militant Opposition group alone is holding firmly to the banner of Lenin and Trotsky of Bolshevism, which they have unfurled. Acute as is the need the *Militant* feels today for financial support to maintain itself, we are nevertheless urging all our friends to make an exceptional effort to make the most generous contributions possible to the movement in Spain.

Our appeal has already born gratifying results. At meetings we have held on street corners, at least in New York workers in the audience have contributed generously to the Spanish Opposition

Press Fund. In Toronto, comrade Quarter approached a number of Spanish-speaking workers in a cigar factory who responded immediately, with money and a warm letter breathing the spirit of international solidarity. From London, the Marxian League sends a money order for an English Pound, an answer to the call issued by the *Militant*. The response of our English friends is especially welcome. In their letter, the British comrades write:

«Enclosed herewith is a money order for five dollars—a contribution from the League to the fund you are collecting for the Spanish Opposition Press.

«We are following the movement with intense interest and are thirsting for details regarding the precise position and the chances for the future.

«We are asking to send our greetings and tell them that since an uprising in Spain would have a deciding effect on the world proletariat in general—the C. I. in particular—their task is a noble one and we are hoping for the very best news.

«Max Nicholls, secretary.»

Our fund has already passed the one hundred dollar mark. But this can only be considered a small beginning. Our Spanish comrades are making the greatest sacrifices to advance the movement. The very least that we can do in this country is to support them with our financial aid. Do not forget that difficult as is the economic position of the American workers at the present moment, they are still in a relatively better state than are the terrifically underpaid Spanish workers. The American dollar (we do not say this out of national pride!) goes a long way when translated into Spanish pesetas. An accumulation of American dollars sent to our Spanish comrades means that so much more of the long road to proletarian victory is cleared for the forward march. Do not forget, further, that money sent now is doubly valuable, for this is the time to strike the hardest blows at reaction and confusion in Spain. All funds should be addressed to comrade A. Gonzales, c/o *The Militant*, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

Funds received since the acknowledge-

ments made in last week's issue are herewith recorded with thanks (unless otherwise noted the donations are from New York):

- James P. Cannon: \$5.00—Winie: .50—James Gilday: 5.00—S. M. Rose: 5.00—Nathan Berman: 5.00—A. Gomez: .15—G. Sartori: 1.00—Hilda F.: 3.00—Alm ando Nacio: 2.00—Jose Vargas: .25—A Diaz: .25—J. Salazar: .25 P. Gomez: .25—Sol Sarachik: 2.00—Minneapolis branch: 3.55—T. Bolsner, Los Angeles: 5.00—Boston branch: 3.00—Toronto branch (Opposition and C. P. members): 9.25—Toronto Spanish-speaking sympathizers: 2.40—Marxian League of London: 4.85—YOUNGSTOWN: Denis Plarinos: 1.00—S. Frank: .50—Jos. Gottlieb: .25—Sym pathizer: .25—P. Solls: .25—Frank Cheloff: .50—Christ Harris: .25—F. Altman: .50—A. Canas: .50—Gabriel Hierro: .50—Guillermo Coria: .50—M. Villalba: .15 Total this week: \$62.85. Previous contributions: \$1.91. Grand total to date \$144.76.