

This is the richest union in Cuba. They have their own houses, they have capital, they have their own paper. (I forgot to say that in one city one of the locals of the railroad union is under our control. They have 200 members, and they have their own paper) About the Tobacco Workers, these leaders represent themselves as the followers of Marti. Another thing,--the entire production of the tobacco workers is hand work, the same as 200 years ago. All of the processes of the work are hand processes. There is no machinery. We have among the Tobacco Workers three former general secretaries of the Party, and we have a fraction of seven comrades. Everything which we have initiated to date has resulted in failure, because our comrades say "how can we come with such revolutionary literature to the workers, it is impossible, and the workers will read it only if the lecturers will read it. When I arrived the General Secretary of the Party was a Tobacco Worker. He told me he was the Cicero of the workers,--an excellent speaker. I also was a victim of his nice speeches at the meetings, and when we attempted to criticize the leaders of the Tobacco workers, exposing them as Tobacco workers, pointing out that although they talk about Marti, nevertheless they are traitors, and that our left wing must issue an appeal to the workers,--the Mexican Party Secretary happened to be present at that meeting and we tried to impress on these comrades that such an appeal is necessary, but the fraction decided not to issue the appeal because at the time we were issuing to the workers of all industries a statement as to why we were fighting Machado and the Nationalists, but at the next meeting, this comrade, the General Secretary of the Party, came to the meeting and said that this is not a Communist Party, that the Communist Party is a party of the masses, that you cannot decide on the top what is to be done, that it must be decided below, and because we decided to issue the appeal, he sent a statement that he was ill and therefore resigning from the Party. This was the General Secretary of the Party. He was the one who negotiated with the Nationalists. This is the second large division of the workers and these were the weaknesses which we had there.

These Tobacco Workers include only those workers who are doing the finishing processes. Among the tobacco workers there are 40 or 50 separate unions. The women putting the ring on the cigars ~~have~~ have a separate union, and the women who paste the stickers on the boxes have another,--all on a craft basis. None of the tobacco workers are organized. The cigar makers are organized, but not the tobacco workers.

The third classification is the Cuban Confederation. The Railroad union is affiliated to the Pan American Confederation of Labor, the Forcodores are independents. We have a Confederation, a Federation, and then a Federation of Harbor Workers. The Federation of Harbor Workers is part of the Confederation. Of these three organizations the Confederation is national, the Federation is the Havana Federation of Labor, and then the Federation of Harbor Workers. In all of these we have a majority. In all three there are about 20,000 workers organized. Our strength consists in this that it is the only live organization that has taken part in the daily struggle. Good or bad, it is the only organization that is reacting to the struggle. In the Confederation we have a majority, ~~but~~ ~~the~~ ~~mass~~ ~~organizations~~. But the mass organizations, -- the tramway workers, printers and the shops of the Havana Electric,--these unions are not ours. They are affiliated to the Confederation, but if you analyze them outside of the Confederation, these are Social Fascist. We cannot say that the ~~Confederation~~ Confederation is an organization of red unions. There is no other political workers organization except the Communist Party. The political party of the workers is the Communist Party.

You see now the division of forces in Cuba. You can see how serious was the error of the Party which participated in the united front committee. What was this united front ~~was~~ ~~about~~? This united front in Cuba from above has greatly demoralized the masses in Cuba. Through a period of years the workers were impressed with the idea that you can do nothing unless you get together the leaders of the organizations. I don't want to minimize the value of the mass struggles carried through by the Cuban Party, but I believe that ~~the~~ ~~great~~ ~~struggles~~ Vive and George will confirm my statement that all of these great struggles, including the general strike were always a result of an agreement on top. Whenever there was a question of a united front movement, a notification was sent out to