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THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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N.R.A. Ballyhoo and the Facts Behind It

When Roosevelt spoke over the radio on Sunday, October 22, he evidently had not read the last issue of that most respectable business bulletin, the *Annalist*. In his speech he declared:

"The whole picture however—the average of the whole territory from coast to coast, the average of the whole population of 120,000,000 people—shows to any person, willing to look, facts and action of which you and I can be proud."

What these facts are the *Annalist* of Oct. 20, makes very clear. It gives the following record for September: Industrial production—down 7.9%; Retail trade—down 5 percent; Real wages—down 4 percent; and last but not least, Retail prices—up 4 percent. Indeed a picture "to be proud of."

After nonchalantly eliminating a few million unemployed "who preferred not to work at all" Roosevelt continues: "It seems, therefore, fair to say that there were about 10,000,000 of our citizens who were seeking work and could not get it. Of these, I am convinced that at least 4,000,000 have been given employment."

Roosevelt only added some 400,000 to the A. F. L. figures for reemployment which are by far the most inaccurate of all employment figures. At a time when all other estimates of unemployment ranged from 15 to 17 millions the A. F. L. figures were only 13 million. The A. F. L. reports 871,000 reemployed in September. The *Annalist* reports .08% reemployed which amounts to 400,000 people.

But does Roosevelt want to be accurate? The answer is clear—why should he be accurate? Roosevelt knows very well what is happening. He knows that, as the *Annalist* states, 40% of the March to July spurt was lost by the end of September, and that by this time more has been lost. He knows that all real indicators of business activity with the exception of zinc production, including steel, pig iron, electric power production, cotton, wool and silk consumption, auto, lumber and cement production, have gone down since the end of July. He knows that the *Annalist's* index of General Business Activity was 89.5 for July and only 76.9 for August. Roosevelt knows all this. But it is not to his interest to admit that the much-boasted N. R. A. recovery is—a flop.

—PETER MORTON.

The Painters General Strike

The debacle of the Brownsville section of the Alternation Painters Union in the strike is a bitter lesson about Stalinist trade union tactics. The strike, which was called in competition with the Brotherhood, Local 102 of the A. F. of L., ended in an ignominious and crushing defeat for the Stalinists, and the loss of whatever influence they had in trade. They refused our proposal (Kitt) for one general strike, and for entry into the A. F. of L. They sought to make capital out of the situation among the painters and build their "revolutionary" union. What is worse, they refused the offer to take them into the Brotherhood.

What were the results? During the first week or so the Union pulled down about 300 workers, and settled a number of shops. Negotiations were carried on with the Bosses' Association and the party leaders managed to keep the painters inspired by constantly reminding them of this and by continually making glowing promises of victory.

However, within a short time the absence of a Left wing within the Brotherhood, coupled with the fact that it controlled the majority of the workers in the trade, made itself felt. Shop after shop that had settled with the A. P. U. was taken over by the Brotherhood. Either the workers were terrorized into joining Local 102 by the A. F. of L. gangsters or coerced into it by the bosses, who signed separate agreements with the Brotherhood. Whenever the painters refused; the A. F. of L. placed pickets outside the building. The Stalinists met this move by beating up the pickets, who were rank and file Brotherhood men and had been ordered to picket by their officials.

The stupid blunder, in the train of countless others, played directly into the hands of the business agent or Local 102, Jake the "Bum". First, they had refused the offer of the Brotherhood to establish one union in the trade, which branded them as splitters so far as the rank and file of the A. F. of L. was concerned. Then they copied a leaf from the reformists and slugged the workers-pickets. To the rank and file of the Brotherhood it was clear that the Alternation Painters Union was out to smash their organization. In alarm they gave

Celebrate the 5th Anniversary of the Left Opposition in America

Hail the Movement for a New Party and the Fourth International!

A great event in the history of the revolutionary movement in America will be the banquet to celebrate the fifth year of the *Militant*, the fifth birthday of the Communist League—and to hail the coming of the Fourth International.

Present at this banquet will be outstanding celebrities in Communist and labor ranks in the United States. Among those attending will be Ben Gitlow, Secretary of the Workers Communist League and one of the founders of the American Communist party; V. F. Calverton, editor of the *Modern Monthly*; Ernest Sutherland Bates, noted radical publicist; Ed Lindgren, prominent figure in the early days of the Left wing movement in support of the Russian revolution; Diego Rivera, the famous artist; and others. For the first time in years, representatives of different sections of the

workers' movement will sit at one banquet table and take part in the festivities. Besides addresses from the comrades mentioned above it will be an evening of gala entertainment. A new revolutionary skit will be performed for the first time at the banquet by some of our star revolutionary actors.

Last but not least in mention is the delicious food to be served to the comrades and friends attending.

The banquet will take place Saturday, November 4th at 8 P. M. at Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St. and Second Avenue. Make sure to get tickets for yourself and your friends. They are 50 cents a plate. Dirt cheap!

Be on hand for this great gala event to celebrate the anniversary of the *Militant*, the Communist League of America and to hail the Fourth International!

Terzani Accuser Faces Trial

New York City. — District Attorney Charles S. Cullen of Queens County has failed to keep his promise to conduct a new inquiry into the killing of Anthony Fierro, young anti-Fascist slain at a meeting of the Fascist Khaki Shirts, the Terzani Defense Committee charged today.

Commander Smith of the Khaki Shirts was recently held in \$400 bail for the grand jury in Philadelphia, on a charge of fraudulent conversion of furniture. He had fled from his headquarters early on Oct. 12, after members of his general staff had mutilated against his suddenly announced plan to "take over the city" and seize three armories preliminary to a march on Washington scheduled for that day. For four days Smith was missing. Then he came back, surrendered, got bail, and audaciously announced that he would re-establish his Fascist program. He asserted that he had been plotted against by the police and the radicals.

Organizing Steel Workers in Ohio

Youngstown, O. — Youngstown's steel workers were recently given the opportunity to judge the harmful policy of Stalinism in the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union. Early in September the SMW IU led a brief but successful strike in the chipping department of the Republic Steel Corporation. The concrete demands they fought for were higher wages and equal division of work. A good percentage of the chippers were organized into the SMW IU at the time, but they proved incapable of building up the organization any further. Several weeks ago the chipping department shut down, throwing all the men out of work. When it reopened three days later, all the gains won by the strike were canceled, as none of the men known to have been active in the union were called back to work. They found themselves neatly and effectively locked out.

A Strike of the Unemployed Of the thousands employed at Republic Steel, the chippers represent about two hundred. The leaders of the union saw hundreds of thousands of workers on strike throughout the country, steel workers battling valiantly in Ambridge and Weirton, and decided that conditions had been made to order for them. The local leaders immediately called a meeting of the laid-off men, about seventy in number, and this so-called perfect union decided to pull a strike. For the rank and file to make such a mistake was excusable, but the leadership allowed itself to be carried away by the blind enthusiasm of the workers and endorsed the adventure. As none of the employed chippers were even called for a joint meeting with their fellow-workers, the SMW IU got precisely what they wanted—a hundred percent strike of the unemployed chippers. It is undoubtedly more than a coincidence that identically this tactic was being repeated at the same time in the Buffalo plant of Republic steel.

Although the overwhelming majority of the Youngstown steel workers have never been in any union, even they could see something wrong. The "strike" was obviously doomed to failure from the start. The union got out leaflets with the hopelessly vague demand. Make the bosses keep their promises to equalize work. The leaflets were so worded that they gave the impression that the entire Buffalo plant had walked out. Workers took the leaflets, laughed at them, tore them up and went back to work. Even the local boss and their propaganda sheets after the first momentary panic, were able to laugh it off. So it was no wonder that the strikers themselves became aware of the farcical role they were playing and called off the strike the next day.

Stalinist Policy Isolates Militants The lessons to be drawn from this incident are quite apparent. The class conscious militant workers, forced by the criminal policy of the SMW IU to remain isolated from the working class, are further than ever away from the masses. The workers in the mills, insofar as they were organizing, are almost all going into the Amalgamated Association unless a fighting Left wing is speedily formed in the American Federation of Labor union, these workers will be left completely at the mercy of Mike Tighe and his crew of labor scabats. Thus the vicious tactic of the Communist party and its false-face, the SMW IU, in the long run play directly into the hands of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats.

It is significant to note the elab-

Silk Dyers Vote for Separate Agreement

Paterosn, N. J.—The great odds fought against by the embattled silk workers have been greatly increased by the split in the ranks occasioned by the vote of the dye house workers under the U. T. W. to accept the agreement and return to work. The fifteen thousand workers in the dye houses are taking up their places at the tubs after a seven weeks strike under a contract offering concessions in wages and union recognition.

Under the separate agreement the dyers have obtained union recognition for their organization, the United Textile Workers, from the powerful Institute of Dyers and Printers, the manufacturers association. They have been granted a minimum wage of \$23 which constitutes an increase of from five to seven dollars over what they had been receiving prior to the strike. The closed shop was not obtained but the employers have agreed, according to the contract, to deal with the union shop committees over grievances, firing, etc.

Vote Not Unanimous The vote for the agreement was neither unanimous nor did it include the majority of the dye workers, although a decisive section participated. The sentiment of the dye workers cannot be judged accurately by the outcome of the vote because the majority of the dyers did not vote and because of the peculiar ballot they were asked to cast. They were asked to vote on the following questions: "Do you favor acceptance of the settlement terms?" 3,311 voted for acceptance and 1,422 voted against. The second question, which undoubtedly appeared to be a contradiction to the workers was: "Do you want to stay out until the weavers return?" 1,913 declared for staying out with the weavers and 2,539 for returning to the job immediately.

The large size of this minority vote is highly symptomatic of the confusion and doubt in the minds of the dyers, inexperienced in union affairs and taken in by the trick method of posing the question. The dyers were faced with a dilemma. The agreement gave them certain concessions—wages, recognition, etc.—and consequently there was some sentiment for its acceptance. But the question must have no doubt cropped up: "If we have an agreement, and the agreement is favorable, then why not return to work; why wait for the weavers who may be out for a long time yet?"

The Separation of the Dyers The question of a national strike settlement and of the dependence of one section of the silk industry upon another was never made clear to the dyers. They did not perceive the heavy blow they were dealing the weavers by returning to work. They had not years of experience and a tradition of many strikes to make them aware of this elementary lesson of solidarity. The isolation of the dyers into a separate union had awakened craft consciousness. Only vaguely did they feel themselves part of the strike led by the American Federation of Silk Workers.

On the other hand the dye workers were handicapped by bad leadership. Leading their section of the strike, were two old-line politicians, Vigorito and Pirola, self-seeking, out for votes. The dyers' interests were secondary to their own careerist ambitions. Besides these two shady figures was the conniving and fakery of McMahon through his agent, Pat Quinlan. A conscious Left wing was not present in the dyers local. Except if one, by a stretch of the imagination could consider Jack Rubenstein of the Lovestonites in that category. But Rubenstein failed to take a clear position on most of the questions facing the dyers. Where he should have been strong and uncompromising he was weak and conciliatory. He took no definite position before the dyers on the question of breaking the ranks of the strike and accepting the separate agreement. The policy of the Lovestonites of pussyfooting before the A. F. of L. scabats had disastrous consequences here as it has had in every case.

Disruptive Role of N. T. W. If the dyers were misguided by the reactionaries they were confused and demoralized by the disruptive policy of the National Textile Workers Union. At the outset the Stalinists divided the dyers into two unions. They continued with baseless recrimination. When they felt the ground was slipping under their feet the Stalinists began to pack the meetings of the U. T. W. dyers with disruption as their aim. They succeeded in winning over two "dyers" on their sincere proposals for united action—the old-line politicians, Vigorito and Pirola!

The strike committee of the dyers

Gangster Attack on Chicago League Meet

Stalinist Hoodlums Repulsed as Swaback Speaks for New Party and New International

Chicago.—An organized attempt by 150 Stalinists to break up the meeting called by the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition), for comrade Arne Swaback, last Sunday, on the subject of the new party and the new International, was prevented by the quickly assembled defense of all workers in the audience.

Meeting in response to instructions from the District Committee of Chicago at Folkets Hus, a party headquarters, the party members marched en masse to the Opposition meeting with the aim of breaking it up. They entered the Opposition headquarters in a body, leaving a "picket line" outside of the hall to tell workers that the meeting was either called off, or had been removed to another quarter. Even this pitiful tactic did not succeed in keeping workers from the meeting.

Hooligan Tactics Repulsed No sooner did comrade Glotzer open the meeting, when the hooligan and gangster tactics began, in a rehearsed fashion the Stalinists raised the cry of electing a chairman from the floor. Refusing to recognize the frenzied outburst, the chairman announced that the procedure of the meeting was so planned that representatives of every point of view in the workers movement would be given an opportunity to state their views from the floor. This apparently was unsatisfactory to the Stalinists who were determined either to "take over" the meeting or prevent its continuance. Even after being assured that they would be given sufficient time to present their views they still insisted on electing a chairman from the floor (at a meeting organized and called by the Opposition). They would not permit the meeting to go on and began stamping, shouting, and organizing their own meeting by setting up the petty section bureaucrat, Jack Spiegel, to start speaking from one of the benches in the hall.

In the turmoil and over the protests of the workers in the hall, the Stalinists began to employ their strongarm tactics. Incited by their leaders, the rank and file Party members began a struggle to seize the meeting, only to be deserted by their bureaucratic inciters, who, during the course of the fight, had left the hall. The fight subsided after the Stalinists were repulsed and they returned one by one to their seats agreeing to a compromise! They were willing to allow the Left Opposition to run its own meeting provided the Party were given ample opportunity to present its own views to the meeting!

Meeting Hears Swaback Comrade Swaback spoke for over an hour, tracing the events prior to the victory of Hitler in Germany

and the situation following the triumph of Fascism. He showed the effects of this horrible defeat of the German working class upon the world movement of the proletariat. The victory of Hitler meant the destruction of the strongest Communist Party in the capitalist world and led to a weakening of the position of the Soviet Union. The victory of Fascism, he showed, only increased the danger of war and this was due entirely to the false policies of the Comintern in Germany.

Swaback pointed out that any hopes for a change in the policies of the C. I., were out of the question, when, after the German events, the Stalinists failed to understand the first lessons of the great defeat of the world proletariat. Instead, they only emphasized the errors made, promising to repeat them again under the same conditions. In such circumstances it was hopeless to think that you could once again push the C. I. onto an internationalist revolutionary path. It was necessary now to reorganize the ranks of the genuine revolutionary internationalists into a fighting revolutionary international as against national socialism, no matter what its form may be.

Stalinist Explains German "Victory" Swaback was followed by Spiegel of the Party who entered into a lengthy diatribe against the Opposition, and only emphasized how correct Swaback was in his evaluation of the present situation in the world movement of the proletariat. He denied that the workers had suffered a defeat and "proved" that the German Party, under the heel of Fascism was stronger and more active than it was under legality. He denied that it was possible to carry on a struggle prior to Hitler's ascent, but proclaimed that now the revolution was on the order of the day. Following his speech he called upon his followers to leave the hall.

Despite the upheavals of the afternoon and the Party "picket line" over 150 workers remained to the end of the meeting. Hackman, representing the point of view of the Lovestone group, and Matlick of the United Workers Party also spoke.

The Hooligans Depart The Stalinist hooligans, after inciting a fight, emptying a collection hat, and urinating in a back room of the hall, felt that they had truly struck death-blows against the capitalist system. After this profound revolutionary activity, following their dastardly gangster attack upon the Opposition meeting, they left the hall singing—"Solidarity!"

It is quite clear, that this attack upon the meeting of the Opposition was inspired and organized by the Party leadership. This hooligan tactic, the method of gangsterism, is the expression of an alien class influence and must be beaten back in the workers movement. This little attempt at "massacre" by the local Stalinists will not be forgotten by the Chicago workers and can only defeat the aims of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

Statement on N. Y. Elections

The workers of New York are once more confronted with a municipal election. This time the contest takes on particular importance by the fact that it is the first important election to be held in the United States since the promulgation of the National Recovery Act and the rest of the crisis-rent capitalist structure. It is the first opportunity that any large group sentiments on the parliamentary field towards the "recovery" program. Consequently the local election in this city has a country-wide significance.

Those workers, therefore, who are conscious of their position and their interests, will have to act in the elections with these facts in mind.

The outstanding problem before the workers of New York and the rest of the country, which overshadows all else, remains what it has been now for four years: the unprecedented crisis which has shaken the economic structure of the land to the bottom, which has thrown millions of workers out of their jobs, and stricken the majority of the working class population to one degree or another with that misery, hunger, homelessness and suffering which, under capitalism alone, systematically occurs in the midst of vast wealth and plenty.

The National Recovery Act, and all the extensive machinery asso-

ciated with it, was put into effect in order to "restore prosperity". Proceeding more and more to inflationary measures, and exploiting to the maximum the slight economic upturn, the Roosevelt administration succeeded in "providing jobs" for a thin layer of the sixteen million unemployed at the same time that the prices paid for the means of life have been raised for the population as a whole, the unemployed included. The alarm already felt by the leading official circles in and around the administration over the failure of the NRA to produce the much-advertized expected results, foreshadows the widespread disillusionment that will penetrate to the millions of workers as they become increasingly conscious of the powerlessness of the capitalist government to accomplish any genuine prosperity for the masses, as they realize that the NRA is an instrument in the hands of the bloated ruling class to curb and repress the growing revival of the labor movement.

In New York City, the representatives of the National Recovery Administration have already shown their hand. Whalen and Co. have exerted all their efforts to bridle the rising movement of the workers, to prevent them from striking vigorous blows for the improvement of their conditions, to subvert every workers' movement to

(Continued on Page 4)

Bellusi Case Needs the Support of Workers

Philadelphia.—For the past few months Antonio Bellusi, a militant Italian worker, has been held in the Gloucester Immigration Station awaiting deportation.

He has been in the labor movement ever since 1918. He was a member of the Italian Socialist Party and later joined the Italian C. P. In 1924 he took a ship and came to the United States, where he immediately became a member of the C. P. U. S. A. from which he was later expelled for protesting against the expulsion of Bordiga, from the Italian C. P.

Antonio Bellusi was arrested in July of this year in Wilkes-Barre on the charge of distributing the *Militant*. His home was raided and books were found which gave documentary proof that this worker has been an active fighter, for 15 years, in behalf of the toiling masses.

The only thing that the I. L. D. has done so far is to assign Errol White to defend him (legally). They have not mobilized their membership. As a matter of fact the lawyer had to spend his own money to go to Wilkes-Barre to defend this worker. Although this worker is not a member of any political party his sympathies are with the International Left Opposition. If for no other reason than this the I. L. D. would be "justified" in sabotaging his defense.

A committee against deportation was to be formed, on which Lou Roberts was the representative of the Phila. branch. The committee never met due to no fault of ours. Comrade Roberts time and again, kept on hammering away, but the Stalinist sabotaging machine could not be budged.

Indoor mass meetings were arranged for September 1, 4, 15, but they were all called off. Seeing we could not expect much from the I. L. D. we called an open air meeting at 13th and Reed. We asked for an Italian speaker. Again the sabotaging machine of the Stalinists was in evidence. Had we not gone over the head of Stern (the I. L. D. L. O.) and gone directly to the Sacco and Vanzetti branch of the I. L. D. where we succeeded in getting comrade Nelli to address the crowd, the request would have remained on the I. L. D. desk.

On September 29 a mass meeting had been arranged without Roberts being informed. When we learned of this we offered our support. Again the meeting was postponed.

Not knowing that the I. L. D. had already arranged a mass meeting on October 24 (we heard of this indirectly), we arranged one for October 28. At our branch meeting a committee was elected to ask the I. L. D. to participate. When we heard that the I. L. D. had arranged a meeting we agreed to call off our meeting in order to have a joint one. We offered to pay either for the rent of the hall or for the leaflets. Stern (in the name of the I. L. D. District Bureau) rejected this offer.

A committee of three will again approach the I. L. D. District Bureau which meets Friday, October 28. It appears that we will have to carry on the defense of Antonio Bellusi independently of the I. L. D. for they have been a deadweight in so far as organizing any kind of mass defense is concerned. —L. E.

ANTI-FASCIST DEMONSTRATION

The Italian Unitarian Anti-Fascist Committee, composed of representative working class organizations has set Saturday, October 28 as a day of struggle against Fascism. A demonstration will take place before the Italian Consulate. The demonstration will begin at 10:30 A. M. The gathering point: 72nd Street and First Avenue. All workers out to the demonstration against bloody Fascism!

ATTENTION All members and sympathizers of the Communist League are urged to present at 10 A. M. Saturday, October 28 to proceed in a body to the demonstration.

OPEN FORUM

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Speaker: JAMES P. CANNON Friday, November 3, 1933 8 P. M.

at International Workers School 126 East 16th Street

Auspices: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

ADMISSION 10 CENTS

News from Canada

Rousing Swaback Meeting at Toronto Hails New International

Toronto.—The first great stride along the path towards a new Party and a new International was taken in Toronto on Tuesday, October 11th when about 700 workers gathered in the Labor Lyceum to hear comrade Arne Swaback proclaim the new turn. It was not only a large meeting but a historic one. On the platform were three comrades who embody the best traditions of the revolutionary movement in North America. With comrade Swaback were comrades Jack MacDonald and Maurice Spector—three comrades who had been among the original organizers of the Communist parties in the U. S. and Canada, comrades who had been together in Moscow in 1922 at the Fourth Congress of the C. I. They had all passed through the bitter struggles against Trotskyism in the party and later had taken their places under the banner of the International Left Opposition in order to uphold the traditions and principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. On Tuesday night, the three comrades met again on the same platform, this time in a new effort—to proclaim the necessity of creating a new Communist party and a new International.

Comrade Swaback prefaced his talk with a few remarks concerning the all-pervasive phenomenon of change and motion. "Nothing in this world stands still," he said, "all matter is ever subject to the processes of change and motion. And so it is in the labor movement. Time creates new conditions and new situations and the working class, far from resisting such changes, must prepare itself, must arm itself with the policies and tactics suitable to each occasion." He then sketched the history of the First and Second Internationals showing how in each instance the abandonment of revolutionary principles had brought disaster to the working class, compelling the true Marxists to begin the building of a new revolutionary front-head. Comrade Swaback stressed the fact that at these great historical milestones, not numbers, but political clarity was decisive. The decision to create the Third International was first propagated by only a handful of revolutionaries but so powerful were their ideas that in 1917, guided by the genius of Lenin, they were able to lead the masses to the victorious October revolution. The Communist International was built upon solid Marxist foundations and, during its first four congresses, it hammered out the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. Revolutionary internationalism was its watch-word. The C. I. existed for the world proletariat and every discussion, whether it was on the internal life of the Soviet Union or the revolutionary movement in the capitalist world, was based upon that concept. Under Lenin and Trotsky, the C. I. was indeed the organizer of the world revolution.

The Work of the Stalin Clique "But now," said comrade Swaback, "that is no longer true. The past ten years have witnessed the growth in the Soviet Union of a bureaucratic clique under the leadership of Josef Stalin, a clique which has stamped out every vestige of party democracy, which has turned the party into the lifeless and passive instrument of the top

leaders. Marxism and Leninism have been replaced by the necessity of building up the personal prestige of Stalin. Revolutionary internationalism has been replaced by the pernicious theory of socialism in one country. In the face of world shaking events, the Com-

Anti-Fascist United Front in Montreal

Montreal.—A few weeks ago a series of attacks of the Fascists upon workers' organizations aroused the working class of Montreal to a high pitch of excitement and alarm. Following upon an attack against a synagogue a most unique committee was formed for defense against Fascism. On the one side of the table and on the other side there sat... Reichel, a leader of the Revisionist Zionists, the Jewish fascists. (These Revisionists in Palestine are organized in strike-breaking bands, carrying on a terrorism against the Jewish labour movement quite after the fashion of the Nazis).

The writer had the pleasure of being present at the touching scene that took place. Comrade Reichel (so Baker and Rose addressed him) conferred with "com." Baker. ("Mr." Trotsky you see—but "com." Reichel). Far be it from us to hide the fact Reichel was against organizing an Anti-Fascist Conference in principle—his heart was set on Jewish self-defence corps. This United Front with the Jewish Fascists against Fascism was shattered on the rocks of the principled intransigence... of the Revisionists. Even before the beginning of the burlesque just recounted the Montreal branch of the Left Opposition had proceeded with the formation of a provisional committee for the calling of a working-class united front against Fascism. When we learned that the Verdun Workers' Association had already issued an appeal for a United Front Conference against Fascism, we exerted our influence to bring workers' organizations to it. Even before the first meeting of the latter our comrades visited trade unions and obtained their support for the Anti-Fascist United Front.

At the same time we issued a leaflet in English and in French addressed to the delegates of the conference outlining our proposals for the program and basis of the Conference. We stressed the necessity of forming a proletarian United Front and not one with the Jewish bourgeoisie or Fascists, the necessity of broadening it out to include all workers' organizations, the freedom of criticism, the organization of city wide centralized defence corps to defend all workers' meetings, the organization of mass meetings and mass demonstrations in order to draw in the whole working-class organized and unorganized, and weld it into one mighty front against Fascism, the issuing of elementary literature in French to clarify the backward workers in the Chalfoux organizations on the true nature of Fascism.

We came to the conference with a carefully elaborated list of constructive proposals for acceptance by the delegates. The Stalinists appeared on the scene with neither

intern offers the proletariat not a word of guidance, it remains criminally silent. Of the Communist International that was formed under Lenin and Trotsky, nothing remains today but a hollow shell. "For ten years," said comrade Swaback, "the Left Opposition has

Anti-Fascist United Front in Montreal

ideas nor plans. They came there armed with only one thing—the decision of the party to kick-out the Left Opposition delegates. As soon as our delegates entered the hall Rose, our self-appointed credentials committee and sergeant-at-arms rolled into one, called upon a couple of stalwarts, tried to seize us bodily and throw us out of the hall. They did not however succeed in doing this. We proceeded quietly to distribute our leaflets among the delegates. The Stalinists had issued a leaflet in connection with the conference a couple of days earlier. But in their panic at our very presence they were determined to stifle every expression of our ideas.

The whole Conference soon began to turn about the question of our leaflet as an axis. Comrade Krehm took the floor first. He proceeded to elaborate on the contents of the leaflet, stressing particularly the need for a genuine, broad united front, and the class nature of the issue. He pointed to the successful Anti-Fascist demonstration in Toronto last July as an example of what can be achieved by the right methods. Throughout his talk he was listened to attentively. The Stalinist leaders who followed revealed a wealth of contradictions and confusion. One "leader" urged that the Conference include in its program the struggle for better wages, and relief, against wars, etc.; the other proposed that it be conducted about the one issue (correctly, of course). The Stalinists further proposed that delegates be elected to protest to the Mayor and the Attorney-General of the province against Fascism! Comrade MacDonald, speaking with the dignity of a tried revolutionary, pointedly against the Stalinist abandonment of Marxism, against the exile of Trotsky and Rakovsky national socialism of Stalin! Comintern and against the reactionary national socialism of Stalin!

Speech of MacDonald Before the meeting ended, comrade MacDonald and Spector addressed the large gathering. Comrade MacDonald, speaking with the dignity of a tried revolutionary, pointedly against the Stalinist abandonment of Marxism, against the exile of Trotsky and Rakovsky national socialism of Stalin! Comintern and against the reactionary national socialism of Stalin! Comintern and against the reactionary national socialism of Stalin! Comintern and against the reactionary national socialism of Stalin!

Speech of Spector

Comrade Spector then took the floor. If there had been any doubts up to that moment, they now vanished into thin air. In that short space of 15 minutes, comrade Spector, putting forth a great agitational effort, recalled the highlights of the earlier speeches, branded Stalinism the greatest international organizer of defeats, excoriated Stalinism for its failure to create an organized resistance against Fascism in Germany and hailed the new turn as the rebirth of the revolutionary working class movement. "If the Stalinist bureaucracy has been able to learn nothing from the German events, it is capable of learning nothing. In Canada, faced with a growing social democratic movement, the C. C. F., the Stalinites were politically impotent. "But we will go forward to the creation of a new Party. The workers will learn who are the slanderers and who are their true leaders. MacDonald and Spector are the same revolutionaries who helped to create the C. P. of Canada almost 15 years ago. We have revised nothing, we have changed nothing. It is the Stalinites who have revised Marx and Lenin, it is they who have moved away from the path of revolutionary Marxism. We appeal to every honest worker, to every honest rank and file among the Stalinites to consider carefully the message we have delivered tonight, to join with us in the creation of a revolutionary party, that when the revolutionary crisis arrives, in Canada we'll be able to rally the majority of the working class on the side of the proletarian revolution."

Open Letter to the Joe Derry Defense Committee

Montreal.— Joe Derry was arrested while addressing an anti-war meeting and charged with being a member of an allegedly unlawful organization, the Young Communist League of Canada in violation of Section 98 of the Criminal Code. This infamous anti-labor law has already been used in order to inter eight Communist leaders in the Kingston penitentiary for a total of 37 years, and to declare the Communist Party illegal in Ontario and semi-legal in the rest of Canada. If Joe Derry is convicted the Y. C. L. will automatically find itself in the same position as the Communist Party. That section 98 will be extended to include other workers' organizations all over the country is more than probable.

Section 98 was put on the statute books of Canada for the immediate purpose of legalizing the crushing of the Winnipeg general strike of 1919. It constitutes a powerful weapon in the hands of the ruling class to keep the whole working class in subjection. Only a broad and powerful united front movement of the organizations of the working class, particularly youth organizations, irrespective of their affiliation and views, can free Joe Derry. This achievement would be a step towards the abolition of Section 98 and towards an unprecedented struggle for the definite guaranteeing of free speech, assembly and organization to the working class.

An effective common struggle can be set in motion only by a democratic and centralized conference of the representatives of workers organizations. The method adopted, however, of merely setting up committees in various organizations, while postponing the calling of a conference to the remote and indefinite future, constitutes a retreat from the course of a centralized united front. The effectiveness of a united front, the thoroughness of its experience consists precisely in the fact that workers of different affiliations

fight together for a common aim. Actually, moreover, the committees are being established, if at all, only in Left wing organizations—an inevitable result of the whole course pursued. Instead of a united front the campaigning of the Left wing organizations, which would in any case take place, is being conducted under the label of setting up committees. This is but an expression of sectarianism, and unwarranted pessimism in the possibility of mobilizing the workers' organizations by means of a democratic and all-sided conference. No matter how strenuously the course adopted is pursued as a "preparatory" course to the creation of a broad united front movement, the desired end cannot be attained. The preparatory work must be carried on precisely with the perspective in mind of a date immediately representative conference. As it is, however, the old "united front from below", i. e., no united front at all, is being revived with the addition of the ornament of committees in the Left wing organizations.

United front conferences have been failures in the last year because, for one thing, abstract slogans were put forward, not fitting in with a concrete situation. The very campaign on the Joe Derry case has up to now not centered around the question of freedom of organization and the abolition of Section 98. Due to the pressure of our delegates the committee eliminated the tendency to make the issue a struggle against war. No one would think of calling a united front for the overthrow of capitalism because someone has been arrested for advocating this overthrow. A correct program of action is necessary for every particular "united front. Such a program, however, without the means of carrying it through—a representative conference—is meaningless.

United front conferences have

existed as a faction of the C. I., hoping to reform the Comintern, striving to bring it back to Leninism. Through our efforts have not been without effect, the Stalinized Comintern has gone from bad to worse, has been responsible for one international defeat after another. You will ask, "Why did we not proclaim the new international long ago?" Before that could be done, events themselves had to prove to the workers that the Comintern was bankrupt. These events have taken place, events that may be indicated by a single word—Germany, Fascism."

Comrade Swaback then described the tragic defeat of the German working class, the causes of the defeat—the treacherous role of the Social Democracy, the failure and refusal of the C. P. G. to rally the workers in a united front against Fascism, the absence of revolutionary leadership from the reformists. "We do not expect revolutionary leadership from the reformists," said Arne Swaback, "but we expect it and have the right to demand it of the Communist Party. And that is why we lay the chief responsibility for the German defeat at its door. Stalinism is dead, the Comintern does not exist. A new International must be built to lead the workers of the world to emancipation."

Toward the New International

Comrade Swaback was careful to point out that we are not proclaiming the new International now. We are merely urging the necessity of creating it. For the immediate future, the Left Opposition is inviting Left wing groups to engage in an open discussion of programs and perspectives. The Left Opposition, standing on the shoulders of Marx, Engels and Lenin appears before the world proletariat with a program of revolutionary internationalism, a program which looks toward the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship on a world scale as the necessary transitional step to socialism.

When comrade Swaback finished his talk, he was greeted with loud applause, an indication that his message had fallen on responsive ears. In the question period which followed, he entered into a discussion of how the new International was to be created and answered several questions concerning the trade union policy of the Left Opposition.

Speech of MacDonald

Before the meeting ended, comrade MacDonald and Spector addressed the large gathering. Comrade MacDonald, speaking with the dignity of a tried revolutionary, pointedly against the Stalinist abandonment of Marxism, against the exile of Trotsky and Rakovsky national socialism of Stalin! Comintern and against the reactionary national socialism of Stalin! Comintern and against the reactionary national socialism of Stalin! Comintern and against the reactionary national socialism of Stalin!

In California

Activities of the 'Frisco Port Workers

San Francisco.—For 14 years the San Francisco Longshoremen have been dominated by a company union of the most open form under which the rank and file have had no voice in the formation of wage and working agreements. Our conditions in all these years have continually grown worse. Wage cuts were imposed and larger tasks were added to our life, until we were worked into complete exhaustion in performing our daily work. Even those working rules formed by the shipowners and stevedore companies were never lived up to when the interest of those companies were involved. So that the longshoremen were the only ones to lose at all times. Any member attempting to voice a protest against any of these injustices was thrown out of his job. Here, as in other parts of the country, there was a large percentage of unemployed; the union officials used this as a club over our heads with great success.

The C. P. On the Waterfront

This situation was finally sized up by the Communist Party a year or so ago, and they attempted with their best forces to organize the waterfront workers. The first appearance of these so-called labor organizers was the attempt to sell the Western Worker, the writer of this article, having always owned a very keen interest in labor organizations, watched every move, hoping, against his better judgment, for a success. The Western Worker did not appeal to the waterfront workers and very few copies were sold.

The second attempt was made with street speakers. In course of time we had several of those speakers appearing early in the mornings. But to my total disappointment none of those speakers was familiar with our miserable conditions; not one of them could speak the language of a longshoreman. Most of these speakers, perhaps in a side line, mentioned the company union and its destruction of the workers' life. The main subject always drifted toward China, Soviet Russia or such other distant subjects. Participation in these meetings was very scant at all times, and no progress whatsoever was made toward organization. Marine Workers' Industrial Union The Marine Workers' Industrial

Union had a hall across the street from the company union hall for several years. Perhaps a few individuals dropped in some days. I visited there sometimes, but failed to see any longshoremen there at any time. Also in the hunger and unemployed parades and anti-war and Mooney demonstrations on the waterfront no longshoremen participated. The writer knows almost every one of the three to four thousand workers on 'Frisco waterfront, so no mistake in this statement is made.

The third attempt of the Party was the issuance of a monthly publication called the Waterfront Worker, dealing directly with our situation on the waterfront and exposing some of the foremen and individuals. This was the most successful attempt made by the C. P., and every one bought a copy of this paper every month. This paper also contained articles of instructions for the formation of a real union.

Formation of A. F. of L. Union

In the existence of about eight months no progress was made for organization. Finally the doors of the MWIU were closed on account of no support and funds for rent. Around June of this year a couple of longshoremen, both ex-I. W. W. members, started collecting names for the formation of an A. F. of L. union. Neither of these men owned any organizational or oratorical gifts, but they could speak the language of the waterfront. They also took advantage of the NRA labor code. In a very short period they succeeded in signing up about 90% of the workers on the waterfront.

This threw the C. P. organizers into complete confusion. Every one of the C. P. comrades made some squawk that now, after we, the C. P. members have prepared the ground already for organizing the workers with the publication of this Waterfront Worker for several months, these A. F. of L. men are stealing the show away from us. We must act at once in order to convince the workers that this same A. F. of L. is a fake labor organization. And that the MWIU is the only revolutionary union that knows how to organize and conduct a real workers' organization. A Communist speaker appears

and attempts to explain these things to the crowd one morning on the waterfront. A number of workers tell the speakers to get out, and stay out, at least until we, the longshoremen, have had the opportunity to organize and destroy the company union.

Stalinists in a Predicament

A few days later a leaflet appears on the waterfront urging longshoremen to attend a mass meeting to be held in Eagles Hall to discuss and form a real longshoremen's union. I did not have an opportunity to attend this meeting but had reliable information that about 200 attended this meeting, including party members who were not longshoremen. I urged several longshoremen to attend this meeting, hoping to have at this mass meeting a large audience. A little while later the A. F. of L. had its first meeting with about 1500 to 2000 participating. Now we find the C. P. in a real predicament. This paper, the Waterfront Worker could not appear, because, in order to be true to the T. U. U. L. program, they could not write any organizational articles without attacking the A. F. of L. union as well as the company union.

Left Wing in the A. F. of L. Union

We formed a Left wing in this newly organized union. Only a few C. P. members and sympathizers were actual longshoremen. Therefore our slate of candidates for office was composed of mixed elements who to our estimation were the most progressive of those available. The reactionaries had their own slate. We had a hard struggle.

Just before the election of officials in the union, the C. P. had an idea to publish the Waterfront Worker again. And if this paper had appeared, they would be obliged—to carry out the Party policy—to attack both the Right and Left wing candidates. Therefore they thought it best not to publish it. The rank and file carried all our by laws, and most of the executive board members were elected.

I am feeling sorry for those young honest C. P. comrades who did many useful deeds along the waterfront, trying to organize this body of men. And I am participating in their disappointment. The higher-ups in the Party told these lesser lights to go and organize but gave them such instructions and policy that prevented any success and made them waste their efforts. Now that they see the movement growing up without them, it is to be hoped that they will learn from the experience what their leaders could not teach them. —NOIX.

Revolt Against Stalinism in California Party

A revolt in the ranks of the Stalinist party in Oakland has been signaled by the expulsion of comrade Stanley D. Laycock and the statement protesting against his expulsion by six additional party members. That the revolt against the strangulating bureaucracy and stupid policies of the party bosses has a positive side is shown in the fact that two new branches of the Communist League have been formed recently in the bay section.

STATEMENT OF A. ROBBINS

To All Party Members In District 13 Dear Comrades: Disregarding the questions which I have asked, and neglecting to reply to the views I have expressed pertaining to the developments in the Communist International and in the world situation, comrade Lambert, section organizer, demanded from me a categorical repudiation of these utterances by demanding a statement of allegiance to the C. I. or else the forfeiture of my right to membership in the Communist Party. Such a procedure is a flagrant violation of Bolshevik-Leninist democratic centralism and stifles all criticism, which is indispensable to the existence and growth of a Communist Party. By not allowing me to attend my unit meeting and depriving me of all rights as a party member, the bureaucrats are trying to conceal my actual expulsion from the party. Not a word has been expressed or written by the party regarding my status and now I ask, "Why this silence?"

STATEMENT OF SIX COMRADES

To All Party Members In District No. 13 Dear Comrades: For quite awhile the sincere comrades in this district have been dissatisfied with the conditions in the party; the turnover in the membership, stifling of all criticism, bureaucratic control indicated that something was fundamentally wrong. The calamity of the German defeat only strengthened our convictions and when the party failed to discuss this catastrophe we were sure that some action was necessary.

Comrade Laycock's expulsion from the party on false charges convinced us that it was no longer possible to remain quiet. His statement demanding a discussion of the German situation, the right of members to express themselves, etc., met with our approval. Upon further investigation on our part into the international developments many matters became clear to us which formerly remained confused. That comrade Laycock's devotion and loyalty to the principles of Marxist-Leninist activity cannot be questioned is evidenced by his activity in the past and present. We were opposed to his expulsion. We are eager to continue reading all literature of the Left Opposition, to study the mistakes in China, England, Germany, etc. We support wholeheartedly the building of a real revolutionary party and the establishment of a new international as the only means of protecting the Russian revolution and overthrowing international capitalism.

Down with the Bureaucracy!

Signed: A. STONE C. M. HESSER EVERETT E. WILDER CHRIS G. JOHNSON ANNA ROBBINS E. W. HESSER

STATEMENT OF S. D. LAYCOCK

To All Party Members In District No. 13 Dear Comrades: In the "Western Worker" there appeared a statement of the disciplinary committee which contained the news of my expulsion along with that of several other comrades. The others mentioned, who

torted Marxism-Leninism in those situations. My honest beliefs are that the district situation is a reflection of the bureaucracy all the way up the line, that the party no longer represents the toiling masses. The German catastrophe, coming after the lessons of Italian Fascism, reveals the complete bankruptcy of the C. I. We have a similar situation to the time when the second international was declared dead and the 3rd international established.

Signed: ANNA ROBBINS

Member of the Unit 1, District No. 13

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STATEMENT OF S. D. LAYCOCK

To All Party Members In District No. 13 Dear Comrades: In the "Western Worker" there appeared a statement of the disciplinary committee which contained the news of my expulsion along with that of several other comrades. The others mentioned, who

have been expelled had no connection with my case. For the purpose of throwing sand in the eyes of the party members and creating general confusion that article was published.

One of the several slanders in this article requiring an answer is the allegation of my having been secretly negotiating to obtain machine guns some time ago. Were it not for the seriousness of such a charge, tending as it does to invite police persecution, it would be unworthy of recognition. However, since this was supposed to have occurred during the time when I was still in the party, why wasn't this brought up against me before now? Comrade Anna Robbins not only denies ever having made such a report but demands proof from the party to back up this piece of "provocateur exposure"! I also demand proof!

This article in the "Western Worker" is the only reply that the party can make to the growing number of expulsions of comrades who are demanding a discussion of criticism, a change in the trade union line, a removal of all bureaucrats in the party. The growth of the Left Opposition in the East Bay area is making the party bureaucrats panic. We can expect in the future similar personal attacks on our comrades as this is the party's method of meeting political arguments.

Signed: STANLEY D. LAYCOCK.

New York School Starts Off with a Bang

The first two sessions of classes conducted by the International Workers School opened Monday with an excellent attendance for both of them. The first lecture of the course on "The Fundamentals of Marxism", by John Wright, was attended by 23 students, 28 having registered. The introductory lecture dealt with Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. The next lecture will be given on Monday, October 23, with "The Marxian Analysis of a Commodity" as the theme.

The first lecture of the course on "The State and Revolution" given by Jack Weber was equally successful. About thirty comrades were present. The first lecture dealt with Primitive Society. There were questions and discussion. The second lecture which was held Monday, October 23rd at 8 P. M. sharp dealt with the Origin of the State and the First Slave States. There is still time to register.

Readers are advised that registration for these two classes, as well as for the two which are given on Wednesday (Organizational Principles by Aberg and Applied Marxian Economics by Field), is still open. Registrants should see the course secretary before 8:30 P. M. either Monday or Wednesday, according to the class desired. Literature for each course can be obtained at any time of the day from the local office, 126 East 16th Street. Classes begin on time!

Situation in Hotels and Restaurants

Alone among the three trade unions in the food industry in and around New York, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers is carrying on a vigorous and successful organization drive among the hotel and restaurant workers. This drive is the response to years of effort on the part of the hotel and restaurant owners to lower the conditions of the workers, cutting wages, lengthening hours and speeding-up the work, culminating in their present attempt to stabilize conditions on their lowest level by means of a code under the NRA. At the same time, although much of the work is highly skilled, they want to reduce it to "domestic" labor.

The economic background of the bosses' campaign is, first, the concentration of capital in this industry and second, the excessive investment of capital during the boom times which has lowered the level of profits and induced the bosses to try to put additional pressure on the workers in order to raise profits in spite of this industry.

The hotel industry itself ranks as the seventh largest in the United States, with a capital investment of over five billion dollars. Altogether there are over 26,800 hotels in the United States, but about half of them are small (less than 25 rooms) or are operated only seasonally.

Investments and Wages

The following data, taken from the 1929 report of the U. S. Census Bureau, show the high concentration of capital, the large number of workers per establishment, and the low average wage level. Comparing New York City with the country as a whole, the average size of the establishment is still larger, and the wage level takes insignificant account of the higher cost of living in New York compared with the rest of the country. These figures refer only to hotels operated all year round:

Number of hotels	13,328	509
Number of rooms	1,134,957	126,632
Average rooms per hotel	85	249
Total employees	921,259	41,386
Total wages and salaries	\$257,034,000	\$44,085,000
Dining, lunch room and kitchen employees	100,140	13,386
Wages and salaries	\$84,428,000	\$12,911,000
Average annual wages for such workers	\$844	\$988
All other workers	191,119	28,795
Wages and salaries for all other workers	\$172,006,000	\$31,174,000
Average annual wages for all other workers	\$904	\$1,081

The average investment per hotel in the United States may be estimated at about \$250,000. From the foregoing it appears that there are 22 workers in the average hotel in the United States, and about 33 in New York City. But the concentration of capital has gone much further than these figures show. In a single one of the largest hotels in New York, over 3,000 workers are employed; in the kitchen alone, over a hundred. "Chain-store" operation of hotels now embraces a total of 80,000 rooms, and is growing rapidly.

"War Chest" to Fight Unions

The concentrated power represented by the American Hotel Men's Association, the bosses' trade organization, is indicated further by the generally accepted fact that they have raised a "war chest" of \$600,000 for the specific purpose of fighting the workers' efforts at organization for better conditions.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the A. F. of L., which always tried to avoid open conflict with large and concentrated aggregates of capital, has done very little in this field, and particularly among the key workers in the hotel and restaurant industry, the cooks and the kitchen department in general.

As a profit-making machine, the hotel industry is suffering not only from the crisis in general, but specifically from the consequences of its own folly in engaging in a boom of overbuilding and overexpansion. This has resulted in a huge burden of interest, amortization and taxes. Now that the consequences of this orgy of overexpansion have shown themselves in lower profits, they are attempting to raise profits at the expense of the workers. Yet the conditions of the work, the seasonal character, and the amount of training and ability required are such that the worker in this industry is entitled to a relatively higher wage scale—if he can get it through organization in a powerful and militant trade union.

Overbuilding in the Hotel Industry

As to the fact that the bosses had sufficient warning, even before the boom burst, that they were overbuilding, there is sufficient evidence. Between 1920 and 1928, a full year before the general crisis struck the country, the overbuilding which had already taken place resulted in the following situation:

Number of rooms	1,070,000	1,521,000
Per cent occup.	85.5%	67.6
Number of rooms occupied	914,850	1,028,196
Number of guests	1,097,820	1,237,835

While the number of rooms available increased 50%, the number of

Conditions of Workers in Large N.Y. Industry

rooms actually occupied increased less than 13%, and the number of guests by about the same percentage. As a result, the percentage of occupancy declined to 67.6%, while throughout the trade it is understood that 70% occupancy is the minimum at which a hotel can operate and make money.

Hotel Failures During Boom

While the building boom was going on, another warning signal was given by the steadily mounting totals of hotel failures, as shown by the following figures:

Year	Number of Failures	Liabilities in Failures
1921	59	\$2,625,000
1922	70	2,234,000
1923	82	7,129,000
1924	64	3,183,000
1925	82	3,323,000
1926	82	5,506,000
1927	112	10,982,000
1928	112	13,154,000

All this was taking place supposedly in a period of prosperity. So obvious had the danger become that W. I. Hamilton, manager of the Florida Associated Hotels, in a book on "Promoting New Hotels", written in October 1929, that is, at the height of the boom psychology of the "new era", warns the industry, "Since 1926 the spread between the number of hotel rooms and the number of guests has been steadily widening. While both have been increasing, the increase in rooms has been the more rapid. The hotel industry... of late has grown too rapidly."

Yet money continued to pour into the industry, seeking investment in an already overcrowded field. Such structures as the Hotel New Yorker and the new Waldorf-Astoria were opened long after the crash in general business had come.

Making the Workers Pay

How did the bosses meet this situation? By cutting wages, lengthening hours, and speeding-up the work. According to the U. S. Department of Labor, the following situation prevailed in the August 1933, compared with the last previous rates of wages and hours:

Wages Rates Per Week	
Present	Previous
Union I: Waitresses	\$15 \$20
Union II: Waiters	15 20
Union III: Waiters	35-50 30-45
Union III: Cooks	35-50 30-45
Hours per Week	
Present	Previous
Union I: 9 a day	—
Union II: 54 a week 48 a week	—
Union III: 9-10 a day 12-16 a day	—

In the case of Union II, we see how conditions have deteriorated in the industry, wages being cut 25% while hours were increased 12-12 percent.

Discussion Articles

Problems of the Cuban Revolution

In the face of the monstrous odds, the workers of Cuba today must assume their historical task. They, and they alone, can achieve the liberation of Cuba. Only the workers can set up an efficient form of government in Cuba, defeat the intervention of American imperialism, and solve the disastrous contradictions that have plunged and kept the Cuban masses in degradation. Successful American intervention will mean a disastrous defeat for the Cuban proletariat. The tragedy of the Cuban proletariat must be prevented!

The Cuban masses are militant. Seizures of plantations have already occurred. Embryonic revolutionary Soviets are in the process of formation. But unless the movement is led into the proper channels, the Soviets will become only a parody; American imperialism will restore its rapacious hegemony.

Revolutionary Party Needed

The Cuban workers cannot succeed unless a genuine revolutionary party is immediately formed, and takes the initiative; unless the international revolutionary proletariat, particularly of Latin America, the United States and Canada is mobilized in defense of the Cuban revolution. The criminal policies of Stalinism, the collapse of the Comintern have left the Cuban workers without their most necessary, essential and important weapons of struggle; they have no revolutionary party to lead them in battle; under the leadership of Stalin the international proletariat cannot come to their support. These weapons can and must be forged. In Cuba, the Left Oppositionists must immediately call for the formation of a true Communist party. Internationally, the Left Opposition must inaugurate a united front in defense of the Cuban workers.

Time is precious now. Every day is equal to a decade. In the very heat of the struggle, the proletariat of Cuba can and must gain the time necessary to consolidate its ranks, and form its vanguard. Upon its success or failure rests the

year. If 9% of the value of the building were to wear out each year, the whole building would last 11 years. This is ridiculous, since we know that a hotel property can stand forty years or more, in spite of changes in public taste and in location values, and still retain its value.

Another item which is used to pad the accounts is the cost of financing, which may run as high as 5% of the value of the property. On a hotel costing 5 million dollars, say a thousand-room hotel in a large city, this charge might be \$250,000. If all this is loaded on to the expense account in one year or a few years, the profits will be that much less, and the managing has a better excuse for cutting wages than if it spread such charges over the life of the mortgages at least.

Demands on Hotel Workers

Against these pretensions of the bosses, the workers in this industry can present indisputable facts to show how much is demanded of them as workers. A survey made by the writer among members of his union shows that the average first-class cook, capable of taking charge of the kitchen of a first-class hotel or restaurant, has had to train himself for his work for some eighteen years, going through the various stages of his training as follows:

Bondholders' interest	12
Taxes and insurance	6
Depreciation	9
Payroll	31
Merchandise (food, etc.)	19
Sundries, supplies, etc.	23
Total	\$100

The conclusion which this paper draws from these facts for the benefit of the capitalists is, "If a saving great enough to protect the bondholders' interests, endangered by decreased sales, is to be effected, it must necessarily come out of the last three items through more efficient operation."

"More Efficient Operation"

This so-called "more efficient operation" means, first and foremost, wage-cuts. This is amply proven by an article in the same issue of the Bankers Magazine by Ralph Hiltz, president of the National Hotel Management chain, which operates a total of 4500 rooms in New York, Cleveland and Detroit. He is trying to prove to the bankers that his chain methods are better for cutting wages than the individual managements, and cites the following facts:

In June 1932, under chain management, 25 cents out of each dollar of sales was kept for gross profit; in the same month of the previous year, under the old management, only 15% had been kept for gross profit.

How was this result obtained? He explains: In June 1932, under the old management, out of each dollar of room sales 27% had been paid out in wages; in June 1932 this had been cut down to 19%. In this food department, in June 1931 (out of each dollar of food sales, 52 cents had been paid out in wages; in June 1932, only 33 cents was being paid out in wages.

Juggling the Profit Figures

On top of this, the bosses are deliberately making a poorer showing of profit than they need to, in order to have a further excuse for wage-cutting. In the alleged costs of doing business, tabulated above, we notice that depreciation amounts to 9% of the total. This means that 9% of the gross intake of the business has to go to replace the wearing-out of the building each

year. If 9% of the value of the building were to wear out each year, the whole building would last 11 years. This is ridiculous, since we know that a hotel property can stand forty years or more, in spite of changes in public taste and in location values, and still retain its value.

At this juncture, it is suicidal to talk of the immediate seizure of power. In the period directly before us, a defensive battle must be waged. A serious decision to begin a systematic and regular struggle is developing in considerable masses of the workingmen. But first of all, it must exist in the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard. Lacking this condition it is impossible to proceed to a direct organization of Soviets. Insofar as this condition does not exist, the direct realization of Soviets must not be fostered. On the order of the day is not insurrection, but the slogan of REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL DEFENSE! Self-determination for Cuba! Down with the Platt Amendment!

Defeat American Intervention

Before there can even be talk of passing to the offensive, the Cuban workers must ward off and defeat the immediate threat of American intervention.

Only the Cuban workers can prevent the formation of another puppet regime, a replica of the Machado dictatorship, this time with Fascist trappings.

The vanguard must lead in demanding the immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly. The masses must be mobilized under the banner of transitional demands. At the same time, with these democratic slogans (Free speech! Free press! Freedom of assembly, etc.) must be widely agitated the slogan of nationalization (banks and industries—particularly sugar and tobacco plantations).

But first and foremost, the vanguard must organize the united front against American imperialism; and in this united front must be included not only all workers' organizations but any and all sections of the petty bourgeoisie that are willing and ready to struggle against the common enemy.

Only in this way can the tragedy of the Cuban proletariat be averted.

—J. G. W.

The Anti-War Junket in Shanghai

(Continued From Last Issue)
The day after their arrival the delegates issued a statement:

"The delegation thanks the English and French press of Shanghai for the interest shown in their mission to the Far East... The French government has never placed any obstacles in the way of the United Front Anti-War Committee, and meetings have lately been held in Paris in crowded halls such as the Salle Bullier in the presence of many thousand enthusiastic supporters and sympathizers... All the more unfortunate and incongruous is the attitude of the present Chinese government which, according to the English press, has forbidden in China newspapers... This ukase, if really issued, would have been decided on after the receipt of the delegation's intentions, which are not today, and never have been, other than the furtherance of China's national independence and liberty."

The British and French Imperialist press of Shanghai is thanked by the delegation, including the Communist Vallant-Couturier, for its "interest", which, by the way, has manifested itself in attempts to persuade both the Imperialist and Chinese authorities not to allow the congress to be held. Pained surprise is expressed that the Chinese government should have clamped down a censorship on the delegation's opinions "which are not today, and never have been, other than the furtherance of China's national independence and liberty". Surely the editor of L'Humanite should know that the government at Nanking is engaged in selling China's national independence and liberty to the Imperialists, with a view to securing the latter's aid in keeping the Chinese masses in subjection. Or does he perhaps believe that a little factory administered in the best Stalinist fashion, may induce Nanking to smile benignly on the congress project?

Futile Mission to Japan

Lord Marley and Dr. Marteau went to Japan to try and scratch up a Japanese delegation. They were not permitted ashore for the purpose and had to take the next boat back to Shanghai, their mission unaccomplished. Lord Marley's next step was to address a meeting of the Shanghai Rotary Club, at which, before big businessmen, Chinese and foreign, he expounded his opposition to war with a view (in his own words) to dissipating the "prejudice" that exists against the congress. The anti-path of big business to the anti-war movement is—prejudice! Apart from his pacifist remarks Lord Marley told the Rotarians that "in Russia good government depends on constructive criticism of the government by the people. This self-criticism is freely expressed in both public and private, and is encouraged as an essential part of government by the people." The hard-working Tass correspondent doubtless made this statement available to Moscow by wire, for use in the work of "answering" the Left Opposition. Even a Lord Marley has his uses.

When it became clear that both the Imperialist and Chinese authorities, notwithstanding Lord Marley's presence, viewed the delegates' activities as being in some way connected with the Communist movement, moves were made to remove this "prejudice." Lord Marley categorically denied in the press "that the United Front Anti-War Congress scheduled to be held in Shanghai is called under the auspices of the Third International", although, he added, Communist representation would be welcomed.

Next, he called on Mayor Wu Teh.

Led by British Lord and Ex-War Minister

chen in order to break down that gentleman's prejudices. He assured Mayor Wu that "as long as he is the president of the congress there shall be no possibility of the congress being exploited by the Communists as a jumping-over plank for their own purposes." "Prejudices" of Imperialist Agents

The British delegate Gerald Hamilton, paid a visit to Nanking to remove some of the "prejudices" of Stalin's old friend, Wang Ching-Wei, whose "Leftism" last year finally precipitated him into the arms of Chiang Kai-Shek, where he remains. Hamilton was politely informed by Wang's secretary that he could have an interview providing he did not speak about the projected congress. Hence there was no interview. Elementary political wisdom dictated the fullest exploitation of Wang's refusal to discuss the congress for an exposure of the Kuo Min Tang government's role as aide-de-camp to the Imperialist war-makers. But instead, Mr. Hamilton, with truly statesmanlike adroitness, blindly told the press that he was "highly satisfied with the results of his visit." Which is not surprising since the delegation and its precious congress is "non-political," that is, not of any party, and therefore hardly capable of displaying any political wisdom.

Some shrewd comments on the projected congress and the delegation sent to organize it have appeared in the Imperialist press of Shanghai. The North-China Daily News, while considering the congress has "great potentialities for mischief," declares: "In spite of the distinguished figures in literature and art who, for some inscrutable reason, seem to have blindly given their precious organization their countenance, it is necessary to place on record the view that it is entirely unrepresentative and of no real weight. Is it unreasonable to maintain that an organization which its chief sponsor here cannot be more specific in describing has but slender claim to the hospitality of a world-city like Shanghai?"

Exactly! Lord Marley and his associates represent nothing but non-descript and unrepresentative "anti-war committees" in the countries from which they come. The Imperialist organ quoted the un-

representative chiefly because they have no "official backing"; unless from Moscow. But our charge is based on the fact that they represent not a single organization that is rooted in the proletarian masses.

Scorn of Bourgeois Press

The China Press pertinently asked: "What real good can such a conference do? The explanation is given that there is such a danger of war in the Pacific that it was logical to hold an anti-war conference in the threatened region. The assumption is made that the conference would in some way remove the threat of war. There appears to be no warrant whatever for such an assumption. No doubt Lord Marley and some of his associates are genuinely anxious to help the cause of peace. But they can think of no more original method of accomplishing their aim than by holding a conference!"

These scornful words might well be taken to heart by the Chinese Communists. But it is a sad commentary on the current state of affairs in the International state of Communists must see even the alphabet of the bourgeois wisdom in the columns of the bourgeois press.

Lord Marley and his companions have now been in Shanghai three weeks and have accomplished just nothing, unless what is recorded above can be deemed accomplishment. A date for the projected congress is still not fixed. It is doubtful, indeed, whether it will take place at all. The British, French and Chinese authorities have already made it clear that they will not permit the congress to be held in their respective jurisdictions, and it is expected that when formal applications are submitted they will be refused. There was no preparation for the congress, either political or organizational, prior to the delegation's arrival in Shanghai. There has been very little since, and that only of very dubious value.

Lord Marley and company are comfortably ensconced in their hotels, waiting for things to happen. They have announced that they will stay there six months if necessary in order to get a congress together. But all the blarney of Stalinist trumpets will be unable to give the congress—if, indeed, it is ever able to meet—that purpose of its unrepresentative character and the failure to carry out any serious preparatory work, it must be deprived. Shanghai, Sept. 8, 1933.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

New Castle Meeting

About seventy-five workers heard comrade Swaback speak here on the live issues confronting the working class at home, abroad, and internationally, as the result of the NRA and the international situation created by Germany, calling for the creation of a new revolutionary international. Since this audience came through a driving downpour of rain which commenced just before the meeting started and kept up a steady bombardment till almost midnight, we had a group of listeners deeply interested in these questions. In the audience were many laborers of years standing in the labor movement and young workers and students of diverging views. The meeting was held in the Socialist Hall, in an atmosphere of concentrated attention.

In the discussion period questions were asked about the Five Year Plan, the Soviet Union and its defense, Germany, and the N. R. A. Quite interesting were the remarks of a well-known and outstanding personality who had been the main instrument of the Application of the Stalinist "General Line" as the leading comrade of the Communist Party here. He complimented the local branch of the Left Opposition, saying that the Communist Party no longer existed and that he was no longer a member of it.

Our meeting adjourned after which a group gathered about comrade Swaback for further discussion. A substantial collection had been received, testifying to the sympathy evoked in the audience. Everyone looks forward to more meetings, like this, which was favorably weathered.

—MAX HUDSON, Br. Sec.

Swaback at Cleveland

Cleveland.—Comrade Arne Swaback spent two days in Cleveland—the 19th and 20th of October. The 18th we had a private meeting and October 20th a lecture at the City Club Auditorium on the theme: "Hitlerism, a Menace to the Workers of the World. An audience of 200 heard him speak and we sold militants and pamphlets. There were some Stalinists and asked questions whereby they exposed their ignorance. And, by the way, I know them to be the cream of the C. P. which preys the cultural level of party cadres. No wonder! Reading outside of the Daily Worker and the pocket editions of Stalin literature is strictly prohibited.

—LEO GLEISSER

P. S.—At the Barbusse Bureaux we distribute leaflets. So the Stalinists could not stand, so they organized a number of gangsters who started to grab the leaflets and tear them. Comrade Bryar resisted. He was beaten, and workers—came to his rescue. Barbusse came of 1800 had less workers than the Swaback audience of 200.

Swabek Tour Itinerary

Other meetings on comrade Swabek's tour are as follows:

Thurs., Nov. 2nd...Minneapolis
Fri., Nov. 3rd...Minneapolis
Sat., Nov. 4th...Minneapolis
Sun., Nov. 5th...Minneapolis
Tues., Nov. 7th...Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., Nov. 9th...Davenport, Ia.
Fri., Nov. 10th...Davenport, Ia.

Militant Builders

In the last week alone we got almost as many new subs as in the entire drive up to that point. As reported in last week's issue the total in the sub drive had reached 46 subs. Last week alone 34 subs came in. That gives us a total of 80 to date with the drive still gaining in momentum.

An Encouraging Sign

A feature of this drive, one we encountered rarely in previous drives, is the number of comrades who are sending in more than one sub at a time. In the past week seven came in from a comrade in Toronto, eight from Youngstown, two each from a number of other comrades.

The Standing

S. Jourard	Toronto	7
V. R. Dunne	Minneapolis	5
M. Abern	Bronx	4
C. Hedlund	Minneapolis	4
S. Hardy	Philadelphia	4
J. Carter	Brooklyn	3
J. Fruitman	Toronto	3
C. Shechet	Boston	3
L. Goodman	Philadelphia	2
F. Eckelberger	New Castle	2
M. Kent	Brooklyn	2
H. Capelis	Manhattan	2
N. Saitir	Chicago	2
J. Italy	Chicago	2
E. Winer	Boston	2
S. Barach	Boston	2
G. Cooper	Brooklyn	2
L. Roberts	Philadelphia	2

A number of comrades sent in single subs. They are too numerous to mention. But we are keeping an accurate record and if these comrades send in additional subs we will be able to list them in this column.

The Youngstown Branch

A note of explanation is due about the Youngstown drive. When we began to report the drive we listed M. K. from Youngstown. The Youngstown branch informed us that they wanted all subs credited not to individual comrades but to the branch. To date the branch has accounted for 22 subs. But by this arrangement the history as such is ineligible for the branch. The prizes are offered to the individual comrades making the best showing in the campaign—first, three volumes of Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution; second, two volumes; third, one volume.

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EDITORIAL

Russian Recognition

RECOGNITION of the Soviet Union by the United States Government, facilitating trade relations between the two countries, can offer certain advantages to the Russian workers' state in its struggle for survival as well as to the American regime of Wall Street brigands in its competition with other imperialist powers.

Thus, under Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet Union never refused to bargain with the imperialist robbers and even offered, in return for certain credits and other considerations, to agree to the payment of the Czarist debts, etc. Bolshevik diplomacy never balked at compromise but was willing, under the compulsion of necessity, to pay for the right to buy and sell in the capitalist market.

Today we see a different picture. Soviet diplomacy, under Stalin, based on the theory of "socialism in one country", has separated itself from revolutionary internationalism. The diplomatic victories of Litvinoff coincide with a steady succession of defeats for the Comintern.

At the present moment—with American recognition pending—we have to look the Roosevelt gift horse in the mouth. What is he really offering the Soviet Union and more important, what is Stalinist diplomacy offering in return?

The preliminaries do not appear as a relationship between equals talking business. The Wall Street scoundrels act with the insolence of a conqueror laying down the law. The demand for guarantees against activity of the Communist International, presented by other countries in the past as a formality and lightly brushed aside, is put forward in real earnest by the American Imperialists.

The New York Times for October 22: "Certainly," writes Edwin L. James, "one of the first things Roosevelt will make clear to Litvinoff will be that the United States Government will not stand for Communist propaganda in this country financed by the Third International of Moscow."

If that is not enough, here is more from the same article: "One has only to compare the efforts made abroad by the Third International ten years ago and those made now to see that there has been a change. Doubtless Litvinoff will be ready to promise the change will become even more complete."

Precisely the same opinion, with a clearer ex-

planation, is expressed in the New York Tribune for October 25th by Walter Lippman:

"President Roosevelt is dealing with a different Russian government from the Russian Government that President Wilson refused to recognize. The decisive difference has been brought about by the victory of Stalin and his doctrine of 'socialism in a single country' over Trotsky and those who hold the doctrine that Communism cannot succeed in Russia unless there is a world revolution."

Again from Lippman's article: "It is the change in Russian policy, now apparently established and consolidated that removes the only real obstacle there has ever been to the recognition of Russia."

On top of that read the opinion of the Scripps-Howard foreign editor William Philip Simms, in the New York World Telegram for October 21:

"Time has vastly modified these objections (to the Third International), so much so, in fact, that there is every indication that when Foreign Minister Litvinoff and the President draw up before the wood-fire in the White House study they will have little difficulty in reaching an accord."

These devastating expressions of the leading interpreters of bourgeois opinion, so identical in every note, so brutal in their frankness, leave little to be added. They strip the issues bare. American capitalism, haunted by the memory of Lenin's Comintern, wanted guarantees against its activities. Its keenest representatives explain: "Things are different now; the Comintern is a fiction; the 'obstacle' is removed. There is nothing to fear from it."

But there is a slight error in the calculation in spite of all. There is no room to doubt that Litvinoff will "be ready with complete assurance"—this "assurance" has already been given in fact by the strangulation of the Comintern. But the living movement of Communism is beyond the power of anyone to destroy. Driven out of the Comintern by the Stalins and Litvinoffs, it is already making its way again. A new Communist International will abrogate the perditions "agreements" of Stalinism and the world bourgeoisie and dispose of both of them.

United Front Against Hooliganism

CONGRATULATIONS to the Chicago Communists whose activity called forth the attempt, organized by the panic-stricken bureaucrats of the Stalin party, to break up the Swaback meeting. And double congratulations on the fact that the gangster attack was repulsed, firmly and not too gently. Next time, we trust, it will be done better—and more expeditiously.

Other workers not members of the Communist League, some of them representing different opinions and tendencies, took part in the defense of the Chicago meeting. This is an especially gratifying feature of the affair. In the midst of the general disintegration that has been brought into the movement of the workers' vanguard one positive impulse is beginning to assert itself. That is the sentiment for workers democracy—for the free exchange of opinion and the clarifying discussion of differences in a comradely atmosphere, undisturbed by hooligans and rowdies who arrogantly seek to take away this right and prohibit the consideration of any viewpoint but their own.

Such a sentiment, becoming predominant among the uncorrupted militants in all the radical organizations and groups, is a sound and progressive one. It can and will become a mighty force for the regeneration of the movement. What is needed right now is a practical expression of this sentiment—the united action of those who stand for workers' democracy against those who dare to infringe on it.

We speak for this solidarity of action and are ready, for our part, to join in a fight for the democratic rights of other working class groups, just as we welcome their aid in defending our own right to be heard. A united front to protect workers' meetings from the interference of degenerate hooligan elements would serve the interests of the working class movement as a whole. The tasks of such a united front are not in the least complicated. The job is to form a workers' guard to defend the right of free speech in the labor movement and teach a lesson to those who interfere with it. The sooner such a workers' guard is organized and gets into action the sooner the movement will be liberated from the scourge of hooliganism.

Notes of the Week

ABOLISHING UNEMPLOYMENT

Every week in this hectic period brings new social thunderstorms. Last week rickety capitalist Europe threw a fit over Hitler's bolt from Geneva.

It's the turn of younger, crafty, conniving American capitalism this week. The farmers out in the Middle West are threatening to upset Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal applecart.

Besides the farmers, there are the steadily enduring, industrial strikes, growing and broadening out. The compliance boards of the NRA are overwhelmed with complaints of code violators. The first snowfall promises to bring the unemployment tension to a high pitch.

Along comes a new and hardly heartening admonition. The well-known economic publicist, Mr. Stuart Chase, writing in the November Current History, presents some startling facts.

Given a 40 hour week work, says Mr. Chase, the year 1934, in spite of all the government and NRA optimism, will still find 12,200,000 men out of jobs.

Given a highly exaggerated figure of 10% increase in production, the number of jobless would still amount to 9,400,000.

Granting more than that, allowing for a decrease in working hours to 35 per week, 9,000,000 men would still have to crowd the streets in futile search for a livelihood.

Mr. Chase's statistics are carefully considered, weighed very cautiously. The farm laborers, the miners, the professional classes are not taken into reckoning, although the same fate is in store for them. His figures are computed on the basis of established facts, hunted up and correlated by numerous and reliable economists and statisticians.

What is behind this realistic picture of a miserable working class future? Mr. Chase and his fellow economists will tell you: "technological unemployment" Seventy men in 1933 can do the work of 100 in 1926. The machine is replacing the workers.

What is this horrible monster, the machine, in reality? It is and was always meant to be an aid to man. Born out of the unique ingenuity of man in the animal kingdom, the tool and the machine were produced to help him overcome the obstacles of nature in his struggle for a happy existence.

The thinking worker who knows this will not be fooled. No, it is not the machine that is the monster. The private exploitation of the machine, its utilization for the heaping up of profits for the few—capitalism—that is the threat to a decent human existence.

"Technological unemployment" will exist as long as the capitalist system exists. Replace the system of production for profit by the system of production for social use and "technological unemployment" becomes transformed into: greater leisure, better health, higher intelligence and happier, fuller life for the vast mass of humanity.

The workers of America have not yet fully grasped this idea in their great majority. They are just nibbling at it. They want to hang on to life, merely.

They are striking in great number now for a somewhat shorter work-day, for a somewhat higher, living wage.

Yet that monstrosity, the class of the bosses who possess all under capitalism, mobilize police, government and press against them. Yet the rulers will not cede an inch to the workers.

It is inevitable that the American workman will, with ever growing speed and strength, organize en masse to fight not only for a higher wage and a shorter workday, but against the looming prospect of permanent unemployment for millions in their ranks.

Wage strikes are not enough. Unemployment insurance must come next. —G. . . .

Organizing the Steel Workers

(Continued from page 1)

orate preparations the Steel Trust made for this tempest in a teacup. The day before the strike 150 deputy sheriffs were sworn in. The police forgot all about the NRA and labor's right to picket peacefully. The curtain was lifted from the benevolent smile of capital, and the bosses showed their fangs for a moment. The workers must draw the necessary conclusions from this. They must come to the realization that, NRA or no NRA, the cop is the tool of the boss.

Swaback's Meeting It was just at the close of this burlesque episode that Arne Swaback arrived in Youngstown. A small but rather advanced crowd of seventy workers attended his meeting on October 17th. The crowd showed a keen interest in the issues presented, and a lively discussion took place. —M.

Agrarian Question in Mexico

The Problem of the Coming Revolt and the Peasantry

The period of governmental re- action initiated under Portes Gil in 1928, also marked the cutting short of the agrarian reform. Only a small section of the peasantry was satisfied with the manner in which this reform, based on Article 27 of the 1917 constitution, had been carried out. Of those lands expropriated from the feudal landholders, the best were generally seized by the politicians and generals of the revolution. Most of the remaining arable tracts remained in the hands of their old owners on some pretext or other.

In some cases, those villages which have shown greatest militancy during the early period of the revolution, were given satisfactory grants or ratified the possession of lands they had forcibly seized, in order to silence them and set them up as a barrier to hold back the great mass of landless peasantry who were being "fed" on promises and government surveys.

Ending the Land Reforms

The newly rich, having themselves acquired great landed wealth in the course of the revolution, now found it necessary to seek alliances with the remaining, politically crippled, feudal holders and wealthy ranchers in order to preserve their own boots. A new policy was then instituted by degrees in one state after another, to wind up all pending agrarian matters and declare the land reforms at an end.

Not only was this done but the breaking up of the "ejidos" (communal land grants) was also ordered. This constituted a still greater betrayal of the interests of the peasant masses without the aid of whom the democratic revolution of 1910-1917 would have been impossible.

From time immemorial and antedating the coming of the Spaniards the peasant villagers owned their land in common. In some cases the soil was tilled in common also and in others by the individual families but without any private land tenure. These commons, called

atepetlalli under the Aztec regime, were the direct forerunners of the ejidos of more recent times. Many of these village commons remained intact until comparatively recent times although the tendency in the colonial period was for the Spanish hacendados to absorb and destroy the primitive village economy, converting the peasants into peons or serfs of the haciendas. There were a number of peasant uprisings but prior to 1810 these did not acquire great strength. The Mexican war for independence was, especially in its first stage, the revolt of a land-starved peasantry fighting for the restitution of its communal holdings. Other revolutions since that time have had the same objective, culminating in the Zapatista movement of 1910-1919. Another such uprising is now in the offing.

Communal Aspirations of Peasants

Traditionally, the bulk of Mexico's peasants aspire to communal holdings. Left to themselves they seldom abandon common ownership for individual tenure, although the land is almost always subdivided by the village council for cultivation in small lots by individual heads of families. Primitive methods of cultivation, however, make collective-farming impractical excepting in rare instances.

Realizing the danger to their communal unity and the consequent strengthening of their enemies, if the village commons are broken up, the peasants prefer collective ownership. Most of them realize that individual tenure at this time would weaken their position as a class and would only serve the hacendados by playing the individual small and middle peasants against each other.

Two short years ago, the high priests of the National Revolutionary Party, to which at that time the major portion of the peasantry nominally adhered, launched a campaign for the subdivision of the "ejidos". The peasants were told that their dignity as human beings, their duty to their families and their individual interests required the breaking up of these communal grants into individual parcels. Many of the peasants succumbed to the arguments of the politicians, especially when the leaders of their own

organizations, many of them middle-class ranchers themselves, counselled support of the new government policy.

In several regions however, the peasants revolted on a local scale and the government linked its attack on the ejidos to a campaign to disarm the peasants, thousands of whom still held arms loaned them by the government during the reactionary revolts. In 1932, there were numerous sporadic outbreaks in the states of Michoacan, Jalisco, Sacatecas and Guanajuato. These local uprisings were easily suppressed and the military reports appearing in the press, usually referred to them as bandit or Catholic outbreaks. All news was, of course strictly censored.

In the state of Veracruz, the hostility of the peasants to the government assumed such an alarming aspect that the whole state was placed under military rule in order to forestall a general uprising. The Tejada political faction dominant in that state, being unprepared to undertake a genuine armed insurrection at that time, although it was itself more or less closely identified with the defiant peasantry, was willing to compromise with the federal authorities. Large sections of the peasantry were disarmed although many of them offered resistance locally. At present the strictest watch is kept by the federal authorities to prevent the rearmament of these elements. It is known that many have secret arms caches. Arrests are being reported of peasants being caught with arms in their possession. A letter just received by the writer of these lines, from a peasant living near the port of Vera Cruz, says in part, "The government has taken our arms away, and even now a few days ago in Villa Jose Cardel if you entered on horseback carrying the machete (cane knife) you use to work with, the federal soldiers would take it from you. So you see we must be careful and keep our eyes wide open."

Ed. Note: This is the first of two articles on the Mexican Questions by comrade Negrete. The second will appear next week.

—ROSALIO NEGRETE.

Statement on N. Y. Elections

(Continued From Page 1)

The interests of capitalist profit and the assurance of its uninterrupted flow into coffers of the bosses, to wipe out every vestige of militancy shown by the workers in their strikes, to resort to despotic court injunctions and police violence against those workers who refuse to remain docile under the lash of the crisis.

At the same time, the bulk of the hundreds of thousands of workers who have been subjected to the curse of unemployment in New York City, have not had their lot improved by a hair's breadth. The miserable substitute for genuine unemployment relief which the Tammany administration passes off under that name, far from being increased, has been diminished.

Even those insignificant few who have been given the scanty crumbs of relief, are being squeezed down still further. The "skipping" of alternate weeks is being made the general practice now. The appropriations for relief in general, never adequate even for that handful to whom it was to be allocated, are now being cut down. The most discriminated against section of the working class population—the third of a million Negroes in the city—are suffering such intense misery as to make their lot indescribable.

The deep wounds cut into the body of the working class by the crisis in general, have been rendered more painful yet by the regime fostered in New York City by the abominable Tammany administration and its Republican twin. Not since the days of the Tweed Ring has corruption, speculation, bribery, pilfering and plundering in public office been so widespread, so flagrant as it is at the present time. So outrageous and brazen has been the almost recently uncovered record of the Tammany bandits in office, that it is being confronted by an almost universal antagonism, powerful enough to compel scores of eager office-seekers to switch their allegiance to the other candidates of capitalism who seek to preserve it and themselves by somewhat less lurid displays of the flagrant assaults upon the spoils than those of Tammany Hall.

For the worker to vote for the parties of capitalism be they Tammany Hall, Fusion, or McKee "Recovery"—is to give his written endorsement to his enemy, to his exploiters, and their political agents. To vote for O'Brien, LaGuardia or McKee is to throw away a vote into the wastebasket of the capitalist parties. To vote for any of these tickets is to strike a blow at the working class, at every member of it, and at their class interests.

Nor can the worker conscious of his interests cast a vote of endorsement for the Socialist party and its candidates. The Socialist party represents the movement for the reformation, the patching-up of the decadent, outlived, reactionary capitalist system. The Socialist party does not set itself the aim of overthrowing the present society of exploitation, war and misery; it seeks only to "reform" it. The Socialist party is not the party of the class struggle, and consequently cannot represent the interests of the working class in that struggle. It is the party of class reconciliation, of collaboration with the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class, and consequently it represents essentially the interests of the latter in the ranks of the workers. Like its brother-under-the-skin-the bureaucracy in the trade union movement, the Socialist party constitutes the association of the labor lieutenants of capitalism on the political field.

The Communist party today is dominated by a bureaucracy representing the Stalinist faction. Once a revolutionary and progressive force, rallying the workers on the field of the international class struggle for their emancipation from wage slavery, the Communist party has been systematically reduced by its present leaders and their policies to the caricature of the revolutionary organization which it now constitutes. The official Communist party has been debased to the role of the American apparatus of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Strangled by this bureaucracy, creating a situation in its own ranks where the militant and more conscious members are not permitted to speak their minds or have a critical and independent attitude towards problems, the official Communist party has steadily declined to the position where it advances its own interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class as a whole. In the elementary organizations of the working class—the trade unions—it pursues only the aim of accumulating factional and sectarian advantage, regardless of the painful price the workers are compelled to pay. It sets up tiny sectarian unions; under the guise of "independence", it sets itself in the path of the advancement of the workers movement. It sabotaged the united front of workers' organizations and rejects it in principle. Together with the social democracy, the official Communist party of the United States, together with the Stalinists in Germany and the rest of the world, bear the common responsibility for the greatest catastrophe suffered by the working class anywhere in the world since the world war—that is, the defeat of the German working class at the hands of the Hitlerist barbarians. Instead of acting as the accelerator of the workers' movement and of the revolution, it has become a retarding force, a brake on the workers' movement.

Because of the fact that the Stalinists have forced the official Communist parties off the revolutionary path beyond the possibility of restoration, the Communist League of America (Opposition) together with its brother organizations of the Left Opposition throughout the world, has called upon the class conscious workers to join together to reconstruct the revolutionary movement outside the ranks of Stalinism, to strive to build up a new Communist inter-

national and new Communist parties in every country. In the United States, our League is now in the forefront of the movement for a new Communist party. We have been impelled to this gigantic task by the collapse of the official Communist International after the German debacle and the events succeeding it, as well as by the increasingly dangerous situation in which the workers republic, the Soviet Union, finds itself as a result of the policies of the Stalinist leadership. The Soviet republic cannot be defended, its great historic achievements cannot be carried on to final success in the international arena, the workers' cause cannot be brought to fruition and triumph in this or any other country, without the reconstruction of Communist parties which inscribe upon their banner and carry out in the reality of the class struggle the unassailable ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) has come to this momentous decision at a time which makes it impossible for it to put forth, in the present election, a set of candidates of its own. The League does not lay any pretensions claims to a strength which it does not yet enjoy. It aims to acquire this strength and the confidence of the workers by carrying its ideas into effect in the daily struggles of the workers against their class opponent. The League rejects the pernicious illusion that the workers can attain their emancipation by means of papers thrown into the ballot box. Elections are a means whereby the class conscious workers record their solidarity, their opposition to the capitalist class and its parties, the stage of development of their own class maturity. The League holds that the workers can and will liberate themselves from the horrors of capitalism only by the unceasing, militant struggles against the capitalist class and all its institutions, by utilizing all the means at their disposal, by breaking through the confining fetters of parliamentary activity into which the enemy seeks to limit our expression.

Under the circumstances of our inability to put forward our own ticket in this election, the Communist League of America calls upon the workers of this city to cast their votes, at this time, for the candidates of the official Communist party as a protest vote against the capitalist parties, not as an endorsement of the blunders and crimes of the Stalinist leadership, or its policies.

—COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION) LOCAL NEW YORK.

BOSTON WORKERS FORUM Celebrates the 16th Anniversary of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION by hearing MAX SHACHTMAN Member of National Executive Committee of Communist League of America Speak on the 4th INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5th, 8 P.M. SOCIAL SCIENCE HALL 28 Hayward Place

Silk Dyers Vote for Agreement

(Continued from Page 1)

reputated Vigorito and Pirola who thought, judging by the "organized" applause, that more votes could be obtained by this unity business. It will be remembered that not so long ago the N. T. W. had levelled shafts of attack at Vigorito and Pirola as agents of the bosses. The disruption of the N. T. W. made calm deliberative meetings of the dye workers impossible; they gave an excuse for the voting of the dyers on the agreement to be conducted secretly and by shops instead of in open strike meeting.

And now, as a last fit of desperation, as a last seed of confusion, the N. T. W. makes a complete change of policy but hardly in the right direction. This is the latest proposal of the N. T. W.:

"The National Textile Workers Union stands ready to merge with the members of the U. T. W. and unorganized workers, into One Dye Workers Union." Not unity but a new union. (There are not enough unions now!)

Tactics of the Bosses

The canny dye bosses were well aware of the inexperience of the dye workers, and their lack of effective leadership. For ten days they wore out a rank and file negotiations committee by incessant meetings, flattering these gullible workers with back-slapping and honeyed words but fighting like tigers for every point of the agree-

ment. And when the workers' negotiations committee was demoralized with fatigue they set the stage for a last act of intimidation. All the cops were called off their regular beats for "duty" at the mills, rumors were spread that a large gang of strike breakers and thugs had been imported into Paterson, the bosses made a public statement that the mills would open and the mayor backed them up by saying that he would see to it that "any man who wanted to return to work would not be prevented from doing so." It was under these circumstances that the agreement was made.

One can say with some certainty that this split in the strike was prepared even before the outbreak of the strike. The outcome might have been different if the dyers had been affiliated with the A. F. S. W. Before the strike, Schweitzer, the cautious, week-knee organizer of the A. S. W. turned down an offer to organize the dyers into the

Associated so that the organizer of the dyers, Yannerelli, made a deal with McMahon and the dye house workers went directly into the U. T. W.

Evil Result of Separate Organization

In the U. T. W. the mass of the strikers, the more experienced and tested militants in the A. F. S. W., had no control over the actions of the dyers. It is true that there was some sort of reciprocal representatives of the two unions on the respective strike committees. The lack of forces prevented the working of this committee. Given these circumstances the appeal of Schweitzer calling upon the dyers to remain out until the weavers got a settlement was only a futile gesture.

By the separate agreement with the dyers, the bosses surely have obtained a moral advantage. Already 3,000 jacquard workers want to stampede back to work. The bosses have given them certain concessions and they have also voted to go back to the job following the lead of the dyers. Further disorganization is to be seen in the action of the jacquard workers in withdrawing from the strike committee of the A. F. S. W. and forming a strike committee of their own.

The defection of the dyers has unquestionably made the road of the silk workers to victory more difficult and more tortuous. But a great mass remains on strike and if they hold their ranks solid they can yet force a favorable settlement. —CLARKE.

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