



Call General Strike of N. Y. Food Workers

600 Start Strike Wave In the Waldorf Astoria

Whole Kitchen and Dining Room Crew March in Body To Amalgamated Union Headquarters

The biggest industry in New York, the mammoth hotel and restaurant industry dominated by the biggest banks has flung a challenge to the workers in the industry, and their challenge has been met—the workers have moved for a GENERAL STRIKE!

The issues involved are clear cut. The bosses who have dictated their own terms for years, riding rough-shod over the most elementary demands and rights of the workers do not intend to have their autocratic control questioned. They will tolerate no union except a puppet of their own choosing, one over which they have absolute control. They want a boss's "union". The workers want no "guilds" they want a union speaking and acting in their own name and for their demands.

The bosses have spoken in an ambiguous manner for a few months, temporizing for time. Now they are ready, and there is nothing ambiguous about their actions. They struck at the workers in the key hotel of the industry, in the heart of the city—the Waldorf Astoria—by discharging Andre Fournigalt, a sous-chef who has worked there since the hotel was put up after the demolition of the old Peacock Alley.

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Six Hundred in Stoppage

With the exception of a handful the entire kitchen and dining room staff of some 600 workers responded to this challenge by declaring an immediate stoppage. The waiters went into the kitchens, the cooks put out the lights on the stoves. And at 7 P. M. at the height of the dinner hour, "the guests" sat at their tables while the orchestra played to stimulate their appetites.

Here is how the New York Sun reports the details: "In the dining rooms waiter captains noticed suddenly that they were alone with the patrons. When no waiters emerged from the kitchens with the orders that had been given they went in search of them. They found them standing in groups in the kitchen, their arms folded." And side by side with them were standing the chefs and the entire kitchen help—also with "their arms folded". The boss, Boomer strode in to give his ultimatum—he notified the workers to return to work. But if the workers stood there with folded arms, it was only because they had folded them for action.

They were by no means unprepared for this direct blow of the bosses, and they knew very well that the blow that was aimed at a single worker was aimed at the very heart of the organization they have been building for months with thousands of other workers in the industry. The course of the bosses had become clear from the very beginning of the organization drive of staffs were being infiltrated with the Amalgamated. The working "extra-help", an intensive propaganda was carried on by the agents of the bosses against the Amalgamated, and this campaign was supplemented by an intensive drive for affiliation with the Hotel Guild.

Waldorf Is Signal For Workers

The action of the workers in Waldorf Astoria is the signal that has been awaited for these many months. All the workers knew that the bosses would strike precisely at the strategic point—the Waldorf

(Continued on Page 3)

Militant Three Times a Week During Strike!

Once more the Militant is to appear three times a week! Once more the price is to be reduced to one cent a copy!

And we intend to keep on issuing it for the duration of the strike of the hotel and restaurant workers of New York.

In the crucial days of the struggle of the German workers against the coming to power of Fascism last year, the Militant also made this gigantic effort to appear on the streets three times a week instead of once, giving news of the struggle, analyzing the events, arousing the workers to an understanding, to solidarity and to action.

Now it is the struggle of thousands of workers in the hotels

and restaurants of New York which brings us out into the streets once more in our new form. During the strike, the Militant will stand as solid as a rock behind the striking food workers UNTIL THEY HAVE WON!

The Militant will give the workers' side of the strike—we leave it to the capitalist press to give the bosses' side and the bosses' propaganda and the bosses' lies. The Militant will stand unshakably firm for the union which is conducting the strike—the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, helping in every way it can to strengthen the union, to help it grow, to support every militant and class conscious action and tendency in it.

The Militant has no intention of being "impartial" and "unbiased". We are partial. We are biased. We are prejudiced—because we are, always have been, and always will be FOR THE WORKERS, FIRST, LAST AND ALWAYS!

The first issue of the actual three-times-a-week Militant will appear on the streets this coming Monday morning, and every Wednesday, Friday and Monday morning thereafter. We are making a supreme effort in this strike—in spite of the fact that as this is written our financial position is extremely difficult. But we are counting on our numerous friends to rush money by air-mail and telegraph to help us carry on.

Thousands Pack Halls; Walkout Vote Solid

The Unanimously Adopted Strike Resolution

The following is the resolution passed unanimously at the huge overflow membership meeting of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union on Wednesday night. It constitutes the general strike proclamation that will make labor history in New York, if the enormous enthusiasm which swept the meeting is any indication:

RESOLUTION "RESOLVED, that we, the members of the AMALGAMATED HOTEL AND RESTAURANT WORKERS UNION, assembled in a general business meeting Wednesday, January 24th, 1934, in view of the situation created by the aggressive steps taken by the hotel and restaurant employers in attempting to force workers to join various organizations such as the Guild societies and other company unions, violating the elementary rights of labor and endangering the security of the worker on his job, as well as violating the provisions of the law for collective bargaining, especially article 7a of the N. I. R. A., call upon the hotel and restaurant employers, collectively and individually, to agree to full union recognition embodied in signed agreements, and to the other demands as to wages and hours put forward by this organization, and to cease all intimidation and pressure intended to force workers to join any organization against their will. In the event that no answer is given to this demand by the close of the second business day after receipt thereof, we will enforce these demands with a general strike throughout New York City and its environs. Any discrimination or intimidation during the period shall be considered as cause for defensive measures by means of a strike."

New York, January 24.—Overflow membership meetings of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union affiliated with the Amalgamated Food Workers voted unanimously tonight for a resolution calling a general strike of workers in their industry throughout New York and environs. The meetings were held at the headquarters of the union at 915 Eighth Avenue and in halls around that neighborhood.

More than 3,000 men participated in the vote. By Friday night the strike will be complete. Strike leaders described the resolution voted as an ultimatum to the Hotel bosses to come to terms within the time limit set. They declared that should the employers discriminate against or intimidate union men in the meantime, the strike action would be put into force earlier than the stipulated time.

The main hall at strike headquarters was packed to the doors, high spirits characterized the mood of the union members assembled. Soon after the meeting was opened, B. J. Field, secretary of the union, read the strike resolution proposed for adoption. In the course of his speech, the secretary explained the resolution which, he stated, has been decided upon by a meeting of the Executive Board of the union that afternoon.

The strike call is an outgrowth of the union's fight against the inhuman conditions hotel and restaurant workers have been subjected to in this city. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union has been carrying on a feverish organization campaign in the past several months with thousands of workers joining from all the major and lesser enterprises. The campaign has met with the greatest success union organization has experienced in this industry, which has been a stumbling block for organized labor in the past twenty years, since the decline of the A. F. of L. craft unions.

The call comes in the first place, as an act of solidarity with the Waldorf Astoria workers who went (Continued on Page 4)

Strike Lights ... and Shadows

"The strike was called over the firing of the chef de manger (Park Ave. for fancy cook)." Daily News. Chef de Manger may be fancy Park Ave. language but the waiters, chefs, etc., spoke the real, good, old fashioned working class word "Strike" that even Oscar could understand.

They came in their hundreds—the well-clad, the well-fed, the prosperous. The exclusive Waldorf Astoria, noted the world over for its cuisine and its service, was crowded with the elite. Then it happened. Waiters turned on their heels and walked to the kitchen. Chefs turned off the gas and walked to meet them. In about 15 minutes, with placards and cheers, the enthusiastic chefs and waiters were streaming down the street to union headquarters. The orchestra played. Oscar raved. But the guests went hungry for once.

Union headquarters at 915-8th Ave. were humming with activity. Organizers and officials were everywhere. Committee meetings, speeches, registering of strikers, and preparations for meetings of the workers of other hotels. "With precision, order and speed the union prepared for battle.

"It can't be done. You can't organize the chefs and waiters in the exclusive hotels." So said the old and tired "labor leaders". But the A. F. W. can do the impossible—and the Waldorf Astoria workers are proving that, once organized, chefs and waiters like miners and clothing workers are fighters from the drop of the hat.

Boomer waited on tables. And

The Union's Strike Demands

The Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers has issued the following demands for the New York City general strike:

- Full union recognition. Union wage scales. A forty hour week, five days a week and eight hours a day. Wages not to be taken out of tips. No split watch. No charge for meals, uniforms or laundry. Pay by the week. Hotel and Restaurant workers! Support these demands! Join the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union! Strike till you win!

Oscar tried his fat hands at cooking. But the diners couldn't get as much as a hamburger-on-rye. It was very, very sad.

The six hundred waiters and chefs lined up solid. Oscar appealed to them. Boomer threatened and promised. A half dozen scabby looking stools stepped over to the other side. As crummy a lot of scabs as ever licked a boot.

The right to organize... The right to a living wage... These are supposed to be inherent in the constitution of the United States. But whether it be in a mine in Illinois or a Park Ave. hotel, rights and conditions, recognized or not, can only be secured by organization and struggle. —OSCAR DE BOOMER.

WORKERS! STAY OUT UNTIL YOU WIN!

Plan Big Navy Program

Congress has endorsed the \$285,000,000 navy building program presented to it with the endorsement of President Roosevelt and designed to build a "navy second to none" in the feverish international race for maritime armaments now taking place between Japanese, British and American imperialism.

Practically every vehicle of murder and destruction on the high seas is authorized in the Vinson Bill presented to the House of Representatives including aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines and providing for fifty-four new vessels in all.

There appears to have been considerable discussion and debate in the House over the most effective means for murder on the high seas, which took the form of a wrangle over the relative merits of the six-inch gun and other powerful hand-blowers.

"Under the leadership of president Roosevelt we will sit at the next international conference table with a full treaty navy, built and built", said the chairman of the naval committee, Ayers.

The reason for this martial program, coming simultaneously with the pacific statements of the president and the budget deficit, occasioning the suspension of the C. W. A., is the tense situation in the Far East where Japan threatens American investments and commercial interests, where the struggle for the redivision of the world comes in closer proximity.

Aid is needed by the Militant. Come to the office!

An Open Letter to the American Workers Party

The Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party Comrades:

After a thorough-going discussion of the results of the Pittsburgh convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has decided to address the following communication to you for your consideration and action.

Your convention voted to take the measures it considered necessary for the founding of a new revolutionary party in the United States. "The revolutionary struggle of the masses against the capitalist system which more and more depresses their standard of living, takes various forms," declares the report of your National Executive Committee adopted by the convention. "The primary form is the economic struggles of the worker and farmer. The struggle is, however, inspired, coordinated, carried to its goal of taking power, by the revolutionary political party."

Our organization, having itself formally adopted the decision in September of last year to work for the creation of a new revolutionary party in this country and a new International throughout the world, is consequently directly concerned with and interested in the decision adopted by your Pittsburgh convention. We stated our position in our declaration four months ago and we take the liberty of calling your attention to the following essential paragraphs:

"The Communist League, as it is at present constituted, does not consider itself a party and has no intention of anticipating the real establishment of the new party by proclaiming itself as such. The task now is to recognize firmly that our role as a faction striving to reform the party of official Stalinism is exhausted, to strike out on a completely

independent path, and to prepare, in cooperation with all other groups and organizations moving in the same direction, for the formation of a new party.

"In the course of its struggle to reform the official party, as a faction of it, the Left Opposition worked out a program, consolidated a cadre of principled militants and formed the skeleton of a national organization. These accomplishments can be regarded now as part of the capital of the new movement; not all that is necessary for the formation of the party, but contributions to it.

"What is needed now is the coming together of the various groups of revolutionary workers who have broken, or who are in the process of breaking, with reformism and centrism as well as those dispersed individual revolutionists who have been repelled by the Stalinist bureaucracy and remained without affiliation. It is self-evident that the working out of a common program and the eventual concentration of these forces into a single party must be preceded by an exchange of opinion and discussion and, very probably, will involve a transition period of cooperation before the final fusion.

"Whatever form the next development may take, the Left Opposition is ready now, to enter into open and comradely negotiations and discussions with other groups which seriously set for themselves the same goal. After its long and unrelenting struggle against the arrogant bureaucracy and ultimatic methods of Stalinism, the Left Opposition least of all can seek to impose anything on others or to demand the acceptance in advance of its proposals, its program or its 'leadership'."

It is with these ideas as our point of departure that we approach the question of our relations to the American Workers Party which your convention decided to launch. We are striving to build up in this coun-

(Continued on Page 3)

What the Strike Means to You

At the present writing the New York Hotels are being padlocked and picketed by the wage slaves that eke out a miserable existence in them.

Twenty thousand waiters, chefs, kitchen help will quit the spacious, de luxe dining rooms and not so de luxe kitchens to take their places on the picket line and the solid front of organized labor.

They are fighting a man-sized battle. Arrayed against them is the mighty Hotel Men's Association whose power has been unchallenged for twenty years.

Behind the labor-hating hotel bosses stands an even more imposing foe—the strongest fortress of capitalism, the banks.

The banks—mind you! the banks of Wall Street, creatures of Rockefeller and Morgan—dictate to the nation's industry. They control the government. Their long hand reaches out and rules the daily lives of the millions of America's toilers.

The hotel workers have served and suffered for years under the iron heel of the banks. We marvel at their remarkable patience. But there is a limit to human endurance—even of hotel workers.

The strike is on. There will be Judge's injunctions. Policemen's clubs, Black Marias, jail sentences—yes, the long arm of capitalist law will reach out for the hotel slaves.

The kept press will rage and scream for civilization, for home and religion. Priests will promise hell and damnation for the strikers.

The rats will be herded in droves and quartered in scabs nests.

But they won't break the strike. Picket lines will march in solid array before every hotel. Grim determination and the unbreakable battle front of the workers will keep the hotels empty. The parasites who insist on eating in the hotels during the strike will have empty plates instead of the sumptuous fare they are accustomed to. Solidarity is the mighty weapon of labor. It will win again as it has hundreds of times in the past.

The hotel workers will need your help from the very start. The enemy of the hotel workers is the enemy of every worker in the entire nation. A few months ago it was the miners. Today it is the waiters and the lowly kitchen dishwashers and floor sweepers that are holding the front line trenches for the organized and unorganized workers. If they win we all win. A victory for them means renewed strength, for the unionized workers and a new confidence and enthusiasm for the sorely beset unorganized. The hotel strike is your strike.

You win or lose with them. Which shall it be—a victory or a defeat? It's up to you. Get your local union to support the strike. And if you don't belong to a union, any physical, moral and especially financial aid will be more than appreciated by the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers, leading the strike.

If you do this the hotel workers will triumph! Shoulders to the wheel!

Speakers: JAMES P. CANNON Editor of "The Militant" JOSEPH CARTER Editor of "Young Spartacus"

LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBERG MEMORIAL MEETING

UNUSUAL FEATURE! The remarkable film of the death of Lenin and the funeral in Moscow will be shown at the meeting.

Friday, January 26, 1934, 8 P. M. IRVING PLAZA HALL Irving Place and 15th Street ADMISSION 20c

Lovestone Discovers Esthonia

(Continued from last issue)
3. In 1925, the British government made one of its periodical Curzon-Chamberlain demands against the residence of the Comintern in Moscow and its propaganda which had "as an aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States—(pardon us, we mean the British Empire!)—its territories or possessions". Zinoviev, the chairman of the Comintern, replied publicly on May 20, 1925:

"When they put forward that demand during the famine period they received from the Soviet Government the reply they deserved. Now that affairs with the Soviet Government are more favorable there can be no doubt as to the reply to their insolent demand they would receive from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics if they decided to advance such."

Question: Why did Litvinov accede to an "insolent demand" put forward in 1933, which was contemptuously rejected by the Soviet government not merely in 1925, but in the most desperate period of its existence, the famine period, when Russia's back was to the wall and it was ready to make any reasonable concession to obtain sufficient aid from abroad to keep alive?

Ango-Russian Trade Agreement
4. Soviet Russia of April 16, 1921 comments as follows on the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement which had just been signed:

"In their preliminary draft the British attempted to bind the Soviet Government to 'restrain Russian citizens' from hostile action or propaganda against British institutions. This impossible demand disappears entirely from the final text. Thus the mooted question of propaganda resolves itself into a mutual agreement on the part of the British and Soviet governments respectively to refrain from conducting outside of their own borders any propaganda directly or indirectly against the institutions of the other. This condition was accepted by the Soviet Government at the outset of the negotiations."

Question: Why did the Soviets—in 1921, after the Estonian, Latvian and Polish Treaties—regard as impossible the demand that Russian Communists be restrained from carrying on anti-British capitalist propaganda, whereas it now considers quite possible the demand that not only Russian Communists but American Communists in Russia be restrained from carrying on anti-British capitalist propaganda? Why could not what Herberg calls the "conventional phrases" of a "Paragraph Four" be conceded in 1921 in England?

Reply to Lord Curzon
5. On September 7, 1921, Lord Curzon wrote an insolent note to Russia demanding (again!) the suppression of the Comintern in Russia, complaining that government members like Lenin, Trotsky and... Stalin were actively engaged in its work of undermining the "territories and possessions" of the British Crown. Three weeks later, the Soviet Vice-Commissioner of Foreign Affairs retorted:

"The Russian Government desires to take advantage of this occasion to affirm once more, as it has frequently done before, that the fact that the Third International, for perfectly obvious reasons, chose Russia as the country in which its executive committee resides—Russia being the only country that allows full liberty for the spread of Communist ideas, as well as personal liberty to Communists—and also the fact that certain members of the Russian Government, in their capacity as private individuals, belong to this executive committee are no more to be taken as a basis for declaring that the Third International and the Russian Government are identical, than the fact that the Second International, constantly in session at Brussels, and including among the members of its executive committee the Belgian minister Vandervelde, may prove the identity of the Second International with the Belgian Government."

(The author of this reply to Curzon was none other than Maxim Litvinov.)
Question: Why, although this occurred well within the Herbergian "second period" of Soviet diplomacy, didn't Litvinov reply then as he did at Washington? Or a more pertinent question: Why didn't he reply to Roosevelt as he did to Curzon?

Chicherin on "Propaganda"
6. In 1925, as is known, England demanded that Russia sign an agreement similar to that signed by Litvinov in Washington. In his foreign political report to the Third Congress of the Soviet Union in May 1925, the commissar for foreign affairs, Chicherin, a diplomat if you please, declared:

"The same idea (as held by Curzon at Lausanne) is to be seen in the declaration of Chamberlain: 'Cease conducting propaganda!'"
"What is propaganda? We stand before the main question of our foreign political relations. Our govern-

Propaganda Pledge Is Defended by Stalinist Attorneys

ment is prepared to accept, and accepts all the obligations bound up with international relations. If the English government proves that we are misusing our diplomatic connections, our diplomatic rights, our diplomatic apparatus, that this or that official person violates the international obligations, then we are prepared to agree to everything demanded of us in this respect.

"If, however, we are told that all propaganda must cease in the Soviet Union, that is tantamount to demanding that the Communist party shall cease to be a Communist party. Here is a question of whether we shall continue to exist or not. It concerns the main question of our relations with the capitalist world by which we are surrounded."

Question: When Chicherin called "propaganda" the main question of foreign Soviet relations, involving the existence of the Communist party and the republic itself, did he really mean it, or was he in reality giving the "Trotskyists and other anti-Soviet demagogues a basis of operations for their reactionary propaganda against the Soviet Union"—as Herberg so pleasantly puts it?

What the Comintern Manifesto Urged and What It Forgot to Urge . . .

"On the very day that the Litvinov agreement was made, the Executive Committee of the Communist International issued an elaborate manifesto, urging the American workers to overthrow the capitalist government of this country," wrote Herberg in the Workers Age of December 15, 1933, in his attack upon the Left Opposition and defense of the Stalin foreign policy.

The November 15, 1933 issue of the Communist International which has just arrived here contains the manifesto referred to. A reading of it shows that Herberg overreached himself a little!

Nowhere, literally nowhere, are the American workers "urged" to overthrow the bourgeoisie here. In fact, with two trifling exceptions, the UNITED STATES IS NOT EVEN MENTIONED IN THE WORLD MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

firm of Lovestone, Herberg and Hackman has replied to the ones already put. . . .
The Treaties with the Border States
Nevertheless—Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland!

Is it not significant that the only countries mentioned by the Lovestonites are those which once formed part of the Russian Empire and now border directly on the Soviet republic? An honest revolutionist interested in clarifying and teaching workers—not a group of Philadelphia lawyers fawning and groveling before the Stalinist dispensers of privilege and pelf—would have put and answered the questions:

Why was the Soviet Union ready to make an agreement with the former sections of the czarist empire on her frontiers which she refused to make with any of the big imperialist powers, nearby or far-off?
Did Russia have more to fear from Latvia than from America? From what standpoint was Esthonia so much stronger than England that she was able with comparative ease to obtain something from Russia which England, with her armies, navies, industries and wealth, with her threats and ruptures, was never able to obtain? Did Russia grant such a treaty to Lithuania and refuse it to England because she hoped to get more material aid—food, credits, machinery, political prestige—from the tiny, poverty-stricken Baltic country than from wealth-bloated Britannia?
Not Ordinary Recognition Facts
It is not necessary to dig far to find the answer. Latvia and the other tiny Baltic lands obtained such treaties for fairly obvious reasons:
1. The treaties were not ordinary recognition pacts; they served to put an end to a state of war existing between Russia and her neighbors. During the period of hostilities, all these Baltic lands had been the arena of activities for numerous active White Guard and other counter-revolutionary armies, some of them claiming to be and all of them aiming to be "government" of the whole or part of Russia. The continued residence of these forces on territory directly adjacent to

Russia constituted a menace of serious proportions to the Soviets. The treaties demanded the dissolution or expulsion of these armed forces. In no sense was this a concession by Russia—it was Russia' indubitable victory.

Where is this situation duplicated in France, England or, most of all, in the United States? Are the decrepit Russian dukes and princesses the forces on American soil whose organization for the overthrow of the Soviet Russia has caused to fear? Or even the White Guard Ukrainians in this country? Preposterous! Infinitely more powerful counter-revolutionary and imperialist forces now on American soil threaten the Soviet Union! They are identical with precisely that regime which Litvinov praised so unstintingly as eminently pacific and war-abhorrent in his speech at the recent Soviet Congress! And these forces are not covered by the "reciprocal undertakings" of the Litvinov-Roosevelt pact. The Comintern is.

2. More important even than our first point, is this:
The masses in these small Baltic republics were then still permeated with democratic illusions, accentuated by the first whiffs of national independence they had obtained after decades and centuries of languishing under the heel of czarist tyranny. Even the tidal wave of proletarian revolution did not entirely succeed in washing away the prejudice, fear, hatred and suspicion these people felt of any "Moscow regime"—a government of "Great Russians". The bourgeois democrats of these lands, more often than not in the service of a large western power sought with all their strength to intensify these prejudices and suspicions in the minds of the masses. The latter were told that the

Once, it is mentioned as being a party to the frantic armament race; a second time, it is mentioned as one of the powers helping the Kuo Min Tang campaign against the Chinese "Red Army" AND NOWHERE ELSE!

The Japanese imperialists, the Hitler regime, British imperialism are frequently referred to and clearly condemned. BUT—the Roosevelt regime is not even mentioned.

The most important phenomenon in capitalist world politics and economics today—the vast NRA program—is not even mentioned.
America's preparation for war against Japan is not even mentioned.
The Cuban situation is not even mentioned—not by a syllable.
Here all comment is truly superfluous!

Bolshevik regime was no different than the czarist; both were despotic Muscovite centralists whose aim was to impose their regime upon the Letts and Poles and Finns and wipe out their just-gained independence.

The Bolsheviks attached an immense even if not all-dominating significance to the slogan of self-determination of nations even to the point of separation. They never considered it, like Wilson, as a piece of clever hypocrisy, a sordid watchword and nothing more. They alone proved that it was realizable. The Bolsheviks granted complete independence to all the former "provinces" of the czar, even if they instantly fell under the domination of reactionaries.

Bolshevik Policy on Self-Determination
Moreover, the Bolsheviks were intent upon exerting every effort to prove in practice to these border peoples that Soviet Russia alone really guaranteed their independence, that she would not seek to impose her form of social organization upon her neighbors. The existing fear of Russia's vast size and strength in comparison with their own, was dispelled among these little nations essentially by the persistent demonstrations Russia gave of her principle of non-violation of their territorial and political integrity.

This and this alone explains why the Soviet Government was prepared, even in 1920-1921, to go to the point of giving her neighbors the assurances they received in the peace treaties cited above. What possible comparison is there between those conditions, those treaties and the relations between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. today?
Our original views stand. There are no two ways about the question. The Litvinov-Roosevelt pact remains an index to the degree to which Stalinism has abandoned the world revolution in its deterioration to nationalism. Lovestone and Co. remain the legal toadies of Stalinism, its aspiring apologist, its most anxious champion. Alas for Stalinism—its very champion cannot fight for want of a leg to stand on!

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Drive Starts for 'New Intern'l.'

In line with the proposed extension of activities of the Communist League of America in all fields of work, plans have been carefully laid for the early issuance of the long-awaited theoretical review of the Left Opposition. This political review, which will be issued once a month, is to be called **The New International**.

An early appearance of this magazine is more imperative than ever today because of the complete degeneration and collapse of the theoretical views of official Communism, namely, Stalinism; and also because of the "teachings" of opportunist politics by the Right wing (Lovestone-Brandler, et al.) Only the Left Opposition during all these years has held to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. The press and literature of the Left Opposition throughout the world has carried out these basic teachings in the face of all obstacles. The monthly magazine, **The New International**, published by the Communist League of America has in mind the projection on an even higher scale than hitherto, of the study and discussion of all the fundamental problems facing the revolutionary Communist movement.

It is desirable and necessary to get out the first issue of **The New International** with the greatest speed. **The Militant** is to be transformed much further into a mass paper and the necessary theoretical material, lengthier articles and documents are to be published in the columns of **The New International**.

To our readers we wish to announce at this time the happy news that there is a mass of hitherto unpublished documents on important questions by Leon Trotsky, Christian G. Rakovsky and other prominent leaders of the Russian Opposition, and other leaders, as well as material by Lenin, Marx, Engels, and other teachers of scientific socialism. These are to appear in the columns of **The New International**, beginning with its first number. Well known writers of the movement will contribute regularly to **The New International**.

The projected **New International** will be a 32-page magazine, published monthly, to be sold at 15c per copy. The subscription price is \$1.50 per year for the United States, and \$1.75 for Canada and foreign countries. We are now endeavoring to raise a special fund to ensure an early appearance of **The New International**. We are determined to issue the magazine soon. We have no doubt that the readers of **The Militant** will want to and will give all possible support for **The New International**. Like all working-class periodicals, and especially so in the case of the Left Opposition, systematic financial support will be needed. We are counting upon immediate donations, today, for **The New International**, as well as pledges from supporters and sympathizers to be made monthly to **The New International**. More than subscriptions are needed to maintain a 32-page magazine of the kind projected by us.

Readers of **The Militant** will be appraised regularly on the progress toward **The New International** magazine.
Meanwhile subscriptions can now be sent in to **The New International**, together with donations.
Mail all donations and subscriptions for **The New International** to:
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The Leninist method of the united front and political fraternization with reformists exclude each other. Temporary practical fighting

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City State

For the Fourth International

I am informed that the I. L. P. has weakened considerably in the last period. Its membership, it is claimed, has fallen to four thousand. It is possible, even very probable, that this report is exaggerated. But the general tendency does not seem to me improbable. I will say more: the leadership of the I. L. P. bears a considerable share of responsibility for the weakening of the organization before which all the conditions opened up and—I want to hope—still open up a wide perspective.

If a worker barely awakened to political life seeks a mass organization, without distinguishing as yet either programs or tactics, he will naturally join the Labor Party. A worker disillusioned with reformism and exasperated by the betrayals of the political and trade union leaders has attempted more than once—and is partly attempting even now—to join the Communist party behind which he sees the image of the Soviet Union. But where is the worker who will join the I.L.P.? And exactly what political motives will impel him to take this step?

The Question of a Banner
It seems to me that the leaders of the I. L. P. have as yet not given themselves a clear answer to this cardinal question. Working masses are not interested in shadings and details but in great events, clear slogans, far-seen banners. How does the matter stand with the I. L. P. about a banner? Not well. I say this with great regret. But it must be said. To suppress or embellish the facts would be rendering a poor service to your party.

The I. L. P. broke away from the Labor Party. That was correct. If the I. L. P. wanted to become the revolutionary lever it was impossible that the handle of this lever be left in the hands of through-and-through opportunists and bourgeois careerists. Complete and unconditional political and organizational independence of a revolutionary party is the first prerequisite for its success.

But while breaking away from the Labor Party it was necessary immediately to turn towards it. Of course, not to make court to its leaders, or to pay them bitter-sweet compliments, or even to suppress their criminal acts,—no, only characterless centrists, who imagine themselves revolutionaries, seek a road to the masses by accommodating themselves to the leaders, by humoring them and re-assuring them at every step of their friendship and loyalty. A policy of this sort is a road that leads down to the swamp of opportunism. One must seek a way to the reformist masses not through the favor of their leaders but against the leaders, because opportunist leaders represent not the masses but merely their backwardness, their servile instincts, finally, their confusion. But the masses have other, progressive, revolutionary traits that strive to find their political expression. The to-morrow of the masses is most clearly counterposed to their yesterday in the struggle of programs, parties, slogans and leaders. Instinctively working masses are always "for unity". But besides class instinct there is also political wisdom. Harsh experience teaches the workers that a break with reformism is the prerequisite for real unity which is possible only in revolutionary action. Political experience teaches all the better and faster, the more firmly, logically, convincingly and clearly the revolutionary party interprets the experience to the masses.

The International Question
The causes for the enteblement of the I. L. P. are seen with special clarity and precision when the problem is approached from the international point of view which is of decisive importance in our epoch. Having broken with the Second International, the I. L. P. approached the Third but did not join it. The I. L. P. is simply hanging in the air. Meanwhile, every thinking worker wants to belong to such a party that occupies a definite international position: in the unbreakable union with co-thinkers of other countries he sees the confirmation of the correctness of his own position. True, the I. L. P. enters the so-called London Bureau. But the chief characteristic of this Bureau consists, unfortunately, in the absence of all position. It would suffice to say that the Norwegian Workers Party, which under the leadership of the treacherous opportunist Thammael goes over more openly along the social-democratic road, belongs to this Bureau. Tranmael and Co. need the temporary alliance with the I. L. P. and with other left organizations to pacify their own Left wing and gradually to prepare for themselves the way to the Second International. Now Tranmael is approaching the harbor.

On the other side, the Socialist Workers Party of Germany (SAP) and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (OSP) also belong to the London Bureau. Both these organizations stand on the point of view of the Fourth International. Their adherence to the Bureau re-

Letter to a Member of the Independent Labor Party

agreements with mass organizations even headed by the worst reformists are inevitable and obligatory for a revolutionary party. Lasting political alliances with reformist leaders without a definite program, without concrete duties, without the participation of the masses themselves in militant actions—are the worst type of opportunism. The Anglo-Russian committee remains for ever the classic example of such a demoralizing alliance.

One of the most important bridges to the masses are the trade unions where one can and must work without accommodating to the leaders in the least, on the contrary, struggling irreconcilably against them, openly, or under cover, depending on the circumstances. But besides the trade unions there are numberless ways of participating in the daily life of the masses—in the factory, on the street, in sport organizations, even in church and saloon, under the condition that the greatest heed be paid to what the masses feel and think, how they react to events, what they expect and what they hope for, how and why they let themselves be deceived by reformist leaders. Observing the masses constantly and most thoughtfully, the revolutionary party must not, however, adapt itself passively to them ("chvostism"); on the contrary, it must counterpose their judgment to their prejudices.

It would be particularly wrong to ignore or minimize the importance of parliamentary work. Of course, parliament cannot transform capitalism into socialism, or improve the conditions of the proletariat in rotting capitalist society. But revolutionary work in parliament and in connection with parliament, especially in England, can be of great help in training and educating the masses. One courageous exclamation of MacGovern refreshed and stirred the workers deceived or stupefied by the pious, hypocritical, flag speeches of Lansbury, Henderson and other gentlemen of "His Majesty's opposition" of funkies.

Unfortunately, having become an independent party, the I. L. P. turned not towards the trade unions and the Labor party, not to the masses altogether, but to the Communist party which had during a number of years conclusively proven its bureaucratic dullness and absolute inability to approach the class. If even the German catastrophe taught these people nothing, then the doors of the Comintern should bear the same inscription as the entrance to hell: "Lasciate Ogni speranza" ("Leave all hope behind").

The I. L. P. had not freed itself by far of all the defects of the Left wing of the Labor Party (theoretical vagueness, lack of a clear program, of revolutionary methods, of a strong organization) when it has tried to take upon itself the responsibility for the incurable failings of the Comintern. It is clear that in this situation new revolutionary workers will not join the I. L. P.; sooner will many of its old members leave it, having lost patience. If demi-reformist, petty bourgeois radicals and pacifists leave the I. L. P., we can only wish them a happy journey. But it is a different matter when discontented workers quit the party.

Events Will Confirm Our Slogans
"But the masses—so object some pseudo-realists—are afraid of a new International as of a new split." This is absolutely natural. The masses' fear of a new party and of a new International is a reflection (one of the reflections) of the great catastrophe, the terrible defeat, the disillusionment of the masses their bewilderment, their disbelief in themselves. How long these moods will last depends mainly on the course of events but to a certain extent also on us. We do not bear any responsibility for the course of events but we answer fully for our own attitude. The advantage of the advance-guard over the masses consists therein that we illuminate theoretically the march of events and foresee its future stages. The formless, passive longing for "unity" will receive blow after blow. The rottenness of the Second and Third Internationals will be revealed at each step. The events will confirm our prognosis and our slogans. But it is necessary that we ourselves be not afraid to unfurl our banner right now.

Lassalle used to say that a revolutionary needs the "physical power of thought". Lenin liked to repeat these words, although in general he did not like Lassalle much. The physical power of thought consists in analyzing the situation and perspectives to the very end, and having come to the necessary practical conclusions, to defend them with conviction, courage, intransigence, not fearing some one else's fears, not bowing before prejudices of the masses but basing on the objective course of development.

The I. L. P. of Great Britain must place itself right now under the banner of the Fourth International, or it will disappear from the scene without leaving a trace.

L. TROTSKY.
January 5, 1934

fects merely their yesterday. We, Communists-Internationalists (Left Opposition) have considered and consider it a great mistake of our allies, the SAP and the OSP, that until now they have not broken openly and decisively with Tranmael and with the London Bureau in general. We do not doubt, however, that the hour of such a rupture is near.

The London Bureau
What is the position of the I. L. P.? Entering the London Bureau it becomes by this very fact an ally of Tranmael, that is, essentially of the Second International. Through the SAP and the OSP it becomes a sort of an ally, or semi-ally of the Fourth International. This is not all—outside of the London Bureau the I. L. P. finds itself in a temporary alliance with the British Communist Party, that is with the Third International. Are not there somewhat too many Internationals for one party? Can the English worker make head or tail out of this confusion?

At the Paris conference the I. L. P. delegates said that they did not lose hope of attracting the Comintern to participation in the building of a broad revolutionary International. Nearly a half year elapsed since. Is it possible, that no answer came yet? How much time do the leading comrades of the I. L. P. need to understand that the Comintern is incapable of making one step forward, that it is completely ossified, that as a revolutionary party it is dead? If the I. L. P. wants to continue waiting for miracles, that is to live in hopes on the Comintern, or to remain outside of the main historic currents, its own members will inevitably lose confidence in it.

Swedish Communist Party.
The same fate awaits the Swedish Independent Communist Party. For fear of making an error it abstains from all decision, not realizing that precisely this is the greatest error. In general, there are not a few politicians who consider expectation and evasiveness as the highest wisdom. "Do not hurry with the Fourth International, they say, now is not the time". It is not a matter of bureaucratically "proclaiming" the new International but of uninterrupted struggle for its preparation and building. "Not to hurry" means in practice to lose time. "Perhaps the new International will not be needed, perhaps a miracle will happen, perhaps..." This policy which seems to some people very realistic is the worst type of utopianism, spun out of passivity, ignorance and belief in miracles. If the Swedish Independent Party will not shake off its pseudo-realistic superstitions, it will weaken, waste away and finally be torn between three Internationals.

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THE MILITANT
Entered as a second class mail matter November 23, 1923, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swaback
Vol. VII, No. 3 (Whole No. 27)
SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1934
Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year Foreign \$1.50 2 cents per copy

Hilly-Billy Hitlerites

Red Baiting and Jew Baiting

(Ed. Note—This is the second of a series of articles devoted to a study and exposure of the budding Fascist movement known as the Silver Shirts of America.)

It was a popular impression before the Nazis hoisted themselves into the saddle of power that Adolph Hitler was a clown and his supporters a bunch of "nuts". It was said that he had no program, that the storm-troops were riff-raff, bitter at the world and eager for blood and revenge. There was more than a grain of truth in this belief. Yet there was method in Hitler's madness—and a terrible appeal. Witness the million-headed Fascist monster that rules Germany today.

The secret of Hitler's success with his followers, in part, rested in his ability to invoke real or imaginary foes who were blamed for the grief and worries of society, to promise their heads to crazed, embittered people. Threat and condemnation—this is the Fascist credo. The positive program is a mystery or at best vague promises.

Pelley's Silver Shirts are founded upon a striking emulation of their German prototypes. On one of the pages of their rag, Liberation, (this is a peculiar way of saying, slavery) all of the so-called panaceas "for saving America" are derided—taboo. These include the lightening of the farmers' taxes, the abolition of the presidential electoral college, the repeal of prohibition, the elimination of usury, government ownership of public utilities and... The abolition of the system of production for profit! No! These are only delusions, says the Liberation scribbler, "And those who do not think deeply are led into the pathways of delusive Socialism, if they belong to the 'intellectuals', and into the clutches of anarchistic Communism if they belong to the so-called proletariat."

Well, then, asks the sane worker, what is wrong with the system we live in?

The answer, recounted below, is quite worthy of the lowliest intellect in Mattawan:

"A foreign virus has been instilled into the body of the nation. Within the flesh of the citizenry crawls the viper of materialism. . . . It is no peculiar fact that the Jews and Jewishness are noted for materialism. Nor is it strange that this gigantic fact should resolve itself into national factors with the Jews at the root and at the bottom of every major corruption and debauchery of our Christian nation and Constitutional form of government!"

In Germany the Jews were accused of having sold the nation's birthright to the Allies. In America the "Depression . . . was the result of a vast JEWISH banker's conspiracy." How true to type! The ostensible cause, claimed by the German Hitlerites, for the sweeping ruin of the middle strata of the population was the treaty of Versailles perpetrated by the Jews, and the "foreign yoke" maintained by the Jews. In the United States, according to the Hilly-Billy Hitlerites, 1929 was the Jewish De-luge for the "Gentile" petty bourgeoisie, which is perpetuated by the "Washington Jewish Oligarchy." This is the ancient scape-goat trotted out and spat upon in order to detract attention from the real burning issue—capitalism.

Bluntly stated, here is what the Jew-scalping "Chief" considers the insidious plan of the "trauducers (Jews) of this Christian form of government."

The Jewish Plot a la Pelley "We need more Hebrews in the United States to perfect our plans and strategies for the utter despotism of Protocollism over your detested free institutions. So whether you like it or not we are going to bring them in. We will distribute them far and wide over your American nation. We shall see that they are set up as shopkeepers in cities and towns all over the coun-

try, entering into competition with your Gentile shopkeepers who are on the verge of bankruptcy through what we have done to your economic and financial system already, plus our pet NRA scheme for making it costlier for you to do business at all. We will also use them, as they demonstrate individual smartness, to worm and weasel into all your fraternal and social organizations and keep bulldog watch over their activities, to see that nothing starts within them for checkmating our international racial program."

The battle cry for the doomed middle class: Exterminate the Jews and there will be more jobs, professions and business for You!

Great pains are taken to prove that the government is dominated by Jews, that the Federal Reserve and the Treasury is under the thumb of the Judan swarm! Notice all the variety of Jews on the inside track in Washington: "It has gotten to the point that Jews and husbands of Jews, semi-Jews and wives of Jews, Gentile fronts for Jews, statistical Jews, financial Jews, analytical Jews, budget Jews, brain-trust Jews, politics Jews, diplomatic Jews, immigration Jews, Congressional Jews, patronage Jews,

mortgage Jews, assessor Jews, foreign conference Jews, war debt Jews, radio Jews, motion picture Jews, sugar Jews, clothing Jews, packing industry Jews, railroad Jews, publicity Jews, Cuban Jews, League of Nations Jews, Colonel-House-brand of Jews, Barney-Baruch Gentile Jews, Washington editor Jews, government clerk Jews, are swarming all over the place. . . ."

Hosannas are sung for Hitler's persecution of Jews and Communists; epithets are heaped on those who protest the savage deeds in Berlin. . . . This story is drummed on the ears of the ignorant, bigoted Silver Shirt,—whose brain action must become paralyzed after reading several copies of Liberation—until he thinks that his salvation on heaven and earth, materialistically and spiritually, rests with Pelley's anti-Semitism.

"The issue is sharp—how much longer are we going to permit Baruchism (Bernard M. Baruch, the agent of Russian Communism in America according to the feverish brain of the "Chief") to direct the foreign policy of these Christian and Gentile United States of America? Must we wait for the Red

flag to fly over the White House, and hundreds of our people to be shot down by the American-Jewish Chekka in the streets of Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, before we will awaken and arise to a man, smash Jewish Communism in this land of Patrick Henry as Mussolini smashed it in Italy, as Hitler smashed it in Germany?"

As on the European continent, and wherever Fascism has reared its ugly head, it likewise reveals its raison d'être—anti-working class, destroy the revolutionary and labor movement to perpetuate the existence of the cadaver, capitalism. It is highly significant that in all the fuming and raging about Jewish bankers, moneylenders, the writer has not found a single word in the dozens of Silver Shirt magazines he has labored through, aimed at the industrialists, the factory owners, the exploiters, the slave-drivers in the mine and the mill. Naturally, the banker (for whom we have no sympathy whatsoever, and who will be eliminated not by Pelley but by the Communist movement), and especially the Jewish banker is a good mark for the chief. He is thereby committed to nothing definite. He can wriggle out any time his masters clamp down, whining "I mean the Jewish bankers, not a good Gentile firm like J. P. Morgan but his competitors Kuhn, Loeb and Co."

The Choicest Invective Next to the Jews the choicest invective is saved for Soviet Russia,—murderers, cut-throats, thieves, rapists, and various combinations of these and other bouquets. . . . Russian Communism, says Pelley, finances American Communism through the Armory and Barney Baruch, die-hard conservative banker, was and is the liaison officer through whom Communism is infiltrated into the United States. The "Chief" gets purple in the face shouting against the Recognition agreement with Russia which he claims in his delirium has tortured and murdered over 1,670,000 persons. "The Chief" does not think that Communism in this country is or would be so much of a menace to civilization (read: capitalism) except that it is directly aided by Roosevelt's closest advisors; and many is the impression given in the official organ that Roosevelt himself might be a good-standing member of the Politbureau of the Russian Communist Party. . . .

Pelley is 100% anti-Soviet. So much so that he denounces his fellow jingo, William Randolph Hearst, for raising a hue and cry about the Japanese Yellow Peril. The Silver Shirt declares that Japan has been fighting the battle of civilization—against Sovietism—when she plundered Northern China and bombarded Shanghai. A plan is recounted whereby "A ring of steel was to be drawn about Jewish-Soviet Russia, and that ring was to be tightened until the Murder-bund under Stalin was to be strangled from existence. On the East was Japan, on the West was Poland, Germany, and Czechoslovakia — which latter nation meant, of course, France.

"Japan was to commence the fight for the preservation of constitutional civilization and the continued reign of orderly governments in Manchuria. Hitler was to be lifted into power on the West, and out of this "lifting" was to grow a formidable antagonism to Communism throughout Continental Europe. Certain equally significant and vital roles, all delineated at the time were to be played by England and Italy." (Liberation, December, 9, 1933). Pelley has all he can do in trying to conceal his chagrin because the brigands assault on the Worker's Fatherland has not yet commenced. And how he rages against the Recognition because it might help Soviet Russia. . . .

Let us conclude on the same note we began this installment. The universal features of Fascism apply even to these United States. The middle class is duped, drugged and deceived but like all addicts it does not realize the damage until morning after. . . .

—GEO. CLARKE.

Now brother Firemen and Brakemen do you realize what the above laws mean? Do you realize that you can only express yourselves concerning your organization with the permission of your President, Robertson or Whitney, as the case may be? Read the law carefully in your own constitution. Study it, and as you do, ask yourself this question: Who benefits by this law and what can be its aim and purpose?

In defense of these gag-rules the ordinary brotherhood official will try to make us believe that such laws are necessary to protect the membership against their enemies from within the organization. If we were crooks and enemies of the organized railroad workers we would much prefer to operate amongst a gagged membership than in one which enjoyed free and open expression, and we think the ordinary crook will agree with us on this. A company stool pigeon or any other agent of the employer working inside of a labor union who wants to fool and betray the workers in order to benefit himself is certainly protected by such laws as we have quoted above, where the membership can only speak with permission of one man, the President.

There are a growing number of railroad workers who feel that the worst enemies of the workers inside the unions are the high salaried craft officials who infest the railroad unions in swarms. And these gaglaws have been purposely designed to protect this element from being exposed by the progressive minority in the unions. So you see, brother rails, if the real offenders against your interests in the union are in office, then you are out of luck with such laws in your constitution.

The sole object of all gaglaws, like the ones we have quoted above, is to protect the few who want to profit at the expense of the many. The same is true in the railroad brotherhoods. These gag-rules protect all these unnecessary and useless officials in the railroad unions and prevent the intelligent minority from pointing out to the rank and file how foolish and expensive it is for the railroad workers to be divided into twenty-one separate labor unions. The gag-laws, obligations, secret work, and the censored magazines prevent the progressive minority from explaining to the workers that this divided arrangement is highly detrimental to us but very beneficial to the brotherhood officials and the railroad companies.

As a matter of fact, these gag-laws cost the railroad unions millions of dollars annually in loss of wages and working conditions because of improper organization to get better ones, to say nothing about the huge sums paid out every year in outrageous salaries to a lot of useless and unnecessary officials. It was just such laws as these which enabled the B. of L. E. officials to nearly ruin that organization without being exposed nor expelled. It was only the members, who had sufficient courage and understanding to expose the officials, who suffered expulsion by these laws.

Brother workers, put up an organized campaign both inside and outside of your meetings to get these vicious gaglaws repealed at your next convention. Pass these articles in the Militant around to the railroad workers. Discuss these things wherever you can and thereby help to relegate all gag-laws and their beneficiaries to the political junk heap.

—A. E.

The Railroad Brotherhoods Constitutions Reek with Gaglaws

VI.

The Brotherhood Constitutions Reek With Gaglaws

As a general rule when we find gag-laws printed in the constitution of a labor organization it indicates that its leadership is reactionary, incompetent, and overpaid. In other words, the leadership has become bureaucratic. It also shows that the interest of the officials and the interest of the membership is not the same. Something divides them. If this were not the case why would it be necessary for the leaders to smuggle laws into the constitution to stifle the expression of the members?

In order to show the ordinary member of the railroad brotherhoods what kind of laws he will find in his constitution, we will here cite two concrete examples taken from the current constitutions of the two leading crafts among the 21 Railroad Unions.

On page 337 of the Locomotive Firemen's Constitution (B. of L. E. & E.) we find the following provision in Section 10:

"The printing and distribution of circulars of a general character shall be restricted to the Grand Lodge, provided that subordinate lodges, or officers of legislative boards or general grievance committees, who desire to send out circular letters relative to co-operative enterprises, political activities, or any other matters of interest to the membership, may do so after first securing the approval of the International President or his representative."

On page 112 of the Railroad Trainmen's Constitution (B. of R. T.) Section 154 reads as follows: "Any circular emanating from this lodge, or any member thereof, which is intended for general circulation among the members of the Brotherhood, shall require the approval of the President of the Brotherhood before being put into circulation. Provided, this section shall not be construed to interfere with the right of subordinate lodges, after proper lodge action, to issue calls for union meetings for the general welfare of the Brotherhood. Any member violating this section, shall upon conviction thereof, be expelled."

The Locomotive Engineers (B. of L. E.) have a similar gaglaw in section 85, page 81, of their Constitution. Practically all of the other Rail Unions have similar provisions designed to muzzle the membership.

See the Play that Has Stirred Thousands "PEACE ON EARTH" AT THE MILITANT BENEFIT SHOWING

HERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL OUR FRIENDS AND SYMPATHIZERS TO WITNESS ONE OF THE SEASON'S BEST PLAYS AND AT THE SAME TIME HELP THE ONLY MARXIST PAPER IN THE COUNTRY

— THE MILITANT

Civic Repertory Theatre, 14th St. & 6th Ave.

THURSDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 8, 1934, at 8:45 P. M.

Tickets at 30c, 45c, 60c, 75c, \$1.00 are available at 126 E. 16th St.

New York City or 154 Watkins St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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ed the meeting to order, and how the secretary of the union, B. J. Field, concisely and briefly reported to the men on the situation and the inevitable course ahead, nor will there be a word regarding J. P. Cannon's address to the workers. These are items of no interest to the editors.

There is no "news interest" to them in the minor detail such as the inability of worker Gilles to finish his few words of comradely greeting to his fellow workers for their genuine working class action that evening. Worker Gilles choked—not because he is not used to speaking, not because he was overcome with emotion, but because there are no words that are suitable to express that which can be expressed only in actions. And the behavior of worker Gilles and his fellows was and will be a million times more eloquent than any speeches, or articles. One had only to be present at this meeting to understand immediately that this was a body of organized workers part and parcel of the larger army of thousands that is swinging and will swing into a solid front against the bosses in the industry.

The workers have their organization. It speaks and acts only with them and for them. It is prepared. The workers in the hotel and restaurant industry will write another page into the history of working class struggle under the banner of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union—a page which no worker will be ashamed of.

THE MAGAZINES

The January issue of The American Mercury is now on sale on newsstands and in bookstores. Under the editorship of Henry Hazlitt the "magazine with the arsenal green covers" as Upton Sinclair dubbed it, is taking on a more serious character.

In the January issue this is achieved principally by two articles: one by Trotsky—How Long Can Hitler Stay?; and John Strachey's—Against An American Third Party. Trotsky's article is a polemic against the Stalinist thesis that "the Fascists are Caliphs for an hour" as the official organ of the Comintern put it. Basing himself on a Marxist analysis of the class forces at work in the present situation in Germany, Trotsky both demonstrates the falsity of the Stalinist estimation and gives a prognosis of the defeat of the Nazi monster.

Strachey's article is an attempt to apply the lessons of the political history of the British labor movement to the United States. His strong points are his strictures of the failure of the British Labor Party to advance the interests of the workers. The forces which made for this outcome, Strachey admonishes, deserve close study by "those Americans who are today supporting the attempt to set up a gradualist third party".

In conclusion he poses the question of whether "it is not just possible that by far the best feature of the present American situation, from the point of view of the workers, is precisely that there exists no social-democratic third party in America. . . ." "Is it not possible for the American masses to leap over a whole historical phase,

For the New Party

Open Letter to the A.W.P.

(Continued from page 1)

of the program of the new party. We consider it futile, and even harmful, to proceed with the formation of a new party without having first laid down the solid foundation of a revolutionary Marxian program. It is only on the basis of a program, and the activities of the party which flow from it, that the creation of a new party distinct from the existing ones can be justified in the eyes of the working class. In our declaration, printed in the Militant of September 30, 1933, we outlined our conception of the programmatic basis of the new party.

On this score, we are obliged to state that your position is not entirely clear to us. Without any intention of anticipating in this communication the imperatively necessary preliminary and comradely discussions on this matter which we propose, we cannot, nevertheless, refrain from declaring that in many respects your position on the program for the new party appears to us to be marked by an ambiguity which can only weaken the new party before it is fairly launched. However, it is precisely because we believe that there is still an adequate opportunity to submit such questions to an objective discussion, in which neither side attempts mechanically and arbitrarily to impose its standpoint upon the other side, that we are addressing our proposals to your Committee.

Assembled and united on a sound and lasting foundation, the various revolutionary groups in this country which aim at forming a new party, would constitute a serious and substantial force. Unnecessary divided and apart from one another, their efforts might prove detrimental to the movement for a new party. We need hardly emphasize to you how urgent is the need for such a party in the ranks of the American working class, how valuable a factor is time and how little we can afford to lose any. In view, therefore, of all that has been stated above, we present for your consideration the following proposals:

1. To select a committee from your organization to meet a similar body from our ranks for a preliminary discussion of our relations, for the purpose of determining the extent to which joint action for the formation of the new party is possible.

2. As a next step, to make those arrangements which are considered necessary for the broadest and most democratic discussion by the membership of both organizations of their respective views. As an indication of what we have in mind, we would mention at this point the exchange of representatives of the membership meetings of the two bodies; the convening of joint membership discussion meetings; the publication of an internal bulletin for which we are jointly responsible and in which discussion articles on programmatic and practical problems of the proposed party may be published; etc., etc.

3. To invite other groups having a similar objective to participate in these arrangements and discussions.

4. In order that this period shall not be confined merely to discussions to the detriment of the practical work which must be carried on at all times in the class struggle, we propose that immediately, without waiting until complete agreement is reached on every disputable point, the closest collaboration should be established between the two organizations in those fields in which a sufficiently common view already exists. We have in mind specifically the great possibilities for joint work of the two organizations in (a) work in the trade unions; (b) the struggle against anti-labor persecutions, the manifestations of Fascism which are already visible in this country, and for the defense of class war victims; (c) work among the unemployed millions. Cooperation in these fields would not only be fruitful in itself, but would actually facilitate the discussion on undecided questions of program.

While we consider that these proposals are necessary preliminary steps in the work of forming a new revolutionary party in this country on a firm and healthy foundation, we are of course prepared to consider any alternative or supplementary proposals which your Committee may find it appropriate to present to us. We are animated in our views and our actions by a desire to consolidate the efforts of all those who are striving in a common direction.

Fraternally yours,
National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition)
ARNE SWABECK, Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

(Winter Term)

The International Workers School is about to enter its third year of Marxist education for the revolutionary workers of New York City. It has issued its announcement of courses for the Winter of 1934 which extends from January 29th to April 2nd. The following classes are listed:

- 1. FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM Martin Abern (Based on the "Communist Manifesto") Wednesdays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning January 31st.
- 2. THE YOUTH MOVEMENT Joseph Carter Mondays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m. — Beginning January 29th.
- 3. SURVEY OF AMERICAN TRADE UNION STRATEGY AND TACTICS Arne Swabek Wednesdays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning January 31st.
- 4. ELEMENTARY ENGLISH FOR FOREIGN SPEAKING WORKERS S. Blake Fridays—8 p. m. to 9:30 p. m.—Beginning February 2nd
- 5. THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK PARTY J. Wright Fridays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning February 2nd.

REGISTRATION: The registration fee for each course is \$1.50. Arrangements can be made for payments at convenient intervals. Individual sessions are 20 cents each. Those workers wishing to register for one or more courses can do so either by mail or by coming to the office of the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C. The office is open for the registering of prospective students all day long and every evening. Registrants can secure complete outlines for the courses at ten cents per copy.

gram. These are, as you know, those who, in speaking for a new party, have in mind one which seeks to reconcile, or to oscillate between, petty bourgeois socialism, on the one side, and Marxism on the other, that is, social democracy and Communism. Far from dignifying such a party with the name "revolutionary", we would consider it an elementary duty to fight against it in the interests of strengthening a truly revolutionary, or Marxian party. If by a revolutionary party you have in mind a conception that harmonizes with ours, we see absolutely no reason why we should not join hands for the purpose of forming it. Quite the contrary, there is every reason why our efforts in this direction, as well as those of any other group holding similar views, should be exerted in common.

Without in the least holding any narrow prejudices which would result in creating an abortive sect divorced from the life of the masses and their daily struggles and interests, instead of a vigorous, active militant party of the vanguard which has no interests separate and apart from those of the working class as a whole, we nevertheless lay the greatest stress on the question

of the program of the new party. We consider it futile, and even harmful, to proceed with the formation of a new party without having first laid down the solid foundation of a revolutionary Marxian program. It is only on the basis of a program, and the activities of the party which flow from it, that the creation of a new party distinct from the existing ones can be justified in the eyes of the working class. In our declaration, printed in the Militant of September 30, 1933, we outlined our conception of the programmatic basis of the new party.

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Fraternally yours,
National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition)
ARNE SWABECK, Secretary.

the phase of that nascent thing, social-democratic reformism, and to pass direct from the domination of capitalist ideas to the clear-sighted revolutionary struggle for Communism!"

—MAG.

Thousands Vote General Strike in N. Y. Hotels and Restaurants

(Continued from page 1) on strike 600 strong on Tuesday night as a protest against the discharge of Andre Fournigalt, an active union man in that haughtiest of the country's first class hostels. The men of the Waldorf Astoria and their fellow union members considered the firing of Fournigalt as a demonstration of hostility on the part of Mr. Boomer, president of the powerful Waldorf Astoria Corporation and of the Hotel Owner's Association against the union's attempt to organize their employees.

A tremendous ovation greeted the Waldorf strikers as they entered the hall and took their places in the gallery.

Following Field, Smith, of the Waldorf delegation, was introduced among cheers of enthusiasm that turned the meeting into a striking

demonstration of solidarity for several minutes. Delegate Smith reported on the strike and asked the union men to make it unanimous if the bosses do not comply by Friday.

The chairman introduced Jas. P. Cannon as the next speaker. Comrade Cannon stressed the seriousness of the step to be taken, pointed out the spirit of fighting determination that inspired the resolution and told the meeting that the eyes of all labor in America were directed upon them, urging the men to carry the resolution and follow the example of the Waldorf vanguard with a militant struggle till victory. Sweeping bursts of applause interrupted his speech from time to time as he drove home the slogans for the strike.

Garcia, one of the Waldorf men who organized and led the strike

at that establishment, spoke in French and was also given a rousing reception.

General Strike Acclaimed

Ben Gitlow, who spoke next, dwelled on the proposed strike as a means of getting action from the NRA administration. It was by action and organization, he said, that the union had brought the NRA to the point of recognizing the Amalgamated union as the legitimate representative of the Casino de Patee workers who had gone out on strike. This decision had been made known only that afternoon. An organized general strike was the only means of the workers in the whole industry taking advantage of section 7a of the National Recovery Act, he continued. There are two kinds of recovery, comrade Gitlow exclaimed. One, "recovery" of profits for the bosses who throw

the vast majority of the people into constant misery. The other, "recovery" by the workers of the right to live like human beings. The general strike would be a great step in the direction of getting the latter kind of "recovery". Applause and cheers greeted the concluding remarks of the speaker.

The chairman then proceeded to vote. At the call for a show of hands in favor of the resolution, all hands in the hall went up as one. Not a single hand was raised in opposition to the resolution. Secretary Fields then told the assemblage that this demonstration of unanimity was already in itself a very heartening stride towards victory and the meeting was adjourned.

FURTHER STRIKE NEWS

A steady flow of new applicants

for membership poured into union headquarters to sign up, as strike news got abroad, from early this morning till late at night.

1200 men, working at night shifts in their hotels and restaurants, met in shop meetings all afternoon, and declared for strike action before the final vote.

Leaders of the Waldorf strike flatly denied the claims of Oscar, maitre d'hotel at the Waldorf Astoria, and of Mr. Boomer, made in interviews with newspapermen, that some of the workers had declined to join the strike. All regular employees of the hotel, including the night watch, walked out to a man, they declared.

The Geneva Club and the Vatel Club, fraternal organizations of

hotel and restaurant workers, today displayed signs indicating support of the Waldorf strike. Strikers stated that this action, coming surprisingly from Executive Boards which had helped the bosses in their aim to set up the company union "Guild", was the result of pressure from the outraged membership. A stormy meeting at the Vatel Club this afternoon, in which the rank and file forced through an open session, compelled a vote in support of the Waldorf strikers and for an early meeting to consider withdrawal from the "Guild".

The leaders of the A. F. of L. hotel and restaurant union, who have been vociferous in their proclamations of disassociation from the Amalgamated and the general strike, received a heavy blow against their scabbing activities at the

Casino de Patee, in which they have installed strike-breakers, by a decision from the NRA local labor board. The Labor Board has recognized the Amalgamated as the only representative of the Casino de Patee workers.

Among the hundreds who signed with Amalgamated today, was the complete crew of the aristocratic Marlborough Club at Madison Avenue and 63rd Street.

Strike meetings to arrange for picketing and map out local actions will be held in halls designated by the Executive Board in all parts of the city on Friday night. The exact location of the halls will be given in leaflets to be put out by the union Friday morning. Watch for the strike leaflets.

Notes Of A Journalist

"NOT ONLY, BUT ALSO..."

In 1920, in order to save the transportation system from collapse, the party Congress, upon Trotsky's recommendation, instituted the so-called political-sections over the railroads, that is, specially picked and militarized party organs, placed over the transport trade unions and the local party organizations. This emergency measure produced results: the transportation was improved. But the workers took a hostile attitude to these political-sections which infringed upon the trade union democracy. At the beginning of 1921, these political-sections were removed and the normal order restored.

Today the political-sections once again rule over transportation, and this time with unrestricted powers. In a public report, the head of the political directorate, Zimin, was not at all optimistic in describing the situation in the railroads, and in particular the results that have been achieved by restoring the political-sections. Everywhere Zimin uncovers the activities of the Whites, enemies and saboteurs; and after each exposure, he never fails to point out that "all this took place under the very eyes of Communists."

The reporter does not offer any explanations for this unconcern on the part of Communists. As Zimin puts it, the administrative reforms introduced by the political-sections meet with resistance at every step. "It must be stressed—says he—that sabotage is current not only among the links below but also within the directing apparatus of the roads and the N. K. P. S." In this casually tossed off phrase there is impeccably expressed the soul of the present Soviet regime. During the initial years after the Overturn, the havens of sabotage were the bureaux, departments and administrative organs and staffs of all sorts that were manned by the old specialists. The struggle against sabotage was led by means of control from below, through the rank and file workers, that is. Today this inter-relationship has been stood on its head: What incenses Zimin is that sabotage takes place not only amid the workers—this, so to speak, is in the nature of things—but also in the highest staffs whose mission it is to preserve the regime. Without desiring to do so, the political dictator of transportation has defined faultlessly the political bases of the entire Stalinist dictatorship.

THE DRIVE FOR QUALITY

The editors of the Pravda explain nothing, criticize nothing, but sit on a high horse. They "call to attention", "place in full view", and "demand immediate explanations". Since the question relating to the quality of products is on the order of the day (or, to put it more precisely, has been for a number of years), the Pravda, in a tone that brooks no contradiction, issues regulations how to improve steel and calico and transportation.

But what about the quality of the Pravda itself? Evidently there is no one around to "call to attention" and "place in full view". In the meantime, the quality of this newspaper, which has at its disposal exceptional resources and possibilities, is extremely low. It is printed on paper of the worst sort; from among the pile of newspapers from the entire world, the Pravda stands out by its ash color and porous tissue. The print is dreadful, the typography ferocious. But worst of all is the newspaper itself as a newspaper. Instead of news—an incessant din. Instead of political articles—administrative decrees. Every column seeps with fulsome fawning to the "genial leader", the "greatest theoretician" and so forth. And all this is written in the style of a frustrated functionary who has been put in charge of "ideology" because he is good for nothing else.

THE CLASS ENEMY

Toward the end of October, the engineers, technologists and workers of the mine, Butovka, in the Don region, made public the successes they had achieved, in a letter addressed to Stalin. The first

victory—they wrote—did not come easily; the agents of the class enemy, disguised in a miner's blouse, offered us rabid opposition, and in the darkness of the mines they worked their dark deeds, trying to put the machines out of order, to flood the shaft, and to obstruct the veins.

"The class enemy disguised in a miner's blouse" is none other than the dissatisfied worker. The extract from the letter shows with tragic eloquence that here the matter touches not isolated and demoralized elements but a mass struggle, a civil war in the mines. If the victory over sabotage did not come easily, it was because the victors did not have mass support. The authors of the letter cherish no illusions as to how stable the "victory" is under such conditions. "We are not letting matters rest here—they write—and we cannot let them rest. We know that the class enemy and the saboteurs have not been crushed. They have gone into hiding in order to bide opportune time to execute their destructive work."

Despite the Byzantine terminology that they are compelled to use, the authors of the letter point out clearly how and why the worker is turned into a class enemy. Enumerating the victories, the letter admits casually that "in the sphere of improving the living and cultural conditions... we still continue to lag behind." What is hidden behind these words? We may gather a partial answer from their inventory of successes and victories: "Individual gardening has been widely extended in our mine... Our cadres are fully assured of vegetables for the entire winter." This last phrase is printed in bold type in the newspaper, to stress the extent of the victory. Individual gardens imply that after a hard day's labor, the worker must dig a way at a little plot of land in the manner of a Chinese peasant; as a consequence of this double labor, the working cadres, the mining aristocracy, that is, are assured of vegetables for the entire winter.

Such is really even when it is seen through the prism of a laudatory official dispatches!

CLEANSING THE PARTY

A good crop in the Ukraine was needed, and Roosevelt had to recognize the Soviet government, before the Stalinist bureaucracy would graciously consent to call a party Congress, after an interval of three and a half years. The party Congress is intended not to determine the policies to be pursued under the difficult conditions but to sing hosannas to the leaders upon these episodic successes.

But even given the conditions that we mentioned above, a preparatory cleansing of the party was felt needed prior to the calling of the Congress. The cleansing took place under various criteria. No doubt, a certain number of rascals and agents of the class enemy were cleaned out. Under the present regime, it is impossible to judge the percentage that has remained in the party. But the chief aim of the *chistka* was to terrorize the party prior to the Congress. Of course, the party is sufficiently cowed even without this. But who can tell? Might not the dissatisfaction brewing and collecting in the masses break out into the open in the form of a discussion before the Congress... Therefore, to prepare for the Congress not a discussion was in order, but a cleansing. This time, everybody was to be kicked out who had ever evinced the slightest inclination toward party discussion.

One needs at least three pairs of spectacles to judge the course of the *chistka* by the Pravda. These people have become so attuned to lying that they cannot halt their proclivities even in those instances where a minute pinch of truth would rebound to their advantage. But, in any case, one thing is clear: "Trotskyism" won't let the bureaucracy rest in peace. "Trotskyism" is no longer referred to as crushed, buried and so forth; on the contrary, the tendency is rather to exaggerate its forces.

Workers Oppose Mendieta Regime

Through all the articles and notices on the *chistka* there runs the red thread of "Trotskyism", and there is a double guise; on the one hand, enrolled as "Trotskyites" are those bureaucrats who have been most compromised and whose hides can no longer be saved; and on the other hand, all criticism of bureaucratism in general falls under the category of "Trotskyism". The two symptoms mutually exclude each other. But the Stalinist apparatus can dispense with neither of them; it is necessary that the guilt for the crimes of the Stalinists who are most hated by the populace be loaded upon Trotskyism; but, on the other hand, it is equally necessary to remind those who have a tendency to reflect and to be critical and who are courageous that if they let themselves be carried away, they will be dealt with as *beits* Trotskyites.

The Pravda in summing up the results of the cleansing bewails the obstacles that the apparatus has to meet with on the part of the enemies of the party. "It is characteristic—writes the paper—that in all these activities a very active role is played by those Trotskyites who did not disarm. They stream to the *chistkas* from different places and in groups, and they are ready to crawl out of their skins in order to whitewash their cronies, saving them for the future work. Commonly, they resort to masked methods, instead of coming out openly they sow their seeds of counter-revolution in the guise of asking questions, interjecting remarks, and offering explanations and so forth."

These words ring with the immitable indignation of a frightened bureaucracy: the enemy sows the "seeds of counter-revolution" by means of ordinary questions, remarks and explanations. How tense must be—how saturated with lies, that is—the inter-relationships between the workers and the *Sirs* "Cleansers" if it is necessary so viciously to bound ordinary questions, the moment that they threaten to unveil the mechanics of the leadership!

—ALPHA.

Gems From Stalin

Along with greetings to the tenth anniversary number of the *Daily Worker* from the Metropolitan News Co., and a big "ad" by the Modern Investment and Loan Corporation calling on workers to yield up their money to these leeches, the enterprising editors of "America's Only Working Class Daily Newspaper" include the speech Stalin made at the Congress of Soviets, five days after Lenin died. It is called The Heritage of Lenin.

To really appreciate the political period and how it compares with his line today one should read the whole of the original. Space prevents us from reprinting it. We beg the indulgence of our readers if, from the oyster, we choose only the rarest pearls.

"Lenin told us more than once that the respite we have gained from the capitalist strangle is a short one." Trotskyist contraband! "Lenin never regarded the republic of Soviets as an end in itself",—say, like building Socialism in one country— "He always regarded it as a necessary link for strengthening the revolutionary movements in the lands of the West and the East, as a necessary link for facilitating the victory of the toilers, of the whole world, over capital. Lenin knew that only (!) such an interpretation is the correct one, not only from the international point of view, but also from the point of view of preserving the republic of Soviets itself." Hear! Hear! Picture of a man polemizing against his own future position!

"In departing from us comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of consolidating and expanding the Union of Republics. We vow to you, comrade Lenin, that we will also carry out this bequest of yours with honor."

"In departing from us comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of remaining loyal to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and expand the union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International."

If one wonders why the astute editors of the *Daily* printed this speech without expurgation or correction it must be because in the school of Stalinism it is possible to "correct" the "mistakes" of Lenin, but the best disciple, like the pope, is infallible.

Workers Oppose Mendieta Regime

On January 15 Grau resigned as provisional president of Cuba. He was succeeded by Hevia, formerly one of the representatives of the Nationalist party in the Revolutionary Junta in Miami, and secretary of agriculture in the Grau cabinet. Hevia occupied the seat of power for only thirty hours. He resigned and was succeeded by Colonel Carlos Mendieta, who is the present incumbent of the presidential office.

Mendieta is the leader of the Nationalist Party which does not differ essentially from the Liberal Party of Machado. Inasmuch as Mendieta was selected by a conference of representatives of all the bourgeois and revolutionary petty bourgeois factions, in which the hand of Caffery can be seen, the new regime constitutes a development of the Cuban situation, to the right. As first announced Mendieta's cabinet—four members of the Nationalist Party, two of Menocal's party, outrightly reactionary, three members of the ABC and two without party affiliations—has the same rightist stamp.

Workers Oppose Mendieta

The workers are reported to be opposed to Mendieta and his cabinet, but there is no serious struggle against him yet. Guiteras, Grau's Secretary of the Interior, who evidently had presidential ambitions attempted to stay the swing to the right and elevate himself to power. He threatened a general strike and has actually succeeded in calling out the Railway Workers Brotherhood, affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labor, a creature of the American Federation of Labor.

Washington has already granted recognition to Mendieta. Apparently it is Roosevelt's purpose to strengthen Mendieta, as he hoped to strengthen De Cespedes. But, as yet, there is no indication that Mendieta will be more successful than Grau in dealing with the extremely delicate and complicated problems of Cuban politics and economy.

In trying to balance himself on the tight-rope of compromise between American imperialism and the Cuban proletariat Grau fell into the abyss. All his complicated maneuvers did not advance the solution of the problems of Cuban society an inch. Mendieta is setting out to accomplish what the petty bourgeoisie could not do. In our opinion he will be as little successful. Although he has made no announcement of his government's program his task is dictated to him by the situation and his imperialist masters. It is to harvest the crop.

Cuban Sugar Problem

That is now the vital question for the American imperialists and their Cuban bourgeois subalterns. Cuba is equipped to raise and grind between five and six million tons of sugar a year. In 1924-25 the crop was five and a half million tons; in 1926 it was five and a fifth million tons and more than four million were exported. Under the Chadbourne restriction plan the crop for 1932-33 was set at two million tons with only one half destined for export. In these figures is contained the story of the frightful misery of the Cuban masses.

Cuban sugar has to compete in the United States, its chief export market, with cane sugar from Porto Rico, the Philippines, and with beet sugar from the Western states. Quotas are assigned to each external source of supply. Conferences to establish the quotas between the beet growers of the Western states

Deadline For Harvest

The second or third week in January is the deadline for beginning the harvest if the cane is to be cut and ground in time. Delay in getting the harvest under way may mean an even smaller quota for Cuba than the 1932-33 figure with corresponding increases in the quotas of Cuba's competitors. Failure to harvest the crop will mean no taxes for the government; an empty treasury, inability to pay the principal and interest on loans, still more drastic cuts in the public services, difficulty with the army over wages, etc. etc.

Gräu's failure to make even a beginning in establishing conditions for a harvest profitable to the American and Cuban owners explains why he made his exit at this time. It is Mendieta's assigned task to drive the workers off the plantations they have seized, and recover for the capitalists the ground they have lost to the workers through the strikes for higher wages and better conditions.

Before Mendieta can harvest the crop he will have to come to grips with the workers. In the period following Machado's fall they have made some improvement in their economic position, extended their organizations and repossessed themselves of a spirit of confidence in their ability to struggle against the enemy. In fact they have reached a point where they can threaten the entire social system. And they have given ample evidence of the fact that they can and will fight. They are not likely to surrender their hard-won gains without a struggle. Such is their temper that they strike at a moment's notice. On hearing a report that Mendieta intended to return to their American owners the property of Morgan's Cuban Electric Company, seized by Grau's government, the workers struck.

So far is Mendieta from being the bourgeoisie's ideal of a strong man that he forced the company's officials to agree to a committee to settle the differences between the company and the workers. Mendieta has proclaimed the postponing of the Constituent Assembly from April 22 to a future, undetermined date. That is likewise a sign of weakness.

High Mark of Struggle...

The high water mark of the workers' struggles was reached in the strike of the electrical workers of the Cuban Electric Company just before Grau fell. The company refused the workers' demand and they struck. The Grau government seized the property. But the workers ran the plant. Here was realized on a microscopic scale the first stage of the Cuban proletarian revolution—nationalization of industry under workers control of production.

The formation of a right government means that the tide has begun to set in against the workers. But it is not yet too late to advance on the road to nationalization. No decisive battles have been fought. The workers are undefeated. But this is practically their last opportunity in the present period. The government is weak. To harvest the crop it needs class peace. Moreover it has made a public demonstration of its weakness. Now is the time to hit it hard. Preparations should be set on foot for the general strike for nationalization of industry under workers control of production. The demand should be raised for the immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly. At the same time the Soviets should be organized in the towns and on the plantations.

The Cuban Revolution vitally concerns the proletariat of the whole world. The Cuban workers need support and assistance. The silence of the Communist International is nothing short of a betrayal. Moreover, the Communist parties outside of Cuba cannot mobilize the workers against American imperialism. That is our task as revolutionists and internationalists. Together with all those workers' organizations which are willing we must begin the organization of the movement to demand **Hands Off Cuba!**

—T. STAMM.

Rackets at the McAlpin

New York.—Conditions today in the kitchen of the Hotel McAlpin are typical of those existing in the majority of hotels of this type in New York City. Therefore, I believe that I am justified in declaring that I speak not only for the food workers in the Hotel McAlpin kitchens, but for the thousands of unorganized men and women who are exploited in hotels all over the city.

Food workers in the McAlpin kitchen are divided into three departments. First there is the chefs department which includes the chef, assistant chefs, butchers, vegetable cleaners, fish men, etc. Before the owners of this hotel signed the NRA blanket code, the women in this department were receiving \$13 to \$18 per week; the men, \$16 to \$32, depending on the length of time they had been employed. Out of approximately 45 workers in this entire department there were two men who received the \$32 maximum. At that time one of these men had been employed for 17 years; the other for 20.

Wage Cuts Under NRA

Now that NRA "is in effect" everybody in the chefs department receives \$2 to \$6 less, with the exception of those women who now, as before, receive \$13. The two old-timers who were getting \$32 have been cut to \$26. The majority of the men today receive \$15. (These salaries do not apply to the chefs, who usually work under contract.)

The kitchen staff has now been cut to a fraction of what it used to be. Although it is true that business has fallen off during the past few years, the men are now required to do twice as much work as formerly. If you are hired as a butcher, you must become, during rush hours, a vegetable cleaner, porter, or whatever is required of you. This shortage of workers prevails throughout all the departments of the kitchen.

Next down the scale is the stewards department, composed of dishwashers, silver men, porters, etc. Here, too, the National Recovery Act had an adverse effect upon salaries. Before the NRA workers in this section of the kitchen received \$60 per month; under the NRA they get \$50.

The third department includes all workers in the hotel employees dining rooms and kitchens—salary \$45 per month.

Unpaid Overtime

All kitchen-help work, ostensibly, a 48-hour week. But due to the insufficient number of workers, the entire kitchen staff is compelled to do overtime very frequently—without pay. Once in a great while a worker is given an hour off, but that is a rare occurrence.

The kitchens are very old and poorly ventilated. Because the kitchens are built into a sub-basement, there are no windows. Improperly built air shafts and a few electric fans are poor substitutes for up-to-date ventilation. The place is always stuffy and uncomfortable; the summer months are torture.

The hotel employment offices prefer to hire Cubans, Porto Ricans and Mexicans, or any foreign-born workers who are not citizens, or have come into the U. S. illegally. There is a reason for this preference. The majority of these foreign-born workers come from countries which have lower standards of living than this country, and so are accustomed to working hard, saying little, and earning next to nothing. The non-citizens live in constant fear of being discovered by immigration authorities and all of them know full well the consequences of objecting to any abuses imposed by the hotel regulations. If they do not keep their mouths shut they are reported to the immigration authorities and stand in danger of being deported.

Compulsory Deductions From Wages

Workers receive pitifully little, but even that is subject to numerous compulsory deductions. Racket Number 1 is carried on by the chefs' Club, an organization run on the same order as the Tammany clubs. The charter members in-

clude most of the chefs in the New York hotels. Your job is never secure unless the chef receives a few dollars every now and then. Initiation fees in the chefs' Club are from \$60—to as much as they can get. Old men have to pay at least a hundred dollars, because it is harder to place them in jobs. A man who can't get a job through the regular employment offices of the hotel can always get one through the chefs' Club (if he can afford it) at the expense of somebody who is unable to give his chief enough. At one time the French monopolized all kitchen jobs because the majority of the chefs were Frenchmen. When the hotels discovered, that Cubans, Porto Ricans, etc., were "cheaper", the French lost out. The chefs' Club is no longer so "exclusive"; they take anybody's money now—and the racket still flourishes, undisturbed.

Racket Number Two

Racket Number 2 is carried on by the individual chefs in each kitchen. In the McAlpin, the chef is affiliated with numerous charitable enterprises. Several times each week he collects money from all the help for "missionaries in China", "orphan asylums in Squeadunk", or "starving peasants in Armenia". Everybody knows whose pockets that money lines, but no one dares refuse.

Rackets Number 3 and 4 are carried on by the hotel owners themselves. For two years the Hotel McAlpin generously pledged support for the Gibson fund for the unemployed. For those two years a sum of money was systematically deducted from the salaries of its employees. This was advertised by them as voluntary contributions.

The last racket is the most vicious and costly of all to the workers. Several years ago the Hotel carried sickness insurance for the workers and paid the premiums. Now, the Hotel still carries the insurance, but \$1.15 to \$1.65 is automatically deducted from every worker's salary each month, to pay for the premiums. Such expensive insurance should confer many more benefits upon the workers than it does. The only benefit received is two-thirds of your salary if you are ill for two weeks or more. A worker ill for less than two weeks receives nothing.

Discrimination

Discrimination of the meanest kind is practiced on the workers in the different departments of the kitchen. The men and women who prepare and serve the food for the kitchen and hotel help receive less pay, although they work the same hours, and just as hard as the others on the kitchen staff. There are two dining rooms for the hotel help: one for members of the chef's department, chamber maids and hotel porters, and the other for dishwashers, silver men and kitchen porters. The former get food that is slightly stale and none too good, and the latter get food that is extremely stale and sometimes inedible.

—MCALPIN WORKER.

TROTSKY'S ARTICLE

The Militant has discontinued the publication of comrade Trotsky's article on the Soviet State and the Fourth International. The whole article, which is of considerable length, will appear in a very short time as a pamphlet, issued by the Pioneer Publishers. Inquiries as to price and orders should be addressed there. Complete details about the new publication will be given in an early number of The Militant.

OPEN FORUM

SUNDAY, February 4 — 3 P. M.

"THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE NRA"

Speaker: V. R. DUNNE

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