# LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

# Cooperatives

NEW YORK, N. Y.

the members of the Food Workers In- they have offered so many sacrifices in dustrial Union and the C. P. bureaucracy the union and on the picket line. They (See The Militant, April 16, 1932) is con- know the danger involved in tampering stanly becomting sharper and has with the rights of the Union memberaroused wide spread interest among ship. They realize that workers join the Communist and Left wing workers all union not as full fledged Communists,

As The Militant reported two weeks ago, the clash resulted from the expressed intentions of the management of the Consumers Cooperatives in the Bronxwhich stands under the control of the party leadership-to reorganize that enterprise at the general expense of the food workers employed there. So far, a 10 per cut wage cut has already been increased by one hour and a tax of 10 a pioneer in the fight. The party workper cent for the benefit of the T. U. U. C. (the Left wing union center) has been imposed upon the Cooperative employees, Not content with all these measures, the bureaucracy has seen fit to engage nonunion men in place of the old help. This aroused the F. W. I. U. members to the point of exasperation.

The workers of the Con-Coops brought to the attention of the management the fact that a non-member of the Union was working there and requested that he be replaced with a Union man. The manager, an ex-drug store boss from Washington, D. C., refused their request. They were therefore compelled to lodge a protest with the Union.

Tribesh, one of the organizers of the F. W. I. U. was sent to the Con-Coops to investigate the complaint. He informed the management that the Con-Coops were Union shops and that only members of the F. W. I. U. could work there. He demanded that the non-member be one of the many unemployed workers From an Illinois Miner from the Union.

The manager refused to comply with the demand, and a temporary stoppage was the result. This stirred the anger of the Con-Coops and Union workers. The situation became so heated that a meeting of the District Control Commission of the Communist Party had to be called. After a long and weary session, the following amazing decisions were rendered:

1. To condemn the action of the Union organizer.

of the Con-Coops.

camp employees. The protest of those progressive elements. present was so unanimous that the party

driver than before. . . . once more?

While Newman gets this mild rebuff, able to speak publicly since the raids. the worker who resisted his bureaucratic deportation by the government author- Johnston City and Logan. Allard is

well known among the party members, with seven hundred members. It is left to rot in jail.

The food workers are restless. They have been called counter revolutionaries

Once More on the Bronx and headless antics of the party burgone over to the A. F. of L. union. The devoted and sincere party members are alarmed. They will not allow the bur-The conflict which has arisen between eaucrats to wreck the work for which but to better their conditions. They know that it takes time and patience and self-sacrifice to develop the union workers into hardened class fighters. The party workers will not stand by and see the bureaucrats drive the union workers away from the movement. They know what is at stake.

The Left Opposition has been warn ing the party workers against the bureaucracy ever since its existence. It is ers who have come to realize the balefulness of the bureaucratic methods of the party leadership must search deeper for the causes behind them. Whatever is wrong with the leadership in the Cooperatives is also wrong with the leadership on a national and more than that, on an international scale. The roots of the bureaucracy lie in the whole system of Stalinism which has been leading the Comintern as a whole to a steady decline, to disintegration and impotence, ever since the death of Lenin. The workers who really want to fight bureaucracy, will have to tight against the whole rotten Stalinist system. The time is not distant when the best elements of the party membership will realize this and struggle side by side with the Left Opposition for the regeneration of the party and the Communist International along the Leninist line, along the line for the drive to 127. The standing of the branches is as follows: of revolutionary victory.

-FOOD WORKER.

Dear Comrades: It has been some time since I wrote to you relative to the situation in southern Illinois. Well, the situation is plenty

hot down here now. The strike is effective in every degree throughout the whole state. The District chapter of the American Legion, all with-Organization is pursuing once more the wrong policy of separate agreements. This has caused a stir among the miners here pack every hall we meet in. Relief from the large mines, especially here in has been rushed. This has developed Franklin County. In several local un- the enthusiasm of the masses to a point ions we have pushed resolutions demand- where they suddenly realize what an 2. To mildly criticize the management ing that the officials recall those separ- ounce of organization can do. Rough son-3 1-2; W. Curran-1-2; C. R. Hed- I reported that the French military mis-

ate contracts. It is only natural that the workers The negotiations between the bosses bumpings that they will get scores of have been made furious by these deci- and the miners are at a deadlock. The good fighters for the revolutionary sions. It is hard for them to swallow operators moved to adjourn sine die. movement will develop. Young workers, the fact that the unheard of actions of The perspective is that a plenty hot the management have the tacit approval struggle will develop. The District Ofof the party bur aucrats. The suspic- ficials are making every maneuver to get ions of the rank and file with regard to the miners to accept a wage cut. Howthe bureaucracy have been heightened to ever, they have not openly committed an unprecedented degree. And there is themselves to this proposition. "Comgood cause for their suspicions. A few petition, stabilization, freight rates," are of the following incidents, known to all the substitutes for an energetic program of the Left wing food workers will of struggle. That the District Officials are not as brazen as before is simply due In the fall of 1930, there was a con- to the fact that progressive forces within meeting and made plans for the parade ference of the camp workers of all the the miners are fast developing and have and demonstration. We anticipate, conparty summer camps. The conference attained a powerful following. On the was shocked and outraged by the demand other hand Lewis has declared himself ing leaflet calls for a fight on Boss Scabof one, Doroshkia, manager of Camp to be after Wilker's scalp to the end. Kinderland, to reduce the wages of the This causes the district to cafer to the bosses to wedge in for open shop.

April 1st we held a huge mass meetrepresentative to the conference was ing at the West Frankfort Ball Park forced to repudiate Doroshkin and to with several thousand miners present. would not be returned to his post the to the extent of using this 8 hour day strike breakers was abused. Maintenfollowing summer. But last year this celebration as a protest meeting against ance forces are the men who take care same Doroshkin was right back in his Criminal Syndicalism. Our active young of the mines from flooding, squeezes as secretary of all arrangements. This As was reported by The Militant on seemed to be much to the disappointment August 1, 1931, a certain Newman, man- of the Stalinites. A resolution was unager of the camp Wocolona, threatened animously adopted calling upon the minto call the state troopers to oust a ers to mobilize their forces in defense of worker from the camp who had resisted the seven workers. It was also decided against his arbitrary dismissal. The to call upon all local unions to send deleparty Central Control Commission, acting gations to the State's Attorney demandunder the pressure of the workers fol- ing the release of the victims. The prolowing this outrage, decided very dip- gram consisted of 8 prominent progreslomatically to keep Newman from occupy- sive mine leaders. In spite of the fact ing any paid post for six months. The that the Party opposed Edmundson he six months will be up in July. The spoke at the meeting. William Browder workers are wondering: Will Newman, was squeezed in the program as present- tried their Centrist policies, and where like Doroshkin, be returned to his post ing the I. L. D. This is the first time they attempted to discredit those who that the Party representatives have been

We have a powerful unemployed movemethods, a militant worker arrested at ment started here in southern Illinois, against Allard for a while, has now the time of the needle trades strike last which the Party attacked. We have year, was faced with a very mysterious branches in West Frankfort, Herrin, withdrawal of his bail and finally, with Coello, Benton, Christopher, Marion, serving in the capacity of general organ-The case of the worker Napoleon, izer of the movement and Secretary of whose exceptionally militant ercord 'is the West Frankfort Unemployed Branch and whose heroism was even made the really valuable experience that we all subject of poems that appeared in the have gained in this work. The organiza-Daily Worker, similarly arouses suspic- tion is reaching greater powers every ion. Napoleon was expelled from the day and beginning to develop along mili-Food Workers Industrial Union as a tant lines in spite of the weak beginning be given the credit. The Party came counter-revolutionary because he dared it had due to the lack that time of real forward on a May Day program and criticize the leadership. He happened leadership, also being infested with re- again we were instrumental in getting to be out on bail for union activities in ligious cults of every description. Orthe strike at the Zelgreen cafeterias at ganizing unemployed is like organizing monstration. It appears to me that the the time. He was never notified by the Negroes, the religious angle always Party is orientating itself to progresbureaucrats when to appear in court. breaks loose. Thus far we have exer. sive elements, some with shady records. His bail was forfeited and he has been cized the greatest possible degree of I cannot understand the sudden change

a check on it. Over 4,000 members have joined our miners. and worse by the bureaucrat Zack for movement in 2 months period. Starting daring to take a stand against the spuri- out with five men the organization is maous "reorganization" of the Con-Coops. turing to a point where it will be a letter from a young miner from Shenan-Are they too to be left at the mercy of fighting, achieving organization. It is doah, Pa. He reported along the lines the class enemy because they are cour- comical to see all the crafts of the A. that you had in your article. Our next ageous enough to criticize the headmen? F. of L. come to the support of the move- big step among the progressives is to The incidents above and the latest oc- ment after it atracts thousands of peo- get our district forces centralized and curences at the Con-Coops are not ac- ple. All the U. M. W. A. locals in the then develop national contact. cidental. Hundreds of Left wing work-| country have endorsed it, several churchers have already reacted to the arbitrary es, the Sub Dietrick assessingtion and one

We are off on the first week of our drive to BUILD THE OPPOSITION distributions with sales of current is- lead. Minneapolis-on your toes, mail) not later than Monday noon following the close of the week.

Upon consideration we found it advisable to revise some of the quotas. As they stand now they include a larger number of cities and are closer to what can actually be realized. They are: New York-\$325; Minneapolis-\$200; Chicago-\$100; Toronto-\$70; Philadelphia-\$40; Cleveland-\$40; Boston-\$40; Newark-\$35; Kansas City-\$30; St. Louis-\$25; Los Angeles-\$20; Youngstown-\$10: New Haven-\$10: Montreal -\$10; Duluth-\$10; Springfield, Ill.-\$10; W. Frankfort, Ill.-\$10; Pittsburgh -\$10; Trenton-\$5. Which city will be the first to reach its quota?

Judging from the returns to date and especially from last week's showing Minneapolis is a two to one shot. But the final word has not been said and any one of our branches which has been say ing its wind for the drive down the home stretch may step out to the front of the race. For last week Minneapolis re ported 16 subs, New York, 5; Youngstown, 4; Chicago, 1; and 1 is credited to miscellaneous. This brings the total

Minneapolis New York Chicago Boston Youngstown St. Louis Newark Philadelphia Montreal

out solicitation.

The meetings of the unemployed down who formerly were attracted to a distant Metropolis in search of employment, no longer can be swayed by a general exodus. They are staying here now and fighting is going to be on the order of

Tomorrow is a big day for the miners of Franklin County. A huge county demonstration is planned by the miners. Every local union has called a special servatively, 5,000 miners. The advertisbery. This is the latest maneuver of 500 of us marched at the Big Mine out near the edge of the town and pulled the bosses out of the mine. After we did this we threatened to put out all mainmake an official statement that the latter | We cooperated with the Communist party | tenance men if the practice of using boss old place and even much more of a slave militant, Gerry Allard, spoke and acted falls, etc. The bosses attempted to use their stool pigeon crew of bosses instead of members of the United Mine Workers. This caused a commotion. As a result hell is going to pop out unless this demand of the miners is adhered to. The officials tell us, "Boys, we have no contract with the coal operators so what can we do about it?" Hot stuff! We have been busy thinking of slogans for banners. Scores of banners will stream the whole country.

The Party bureaucrats have been out maneuvered on every issue where they fought against bureaucracy. They have been forced to like it on several occassions. The artillery that they let loose stopped. It was doing them more harm than good and at the same time giving Allard publicity on matters that reacted very bad against them and Communism. Now they are attempting to use Party members of the rank and file so start in sniping away a him. But even this has failed simply because his position was unavailable. If any one is responsible for the uplifting of the terror against Communists in this country, Allard and a handful of militants are to various local unions to endorse the dedemocracy, but by degrees we are placing of policical lines. However, I am fully in accord with a united front of all

> Your article on the Anthracite was very informative. I received a personal

Best Regards to all the Comrades, -AN ILLINOIS MINER. Miscellaneous 19

Minneapolis is now far in the lead but PRESS. This is a week to be devoted New York regards this as a small item to the distribution of recent back issues to be wiped out at its subscription drive of our papers. Back numbers have been affair to be held this Saturday. The mailed and are already in the hands of idea of giving ticket holders an 8 issue the comrades. The thing to do now is sub to The Militant should draw a large to distribute them and follow up these attendance and shoot it back into the sues and our literature. An encouraging fight isn't over. The showing made last response to our appeal for our sympath- week by Youngstown is very encouraging. izers to help us in this drive came in We still expect to hear from Cleveland, from South Bend, Indiana. The back Kansas City, New Haven, Los Angeles, numbers asked for were in the mail Pittsburg, Springfield and W. Frankfort three hours after receipt of request for Ill., Toronto. We also expect to hear them. Comrade should remember that again from Philadelphia Boston, St. all returns must be in the mail (air Louis, Newark, Montreal, Chicago, and Youngstown.

### MILITANT BUILDERS

The staff and its record follow: C. R. lows: Hedlund-9; C. Cowl-5; V. R. Dunneling-1; W. Curran-1.

The staff looks very much like a roll call of the Minneapolis branch. The presentation.

(80 1-4) points."

they had better watch out and we meant marched against the Soviets following it and offer the above as proof.

follows: M. Dunne-5 points; V. Dunne scribes the action as follows: for Unser Kamf, Young Spartacus.

for subs he got from members of his us to enter into any arrangements with union remarked: 'I didn't have much time or I would have got them all'". Comrades everywhere—PLEASE COPY

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WHAT NEXT?-VITAL QUES-

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## The First Week of the Press Drive Lovestone and the «Pseudo-Revolutionists»

Our attack upon the proposal made in ism". Lenin writes: Izvestia by Karl Radek for a military to break a lance for the embarrassed

Stalinists. In the currest issue of the Workers Age devoted to a warm defense of Radek and by Lovestone in principle. What Radek an "anonymous" assault upon our post- proposed was the conclusion of a military tion, with the argument that even though alliance between the United States, as Radek is playing "bad politics based one of "the capitalist powers which at upon an unrealistic analysis" there is the present stage do not infringe on her nothing at all the matter with the idea The staff of Militant builders is mov- in principle, that it is quite in harmony ests", an alliance against imperialist ing upward. This is one of the most en- with the teachings and practises of couraging signs. It means that more Leninism. The case is even helped along reply to this reactionary proposal we and more comrades are being drawn into by the printing of a quotation from the drive. In our opinion we are ap- Lenin which is supposed to put the im- 1918, directed not only against the ultraproaching the point at which the simple print of Bolshevism on the idea of a miliaddition of numbers produces a quan- tary alliance and, by implication, upon against Germany" (Bucharin and Radek), tity far in excess of their sum. Our the Lovestoneites. As for our arguments, barometer of progress is proving itself. they are summarily dismissed as fol-

"That it is wrong in principle for the 5: M. Dunne-5: A. Konikov-4; F. Soviet power to form temporary alli-Barach-4; L. Basky-3; L. Roseland-pances, even military alliances, with cap-3; C. Skoglund-3; O. Coover-3; C. italist powers, only a muddled pseudo-Johnson-2; J. Carr-2; R. Sacharow- revolutionary phrasemonger will main-2: F. Cheloff-2: G. Ray-2: M. Glott- tain. For we must remember that 'war lieb-1: M. Koehler-1; W. Winne-1; is the continuation of politics by other until the other countries join the revolu-J. Carter-1; R. Ruskin-1; C. Forsen- means', and that 'politics is concentrated tionary movement . . . We have always 1; H. Capelis-1; S. Zalmanoff-1; W. economics'; any 'principle' that would fought our own imperialism, but the Hermann-1; A. Swabeck-1; A. Glotzer forbid a military alliance must likewise, -1; L. Logan-1; Kaldis-1; M. Ster- if logically extended, forbid a political treaty or a commercial agreement!" Utilizing Capitalist Antagonisms

Have the Bolsheviks (or any other comrades in other branches should get ruling revolutionary proletarian party) inadmissible." busy and bolster up their end of the re- the right to utilize differences and antagonisms existing at a given moment in Comrade Coover reports the following the camp of world imperialism? Absofrom Minneapolis; No. 1 team scored lutely, the right and the duty. So long nine points this week making their total as the proletariat in other countries has as of April 21st- thirty-seven and a not yet come to the aid of an isolated quarter (37 1-4) points. No. 2 team workers' dictatorship, the latter must scored sixteen (16) points making their exploit the antagonisms in the camp of total forty-three (43). The total score world imperialism in the interests of its for the branch-eighty and a quarter own preservation. The noteworthiest example of this is the action of the Bol-"We warned Chicago and New York sheviks when the German imperialists their failure to accept the terms of the "Several of the Minneapolis Militant Brest-Litovsk treaty in February 1918. Builders have not been mentioned in the that is, while the Allied imperialists were Militant yet. The complete list is as still at war with Germany. Trotsky de-

-10; F. Barach-8; S. Lesin-4 3-4; J. "On the twenty-second of February. Ross-4 1-2; C. Forsen-1 1-2; C. John- at the meeting of the Central Committee. roads lay ahead of them and in the lund-17; O. Coover-5; L. Rosland- sion had conveyed the French and Eng-1-2; C. Skoglund-4; S. Barach-1; S. lish offers to help us in a war with Ger-Kalmanoff-2; C. Cowl-8 1-2; M. Gott- many. I expressed myself as in favor lieb-1-2. (A point is equivalent to one of accepting the offer, on condition, of dollar). The above includes the subs course, that we be completely independent in matters of foreign policy. Buch-"Comrade Hedlund in turning in \$11 arin insisted that it was inadmissible for the imperialists. Lenin came vigorously to my aid, and the Central Committee adopted my resolution by six votes against five. As far as I can remember now, Lenin dictated the resolution in these words: 'That comrade Trotsky be authorized to accept the assistance of the brigands of French imperialism against the German brigands."

This is the "agreement" (Lenin deliberately uses ironical quotation marks around the word) to which Lenin refers in his "Letter to the American Working Men". In reprinting excerpts from this letter, Lovestone, to justify his contention, commits a little forgery which is of temporary divisions in the imperialquite characteristic of him and entitles ist camp; with the other, the proletariat the letter: "On 'Alliances' with imperial-

# Opposition Press in Czecho Slovakia

Our Left Opposition in Czecho Slovakia is publishing two organs, a theoretical monthly, entitled MARXISTIKA REVUE and a weekly, entitled Delnicka Politika, Czecho Slovakia workers in America who may be interested in keeping in touch with our movement in their own country can obtain these papers by writing to: Marxisticka Revue, Fr. Kohut, Zizkov, Chavlickovo nam 4), Prague. and to: Delnicka Politika, Havlickovo nam Prague XI.

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### HAVE YOU READ TROTSKY'S PAMPHLET ON GERMANY?

The face of the labor movement of the entire world, and of the Communist workers in particular, is closely tied up with the fate of the German workers in their immediate political situation. To understand this in its full and Marxian implications, every militant worker should read Trotsky's pamphlet GER-MANY, THE KEY TO THE INTERNA-TIONAL SITUATION—Shall Fascism Really Be Victorious?

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"We shook hands with the French alliance beweent the Soviet Union and monarchist although we knew that each the United States against Japan, has one of us would be pleased to hang the called forth at least one reply. If the other . . . And however much the hypodiplomats and statesmen in the Stalinist crites of Anglo-French and American imcamp who hastened to endorse Radek's perialism may howl and abuse us . . . I idea promptly relapsed into silence and will not hesitate for a moment to conhave since said nothing more on the clude a similar 'agreement' with the matter, at least their Right wing broth- German imperialist robbers in case the ers-under-the-skin have entered the field attacks of the Anglo-French armies would require it."

But such entirely legitimate "agreements" are quite a distance from the (April 23, 1932), the leading editorial is alliance proposed by Radek and justified (the Soviet Union's) frontiers or inter-Japan. That is how the issue stands. In quoted from Lenin's theses in March Leftist advocates of a "revolutionary war but also against the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists who insisted upon a Soviet alliance with France and England against the Hohenzollern armies.

> "Our policy must be based, not on a choice between two imperialisms but on the possibility of strengthening the socialist revolution or at least on the necessity of enabling it to offer resistance overthrow of the imperialism of one country by means of an alliance with the imperialism of another, is a line of action that we reject both on reasons of principle and because we consider it

Let us remember that this was written at a time when Russia's need for "allies" was infinitely more acute than today, at a time when there was no Red army and when (unlike the situation in Manchuria) the German forces had already advanced upon Russian territory into the very heart of the country. In spite of this Lenin offered objections in principle to the proposals for an alliance with the Anglo-French imperialists. He did not withdraw them even when Kamkov, leader of the Social Revolutionists, announced to the Soviet Congress the withdrawal of that party's support of the Bolshevik government because Lenin preferred to sign the humiliating treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Towards the end of the same year, Lenin wrote to the party's Central Committee: "Now the least enlightened will understand what cowardly treason to socialism the Mensheviks and the S. R.s committed by accepting the alliance with the rapacious Franco-English bourgeoisie with the alleged aim of annuling the Brest peace." And again, to the Sixth Congress of the Soviets, Lenin declared in retrospect: "Fate condemned us to isolation and after the Brest peace we have lived through a grievous period. We were told: 'Better a new alliance with the imperialists than such a peace.' . . . rather a new war together with the Anglo-French than the yoke of this violent peace. We replied: if we address ourselves to the international working class, we shall be able to continue our

As Lenin writes in the "Letter" published by Lovestone: "There are agreements and agreements." With one, the proletariat makes a revolutionary use allies itself with the bourgeoisie of one country, sacrificing its revolutionary principles--towards a reactionary end, to which we shall refer later on.

Lenin made one kind of "agreement". When the Soviets were pressed to the wall by the advancing Germans, he readily accepted arms and ammunition from the French and English; he agreed to use their military specialists to blow up bridges and railroad lines in order to impede the German advance. The Soviets bound themselves to nothing. They created no illusions among the workers of the world concerning any "friendliness to the Soviet republic" or "nobleness of purpose' on the part of the Entente brigands. They concluded no secret (or any other kind of) treaty of alliance with France. They continued to agitate unreservedly for the overthrow of both sets of imperialist powers by their respective proletarians.

Under similar circumstances, the Sovicts would act the same way today in the conflict with Japan. In face of a Japanese intervention against the U.S. S. R., or even a threat of such a step, the Soviets would be entirely justified in buying or accepting arms or ammunition from, let us say, the United States (if it could get them from this imperialist power which, far from standing aside, as Radek implies, is the fundamental counter-revolutionary force in the world (Continued on page 3)

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