

Forces and Currents in the Present Political Situation *

By Jay Lovestone

ENERGETIC preparations are afoot in the United States to celebrate the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The city of Philadelphia will be the center for the Sesqui-Centennial celebration commemorating the event of inestimable significance for the entire world. Few who have followed with open eyes the developments of political thought—the ideological expression of class relationship and conflicts—the dynamics of human history—will fail to comprehend the historic role of the Declaration of Independence.

In the course of the last one hundred and fifty years the American republic has developed into what one may properly call an unconstitutional monarchy. On this occasion it is especially timely to examine the outlook for the development in the United States of the Labor Party movement—the movement for independent working class political action—the movement for a new Declaration of Independence in America of, by, and for the workers, as a class.

The Basic Factors for a Labor Party.

We should first examine the basic factors making for the growth of political consciousness in the ranks of the workers. This must be done if one is not to have his vision and perspective blurred by the temporary sharp upward swings or the passing swift downward periods in the curve of the Labor Party or any other great class movement. Otherwise our conclusions will be of a character vibrating between rosy optimism and the darkest pessimism. The Marxist-Leninist cannot estimate any great historical movement on the basis of transient affairs, by means of the yardstick of temporary and superficial phenomena.

There are two basic forces making for the development of an American class Party of the proletariat. These forces are:

1. The development of a powerful centralized government, functioning ever more openly as the executive committee of the bourgeoisie.

We have the living ruthless manifestations of governmental power in the growing tendency to use the official military machinery of the government for strike-breaking purposes; the attacks on the unions; government by injunction; and the Big Stick policies of American capitalists in Latin-America, Europe, Africa, the

Near and Far East. These events make up the blunt expression of the American system of government.

2. The tendency towards the development of a homogeneous American working class is a basic factor in the consideration of class relationships in the United States. One need but look at the effect of the World War in this direction, as shown by the levelling process in the ranks of the proletariat thru narrowing the economic gap between the skilled and the unskilled masses, thru the effects of decreased immigration, thru the great exodus of agricultural masses into the basic industries during the post-war severe agricultural debacle, and so on.

These two basic tendencies, coming as the impelling forces for the rise of a Labor Party in the United States, are inherent features of the development of American class society and class relations. The trend of these forces may vary and does vary at different moments. It would be foolhardy for one to say that the movement towards the development of the giant centralized government playing the role of a strike-breaking agency is, has been, or would be continuously upward or uninterruptedly in one direction. It would be equally absurd to say that the movement for the development of a homogeneous American working class is, has been, or will be unceasingly upward. The curve of social movements, of class relationships, is rather zig-zag, is more broken than straight, and has its ups and downs.

Speaking statistically, the Marxian historian must learn to judge events not by temporary upward or downward fluctuations. The Marxian-Leninist should be able to smooth all the curves, all the ups and downs, and find the general trend, the basic tendencies of the historigram. We should also be able to judge accurately all the elements of the dialectic process, which forces of the basic trend, the downward or the upward, the disintegrating or the consolidating, are dominant at any specific moment.

Once we understand these two basic forces making for a class Party of the American proletariat, we will find that the current of the development of the Labor Party movement is almost directly commensurate with and an accurate reflection of the fluctuations of the general trend, the variations of the unmistakable and undeniable tendencies towards the development of a highly centralized government, and the tendency towards a homogeneous working class in America.

* This article is taken from the Hammer, the new Jewish theoretical organ of the Workers Communist Party.

Recent Currents in the Labor Party Movement.

With this as a background, let us proceed to look into the why and wherefore of the recent currents in the movement for the formation of an American Labor Party.

We find it necessary at the outset to declare that the movement for a Labor Party is not distinctly new in the sense of being purely a post-war phenomenon. Local isolated Labor Party movements have manifested themselves long before the World War, during periods of acute economic depression. But it was not until 1918 that the American Labor Party movement assumed fundamental national features, signs of developing on a national scale and on a stable basis. From 1918 to the early part of 1924 the development of our Labor Party movement was, on the whole, in an upward direction. The general swing of the Labor Party movement in the last year or so, insofar as one can speak of general trends in so basic a movement as the development of independent proletarian political action for so short a time, has been downward.

Let us, then, examine the economic and the political basis of the recent downward curve, of the slackening in the pace of development of the Labor Party movement in the United States.

The primary reason for the slackening of the Labor Party movement is to be found in the intense development of American imperialism during the last two or three years. From the Treaty of London in December of 1924 to the Treaties of Locarno, that is, from Dawes to Locarno, we go thru months of unbroken advances and unimpeded encroachment of American imperialism in every avenue and alley of the capitalist world.

In this light it is instructive to note the report of the Federal Reserve Bank for March, 1926, dealing with the annual incomes of 294 representative concerns in 1925. The net profits of these concerns were thirty per cent higher last year than in 1924 or 1925.

Rubber, oil, automobiles, steel, railroad and tobacco companies especially had a banner year.

This tremendous, economically advantageous economic position maintained by the American bourgeoisie has its political reflection at home as well as abroad. In the arena of world politics, Uncle Sam as a symbol of the Yankee bourgeoisie, is still the undisputed leader. No treaties can be signed by European, Asiatic, or Latin-American countries without the signatory powers taking into serious consideration the likely attitude or the actual actions of the United States in connection with the decisions of the agreement under discussion. This is true whether America participates officially, unofficially, or pulls the wires behind the scenes in true magicians' style in the conferences or treaty negotiations.

In domestic politics, the result of the improved

stabilized economic conditions are many and significant. The sweeping victory of American wheat in the 1924 World market brought a bumper crop of Coolidge votes and helped demoralize the agrarian ranks of the progressives and insurgents.

The Corruption of the Skilled Workers.

The unparalleled advantages reaped by the American capitalists thru their strengthened monopoly position in the world market of commodities and capital have enabled them to bribe increasing sections of our working class. Today, the American labor bureaucracy is more than ever before an integral part of the state machinery, of the governmental apparatus of the exploiters.

Today, the American labor aristocracy is bigger and better off than it ever was and consists of many millions of workers. Tho the United States government has been functioning more or less openly and aggressively as an agent of finance capital against the great unskilled unorganized proletarian masses, it has not had occasion, in the last two years, to interfere with such ruthless brutality and against the trade unions as it did in 1921-23. The bourgeoisie have given the aristocracy of labor, those workers who constitute the bulk of American organized labor, a few more bones and crumbs as shares of the fabulous super profits which they have been reaping from their corner of the world gold supply, the great export of capital, their strategic industrial and financial position.

Here are some instructive strike figures. In 1921 there were 2,385 strikes, in 1923, 1,506, and in 1924, only 1,227 strikes. In this connection, two facts must be remembered. First, strikes are conducted mainly by the organized workers. Secondly, the organized workers in America are in the main drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy of labor. Furthermore, in 1919, the number of workers involved in strikes was 4,160,348; in 1921, 1,099,247, and in 1924 only a total of 654,453.

Recent Experiments of Class Collaboration.

If there is any proof wanted of the selling out of our trade union bureaucracy, boot and baggage, to the bourgeoisie, let one examine the recent marked signs of class collaboration on the part of organized labor in its dealings with the capitalist class.

We will point out only three of the latest outstanding expressions of the way our labor aristocracy is being corrupted by the super-profits of the American imperialists.

These instances are:

1. The sweep of labor banking schemes as shown by the latest plans of the New York Federation of Labor Bank and the buying of Fascist government bonds by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

2. The home owning scheme announced by one of the biggest unions in the country.

3. The Watson-Parker railroad labor bill, just passed by Congress, providing for the abolition of the Railway Labor Board.

We will discuss these three facts and then examine the effect of this development of American imperialism on the movement for a Labor Party.

a) Labor Banking Schemes.

One of the leading labor banks of the country is the Federation Bank of New York. A committee of two hundred stockholders consisting of "leading citizens" has just been organized to help this bank become a trust company. On this committee, the so-called advisory committee, there are included nine representatives of the printing industry, eight publishers, eight bankers, eight lawyers, seven builders, seven real estate dealers, six judges, six theatrical magnates, five industrial capitalists, five brokers and three insurance men. In this galaxy we find side by side with such labor leaders as Peter J. Grady, the president of the Bank, and Max Zukerman of the Cloth, Hat and Capmakers' Union, A. T. Lefcourt and Michael Cashal of the International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, such notorious anti-shop spokesmen as Mortimer L. Schiff, international banker, associated with Kuhn, Loeb, and Company, Gerard Swope of the General Electric Company. The Republican Party is represented by Mr. Charles E. Hilles. The Democratic Party has as its spokesman Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Bank now has resources totalling \$70,000,000.

There are very few workers in the American trade union movement who look with favor on the Fascist government. Even Mr. Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor, has been compelled by the opposition of the rank and file of the workers to denounce the Mussolini tyranny. Yet we find that the banks controlled by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers were selling bonds of the Fascist government when the last Italian loan was floated in the United States.

These two incidents above mentioned are not isolated cases. They are rather straws indicating the current of the wind now blowing in the ranks of the aristocracy of American labor.

b) The Home Ownership Illusion.

For many years the bourgeoisie have tried to undermine progressive movements of the proletariat by pushing the idea of home ownership among the workers. Now we come to the latest stage in the development of class collaboration schemes. There has just been formed an organization known as the American Home Builders, Incorporated. This organization was founded several months ago with W. G. Lee, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, as chairman of the Board of Directors. Its object is "to reduce the cost of home ownership to workers and to originate ways of profitable investment" in mortgages on small homes.

In making their first announcement about the objectives of this organization, these bankers propagated the illusions of landlordism, rather the hope of permanent, secure home owning for the masses of workers under capitalism. These labor agents of imperialism declare:

"Labor and capital will see limitless possibilities in this second step in the economic program proposed by the father of the labor banking movement, —a national home ownership program for workers, financed in the main by workers' savings."

Landlordism and progressivism will not mix even in a country like the United States, so renowned for ingenuity and technique in developing methods of production and finance!

c) Selling Out Millions of Workers and the Right to Strike.

But the nadir of the corruption of the labor aristocracy and the betrayal of the unskilled proletarian masses at the hands of the highly skilled workers is to be found in a bill just overwhelmingly adopted by Congress—in the Railway Labor Act "which provides for the prompt disposition of disputes between railway carriers and their employees."

This bill is sponsored in the Senate by no other champion of the working class than Mr. Watson of Indiana, notorious as an agent of the Beef Trust in the United States Senate! It aims to set up a new procedure to encourage and to provide for the liquidation of all disputes by mutual consent and collaboration of the employees and the railroad magnates. The bill tries, really for the first time in the history of American railroad legislation, to secure an open and explicit understanding between the representatives of the railroad capitalists and the spokesmen of the railway workers for the settlement of all differences that may arise without resorting to strikes and actually making it impossible for the workers to resort to strikes effectively.

About a year ago, three of the "Chiefs"—as the leaders of the Railway Brotherhoods are known—and a committee of the Railway Executives began private conferences with a view towards working out principles of railway legislation acceptable to both interests. The bill was drawn up by a sub-committee consisting of two Brotherhood Chiefs and two railroad officers.

The basic contention of this bill is that railway peace and uninterrupted railway service are paramount to all other interests. It is based on the notion that railroad problems must be handled individually and separately in each particular case, whenever a difficulty arises on any railroad. It strives to establish Boards of Adjustment and Joint Committees for the settlement of disputed questions directly between the employees and the capitalists of the railway on whose lines difficulties have arisen. The bill deliberately overlooks the fact that when an individual railroad faces an individual local

union of workers, it is not facing these workers as an individual railroad, but merely as an agent of a gigantic railroad monopoly. Consequently, the bill aims to pit small sections of the railway workers' organizations against the entire railway monopoly.

Should the individual adjustment boards of the different railways be unable to settle a controversy, then the question at issue is referred to a permanent Board of Mediators, consisting of five commissioners appointed by the President. This Board will have the task of bringing about a friendly adjustment. Should this permanent board of mediators fail, then it will endeavor to have the parties involved in the controversy submit their case to arbitration upon mutually agreeable terms. The decisions of this Board of Arbitration would be final. It would become a judgment of the United States District Court, unless successfully impeached within ten days after being filed with the Court.

The Watson-Parker bill also provides that the President of the United States create a Fact-finding Commission. This Commission is to make a report to the President within thirty days after it is constituted. During the thirty days of investigation no change is to be made in the condition against which the workers protest. The bill specifically declares that nothing in the proposed legislation prohibits an individual railroad and its workers from coming to an agreement in disputed questions thru whatever machinery that may have been established by mutual agreement. This legalizes company unions. The Railway Brotherhood chiefs thus sign their name to an endorsement, indirectly of course, of company unionism.

We must keep in mind that this bill is the product of negotiations between the railway companies and representatives of the skilled railway workers and leaves totally out of consideration the million and a half maintenance of way men, railway shopmen and the other less skilled crafts of workers employed on the railways. The bill has the approval of Gen. Atterbury, the notorious labor-hater of the scab Pennsylvania Railroad System.

Under these circumstances it is no wonder that President Coolidge in his last message to Congress lauded this inclination of the railway capitalists and the leaders of the skilled railway employees to adopt a policy of action which he said "marked a new epoch in our industrial life."

But the contradictions of capitalism are far more powerful than all the notorious purposes of the betrayers of the railway workers in the United States. Just as this bill is being considered by the Senate, the Railway Brotherhoods are determinedly seeking increased wages. There are multiplying indications that other groups of railway workers will also demand wage increases during the present year. What

is even more enlightening is that these demands for wage increases are not made in any conciliatory terms but are characterized by a firmness welcome to those who are looking forward to the development of energetic resistance by the workers against their exploiters.

Oppression of Great Proletarian Masses Intensified.

Concurrently with their practice of corrupting the skilled workers, the American imperialists have been tightening up, putting the screws on, and oppressing the great mass of unskilled workers. Those organizations of railroad labor consisting largely of the less skilled and unskilled workers have been smashed almost to smithereens by the open shop drive of our imperialists. We need but look at the dwindling handful now in the ranks of the once powerful Railway Shopmen's organizations and the United Maintenance of Way men. What is there left of the Seamen's Union? What is happening to the United Mine Workers of America? What are the chances of mobilizing hundreds of thousands of unskilled steel workers in the coming months for another unionization campaign as was done in 1919?

Effect on the Labor Party Movement.

What has been the effect of this imperialist corruption of the enlarged labor aristocracy on the one hand, and the degradation, on the other hand, of the great proletarian masses, on the movement for independent political action—on the movement for a Labor Party?

The sum total effect has been to deter, to slacken the pace of the development of the Labor Party movement.

Why? First of all, tho the development of the centralized government has gone on apace in the United States, (this is true despite the actual decrease of the governmental bureaucracy since the war and the immediate post-war days) the organized skilled workers, have on less occasions faced the brutal attacks of the bourgeois state apparatus in the last two years and have consequently been less keen for separate, for independent, political action as a class. Their economic organizations in these days of so-called prosperity, have apparently served them well. Why should they then bother about looking for new, and, to them, untried weapons of struggle? Besides, and at least for the present, their political interests are bound up ideologically and actually with the imperialist machinations and schemes for American capitalist domination of the world market.

Here we have a deepening of the split, of the chasm, a broadening of the gap between the skilled, the aristocracy of labor, and the great mass of the unskilled proletarian workers. This separation of the best educated and the best organized workers, the working class elements most suitable for the leadership of a Labor

Party movement, from the real proletariat has been a powerful force checking the development of a Labor Party movement in the United States.

The American labor aristocracy has, in the last two years, been moving to the right at a rapid pace. The economic and consequently the political, levelling process in the ranks of the American workers so noticeable immediately after the war, has been checked by the recent intensified developments of American imperialism. The tendency towards the development of a homogeneous working class has, in the last two years, been struck a real blow by the ability of the American imperialists to buy out with their super-profits the aristocracy of the American working class and to tighten their grip on these millions of workers more firmly than many of us have judged in the recent past.

The Increase in Immigration.

Another fact must be recounted in discussing the slackening of the tendency towards the levelling process among the American workers. During the war the immigration wave to America's shores practically ceased. The cessation of immigration was a powerful factor toward the homogeneous development of the American working class. Despite the recently enacted restrictive immigration legislation there came into the United States more than one million workers—according to the official records of the United States—in the year 1924 and 1925. In addition to this number of immigrants regularly admitted and classified as legally entered, we must also add the hundreds of thousands who have in the last few years come into this country thru irregular channels, thru so-called illegal methods. According to Commissioner of Immigration, Harry D. Hull, there are at present in the United States approximately 1,300,000 immigrants who entered the country irregularly and who are now liable to deportation under the provisions of the notorious anti-foreign born bills.

This giant influx of immigration has certainly been proving a barrier to the tendency towards homogeneity in the ranks of the American working class and has further deepened the chasm between the native American workers who are largely skilled and the foreign born workers who are in the main unskilled proletarians.

The Petty Bourgeoisie Take Temporary Leadership.

One further factor must be examined in analyzing the trend of the labor party movement in the United States. The sharp conflicts and contradictions within the American bourgeoisie gave rise to the broad LaFollette movement coming to a head in 1924. The dominant forces of this petty bourgeois movement rebelling against the aggression of monopolist capitalism

took over the leadership of the workers' movement towards a Labor Party. No one should overlook the fact that the leadership of the Labor Party movement was weak in political experience compared to the leadership of the insurgent petty bourgeois movement.

Furthermore the ideology of the Labor Party movement, to the extent that it did develop simultaneously with the progressive petty bourgeois movement, was still weak, vague and unclear. Consequently, it was a comparatively easy task for the leaders of the LaFollette movement temporarily to assume the leadership and control of the movement towards working class political action,—the movement for a Labor Party. Tho, in a way, the LaFollette movement was a movement towards the left insofar as millions of American workers broke with the traditional two Party ticket and voted for a ticket against the big capitalists, yet temporarily it meant a setback in the development, a slackening in the pace of development of the distinct Labor Party in this country.

The Basis for Tendencies Towards the Left.

Now let us look at the opposite tendencies. Let us see what other forces are at work in the development of class relationships in the United States. What forces are making for the intensification of the movement for political consciousness on the part of the proletarian masses?

a) The Rising Challenge to Yankee Imperialism.

American imperialism is without question still exercising an undisputed sway. But there are multiplying signs that the forces challenging American imperialist supremacy are unifying their ranks and preparing to resist Yankee capitalist aggression. We need but examine the statement recently issued by Mr. Julius Klein, the foreign trade expert of the Department of Commerce regarding the last annual foreign trades report of the United States. Mr. Klein declares that America's foreign trade will soon face a period of severe embarrassment and considerable uncertainty.

America has been compelled to hasten the financial and industrial restoration of Europe in order to stave off revolution and thus to prolong the life of the entire international capitalist system. But with the steady financial and industrial restoration of Europe, Mr. Klein sees a promise of more acute competition for American exports in every market of the world. It is obvious that once this imperialist supremacy of the United States is shaken or undermined, then there will be a reflex politically at home and the resistance of the workers to capitalist aggression will be considerably intensified. Once America's privileged imperialist position is weakened, undermined, or overthrown, we will be well on the road to developing a mass labor party in the United States.

One need not lose his patience and say: Well, it will take us as many years as it took the English working class to develop a big movement expressing the class consciousness of the proletariat. Events move much faster now than they did in the 90's and in the early part of this century. We are now living in a different period. The forces of international capitalist disintegration, the agencies making for contradictions and conflicts in the ranks of the exploiters are too numerous and too powerful to be disregarded. These forces were not present before the world war. They were especially not even visible in the days of the first challenge to British imperialism, in the days of the first threat to British imperialism later resulting in the weakening of its strategic position in the arena of world capitalist financial and industrial relationship.

A very much underestimated phase of the Locarno Treaties is to be found in the trend towards the unification of Europe against Wall Street's encroachment on its markets and on its industries and finances. The calling in by President Coolidge of Ambassador Houghton from London for a special conference is an event of paramount significance, indicating the fact that the United States is not exactly satisfied in every respect with the trend of events in Europe since the Locarno Treaties. The ease with which President Coolidge's initiative and invitation for a new disarmament conference was thrust aside by England and the European powers is a further sign of the new development among the European countries in their dealings with the United States.

b) The Deepening Agricultural Crisis.

The mutterings of agricultural revolt are again being heard with increasing loudness. It is not my purpose at this time to enter into an elaborate analysis of the conditions of American agriculture. Suffice it to say that the recent spurt in agricultural economy was short-lived and not in the least fundamental. It was due largely to a temporary condition—the bumper wheat crop of the United States at the time when the rest of the world was facing a shortage. The basic forces responsible for the distress in agricultural economy have not been removed. In fact they have not been alleviated in the least. Dire economic straits for millions of farmers can be translated only into disruptive forces of a most dangerous character for the whole system of capitalist economy in the United States. Such deep-going economic forces have vital political expression. Social unrest and class conflicts are very contagious.

Speaking of the increasing unrest among the farmers, the National Industrial Conference Board—an employers' investigating organization—has declared on March 8, 1926, that there is a "new Mason-Dixon line" which no longer separates the North from the South but that it

is the Mississippi Valley which separates the West from the East.

"The chief significance of this shifting of political attitudes lies in the fact that it directly reflects a serious economic maladjustment of agriculture and it is seen by the Conference Board as a warning that a more scientific coordination of all industrial and business activities is needed.

"The rate of farm failures from 1910 to 1924 shows an increase of over 1000 per cent in contrast to that of commercial failures, which has remained practically the same per year during the same period. Capital invested by farm operators decreased from forty-seven billion dollars in 1920 to thirty-two billion dollars in 1925, a loss of approximately three billion dollars a year."

Once the farmers become really disgruntled the dissatisfaction is bound to spread into the ranks of the workers, particularly when a shaking up of the economic conditions in the rural areas must sooner, rather than later, bring disruptive influence upon the economic conditions in the industrial centers.

With the disappearance of the period of so-called economic prosperity, we have every good reason to believe, on the basis of our past experience, that the movement for political action by the workers as distinct from their exploiters, the movement for independent class political action, the movement for a Labor Party, will grow.

c) Intensification of Contradictions in Ranks of Bourgeoisie.

At the same time we see not only a revival, but even an intensification of the contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie, temporarily met several months ago. The issue over the World Court is not a secondary one. It involves a fundamental conflict of interests between a section of our petty bourgeoisie against the monopolist capitalists, against the finance capitalists dominating the government today.

Senator Borah has never been exactly the type to stick to the party reservation. He has often been called a "wild horse" in the Republican Party. But this is the first time that Borah has been so definitely and so out-spokenly against the administration. Of course, Mr. Borah fought Woodrow Wilson at least as energetically on the League of Nations as he is now fighting Coolidge on the World Court. It must be remembered, however, that in fighting Coolidge, he is fighting the leader of his own Party. In the hay-days of LaFollette progressivism, Borah was always very cautious not to be irregular when it came to basic organizational discipline. In his fight on the World Court, Mr. Borah is showing every sign of dropping these measures of caution.

For years the tariff question has been a fake issue in the camp of our bourgeoisie. Today it is no longer a false issue. Tariff is becoming a very sharp question for the United States. The problem of maintaining America's favorable trade balance, the problem of maintaining

America's dominant imperialist position, the conflicts between the monopolist capitalists and the small bourgeoisie on these questions are reflected at this time in varying degrees in the tariff issue. We can look forward to the tariff issue being a source of disintegration in the ranks of the exploiters.

Nor has the Tax question been settled. The recent triumphal success of Mellon in the so-called non-partisan action on and adoption of his tax reduction bill is not to be mistaken as an end of the tax problem. The tax question will prove more and more menacing to the American capitalists. It is a source of great difficulties and greatest differences for the Yankee bourgeoisie. Mellonism has had a victory but the forces against the Mellon scheme which has reduced taxes for those who can pay best are lining up for another test of strength.

d) Leftward Forces Among the Workers.

Amongst the workers themselves, the sentiment for a Labor Party is stronger than its present organizational expression would indicate or than the superficial evidence and manifestations would warrant one to conclude. Before the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, the leaders of the bureaucracy categorically expressed themselves as opposed to a Labor Party in principle. At the last convention there was a slight difference from this hackneyed practice in the attitude taken by the leaders of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Let us quote from the speech of Mr. Green on the Labor Party question, delivered at the last Federation of Labor convention.

"There may be a time when we in America can organize an independent political Party, when our nation becomes an industrial nation, as Great Britain now is, when the centers of population have grown, and increased, and the distances between our villages and our cities are greatly reduced, when the line of demarcation between village and village and city and city is so indistinct that it is scarcely discernible. We will have to change in America from an agricultural nation to a semi-industrial country before we can make a success along that line."

Of course, this is a lot of prattle used by Mr. Green with designs to hide the fact that even he is forced to recognize the growing economic basis and increasing pressure for a Labor Party, coming from the ranks of the masses. To talk of the United States being developed into a semi-industrial country when it is already the most highly industrialized country in the world, to talk of the agricultural situation as being a barrier towards the development of class consciousness among the American workers, is just to dabble in empty phrases. Even this smoke screen cannot hide the change in class relationships in the United States. The mere fact that Mr. Green has declared himself as not being opposed in principle to a labor party but

only opposed to a labor party at this time is weighty evidence of the tendency towards the Labor Party manifesting itself in the ranks of the American proletarian masses in the United States.

The defeat of the expulsion campaign launched against the communists in several of the unions, the growing sympathy for the Soviet Union in many of the largest labor organizations of the country, the increasing signs of invigorated opposition to the reactionary Jewish Daily Forward's machine in the Socialist Party, are additional signs of the strengthening of leftward tendencies among the working class organizations in the United States. Here we have a fertile soil for the independent working class, for the idea of the formation of a Labor Party.

The Balance Sheet.

To conclude let us reiterate the fact that it was the intensified development of American imperialism in the last two years, with its consequent result of slackening of the pace of development of a homogeneous working class in the United States, the weakening of the tendency towards the levelling process in the ranks of the workers, the decrease of the frequency with which the centralized government apparatus resorted to strikebreaking with wanton brutality, openly and flagrantly against the workers,—it is these forces which were primarily responsible for the slowing up of the development of the Labor Party movement in the United States. The assumption of leadership of the Labor Party movement by the petty bourgeoisie, during the LaFollette campaign, as well as the increased immigration—regular and irregular, legal and illegal—in the last two years, have been basic forces making against the development of a mass Labor Party in the United States.

The course of these forces has its ups and downs. So has the course of the development of the Labor Party movement. In the 1926 congressional elections there will be no national Labor Party in the field. In certain states there may be Labor Parties entering the contest against the old parties of the bourgeoisie. In fact in the states of North Dakota, So. Dakota, Montana, Washington, Pennsylvania there are already evidences of the likelihood of substantial Farmer Labor Party and Labor Party organizations participating in the coming campaign. The United Labor Ticket, one of the first steps toward a Labor Party, will very likely be resorted to in many of the industrial centers with worthwhile success. In the main, this step towards a Labor Party is the immediate and most possible goal of the advanced, most conscious, the genuinely progressive workers in all trades unions and organizations of the working and exploited farming masses.