LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

A Food Worker Writes About His Union

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The situation in the Foodworkers' Industrial Union is very bad. To put it more correctly, it is going from bad to worse. This is the result of the ruinous policy the party bureaucrats have imposed upon the organization

I will try to present in this article as clearly as possible the real situation in the union, without touching the theoretical question as to whether the FWIU is really "revolutionary" and whether the splitting away from the Amalgamated Food Workers was a correct policy for Communists to pursue.

To present fully what happened in the union ever since the split with the AFW would be too hard for me. For two reasons. First, I took no leading part then in the union. Secondly, I must admit that thanks to The Militant's policy on the trade union question, which I have begun to follow recently with much care, I have been able to see more clearly how false the party's policy in the union. Secondly, I must admit that thanks to question, which I have begun to follow recently with much care I have been able to see more clearly how false the party's policy in the union has been.

I am convinced that the only way out of the present crisis in the union is with the policy of the Left Opposition.

According to official reports, when the split took place and the union was organized, the membership was more than 2500. Today, it hardly reaches 700 and no more than about 450 in good stand- fist fights. Party and fraction decisions ing. Conditions in union shops, especi- are considered by the workers as someally in the cafeterias, are no different thing against their interests. The party from those in the open shops. In some cases they are even worse. For instance, in the Chester and Royal cafeterias, the per week, while in the Willow and other faces coday, nothing is being done of acchain stores, women work 8 hours a day | tual value. A united front conferenceat \$14 per week.

fully to the policy recently adopted by our own union and 3 or 4, self-appointed. the leadership of the union and ap- Even for us party members, including proved by the T. U. U. L. The policy is from the A. F. of L. and the A. F. W.

MILITANT BUILDERS

Our reiterated appeals for subs and for a staff of Militant builders continue (because for more than a year, outside to bear fruit. Comrades and sympath- of the famous mass strike of fish work- duction brings forward ever more its izers are responding with subs and ex- ers, no other activities have been con- antagonisms of monopoly, developed propressions of their esteem for our Mili- ducted), but because of the heavy staff ductive forces and the poverty and retant. A comrade from Kansas sends us of organizers. It is almot unbelievable stricted consumption of the masses. In "---and must say the Militant is abso- with 3 office girls should have to make lutely right." A comrade from Pennsy- up the staff of a union that has no lvania asks for "---a copy of several of more than 450 to 500 members in good your latest papers. Also price of same as we wish to subscribe." From California came the following: "---I do not feel able to afford a cash donation without something in return, so enclosed find \$1 for which please send me 2 copies per week-so I will have another copy to pass out. This is an excellent idea. Comrades who can do the same are invited to begin at once. Order a second Brooklyn writes: "---I'm only a step the money went and when the initiation ahead of starvation but I'm enclosing a quarter and hope you can continue my sub for a while." You bet we will!

Best of all is the announcement from our Minneapolis comrades. Says comattempt to build the Milltant circulation have already taken place several times some more," Good idea! With this kind of spirit and the results which are sure circulation closer to what we want it weather the storm which still rages un-

In last week's issue we made a mistake union is entirely destroyed. which we want to correct. We offered a free copy of the bound volume of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets to each comrade who raised \$10 in subs and donations. It should have read: a free copy of the bound volume to each comrade who raises \$4 in subs. But these must be subs which he gets from workers other than himself. What we want is a staff of active pluggers. We are serious about this question of building the circulation of the Militant and increasing our influence among the Left wing and the workers as a whole. For this we need a permanent staff of comrades one of whose chief duties will be to get subs.

In line with this idea for the period of the summer months we are offering a free copy of the new book by comrade Trotsky, Problems of the Chinese Revolution, with each one year sub to the Militant. This is everyone's chance to kill two birds with one stone. In sending in subs comrades should remember to ask for their free copies. The staff and its record follow:

its record follow:	
C. R. Hedlund	4
O. Coover	4
M. Beardslee	3
M. Koehler	3
A. Basky	2 1-2
M. Basin	2
P. Vomvas	2
J. Eichna	2
C. Curtis	2
A. Ehrlich	2
M. Reinl	2
J. Booth	1-2
T. Halligan	1-4
he record by branches	is as follow
Minneapolis	8
New York	7 3-4
Pittsburgh	4
Youngstown	. 4 3

2

Cnicago

Philadelphia

Miscellaneous

to approach as many bosses as possible and to ask them to allow their workers to join the union without having any conditions in mind. As it was reported by one of the organizers "when they sign up plenty of shops, they'll declare a strike for conditions." A fine policy! It seems they have learned a good lesson from the fakers in the A. F. of L. who with just such a policy and with the aid of the Bosses Association organas a scab agency and as injunction serv-

ers against the HWIU. Our "revolutionary" tactics within the A. F. of L. against the Communists are many cases, workers were fired by the bosses for upholding the union conditions without being protected by the organization under the pretext that we are not strong enough to resist. This attitude made the workers passive and gave the bosses a chance to hire help from employment agencies. Finally many. workers from the industrial union and many shops as a whole fell into the hands of the A. F. of L.

Even members of the shop delegates. council, who are elected by the membership, were expelled from the council and branded as destructive elements for the same reasons mentioned above. The result of the bureaucratism is that is the last four or five months not a single meeting of the shop delegates' council, executive or membership meeting has been held that was not broken up with member realize this. But decisions from above must be carried out.

On the united front, the most impor-"from below"-was held six months ago This is not an accident. It corresponds in which the delegates were members of the leaders, the united front question still remains as an unsolved puzzle

On the Financial Question

. The financial expenses of the union are extremely high, not due to its activities dollar with the encouraging words: that 7 full and 3 part-time organizers standing. Of course, in a period of organization drives, even a bigger staff is necessary, but in this case, it is a matter of a permanent staff.

In order to balance even the wage expense of the union regularly, heavy assessments were levied on the membership time and again under the pretext that ganization drive. This drive never took this money was to be used for the orcopy for someone else. A comrade in place. Nor was a report made where fee was finally increased and the amount of dues payment doubled, the whole burrade Coover: "-Send me 50 or more a "reorganization" took place. But this in the past. There are, besides, many other reasons why the union goes to follow we should build the Militant from bad to worse. It would be ridiculous to expect any change from above to to be. Financially it should help us to remedy this. This task belongs to the sincere party members. Now is the time to act. We must not wait until the

-A FOODWORKER.

* A programmatic statement on the situation in Foodworkers Industrial Union will appear in The Militant shortly.

............ Pioneer Publishers Notes

With the publication of Problems of the Chinese Revolution announced elsewhere in this issue, we add another weapon to the arsenal of revolutionary party members particularly and among internationalism. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927 will be as decisive for for the movement of the last decade. indispensable to an understanding of the present situation in the Far East. It is a fundamental contribution to the colonial question.

> We have been inexcusably late in getting it out. Now that it is on sale let us make every effort to give it the widest distribution possible. Get orders for it member that a free copy goes with each one year sub to The Militant.

> With each day our stock of literature is getting lower. Some of the pamphlets are already out of print. Others are running out of print.

Those that are out of print can still be had in the bound volumes. There are only about ninety of these. When these are gone they will be unavailable except for chance copies picked up here bourgeois government fears to have such in Which They are Received. and there. And they are going. Orders a computation made. But the index figare coming in for them. We are filling ures published by the Department of company the Orders. these as they come in. None are put Labor give us somewhat of an idea. Its aside for future sale. Comrades who index figures are based upon returns Order at Once! want them should order them at once. from eighty-nine industries since the PRICE

Trotsky Greets 'Unser Kamf'

Communist League of America).

Dear Comrades:

The appearance of your paper was of itself a very important step forward. The first successes of the paper show that it was a necessity. Yes, and could

it have been doubted even for a minute? States are a large and important part of the movement inevitably dry up. And we ized local 302 of the countermen, used the whole proletariat of the country. Historical conditions have made the Jewish workers susceptible to the ideas of scientific Communism. The very fact union have helped to strengthen this of the dispersement of the Jewish workist principle of federation of the national est links of the working class. organization. We stand entirely on the ted States and Canada: in South Amer- Old World, the U. S. S. R. included. the bureaucratized Comintern reflects itlink of the proletariat. The policy of bus girls work 10 hours per day at \$12 tant problem that the labor movement rights, the Jewish workers are a weak work with everything I can. economic sense and in the sense of civil ica, in Europe and Palestine. In the

To the Editorial Committee of the Jewish | pressed and disfranchized part of the RUSSIA: MARKET OR MENACE? Paper UNSER KAMF (Organ of the Proletariat: in Poland, in the Baltic By Thomas D. Campbell regions, in France, evidently also in Paletine. The working class cannot march towards its liberation by command. Revolutionary courage and political will can be strengthened only with the aid of creative ideas which the workers must learn independently Inrough criticism, deliberation and examination by experience. Without this, the very sources of see in actuality how the largest national sections of the Comintern, in spite of the exceptionally favorable circumstances, suffer defeat after defeat.

The workers are capable of withstandlocal. For instance, the same methods ers in a number of countries should in- ing the harshest political blows if they of expulsion used by the fakers of the still in them and does instill in them the have the possibility of thinking through ideas of Internationalism. In view of the reasons for failure and independently being applied against militant union men just this alone the Communist Left Op- to extract from it all the necessary conwho dare criticize the burocrats. In position has every reason to count upon clusions for the future. But the curse a big influence among the Jewish pro- lies in the fact that the bureaucracy of letarians in the United States. What the Comintern is not only incapable of characterizes the Left Opposition pri- leading the workers to victory, but canmarily is its profound international not even permit them to think through character. Precisely because of this it the reasons for defeat. After each new must speak in every national language. blow of the enemies, the Centrist bureau-The existence of an independent Jewish cracy on its part hits the workers over publication serves not in order to separ- the skull, prohibiting them from thinkate the Jewish workers, but on the con- ing, criticizing and learning. This cri- the American public since the war, two revolution WHEN RUSSIA WAS DOMINtrary in order to make those ideas which minal regime becomes the chief sources and a half billion dollars of German ATED BY RADICALS OF THE MOST combine all the workers in one interna- of disappointment and apathy. The first securities, a portion of which have been tional revolutionary family available to victims of the blows from the class en- used by the Germans to extend credit them. You, it is understood, reject de-, ey as well as from the Centrist bureau- to Russia." (5) "Germany has received of the other great nations. Years before cisively and intransigeantly the old Bund- cracy fall, as already said, are the weak- a flood of orders from Russia including the financial crash of 1929, the militant

Your paper is the organ of the Comgrounds of democratic centralism. The munist League. Its immediate task is Jewish workers won over by your paper to gather the Jewish workers in Amermust struggle in the general ranks of the ica under the banner of Marx and Lenin. Communist League and the mass organi- The more successfully this work is carzations of the American proletariat. In ried out the sooner it will rise to an so far as your paper will develop and international height, the more the ideas strengthen, it may also assume signific- of the Left Opposition will penetrate into ance beyond the boundaries of the Uni- the midst of the Jewish workers of the

> With my whole heart I greet your paper and I shall try to be useful in your

> > —L. TROTSKY.

self most disastrously on the most op. Prinkipo, May 9, 1932.

The Crisis, Unemployment and the Workers

(Continued from page 1)

The general process of capitalist pro- full year 1926 reckoned as 100: this process, the credit system accelerate the violent eruptions of these antagon-

"The stupendous productive power deterial substance), which grow much more rapidly than the population, contradict the basis, which, compared to the expanding wealth, is ever narrowing and for which this immense productive power works, and the conditions, under which capital augments its value. This is the cause of crises." (Marx, Capital, Vol. III, page 313.)

the ships whose conditions I have al- present level of percentages of capacity ready mentioned above. A few days ago, production reached after two and a half years duration of the crisis. The New Militant sub blanks. We are going to means nothing. Such 'reorganizations' York Times index for the first quarter of 1932 gives the following results:

Industry February March April Pig Iron production 31.5 27.9 24.9 Steel Ingot 31.1 26.4 25.0 Electric Power " 73.1 72.4 71.3 Bituminous Coal " 62.5 74.5 71.3 Automobile 33.5 27.4 80.3 Boot and Shoe " 90.7 96.6 91.0 41.9 41.3 40.1 Zinc Cotton consumption 71.5 73.2 56.8 Freight car loadings 61.7 60.1 58.2 For the combined business index, of which the estimated "normal" is 100, we get the following figures:

Combined business 62.6 61.6 57.2 Truly, the stupendous productive power! developed under the capitalist mode of | Henceforth these will be the relations of production contradicts the basis, and the conditions under which capital augments its value. And it is not altogether unnatural that the New York Times comments cynically in an editorial, of Sunday, June 5th, entitled-This Crisis and Others-'The break-down is permanus today as the revolution of 1905 was ent. The sharply curtailed consumption today is not primarily a reflex of a dis-This new work by comrade Trotsky is tress cut in income but a return to the the first Marxian analysis of the world 'natural' level (sic!). The unemployshaking events of five years ago. It is ment figures of today are not emergency figures. They register the permanent effect of our triumphs in industrial ef ficiency, in methods and machines (hear hear). Taking care of perhaps 8,000,000 persons out of work is a big problem, but one that can be solved if it is a temporary problem. But what the country must now look forward to is this now, at once. Place it in book stores huge mass of idle workers as a permanand in libraries. The cloth cover copies ent feature of our evonomic life. Such should make this fairly easy. And re- is the fatal difference 'in kind' today." Yes, this is the salient point of the

crisis today and for the future prospects. The New York Times wants to warn its bourgeois readers. We must similarly BOUND VOLUMES of the MILITANT warn the working class to draw its own conclusions.

We would not accept the above unemployment figure as accurate. In reality it is surely a good deal larger than that. Exact figures are not available. The

end of 1930 and on fifty-four for the earlzation of capital. It caused an enor- fer dates given. They compare as fol- on a three million dollar loss of orders mous extension of the scale of produc- lows for April this year with April of tion and of overproduction of capital. previous years, with the average for the

							_			
April	, 1932.						.6	32	.2	
April	, 1931.						.7	75	.7	
April	, 1930.						.8	39	.1	
April	, 1929.						.5	99	.1	
April	, 1926.						10	01	.0	
April	, 1923.						1	10	.8	
	connecti									1

also note the fall in the total payroll veloping under the capitalist mode of from the same index, covering the same production relatively to population, and industries and the same months. It will the increase, though not in the same pro- be useful for our further analysis. The portion, of capital values (not their ma- payrolls for April compare as follows:

April, 1932.....44.7 April, 1931......68.5 April, 1930.....89.8 April 1929......104.6 April, 1926......101.5 April, 1923......105.7

There is shown here an ominous disparity in the much greater drop in total payroll when compared to the drop in In the light of the above it should employment. This is indicative for the den fell on the backs of the workers in paw prove interesting to examine the future working class prospects. A permanent, huge unemployed army and a reduced standard of living. But what the working class will do in this situation still remains the decisive question.

> the New York Times so cynically puts of the American workers. It still reit, embodies these prospects for the American working class. The return aims to take the lead in this question, motivto restore confidence, within capitalism, ated by real loss of orders, shut-down of in the continuity of the process of re- their plants, and panic at the extent of production, to extend the market and to restore a rate of profit on existing capital on this "natual" basis. But capitalism produces for an unknown market. And, the contradictions between the expansion of capital and the market limitations leads to ever deeper crises.

Capitalist production, as a continuous connected process, first of all produces and reproduces the capitalist relations. yet greater concentration of capitalmeans of production which serve as capital, serve for the exploitation of labor-with greater intensity of exploitation and with an ever growing section

of the workers in enforced idleness. "The real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself. It is the fact that capital and its self-expansion appear as the starting and closing point, as the motive and aim of production; that production is merely production for capital, and not vice versa, the means of production mere means for an ever expanding system of the life process for the benefit of the society of producers." (Marx, Capital, Vol. III, page 293.)

-ARNE SWABECK. (Note: Another article on the Crisis Unemployment and the Working Class. particularly dealing with the present of forts for expansion of credits, will appear in the next issue of The Militant —Ed.) a

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:Book Review:

Longmanns, Green and Co., New York, Toronto and London 1932.

148 pages. question in the ranks of the working ceit!) class and its vanguard

Mr. Campbell is a large scale agriculexpert and adviser to the Soviet Governlarge scale Soviet farm organization.

only from the purely business point of fold" propaganda. view; for extension of credits: (1) "It all its obligations promptly and in full"; market for all kinds of manufactured goods"; (3) Will relieve American depression; (4) "American banking and \$75,000,000 worth of industrial equipment since April 15, 1931." (6) Stable Govwould not now be the important nation sia's 160 million people" she is, if Joseph Stalin and his supporters had not succeeded in displacing the more violent revolutionists of the Trotsky type . . . Stalin is a strategist of another sort, a man who can advance or retreat, thrust or parry, denounce or defend, and still advancing towards his ultimate goal." The American bourgeoisie will agree with him.

These arguments and others are adgood business proposition, repeating portrayal of life in Soviet Russia, not again and again that he is firmly opposed to Communism in any form.

from the Soviet Union due to the "shortsighted diplomatic policy" of the government, they want an immediate cessation of playing with this question, and demand recognition of the Soviet Union as a basis for revival of certain American industries.

Democrats in their anti-administration among his "poor relatives" (the usual prepaganda and proposals have come be- fiction), still wields the power. He uses fore congress. It may become a substan- the very Soviet to exploit the workertial secondary campaign issue in the com- shepherds, helped along by the lazy and ing elections.

The slogan of long-term credits and trade with the Soviet Union has a powerful political apepal to workers suffering unemployment in the present crisis. There is no question of the response that the Communist party and its auxiliaries got, after they reluctantly adopted this "counter-revolutionary" slogan. Be-Abstract and pacifist slogans of "Defend the Soviet Union" type have been sub-

In spite of the obvious effectiveness of this slogan in connecting up the fight against capitalist misery directly with the cause of the Workers Republic, lit-The return to the "natural" level, as tle progress has been made in the ranks mains for certain business men's groups the crisis. How silly the burocratic "arguments" about this slogan lending aid to the capitalists in stabilizing their industry. As if credits for the Five Year Plan program would climinate the gigantic contradictions of chaos and glut in the capitalist market.

A most astounding revelation in this book is the lengths to which Stalin has the bourgeoisie." While secret negotiations take place with capitalist magnates and diplomats for recognition and exin New York, in these manipulations be- sia. hind the backs of the workers, the principles of the movement are bartered for sion of credits. That explains Litvinov's defection in signing the Kellogg Pact. Not the bourgeoisie but the workers are they are not counter-revolutionaries, they thus deceived at to the aims of the Workers Republic in the international class war.

But aside from disastrous consequences of the false theory of national socialism in world politics, you have the petty "de-j ception" of the world bourgeoisie thru and comfort to the Left Opposition! It the medium of Stalin's interviews - the famous "twofold" policy, talking with one face to the workers and another to the bosses, and occasionally getting the faces mixed.

Campbell reports: "He (Stalin) unhesitatingly admitted, with disarming frankness, that under Trotsky there had been an attempt to spread Communism throughout the world. He said that was the primary cause of the break between him. self and Trotsky. That Trotsky believed in universal Communism while he wanted to confine his efforts to his ewn coun. try. He explained that they had neither the time nor the money to try to commun. ize the world, even should they wish to people in Russia, without any interfer-

ence whatsoever from the government of other countries."

That this is an authentic statement can be shown by the following fact: "Upon leaving, he told me that the inter-The appearance of this book urging preter would prepare a typewritten copy American business men to develop trade of our conversation, which I received with the Soviet Union by the extension two weeks later in London, signed "J. of long-term credits, and eventual legal Stalin", and with this note-"Keep this recognition, makes it instructive to draw record, it may be a very historical docua balance of the present state of this ment some day." (What arrogant con-

Are the bourgeoisie really fooled by these utterances? Note the wave of tural capitalist, owner of a 95,000 acre editorial irony in the capitalist newsgiant farm at Hardin, Montana, a Mech. papers about Stalin's back to capitalism anical and Agricultural Engineer, special (sic) movement in the questions of the new decree on individual sale of cattle ment in 1929-1930 in the development of and grain and the piece work system in the factories. They place a correct eva-He marshals arguments convincing if luation on Stalin's interviews and "two-

And finally, let us examine the views has, during the past fourteen years paid of the author himself, who so earnestly extolls the virtues of Stalinist leadership. (2) "For many years to come Russia "Communism" he says, "Thrives only in will be the world's greatest consumers' dark places, the cesspools of the world . . . (despite the depression) the producers of America's manufactured goods were loth to deal with Russia. They held financial institutions . . . have sold to aloof during those first years after the PERNICIOUS BREED, who threatened to overthrow our government and those advocates of world revolution have been banished from Russia and expelled from ernment. "It is my opinion that Russia the Communist party which rules Rus-

> Oh! What a tangled web we weave, "When first we practice to deceive!" -CARL COWL.

FILM REVIEW

NOT "ALONE" COMRADE!

The film, "Alone", produced by Sovkino vance by Campbell to assure timid busi- of the U. S. S. R. and shown at present ness men that trade with Russia is a at the Cameo Theatre, is a significent in the heroic days of the Revolution, but at the present time, in the days of strug-That Campbell represents a live view gle against the kulaks and nepmen. among certain strata of American manu. Briefly told the story depicts the bleak facturers is attested to by the recent re- but enlightening experience of an inmasolutions of the Toledo and Cleveland ture girl just out of Normal School who Chambers of Commerce, basing themselves is sent most unwillingly to teach the children of a backward tribe away off at the edge of civilization in the Altai region of Siberia.

Here a village Soviet exists but we are made quickly and convincingly aware that although forms have changed, the underlying reality has not. The rich kulak who has divided his large flock of The cry has been taken up by the sheep forming the wealth of this region, inefficient bureaucrat assigned as head of the Soviet.

The young Moscow girl, at first bewildered through lack of experience, comes soon to a realization of actualities, particularly when the nepman-kulak invades the class-room to withdraw the older children to make them tend the flock. She comes into conflict with the crafty cause of their hesitant, "tongue-in-the- kulak and when he attempts to slaughter cheek" policy, however, there has been the sheep, the main source of food supply no real effort to build on this key slogan. for the village, for his own private profit, her appeal to the head of the Soviet being unavailing, since he has no "instructions", she decides to apeal to the higher-ups at the provincial center. Here she makes the mistake of accepting the help of the class-enemy who offers to drive her in his sleigh and she finds herself deserted, alone, in the trackless waste of snow. However she is found and against the opposition of the bureaucrat the village poor sent an appeal for help to save her life. An aeroplane does the rest. Meantime the village poor are aroused and force the regeneration of the Soviet by holding elections and casting out the bureaucrat.

We are informed that this picture of conditions as they now exist kindled a heated discussion in Moscow. Criticism was levelled at the playing up of a "star" as against the picturing of the "masses". Nevertheless, after the usual preview begone in his false "strategy" of "deceiving fore selected workers to decide whether the film should be released to the Russian masses, these workers voted favorably on it as giving a true picture. In spite tension of credits as, for example, be of which, the Cameo billboards repeat hind the scenes at Geneva, Sokolnikov in an announcement that this picture will London and Bogdanov of the Amtorg probably never be seen publicly in Rus-

May we not conclude that the criticism as to "star" technique is just a wee bit possible recognition or a possible exten- disingenuous? That actually the bureaucrats felt more than uncomfortable under its too direct exposure of how, although play directly into the hands of the class enemies?

Yes, aimed at bureaucracy in Siberia, it struck home in Moscow as the workers could not fail to understand. No. the film must not be allowed to give aid is too symbolic of our own struggle for the regeneration of the Soviets. We heartily recommend the film to party comrades.

—J. WEBER.

CHICAGO PICNIC for the Benefit of The Militant SUNDAY, JUNE 19, 1932

FOREST GLENN PRESERVE Refreshments and Games

Directions: Take Elston car to end of station. Use Transfer and take bus to to so, and that his own chief interest | Forest Genn St. Walk four blocks north. was to improve the conditions of the Auspices: Chicago Branch C. L. of A.