

# FOSTER TELLS HISTORY OF STRUGGLE FOR TRADE UNION UNITY

## Role of TUUL as Leader and Organizer of Most Militant Sections of the Labor Movement Recounted

Following is the text of a letter addressed by William Z. Foster, National Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, to the T.U.U.L. convention now in session in New York.

By William Z. Foster

Inasmuch as the proposals made by the National Committee deal with the analysis of the present situation and the program of the T.U.U.L., and in view of the fact that this convention will doubtless carry through a drastic reorganization of the T.U.U.L., it is fitting that I should confine my remarks to a general summary of the historical role of the T.U.U.L. in the class struggle.

The Trade Union Educational League, immediate forerunner of the T.U.U.L., was organized in Chicago in November 1920. The T.U.U.L. was an outgrowth of preceding Left Wing trade union organizations: The Syndicalist League of North America (1912-1914), and the International Trade Union Educational League (1915-1917).

The T.U.U.L., like these predecessors and the I.W.W., was at the date of its foundation a syndicalist organization. But under the influence of the Russian Revolution and the newly formed Communist Parties and the Communist International, it began rapidly to shed its characteristic syndicalist features. In 1921 the T.U.U.L. sent delegates to the first congress of the R.I.L.U. in Moscow, and was there recognized as the American Left Wing trade union section. The R.I.L.U. condemned the dualist anti-political policies of the I.W.W.

From this point on, the T.U.U.L. worked in close cooperation with, and with the fullest support of the Communist Party. Its general policy was the building of the Left Wing in the trade unions. For the first few years of its history, the T.U.U.L. included the Canadian Left Wing trade union organization.

The T.U.U.L. was born in the midst of the great post-war drive (1919-1922) of the employers against the trade unions to deprive the workers of such achievements in the way of organization, better wages, shorter hours, etc., that they had gained during the war. Hardly was the organization in the field than the most militant elements in the labor movement generally rallied to its standards. From that time on the T.U.U.L. developed rapidly and the I.W.W. with its policy of dual unionism, which had previously been the revolutionary labor movement organization, gradually sank into insignificance.

### Began Work for Union Unity

Although still weak, the T.U.U.L. plunged immediately into the current tremendous struggles and was able to exert a considerable influence in a number of them, especially the national strike of the packing-house workers, coal miners and railroad shompen; as well as the Chicago Building Trades and the various New York needle trades strikes. Meanwhile the T.U.U.L. rapidly developed its activities within the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods, coming into violent collision with the reactionary officialdom. It placed special stress upon three major policies: amalgamation, the Labor Party, and recognition of the Soviet Union. So successful was its campaign around these issues that direct endorsements of them were secured from at least half of the organized workers in the U. S. The top union officialdom, however, by their iron-clad grip on the unions, were successful in preventing amalgamation, the establishment of a mass Labor Party, or official A. F. of L. endorsement of Russian recognition.

At this period the T.U.U.L. also carried on an active campaign against the widespread corruption in the unions; for trade union democracy; for defense of the Communist leaders arrested in Bridgeman; for the release of Mooney and Billings; for the relief of the Russian famine sufferers, etc. While vigorously propagating its revolutionary goals, the T.U.U.L. based its mass campaigns upon a united front with progressive elements around programs of immediate demands.

The era of the Coolidge "good times," which including the few months of Hoover, lasted without a break from the middle of 1923 until the October crash in 1929, was one of difficult struggle for the T.U.U.L. It was a period of little militancy generally among the working class, the lowest ebb of struggle in the history of the American labor movement, and in the T.U.U.L. felt the effects of its loss of mass contacts and mass movement. The basic cause of this great sag in militancy was the huge upswing of American imperialism during this period and the oceans of anti-proletarian propaganda which accompanied it. The T.U.U.L. also made some mistakes at this period in the direction of sectarianism, which contributed to its own difficulties.

### Fought Class Collaboration of Bureaucracy

The trade union leaders took an effective hand in crippling the fighting force of the trade union movement in these years by developing a system of class collaboration with the bosses far more in-

tense and elaborate than anything the labor movement had known up till that time. They picked up the employers' slogans of rationalization and speed-up, that is, of more production for less cost; they hired efficiency engineers, and practically turned the trade unions into adjuncts of the employers producing organizations, with their B. & O. plans, higher strategy of labor, minimum standards of production, etc. Strikes were declared out of date; the union leaders were determined to make the trade unions more subservient to the bosses than the company unions themselves; the class struggle was declared liquidated; the revolution an idle dream. The way to better conditions now and for eventual emancipation for the workers, said the A. F. of L. and railroad union leaders, "was through the closest cooperation with the employers."

### Mass Expulsion, Terrorism By A.F.L. Leaders

The trade union leaders backed up this program by instituting a terroristic campaign against all militant elements in the trade unions who dared to raise their voices against class collaboration. Following the lead of the 1923 A. F. of L. convention, which called for the expulsion of all Communists and T.U.U.L. militants, the top leaders of the various unions adopted a policy of wholesale expulsions of fighting elements throughout the A. F. of L. and railroad unions. The T.U.U.L. was condemned as a dual union and membership in either it or the Communist Party was sufficient ground for union expulsion and blacklisting from industry. The expulsion campaign covered almost every union and thousands of militants were expelled. Gangster rule in the unions prevailed as never before, and trade union democracy sank to its lowest ebb. In this shameful campaign of disruption and demoralization, the Socialist trade union leaders blazed the way. The expulsion campaign began in the Socialist needle trades and reached its highest point by the expulsion of 35,000 coal makers and 12,000 furriers in 1927-8.

As a result of such tactics, the trade unions were devitalized and lost the greater portions of their fighting spirit. So low was the morale of the movement in the Coolidge years that for the first time in the American labor history the trade unions did not increase their membership during a period of "prosperity." On the contrary, all through the Coolidge period, they steadily declined in numbers, morale, and strategic position in industry.

### Led Strikes During "Prosperity" Era

It is to the great credit of the Communist Party and T.U.U.L. that they never fell victims to the widespread "prosperity" illusions of this period, which affected the A. F. of L., S. P., Musteltes, etc. On the contrary, as Marxist-Leninist bodies they were the only organizations in the country to understand and combat these illusions. They exposed the fallacies of class collaboration and capitalist rationalization, and constantly warned of the inevitable industrial crash which finally came in 1929. They resolutely combated every phase of the class collaboration movement and all its reactionary supporters from Carver Thomas and Mustel; they spared no effort to educate and mobilize the workers for a policy of class struggle. They were the only working class organizations that made an fight whatever against the employers and the government. In the Coolidge period the C.P. and T.U.U.L. gave a real demonstration of their truly revolutionary character.

During the Coolidge period, the T.U.U.L. forces took an active part in organizing the relatively few strikes that occurred. In the needle trades, the T.U.U.L. among others, led the strikes of 12,000 New York fur workers (1926), and 35,000 cloak makers (1926), etc. In the textile industry it led the big strike of 15,000 Passaic workers (1925), and exercised strong influence in New Bedford during the 1928 strike of 7,000 textile workers. It also led the historically important Gastonia strike early in 1929. In the mining industry, where the T.U.U.L. also was especially strong, it played a very active role in the life and death struggles of the U.M.W.A. during this period. In the great national strike of 1927-1928 more than 100,000 coal miners were represented at the T.U.U.L. "Save the Union" Conference in Pittsburgh on April 1st, 1928, to extend and strengthen the strike.

While few of the T.U.U.L. strikes were completely victorious, as a whole they put a substantial barrier against the steadily worsening conditions that was taking place in the industries involved. In the strike of the fur workers, the T.U.U.L. forces established the 40-hour week for the first time in the needle trades.

Besides supporting this strike policy, which could only be done in the face of powerful and disruptive opposition from the top leadership, saturated with class collaboration policies, and which expelled many thousands of militant fighters from the various unions, the T.U.U.L. forces carried on a number of struggles inside the old unions. Among these were several inner-union election fights. Twice in the U.M.W.A. (1924-25) elections the Left Wing ticket carried a majority of the votes, the election in each case be-

# Reporting to Convention of T.U.U.L., Leader of Great Working Class Battles Says That Unity Can Now Be Realized

ing stolen by Lewis padding the returns with tens of thousands of fraudulent votes. In the needle trades unions, the T.U.U.L. forces polled heavily in every election and in the 1925 convention of the I.L.G. W.U. they represented twice as many workers as the right wing, but had 30 per cent less delegates owing to the gerrymandering system of representation. In the International Association of Machinists national elections of 1925, the Left Wing united front slate was officially accredited with 17,076 votes against 18,021 for the Johnson leadership, but the latter undoubtedly stole several thousand votes, thus manufacturing the majority. Many other important election struggles were conducted in the carpenters and various other national unions.

### A. F. L. Unions Weakened By Opportunist Policies

Towards the close of the Coolidge period a number of factors combined to make necessary a fundamental change in policy on the part of the T.U.U.L. in the direction of building independent unions. Because of their officials, intense class collaboration policies, backed up by gangster rule, mass expulsions and complete suppression of union democracy, the trade unions were becoming less and less instruments that the workers could use effectively in defense of their interests. As I have stated before, the A. F. of L. and railroad unions constantly declined in membership throughout these years, falling from over four million in 1922 to less than two and a half million in 1928, and their fighting morale and strategic position in industry declined even more so. The trade unions had been vastly weakened in the basic industries, being completely wiped out in steel, meat, packing, automobile, metal mining, etc., and seriously weakened in coal mining, railroad, textile, etc. Meanwhile important sections of the masses of organized workers began to show signs of wanting to organize a demand which the devitalized, crippled A. F. of L. unions, with the best elements everywhere being expelled, could not satisfy. From the time of its formation, the T.U.U.L. had been sharply opposed to the establishment of dual unions, as tending to isolate the militants from the masses, even leaning backwards to some extent in its opposition to independent unions. But in the latter days of the Coolidge period, because of the general decadence of the conservative unions and the new surge for organization among the masses, it began to realize that in many instances it would have to be necessary to organize independent unions.

### Independent Policy Historically Correct

Unquestionably this basic change of policy on the part of the T.U.U.L. was fundamentally correct. It was made necessary, as I have stated, by the decadent, class collaborationist, gangster controlled condition of the unions, the wholesale expulsion of militants and by the pressure of disoriented masses for trade union organization. It must be noted, however, that during the few years following, there was a considerable tendency to abandon work in the old trade unions, in spite of the warnings of the 4th National Conference that this should not be done. Such a tendency, of course, could only work out to the advantage of the reactionaries by weakening the opposition to them in the existing unions.

### Policy of Independent Unions

At this juncture, in March 1928, A. Lozovsky, general secretary of the R.I.L.U. pointed out the growing reactionary spirit of the A. F. of L. and the expanding basis for militant independent unions in the United States. After some hesitation in the matter, the T.U.U.L. agreed with Comrade Lozovsky's analysis and began to lay more emphasis upon organizing the unorganized directly into independent unions.

By the middle of 1928 the T.U.U.L. began definitely to reorientate itself to the building of independent revolutionary industrial unions. The first steps to this effect took place in the three main fighting zones of the T.U.U.L., namely, textiles, mining and the needle industry. In each case however, the T.U.U.L. had been somewhat slow in taking action, the best time to launch the new organizations, namely in the heat of the struggle, had passed and the tide of battle was temporarily on the wane. In September, 1928, in Pittsburgh was launched the National Miners' Union. This was soon followed in New York by the foundation of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union in January, 1929, and the National Textile Workers Union in October 1928.

The new tendency toward independent industrial unionism came to full expression at the Fourth T.U.U.L. national convention, which was held in Cleveland, beginning August 31, 1928. At this conference the T.U.U.L. definitely shifted its main emphasis from work inside the old trade unions to the building of independent revolutionary industrial unions. Thenceforth the T.U.U.L. became primarily a center for the revolutionary industrial unions and leagues (which were preliminary stages of industrial unions). But the conference sharply warned, however, against the revolutionary elements giving up work inside the old unions, as it clearly realized that to do so would be tantamount to allowing control of these organizations to go by default to the reactionary Green, Woll & Co. The conference radically changed the constitution of the T.U.U.L. and gave the organization the name of Trade Union League (T.U.L.). The existing unions and leagues were as yet loosely organized and their estimated membership was approximately 30,000 at the time of the Cleveland conference.

Following the T.U.U.L. 1929 conference, within the next four years,

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William Z. Foster

several new industrial unions were formed. Among these, the principal unions were the Agricultural Workers Industrial League, Marine Workers Industrial Union, Steel & Metal Workers Industrial Union, and unions of Auto Workers, Food Workers, Shoe Workers, Lumber Workers, Tobacco Workers, and Furniture Workers, etc.

### Reformists Put Over NRA On Workers

It was this growing sentiment for struggle that brought forth the National Industrial Recovery Act as an attempt to stop the struggles of the workers. The "New Deal" came to the workers with promises for higher wages, reduced hours, and the right to organize—the very things for which the workers were striving for the fight. Though A.P.L. bureaucracy, the Socialist Party leadership, all types of reformists (among them the renegade Lovestone and Trotskyite groups), preached to the workers reliance upon the N. R. A. It is to the credit of the T.U.U.L. as events soon proved, that it from the very beginning exposed the N. R. A. as an instrument of the further enslavement of the masses and developed a sharp struggle against it.

The Roosevelt government with the assistance of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, was able for a time to postpone major strike struggles. Then the workers, growing impatient with promises, but still under the illusion that the "New Deal" will help them, began to strike for the "enforcement of the 'New Deal.'" The A. F. of L. bureaucracy tried to prevent these strikes, and where this was impossible, to disrupt them and end them quickly through arbitration. But despite this the workers, especially the miners, needle workers, some sections of the textile industry, etc., especially in those industries where the T.U.U.L. unions were a factor and where the left wing forces generally were influential, succeeded in making some substantial gains. With these struggles went a forward stride in the workers joining the unions. From the beginning, where the mass of the workers, for one reason or another, chose the A. F. of L. union, the T.U.U.L. directed its members to become part of the A. F. of L. organizations. Thus already in the July (1933) miners' strike, the National Miners Union membership joined the U.M.W.A. and the whole of the T.U.U.L. supported the right for the recognition of the U.M.W.A.

### Mass Disillusion With N.R.A. Grows

More and more the workers learned that the N.R.A. was used against them. Especially was this true of the basic industries of steel, auto, textile, etc. At the same time the workers learned that the "right to join a union of your choice" was a fraud. On the one hand the bosses with the aid of the N.R.A. forced the masses of the workers, by the millions, into company unions. At the same time the most vicious bloody attacks were made against the workers who joined the T.U.U.L. unions (Ambridge strike, New Mexico, Utah, etc.). The strikes that developed became more militant in character and inevitably were directed, not only against the employers, but also against the strike-breaking of the N.R.A. and its numerous arbitration boards. As the A. F. of L. leaders worked feverishly to prevent the growing strike movement, the rank and file which by now included new sections of the workers that joined the union, went ahead and organized their struggles. It was this spirit of the rank and file, their experience with the N.R.A., that led to the important strikes that have made history, such as Toledo, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, culminating in the heroic general strikes of San Francisco and the textile workers. The methods used by the workers in these struggles showed the direct influence of the

### Played Role in Organizing Jobless

Besides all of these strikes, the T.U.U.L. together with the Communist Party and the Unemployed Councils carried on a militant struggle for unemployment insurance and relief. Its organizations participated in the several national hunger marches, as well as in the hundreds of State and local hunger marches and unemployed demonstrations. Under the general polit-

### Led Important 1931 Coal Strike

Among the most important of the strikes of the T.U.U.L. in these years of the crisis were the three and a half month strike in 1931 of 42,000 miners in Western Pennsylvania, North Western Virginia and Eastern Ohio, under the leadership of the National Miners Union. This was the largest strike ever

local leadership of the Communist Party, the TUUL played a great part in developing such a mass demand of the workers for unemployment insurance that both the Roosevelt government and the equally reactionary A. F. of L. have had to give at least a lip endorsement for this insurance.

Throughout the period from 1929 to the beginning of the New Deal in 1933, the TUUL unions gradually built up their forces, with many advances and set-backs in individual cases. By the time of the introduction of the New Deal, the TUUL unions, still relatively loosely organized, numbered 40,000 members.

The role of the TUUL since 1933, which coincides with the Roosevelt "New Deal" are too well known to require any detailed statement on my part. The activity of the TUUL throughout the period preceding 1933 had a great influence on the struggles that developed subsequently. In fact, the year 1933 began with the important strike of the Detroit auto workers led by the Auto Workers Industrial Union in which some 20,000 workers participated. On April 1st of the same year 16,000 miners led by the National Miners Union struck. Most important is the fact that in both the case of the auto workers and miners the workers were able to gain substantial concessions. This marked a turning point in the struggles of the workers since the beginning of the crisis. Workers in numerous industries and plants, among them the textile workers in the first place, began to place demands upon their employers. Clearly the workers were on the march. The capitalist class, sensing the sentiment of the workers tried to arrest the strike movement through small wage increases. But this only whetted the appetite of the workers to regain some of the positions they had lost during the first crisis years.

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## Events Which Prepared Ground for New Perspective of Revolutionary Unionists Are Surveyed

activity of the T.U.U.L. and the T.U.U.L., and that these traditions are living and are being carried forward by the organized workers of the U. S.

To us it was clear from the beginning that the policies of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy would deliver the workers to the most serious blows of the capitalists who would use the whole situation to attack the workers and their trade unions. Today even Green is compelled to talk about the Roosevelt auto code renewal as "fascism." Today it is clear that the capitalists, with the full support of the Roosevelt government, are developing their attack on the labor movement on all fronts. Today even Gorman is compelled to state that "perhaps I made a mistake in calling off the textile strike." But the workers must not trust these belated "confessions." They are made with the purpose of winning back the waning confidence among the masses and to trap the workers once more. For even Green, while speaking about "fascism" also in the same breath tells the workers that "Roosevelt is our only hope." The workers' hope lies only in the organized and militant struggle of the trade unions against the attack of the employers, against the company unions, for better conditions, for the rights of the workers.

### Mass Sentiment for Unity of Unions

Because of the danger that threatens the whole labor movement, all labor must unite to fight back. The T.U.U.L., which has always fought for the unity of the trade unions, now finds a ready response to its proposals among the rank and file in the A. F. of L. unions. That is why trade union unity can today actually be realized. But that it will be realized only by overcoming the obstacles and sabotage placed in our path by the top leadership in the A. F. of L. is proven by experience in the recent efforts to establish trade union unity. In this spirit and with this understanding, the T.U.U.L. has already carried through in many industries, and continues to fight for, the unity of the trade unions.

### Summary

In its fifteen years of life, the T.U.U.L. and the T.U.U.L. has carried on a relentless struggle against the capitalist system and all its defenders; and for the maximum amelioration of the workers' conditions. It has shown itself worthy of the very best traditions of the American labor movement. It is the inheritor of the fighting spirit of the Haymarket martyrs, the A.R.U. militants, of the Knights of Labor, the I.W.W. in its revolutionary militant days, and of all the fighting militants that the trade union movement has produced—with the important addition that it is animated with a clear Leninist understanding of the revolutionary path along which the workers must travel to emancipation.

Under the general guidance of the R.I.L.U. the T.U.U.L. has carried on a militant fight for better wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions. It has struggled against the speed-up system and all the class collaborationists, and of the attempts of the labor leaders to cut wages and weaken the unions and help the bosses further exploit the workers. It has carried on a militant battle for the organization of the unorganized, for amalgamation of the unions into industrial organizations for abolition of Company Unions; for trade union democracy and rank and file control of strikes, and the development of a scientific strike strategy. It has pursued a relentless struggle against gangster and grafter control of the unions.

The T.U.U.L. from its inception has always been an ardent fighter for the unity of the working class, and has fought for the united front of all unions and other working class organizations. It has aggressively resisted every attempt of the bosses and labor fakers to play off Americans against foreign born workers, white against negro workers, men against women workers, or adults against young workers. The T.U.U.L. can truly claim that together with the rest of the militant and revolutionary labor movement it has carried on and developed among the masses, the struggle for the needs and rights of the Negro toilers, for equality. In this, like on all class issues that it raised, it had to conduct a sharp struggle against the white chauvinist position of Gompers, Green & Co. It has demanded and struggled for the equal rights of all these groups of workers in the unions and in the industry.

### T.U.U.L. Defended The Interests of Workers

The T.U.U.L. has also been sturdily international in character, losing no occasion to clasp hands in solidarity with the oppressed workers in all other capitalist countries, as well as in the victorious Soviet Union. It has been an inveterate enemy of capitalist war and war preparations. The T.U.U.L. has steadily followed the policy of politicizing the workers' struggles, of connecting up their scattered economic fights into a broad political struggle of the working class and of directing this struggle, not only against the bosses, but against the capitalist government. It has combated syndicalist anti-parliamentary illusions, the pseudo-neutrality of the A. F. of L. union and Railroad union leaders' policies, which amount to a treacherous endorsement of the capitalist parties. It has been one of the principal factors in the long struggle of the American working class for the es-

establishment of a genuine Labor Party, based on the trade unions. In the National elections of 1924-26-28 it endorsed the National candidates of the Communist Party.

The T.U.U.L. has carried on its activities in the face of sharp persecution from the capitalist government. Its militants have been clubbed, arrested, shot down, and otherwise terrorized. It has left its trail of martyred leaders in a score of hard fought battles, but through it all, the T.U.U.L. militants have shown themselves to be infused with true revolutionary fighting spirit and courage.

### Task of Unions to Fight War and Fascism

In its fight to secure for the workers the best possible conditions under capitalism, the T.U.U.L. has never lost sight of its revolutionary goal. Through the course of its 15 years of struggle, it has carried on never-ceasing propaganda for the abolition of the capitalist system and the building of Socialism. One of the principal phases of the education of the masses has been to bring home to them the lessons of the great Russian Revolution and to develop amongst them a growing determination to defend the Soviet Union from all capitalist attacks.

In its long and complicated struggle the T.U.U.L. has, of course, made some mistakes. But its main line of policy has always been sound and its revolutionary integrity unquestionable. The general effect of its work has been to enormously strengthen the revolutionary element in the working class and to make itself felt and heard by every capitalist and reactionary labor leader in the country. The T.U.U.L. has written its name indelibly upon the pages of American labor history.

It has been my privilege to serve as Secretary of the T.U.U.L. and the Left Wing trade union organizations that preceded it, for a period of 26 years. This convention will undoubtedly mark the end of the T.U.U.L. in its old form. It is necessary therefore, that a new committee of independent unions be created, should select national officers out of the unions that will be directly affiliated to it. As for myself, I shall devote my chief attention immediately to the work within the A. F. of L. and Railroad unions. Of course, I will never sever my connections with the militant workers organized in the former T.U.U.L. and other existing independent unions in their fight against the employers' offensive, for militant unionism, for trade union unity, for a mighty powerful united trade union movement in the United States.

The revolutionary trade union movement, the militants organized inside of the old trade unions, as well as those in the independent unions, have a tremendous task immediately ahead. It is not necessary for me here to recapitulate this task, as it has been already dealt with in the National Committee proposals, beyond the barest outline.

The capitalist class with their system bankrupt in their hands, are trying to further bolster it up and rob the workers by intensifying exploitation in every direction. They are cutting wages, reducing prices, slashing unemployment relief, and reducing workers' standards of living with every device that the most expert capitalist brain can devise; and the Roosevelt government with all its hypocritical pretense of helping the "forgotten man" is the great instrument by which the capitalist class are carrying through their program of degradation and further enslavement of the working class.

In pursuance of these general aims the capitalists are heading straight for fascism and war. Innumerable developments point to this end. This is the meaning of the fascist trend of the New Deal policies of the Hearst, Long, Coughlin, McPadden, Sinclair movements, as well as the sinister activities of the American Legion, American Security League, vigilante and other such organizations, as well as the big military budget, and the breaking off of trade negotiations with the U.S.S.R. Their aim is to smash the Communist Party, break up the trade unions and demolish every weapon that the working class possesses.

But the workers will not submit to such degradation and enslavement. They are rapidly becoming revolutionized, as the many strikes and other militant manifestations of the past three years amply demonstrate. The Green, Woll, Lewis leadership of the trade unions, the Socialist Party leadership, the renegades, will not organize the masses for struggle in defense of their living standards and for emancipation. This is the task of the militant trade unionists—Communists and non-Communists—to mobilize the great masses of the working class against their oppressors.

The great task of the revolutionary trade union movement is to smash this fascist program of the bosses, both in its immediate aspects of wage reductions, building of company unions, etc., as well as in its final objective of setting up a system of fascism in the United States; to become the decisive force in organizing the millions of unorganized; to work for a class Labor Party based on the trade unions; to lead the masses in the struggle for the immediate economic needs and political rights; to lead the masses in the direction of the abolition of the system of capitalist exploitation.