

The Present Situation In The Labor Movement

By JAY LOVESTONE

EVERY acute economic depression has left an indelible mark on the American labor movement. No serious economic crisis has been weathered without being a force making for fundamental changes in the composition of the working class and in the organizational and ideological development of the American labor movement.

The American working class is today in the throes of a great crisis. Grave and significant events are in the process of development. The present crisis is distinct in one sense from all the other moments of trial and struggle that our working class has gone through. This crisis is not only one growing out of the acute depression at hand, but is also a "prosperity" crisis. The difficulties and problems the workers are facing today in the United States are reflexes at least as much of the recent period of prosperity as of the present period of severe economic depression.

What are the employers planning to do with the remaining trade unions? What will be the policy of the present trade union bureaucracy? What can be done to beat back the smashing, open-shop offensive now being waged by the huge capitalist interests against every vestige of working-class organization?

These are all pertinent questions. The life and death crisis which the biggest trade union of the American Federation of Labor, the United Mine Workers of America, is now going through; the gathering storms in the ranks of the railroad workers as a protest against the class collaboration schemes of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers type; the dire effects of the Watson-Parker law on the great mass of railway workers; the destruction of the needle-trade union organizations by the Socialist Party bureaucracy of the Sigman type, working hand in glove with the Green-Woll clique; the rising wave of protest and strike movements in the textile regions; and the historical mass conference of progressive miners held in Pittsburgh on April 1, are all straws indicating that there are now blowing winds which are shaking up the whole composition of the working class and uprooting and changing the prevailing structure and policies of our labor movement.

To answer the above questions; to understand which way, in which direction, we are now traveling, it is necessary to have an analysis of the composition of the working class and the relations within the working class, of the effects of the present economic crisis on the

working class, of the role of the capitalist government in the class struggle today, and of the tasks of the Communist Party in the face of the present objective conditions.

TRENDS IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

Recent years have witnessed important changes in the composition and structure of our working class. The World War precipitated a number of forces making for increasing homogeneity of the working class in the United States. The gap between the skilled and the unskilled declined. The restriction of immigration, the levelling process in wages, the role of the highly centralized government, which became more and more a strike-breaking agency even against the labor aristocracy, were among the principal forces making for the development of proletarian class consciousness on a national scale.

Under such circumstances the trade unions grew quickly. The Labor Party movement developed a mass basis under these conditions. Symbolic of this whole trend in the ranks of the working class, were the great mass strikes of 1922. The strikes of the railway shopmen, textile workers and coal miners dramatized this solidarity and sharpened the resistance on the part of the working class to the immediate postwar offensive of the American open shoppers.

Despite many counteracting forces, this basic tendency towards the increasing homogeneity of the working class has continued. The farmers who were driven off the land in the great agricultural crisis were in part assimilated and proletarianized. Large numbers of the immigrants were Americanized. There emerged a new generation of native-born workers of foreign parentage. But within the last five years, several new factors have arisen contributing towards the weakening of this tendency towards the homogeneity of our working class. First of all, hundreds of thousands of foreign-born workers have entered the country "illegally" as bootleg immigrants. According to official figures, at least 170,000, exclusive of "deserting" seamen, have in the last fiscal year alone, crossed the Canadian and Mexican borders as bootleg immigrants into the United States. We are now not speaking of the recent Mexican migration to the United States.

Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of Negroes from the South are today entering Northern industry as unskilled workers. Many more hundreds of thousands of bankrupt farmers have recently been migrating into the industrial centers. Temporarily, all these new elements are heterogeneous forces. Being mainly unskilled, they remain for the moment unorganized.

The difference between the wage levels of the skilled labor aristocracy and the great mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers has once more grown big. Note, for example, the trend of wages in the pig-iron industry. Take the wages of the bottom-fillers. These are unskilled workers. The wages per hour of the bottom-fillers rose from \$.167 in 1914 to \$.568 in 1920, or a gain of about 240%. For the same period, take the wages of the blowers who are skilled workers. The hourly wages of these workers rose from \$.333 in 1914 to \$.868 in 1920. Here we have a gain of only 160%. Obviously, this indicates a closing of the gap between skilled and unskilled workers during this period. Then came the great depression of 1921. The hourly wages of the bottom-fillers dropped in 1922 to \$.336 or a drop of 42% in two years. The wages of the blowers (skilled) fell in the same period to \$.678, or only about 21%. Here we have once more a widening of the chasm between skilled and unskilled workers' wages.

This increasing gap between the skilled and the unskilled workers' wages is very markedly indicated in a comparison of the wage-scales from 1921 to 1926. In 1921, the bottom-fillers (unskilled) drew an hourly wage of \$.528. In 1926, these workers drew an hourly wage of \$.475 or a drop of 10 percent. In the same time, the blowers' hourly wages rose from \$.807 to \$.862 or a gain of nearly 7 percent. While the unskilled were losing, the skilled were gaining. It is true, therefore, that within the last five years the position of the unskilled in relation to the skilled had not only become worse, but considerably more unstable. Instability in employment is especially hard on the unskilled workers who have less to save.

The fourth factor tending to slow down the process towards working class homogeneity, is to be found in the mounting capital exports and super-profits of American imperialism. This has enabled the American bourgeoisie to bribe increasingly the labor aristocracy for a number of years. As a result of the sharp upward movement and the dominant world position of American imperialism, for the five-year period ending March, 1927, the influence and importance of the labor aristocracy within the working class as a whole grew substantially.

FOUR SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In consequence of the above forces, four significant changes took place in our labor movement.

Firstly: The dominant leadership of the labor movement, and consequently the official labor movement, swung to the right. The dominant trade union leadership became integrally bound up, actually partners, with the imperialist bourgeoisie. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Grand Chiefs of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers virtually became windows on Wall Street. The sweep and variety of class collaboration were a reflex of and were directly proportional to the development of American imperialism. That is why America, with the most powerful imperialism the world has yet seen, has given birth to the most extensive and varied form of class collaboration. This explains why in foreign as well as in domestic affairs, our trade union bureaucracy faces the world as dyed-in-the-wool agents and lackeys of imperialism. Herein lies the reason for Green, Woll and Company working overtime to have the American working masses drop the strike as a neopan even in self-defense. That explains why Green, Woll, Noonan and others are such ardent advocates of arbitration, of "union-management co-operation," and even of semi-company unions.

The propaganda of the so-called bona-fide trade union leaders serves to develop in the working class unlimited faith in the government. The trade union bureaucracy is today more than ever before urging the workers to trust their political fortunes to the "goodmen" charlatans of the Republican and Democratic parties. Green and his lieutenants are now fighting the labor party movement more vigorously than ever before. Even the most ruthless aggression of American imperialism does not draw the slightest protest from our official labor leadership. This leadership is even today, in the face of the gigantic open-shop conspiracy against the workers, still swinging further and further to the right.

Secondly: Most of those who were progressives six or seven years ago, and their followers, also went to the right. This trend was occasioned by three factors. The increasing strength of American imperialism enabled our bourgeoisie to widen the base of labor corruption, to broaden the labor aristocracy through the corruption of these new elements. The vicious strike-breaking policy of the government broke the workers' ranks in the national strikes of 1922. These defeats served to demoralize the erstwhile progressives who, occupying a middle position in the working class, that is, between the unskilled proletariat and the uppermost portion of the labor aristocracy, are naturally timid and wavering. Lastly, the victorious grand offensive of the capitalists and their government drove out of the

unions nearly two million workers. These were in the main unskilled workers who joined the labor organizations during the War.

It was just these unskilled workers, these so-called new unionists, who were to a large extent the backbone of the left wing and the greatest reservoir of militancy in the trade union movement. Corrupted by imperialism, free from the pressure and robbed of the inspiration of the great mass of the unskilled workers, these former progressives could see nothing else but the crumbs thrown at them by the capitalists wallowing in super-profits. They thus swung to the right with a vengeance. It is these progressives of yesterday who became the most enthusiastic advocates of class collaboration. They did some of the dirtiest work against the left wing. Recall specifically the role of the so-called progressives (Johnston) in the B. and O. plan. We cannot forget the role of Fitzpatrick, Hillman and Nockles in the recent attacks against the left wing.

Thirdly: The number of organized workers has declined sharply in the recent years of prosperity. This is contrary to all previous experience in American labor history. The trade unions lost many hundreds of thousands of workers in the very heyday of American economic prosperity. The reason for this new phenomenon, this downward trend of trade union membership in a period of economic prosperity, is due primarily to the following forces which either did not exist at all or did not exist sufficiently in the previous periods of economic prosperity.

First of all, we must take account of the new methods of struggle applied by the bosses. We have in mind the organization and expansion of company unions, the spreading of welfare schemes, the widespread resorting to profit-sharing, the studied attempt to develop stock-ownership movements among certain sections of the working-class, the application of scientific management and personnel direction. Nor can too much emphasis be placed on the close bond between the trade union bureaucracy and the employers through the various class collaboration schemes. The latter, of course, were made largely possible by the broadened base of corruption, by the broadened labor aristocracy, developed as a result of the dominant position of American imperialism. Much attention and energy and numerous resources of many of the workers having the greatest experience in organization have thus been diverted to such fraudulent fields as labor banking, insurance schemes, real estate investments and B. and O. plans.

A decisive force among these factors is the increasing interference of the government in the most elementary, basic economic

struggles on the side of the employers and against the workers. American imperialism has reared the most gigantic, the most deadly effective strike-breaking machinery possessed by any capitalist class in the world.

Then, the sweeping consolidation and merger movement in industry and finance, growing out of the concentration of ownership and centralization of operation has proved an invincible enemy when pitted against the more backward type of craft unionism which is still dominant in the American Federation of Labor. For example, take the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin and Steel Workers. What chance does it stand in a struggle against the United States Steel Corporation as it is now headed by J. P. Morgan?

Fourthly and finally: We must take note of the decline of the Labor Party movement. This decline was largely brought about by the sharp upward trend of American imperialism, which temporarily alleviated the agricultural crisis of 1924, and through its vast super-profits was able to corrupt and split away from the mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers the workers most experienced and best-educated organizationally. Likewise, here it must be said that no one should overlook the destructive role played by the petty-bourgeoisie (Lafollette), who took the leadership of the Labor Party movement in 1924.

THE CRISIS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Were it not for these four unfavorable developments, the American bourgeoisie could not and would not have dared to launch its present heavy offensive against the workers. Today the capitalist class is engaged in an onslaught on the unions aiming to destroy the workers' standards of living and robbing the workers of certain elementary rights won through years of hard, determined struggle. This offensive has brought our trade union movement to the most intense crisis of its life. This grave crisis could not, however, have come without the connivance and the conscious aid of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy as a whole.

If we examine the outstanding events of the labor movement during the last year or so, we will find that this accusation is fully warranted, and that the crimes of the trade union officialdom against the rank and file of the workers cannot be depicted blackly and accurately enough. The most important events in the history of our labor movement for the last eighteen months are:

First, the bitter war of the trade union bureaucracy on the left wing and the Communists in the needle trades. The present struggle of the workers in the needle trades is one of the basic struggles in

the American labor movement. Sweat-shop conditions will be restored if Sigman and his clique are not wiped out. Mr. Sigman is offering the same solution for the needle-trades industry that Mr. Lewis is offering for the miners. Lewis says that there are too many mines and too many miners. Sigman says there are too many needle trades workers in the industry. Sigman has been working overtime, hand in glove with the garment manufacturers, to make life miserable for the rank and file of the industry and to drive them out of the field.

Secondly, we have the war on the left wing in the Miners' Union after the progressives won the elections in the organization. In the needle trades the reactionary bureaucracy threw out the left wing leadership. In the miners' union, the reactionary bureaucracy fought to prevent a progressive and left wing leadership from obtaining control of the union after the membership had voted to have a progressive administration.

Thirdly, the new wage policy and the union-management co-operation schemes of the A. F. of L. leadership have been deliberately put forward by Green and Company to aid the bosses in their efforts to intensify the exploitation of the workers. This new wage policy of Mr. Green's is the answer of Wall Street's agents in the ranks of the labor movement to the rationalization process, to the mass production and efficiency schemes of American industry. Its sole effect has been and can only be to make the workers pay dearly for the rationalization process and to enable the bourgeoisie to gain heavily through intensified exploitation, through speed-up, and putting in company schemes at the expense of the workers.

Fourthly, we have the United States Supreme Court decision in the Bedford Stone Case, denying the workers the right to refuse to handle scab products and material. This deals a death-blow to the underlying principles of even most conservative trade union organization in the United States.

Fifthly, the wide-spread use of sweeping injunctions is having deadly effects on the labor movement. Never before have we had such injunctions as have been issued by Federal Judge Schoonmaker in the Western Pennsylvania coal fields, by Judge Hough in the Ohio coal fields, and by Judge Langham in the Central Pennsylvania coal fields. The vital issues involved in the injunction taken out by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company against the New York traction workers have not yet been settled by any means. The injunction menace is today more grave than ever before in the history of the American labor movement.

Sixthly, the crushing blows administered to the Miners' Union are bound to have a monumental effect on the immediate future of our labor movement. The Miners' Union has been the backbone, the basically proletarian heart of the American Federation of Labor. The Miners' Union has had the most militant traditions in the American Federation of Labor. To crush the Miners' Union would be to rob the American Federation of Labor of its most militant organization, of its most proletarian corps.

Seventhly, no one can overestimate the importance of the increasing signs of resistance by the workers as shown in the continued militancy of the Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia coal fields, in the courage and tenacity displayed in the needle trades fight; in the heroism in the Colorado struggle despite tremendous obstacles. The needle trades fight has now been going on for two years. On the surface, it appears to be a struggle within the union. Actually, it is a struggle of the working masses against the employers and their pseudo-socialist labor lieutenants. The present coal strike is the longest one in the history of the country. For thirteen months the miners have put up a most inspiring battle, under the most adverse conditions—surrounded by treachery of the official leadership and in the face of the most brutal reactions of American capitalism.

Eighthly, we have the monumentally significant National Save-the-Union Conference, attended by over a thousand miners' delegates at Pittsburgh on April 1. For nearly five years, the progressives in the United Mine Workers did not dare to gather even in the smallest conferences in the open, because of the regime of terrorism instituted by the Lewis machine. The expulsion of militants sapped a good deal of the vitality of the left-wing movement. Despite indescribable difficulties, despite immeasurable suffering, more than 1,100 miners from every district in the Union gathered to pledge themselves to a renewed and invigorated struggle against the enemies within their own organization, as well as against the coal operators trying to smash whatever remnants were still left of the once powerful union.

This Conference will be only a prelude to other gatherings of progressives and militants in the various industries. This conference also represents the first genuine big mass movement expressing joint effort by the organized and unorganized for an extensive campaign to increase the membership and enhance the fight and vitality of the trade unions. The revival of the strike in Illinois, Indiana, Kansas and other fields is eloquent proof of the fighting spirit and the class

solidarity of the American miners. The response by thousands of unorganized miners in Fayette and other counties of Pennsylvania and in West Virginia to the strike called by the National Save-the-Union Committee is a splendid tribute to the tremendous potentialities of the left wing of the American labor movement. It should serve as an inspiration to the workers and as a warning to the exploiters of what the American working class is capable of.

DARK SHADOWS OF THE MINERS' STRUGGLE

The significance for the entire working class of the reverses suffered by the United Mine Workers, primarily due to the treacherous policies of Lewis and his clique, is incalculable. Lewis and his henchmen have attempted to buy peace from the coal operators by paying them the price of the betrayal of the unorganized and by a vicious drive against the left wing and the Communist workers. The coal operators accepted Lewis's gift. Once the union was robbed of a good portion of its best blood, of its red corpuscles, then the operators could set about very freely to destroy the union with the greatest ease. This is exactly what has been happening. If the operators were to achieve the destruction of the United Mine Workers of America, it would be a disastrous defeat, not only for the miners, but for every worker in the country. Such a defeat would mean the breaking of the proletarian backbone of the American trade union movement. The destruction of the United Mine Workers of America would rob the trade union movement of the one mass union which has served as a reservoir of militancy, which has stood in the forefront of the most desperate, the most heroic and the most decisive battles of the American labor movement.

Lewis, Green, Woll and their lackeys are expecting this. They are already working on the basis that the organization is lost. They are simply trying to buy certain terms of surrender. In doing this, they are working overtime to interfere with the plans of the Save-the-Union movement, of the left wing, to extend the strike and to present a solid front of all miners to the operators. Thus, they are now trying to put over individual settlements in the Illinois and other fields. That is why Murray, Fagan and their so-called organizers are interfering with the efforts of the National Save-the-Union movement to extend the strike into the unorganized fields of Pennsylvania, into the fields so cold-bloodedly sold out by Lewis and Company in 1922.

The crisis in the labor movement today is not limited to the United Mine Workers. The entire trade union movement is facing the gravest crisis it has seen in years. The sharp attack of the

employers is being aided and abetted by their agents, the trade union bureaucracy. The situation we have at hand can be thus estimated: After a period of five years of an almost constant upward curve in the development of American imperialism, we are in the depths of a severe economic crisis. Witness the heavy wage cuts in the coal, shoe, textile, and automobile industries. The intensified challenge to American imperialism and its active preparations for counter-attack serve only as further excuses for the bourgeoisie to bring to bear ever-greater pressure on the working masses. This accounts for the injunction epidemic. This serves as a precipitating force for the present denial of the right to strike. When the trade union bureaucracy, when the corrupt leaders of the trade union movement, surrender the strike even as a weapon of defense, or deny the militant miners strike relief, or evict striking progressive miners from the barracks put up by the Union after eviction by the coal operators, they are only doing their bit for the employing class, doing their bit as agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class.

The ravages and havoc wrought in the ranks of the labor movement by the trade union bureaucracy through its class collaboration schemes have immeasurably weakened the powers of resistance of the trade unions. This accounts in part for the barenness, the audacity, the offensive spirit the capitalist class is now showing in all its dealings with the workers. Concretely, let us look at the successes won by the coal operators with the help of Lewis in paralyzing the mine strike. In 1919, the strike of the United Mine Workers of America tied up 70 percent of production. The present strike has succeeded in tying up so far only about 20 percent of bituminous production.

The American bourgeoisie have always been bitterly opposed to trade unions. The general rule has been that the bigger the corporation, the greater its hostility to trade unionism. Thus we note that in such gigantic corporations as the General Motors, not even a company union is "given" the workers. In the present offensive against the working class, the objective of the most powerful employers (the dominating finance capital group) is to wipe out the remnants of what were once mighty trade unions and to destroy them as determinant forces in arriving at wage standards and working conditions. If the biggest exploiters have their say, only the smallest unions of the most highly skilled, or the extremely weakened ones, will be permitted to exist. Let no one lose sight of the fact that in the present period of sharpened class war, under imperialism, all genuine labor organizations, particularly those of a

mass character are considered as a menace by the employers and are marked for destruction.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF CLASS COLLABORATION

The fact that the official labor movement has been going to the right, does not mean that the entire trade union movement is composed only of the labor aristocracy or is hopelessly reactionary. No one can deny that American imperialism is still in a position to bribe the upper stratum of the working class. But here a new force enters. The relative importance of the labor aristocracy, the extent to which it has been dominating the whole labor movement, is definitely beginning to decrease. There are a number of forces now operating to undermine class collaboration to its very foundations. These are:

1. The increasing challenge to American imperialism. The more American imperialism is weakened, the more severe the competition it faces or the more conflicts it has with other imperialist powers, the less it will be able to afford certain concessions even to the uppermost stratum of the working class.

2. The present economic depression is bound to have a tremendous effect on the class collaboration policy. We must keep in mind the fact that class collaboration has yet to weather a real economic storm.

3. The efficacy of class collaboration as a weapon in the hands of the employers against the workers, both for securing efficiency as well as industrial peace, is now diminished to a great extent because it has already largely rendered its best services.

4. No one should overlook the subjective factor. The collapse of the outstanding labor banking edifice in the country, the corruption and the scandal in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, has gone a long way towards discrediting labor banking and other class collaboration schemes in the eyes of great masses of workers. In the near future, still greater masses will thus be disillusioned. Even the reactionary A. F. of L. machine was compelled, at the Los Angeles Convention, to be a bit cautious insofar as the further expansion of labor banking was concerned.

Though class collaboration has been very much weakened in recent months, it would be a costly error for anyone to assume that it has already disappeared or that it will immediately disappear as an important force in the labor movement. It will still be with us for some time to come, unfortunately. The bankruptcy of class collaboration has begun. It is on the way. But it is not yet here.

Class collaboration may even develop new and more vigorous and more dangerous expressions in the period of depression. All conscious workers must be on guard against such developments.

EFFECT OF THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

The present economic depression will have effects of paramount importance on the bureaucracy. The trade union bureaucracy will of course continue to play its role of agent of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The New Year letter sent out by President Green proves this very forcefully. Mr. Green greeted the employers and the public. Mr. Green begged the exploiters to continue class collaboration. The President of the American Federation of Labor tried to hide the fact that his class collaboration leadership had already so weakened the unions that many of the powerful employers did not even have any further need for class collaboration.

Mr. Green's entire policy is just one source of encouragement after another to the open-shoppers to make a frontal attack, to put the finishing touches of destruction on the trade unions. For instance, in the answer of President Green to the Interborough Rapid Transit Company's injunction issued in New York, we find only a vigorous denial of all intentions to have the New York traction workers strike in order to give voice to their right to organize. A policy of accepting the capitalist challenge and of calling the workers to break the injunction en masse stands about as much chance with Mr. Green as a snowball in hell.

The further down we go into the ranks of the bureaucracy, the deeper the differentiations we will find developing in consequence of the present economic crisis. These growing divisions in the lower ranks of the bureaucracy are signs of a helpful development in the labor movement. The conscious, the militant, the Communist workers, must fully utilize these differentiations, but must not base their policies on such divisions.

The Socialist Party no longer serves as an agency of even the faintest opposition to the corrupt trade union bureaucracy. In fact, the official Socialist leadership is now an integral part of the trade union bureaucracy. Notice the situation in the needle trades and in the present crisis in the miners' union. The Socialist Party has indicated by the decisions of its April convention that it will continue to go to the right. It will continue to serve as an integral part of the corrupt trade union bureaucracy. At this convention even the terms "class struggle" and "collective ownership" have been eradicated from the Socialist Party platform.

We must avoid having a static concept of the progressives. The progressives of yesterday, because of new conditions of industry in the unions in which they find themselves, may today be thoroughly reactionary. New conditions, new struggles, develop new progressives. The process is dynamic. But in speaking of progressives we must keep one thing in mind all the time and above all—*We must always distinguish between progressive leaders and the progressive rank and file.* The progressives are of vital importance in the development of a left wing movement of a mass character. They serve under certain conditions as one of the levers for the development of a clear-cut, broad, left-wing movement.

One point we must emphasize with our greatest strength. The policy of the Communists, the policies of the left wing in meeting the crisis in the trade unions, in counter-acting the effects of the new economic depression on the labor organizations, must be based on the masses and on the objective conditions in which the masses find themselves. The wages of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers are going down. The whittling away of standards of working and living conditions, the intensification of exploitation, the speed-up, we now have with us on an extensive scale.

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

The more the trade union bureaucracy will go to the right, the more it will become an instrument of imperialism. The more the trade union bureaucracy will try to prevent the struggles of the workers now centering largely about basic elementary interests and rights, the greater the importance our Party assumes as the only conscious, clear, positive force of opposition to capitalist reaction on every front. The more the struggle develops over fundamental rights and living standards and working conditions, the larger will be the masses participating in these struggles, the greater will be the degree of their militancy. Finally, the more the bureaucracy will betray these masses, the greater will be the opportunity to lead these masses in struggle and to win them away from the reactionary officialdom of the trade union movement.

There is plenty of potential militancy and fighting spirit, courage and heroic resistance in the ranks of the workers. The fact that after thirteen months of struggle, many thousands of additional miners can join the strikers' ranks, as in the case of the organized fields of Illinois, Indiana, Kansas and in the unorganized territory of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, is a very encouraging sign. The fact that the workers in the New York needle trades have maintained

their front so firmly and so solidly for so long a time is proof of the justifiability of our Party placing its full faith in these masses. The sweeping wave of resistance to wage-cuts in the textile and shoe centers, is only a further index of the growing desire and readiness to fight in the ranks of the workers. The recent strike movement in Haverhill, and the strike movements in New Bedford and Fall River, are unchallengeable evidence of the fact that the corrupt trade union bureaucracy has not succeeded in misleading all the workers.

Our Party is now assuming a much more vigorous role in leading the workers in direct struggle. Our Party is playing a much more direct role in organizing the unorganized. We do not address ourselves to the official, corrupt leadership of the trade union movement, in our appeals for the organization of the unorganized. We address ourselves only to the workers. At the same time, we do not give up any opportunity to expose the fakers to those masses who may still have some faith in them. Our policies are based on the masses. Our policies are based on mobilizing the masses for the sharpest struggle against the bourgeoisie and their agents.

Within the last six months, the Party has shown a tremendous increase in vitality, has made great progress and is assuming the leadership of masses in basic struggles. The struggle of the miners, the struggle of the needle trades workers, the strike wave of the textile workers, are all mass movements in which our Party has been playing and will continue to play, a most worthy and decisive role.

Our Party has struck an inspiring, ringing note of mass violation of injunctions, of mass resistance to evictions, of cleaning out the trade unions of all company influences, of saving the trade unions from the treachery of the bureaucracy and the attacks of the employers. We have been meeting with an increasing mass response. Our Party is winning a leading position in the class struggle. Our Party is winning increasing confidence of greater and greater masses. This explains our growing influence and our rising numbers within the last months.

There is not the faintest reason for anyone being pessimistic. The present acute crisis in the trade union movement can be turned into a great victory for the whole American working class. The path to victory for the workers of the United States lies in following the policies of the Workers (Communist) Party.—American section of the Communist International.