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THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, AND THE IMMEDIATE
TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF MASS WORK

(Resolution adopted by the Third National Convention of the Socialist
Workers Party)

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

The main body of the Trade Union Resolution will be published soon in pamphlet form for general distribution among trade union contacts. Certain revisions are of course necessary to make the document more adaptable for public circulation.

It is therefore important to bear in mind that the resolution published in this bulletin is the complete text of the official document adopted by the convention. Several important sections contained therein will not appear in the pamphlet. This resolution must therefore be considered as the guide for party work in the mass movement, and the pamphlet must be regarded only as a special tool for mass work.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, AND THE IMMEDIATE
TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF MASS WORK.

(Resolution adopted by the Third National Convention)

The Third Convention of the Socialist Workers Party reaffirms the basic resolution on the trade union question adopted at the Founding Convention at Chicago, Illinois in January, 1938.

The most important single field of activity of the revolutionary proletarian party is the trade unions. Unless the party is deeply rooted in the basic economic organizations of the working class, and is inseparably associated with them in their daily struggles, it can be, at best, a literary propagandist group but not a living revolutionary party of the proletariat, able to lead the latter in the decisive struggle for power. The party that is divorced from the trade union movement and its daily work, is doomed to sterility and disintegration.

A Life or Death Question

The problem of the vigorous development of party mass work is today something more than a matter of growth. The impending entry of the United States into the imperialist war presents a life or death question to the party. M-Day is close at hand. The carefully prepared plans for a war-time military dictatorship are an open secret. Detailed arrangements have been completed for the regimentation of the workers in the war machine. Elaborate machinery has been worked out for the suppression of the workers in industry, as well as for their conscription into the military machine. The anti-labor drive has already begun.

Roosevelt Prepares for M-Day

Two campaigns in preparation for M-Day have already been launched by Roosevelt. One in the open, the second under cover.

The open campaign takes form around the Roosevelt dictum: "You can't strike against the government." This slogan has been picked up by the entire governmental apparatus. La Guardia hurls it at the New York subway workers as he prepares to smash their union. The cop shouts it at the unemployed worker as he shoves him into the patrol wagon for picketing a relief substation.

The under-cover campaign has been entrusted to the Department of Justice with its rapidly expanding Federal Bureau of Investigation. The anti-trust laws are being applied against the trade unions. Unemployed workers are subjected to criminal prosecution for exercising their constitutional right to strike against the starvation dole. The FBI today cooperates closely with the local police on all labor cases. Wherever the slightest possible pretext can be found the Department of Justice takes full jurisdiction. Workers have already been incarcerated in the federal prisons as a result of the new drive; others are under heavy bond pending appeal of convictions to higher courts; still others are under probation to federal officers, with penitentiary sentences hanging over them.

The FBI has publicly requested notice of all public meetings, parades and demonstrations. They have asked the trade unions to advise them of any known "subversive elements." Noisy investigations of "sabotage" are made of even the most minor industrial mishaps.

Submission or Jail

In the face of these acts the trade union leadership continues to defend Roosevelt before the workers. They interpret the failure to appoint Thurman Arnold to the office of Attorney-General upon the resignation of Frank Murphy as a disciplinary action by Roosevelt because of Arnold's anti-labor activities. They triumphantly clinch the argument by pointing to the paring down of the budget requested by the Department of Justice. The CIO does not protest the FBI drive against the AFL building trade unions; they are confident it is in reality Roosevelt's way of forcing the craft unionists to make peace with Lewis. If they don't believe this then they are more interested in remaining silent for factional reasons than they are in making a principled defense against the governmental anti-union drive. The AFL leadership only fumbles with the problem of defense against Roosevelt-Arnold. Both AFL and CIO agree that "You can't strike against the government."

Make no mistake about it. This is not the independent program of an insubordinate Thurman Arnold or J. Edgar Hoover. It is the official policy of Roosevelt, of American imperialism, in preparation for M-Day. They are mobilizing reaction on all fronts. They seek to intimidate those who cannot be won over voluntarily to the support of the war. They intend to jail those who refuse to be intimidated.

Into the Mass Movement

Only an aroused proletariat, fighting on a class struggle basis, is capable of meeting the campaign to plunge the American workers into another blood-bath of imperialist war. They can do this only with a revolutionary leadership.

A small handful of party members have "solved" the war problem by going into hibernation - to "save themselves for the revolution." This is nothing less than desertion under fire. It is not compatible with membership in the Fourth International. People who propose to be revolutionary leaders of the proletariat cannot go into hiding when their class is in danger.

The place for the party is in the front ranks of the revolutionary struggle against the war. Every party member must find his place in the mass movement. The party must be deeply rooted in the ranks of its class. The alternative is not alone the failure of the party to grow. There is grave danger of its complete degeneratio

Industry Prepares

There has been a sharp increase in "educational" orders for war materials. The revision of the Neutrality Act not only made possible the supplying of armaments to the future allies of the United States. It provided the basis for a sharp increase in tempo in the preparation of industry to serve the American war machine. Some employers have already openly demanded that new union contracts contain a clause which would automatically void them on M-Day.

It is of more than passing significance that Alfred M. Landon has participated in the "good neighbor" spade-work in the Latin-American countries in preparation for war, and that Herbert Hoover headed the Finnish Relief Committee. The bourgeois political parties differ on the question of how most successfully to exploit the workers, but they are very careful about public disagreements on the delicate question of herding the workers into war.

New Deal Now War Deal

The New Deal has proven a complete failure. After eight years of Roosevelt's leadership the nation which possesses the mightiest instruments of production yet developed by mankind is still confronted with the contradiction of millions of unemployed while factories lie idle or operate only part time and great sections of the working class suffer from hunger and go in want of the most elementary needs.

Because of the low mass purchasing power the profit system cannot find an adequate market at home. It ignores the problems of the unemployed, the underpaid, the undernourished workers and instead prepares to use them as cannon fodder in a war for greater supremacy in the world market and for new fields for the exploitation of labor.

There are today over twelve million unemployed in the United States; yet, the WPA is in a process of liquidation. Federal relief appropriations fall ever lower; armament budgets rise ever higher. Soldiers do not need WPA jobs, but they do need guns. The New Deal has become the War Deal.

Sharpening Class Struggle

The artificial wave of patriotism which will no doubt accompany the opening of hostilities by this country will not be of long duration. There is little likelihood that the American workers will submit as docilely as in 1917-18. Twenty-two more years of capitalist mismanagement since the First World War have created new cracks in the foundations of the bourgeois state. Great economic struggles have sharpened the class-consciousness of the proletariat; it will crystallize under the impact of war.

Continued postponement of the entry of the United States into the war is possible. Maneuvers for alignments, military-strategic considerations, developments on existing war fronts are among the external considerations. Internally a spirit of war fever must be whipped up: "Poor little Finland (Belgium)"; "Save democracy from Hitlerism (Kaiserism)". Meanwhile the economic and social contradictions continue to pile up: strain of war budget, unemployment crisis, strike struggles, resistance of the workers to regimentation.

World imperialism sits on a powder keg of potential revolution. The colonial countries are seething with revolt. Deep rumblings are heard from the working classes of the belligerent nations. No matter where the first explosion may occur, the flames of revolution will spread swiftly. There will be deep reverberations in the working class of the United States.

The sharpening class struggle will in the next period be waged with increasing fury. American capitalism will not yield without a desperate fight. There will be war to the knife, war without quarter. The outcome will be socialism or fascism. There is no middle road. The workers must have a revolutionary leadership. They must know what they are fighting against and how best to wage the struggle.

Capitalist Propaganda.

The young worker begins life under the tremendous disadvantage of a great burden of miseducation. The books in the public schools falsify history to glorify the capitalist system and hide the grim realities of life in the bourgeois slave market. War is glorified. Famous patriots are deified. Pans of praise

are sung to the great exponents of rugged individualism. The epic struggles of the exploited working class are not recorded in the pages of the official textbooks. A man is considered a great liberal, even a radical, who will venture to introduce a book, even a lecture, which only records the historic facts of the class struggle. Such is the bourgeois educational system.

The adult worker, seeking to peer through the fog of these false teachings, is confronted with a new barrage. The daily press, the popular magazines, radio, movies -- all are used to twist and distort facts, to put capitalism in the most favorable, and the workers movement in the most unfavorable, light.

The highways and the city streets of the nation are placarded with slogans which sing the siren song of class collaboration. "If you work for a living you are in business. What helps business helps you." Pictures appear showing a worker in a nice home, well furnished. There is a radio and a telephone. With him are his wife and children, all well dressed, all healthy looking and obviously happy. Other pictures appear showing the same happy working class family in a good car, speeding down an excellent highway for a day's outing in the country. Underneath the pictures appear the slogan: "The American Way." The workers in the slums raise a skeptical eyebrow as they examine these pictures.

In its efforts to screen its mismanagement of the economic life of the nation the bourgeoisie turns to the world's most backward nations to find "proofs" of the superiority of the American standard of living.

Divide, Deceive and Rule

Founded on class privilege the bourgeois state denies the existence of social classes. Raping the natural resources of the land, robbing the workers and the farmers, capitalism blandly labels its critics, one and all, as un-American. Dissatisfied workers are "agitators." Strikers are "lawless hoodlums." Militant leaders of the workers are "reds."

Divide, deceive and rule -- these are the tenets of the bourgeoisie. Unemployed are pitted against employed, skilled against unskilled, favored against unfavored, farmer against worker, Gentile against Jew, Catholic against Protestant, White against Black, Irish against Pole, unenlightened against enlightened.

Bourgeois Solidarity

Left to their own devices with a docile labor market at their disposal, the capitalists tear at each others throats with full abandon in mercenary competition for business. However, the moment one employer is confronted with a strike the others spring to his assistance with full class-conscious solidarity. The bourgeoisie has well oiled machinery for this defense. Nothing is left to chance. No threat is taken lightly. Understanding that one victory by the workers will lead to other victories the bourgeoisie watches for strike-fires with the vigilance of a forest ranger, and moves just as quickly and energetically to put them out.

Each industry has its trade associations, each city its chamber of commerce. State and regional groups are the next broad links of coordination. The crowning edifice is found in the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce. Skilled specialists in the various fields of employment relations devote full time service in this machinery. Vigilant watch is kept over the honor students in the colleges and universities. Training for their special work is begun right in the schools. The most brilliant and promising young lawyers, technicians, statisticians are pressed

into the service of the industrialists. This is the machine which the trade unions must combat. The labor movement can learn a great deal by studying the organizational methods of the bourgeoisie.

The attack on organized labor begins in the public schools. It continues incessantly through the many instruments of propaganda at the disposal of the capitalists. Divisions are sown by every conceivable means between the workers on the job. Various special devices are used to delude the worker into thinking he has a stake in the business - stock subscription plans, bonuses, etc. If the workers begin to grow restless and talk of organization, company unions are formed to talk about ventilation, toilets, anything but wages and hours. If the workers begin to attend trade union meetings spies are sent to take down their names. Every effort is made to get rid of the leaders of the organization movement. Provocateurs are sent into the union to try to force a premature strike, to provoke an excuse for police violence, to frame union militants.

If the union wins an effort is made to curry good favor with the union leaders. The company interferes in every possible manner with the inner life of the union to cause discord, curb militancy, prevent close collaboration with other sections of organized labor, all the while girding itself for another open fight. The bosses never quit fighting the unions, and they never will as long as the profit system remains.

No employer is ever left to his own devices in fighting a union. Occasionally it appears that the other employers are neutral or even helpful to the union in a strike against a company. This is the case only when a larger combine feels that it is safe under existing circumstances to stand aside or help while the union attacks a competitor.

If it appears that there is real danger in a union victory the competitors will go so far as to protect the struck employer in the market. The banks will liberalize his credits. Slush funds will be raised on a broad basis for his aid. Landlords will evict the strikers. Other capitalists will repossess their furniture and their cars. Their lights and gas will be shut off. The police and the courts will zealously protect the employer's "property rights". The hospitals will notify the police of the arrival of injured strikers. The National Guard stands by ready to reinforce the police. "Law and Order" is glorified by recruiting special deputies from the dregs of society for use against the strikers. No stone is left unturned in their efforts to defeat the workers.

Pressure on Unions

The employers wage a continuous, well organized campaign against the legal rights of the unions. Compulsory arbitration is a perennial theme song. A long campaign has been conducted to force the incorporation of the unions so that they may be more easily sued for damages. Meantime suits against the unions are instituted constantly on every possible pretext. Favorable decisions are often obtained by the employers, especially in the lower courts. Appeals taken into the higher courts place an added expense burden on the unions. Each minor success lays another stone in the foundation which is being carefully built to make possible the realization of the full program of incorporation.

Employer "plants" are utilized in the unions to institute suits for accounting with the object of smearing the union with unfavorable publicity

in the daily press as a minimum, and with the hope that serious discord can thus be fomented in the union. The courts dig up dust-laden statute books to find "due processes of law" so far outmoded that even the capitalists no longer need them, in order to have a pretext for setting aside the constitution of the union and taking immediate jurisdiction over such suits. The F.B.I., state and county attorneys and grand juries grow increasingly bold in seizing union books and records without regard for the "due processes of law."

Labor Relations Acts.

Section 7a of the NIRA was hailed by the trade union movement as the "magna charta of labor." The Marxists pointed out that it was nothing more than a disciplinary action by the capitalist government to force the bourgeoisie to help itself out of a dangerous social crisis, and the first step in the preparation for the regimentation of the workers in the war machine. The Supreme Court outlawed the Act when the worst of the storm had passed. They acted with true "democratic" consideration for the "forgotten man." The case of a New York City chicken dealer was used as the vehicle for this shift in basic political policy. Fewer people would have been deceived if the case had involved one of the huge corporations.

The Wagner Act followed soon, accomplishing the dual purpose of more carefully harnessing the labor movement and at the same time easing the anguish of the class collaborationists who had been so cruelly let down by the Supreme Court. It is now also "labor's magna charta", but its offspring the NLRB is already serving as the vehicle for its decapitation.

The AFL launched an attack on the NLRB on the grounds that it was showing favoritism to the CIO and submitted proposals for changes in legislation regarding the conduct of the Board. This was quickly picked up by the employers and sharp attacks were directed against the NLRB on the basis of charges of favoritism toward the unions - all of them, including the AFL. The Board soon announced a change in policy, including the right of the employer to petition for an election in labor controversies. The battle for the emasculation of the Wagner Act now rages in congress.

The popularization of the labor relations acts by the trade union movement has already proven a boomerang against them in several states - Oregon, Minnesota, Michigan, to mention a few cases. In the name of "labor relations acts" elaborate machinery is created to obstruct the calling of strikes - "cooling off period", "last minute conciliation", "fixing the blame." These laws are cleverly designed for the purpose of forcing the unions into arbitration through the pressure of deliberate unfavorable publicity. Certain types of strikes are outlawed, especially jurisdictional strikes which can just as well be legitimate strikes, in which the employer has concocted a fake independent union as an AFL-CIO conflict. Restrictions are placed on picketing. In Wisconsin an attempt was made to license union business agents.

This legislation in the states is merely the forerunner of similar national legislation against labor. Of all the devices which the bourgeois state has at its disposal, the labor relations acts, because of the blind policies of the trade union leaders, have proven to be the most effective instrument for the expansion of the powers and role of the government in worker-employer conflicts.

The revolutionists defend those features of the Labor Relations Acts which facilitate union organization and utilize those Acts in practical union work as dictated by the circumstances surrounding specific trade union problems. All attempts to emasculate those provisions of the Labor Relations Acts which are helpful to the unions and all efforts of the anti-labor forces to convert the Acts into instruments for the regimentation of labor must be vigorously opposed.

STRIKES

We must vigorously combat the reformist propoganda that strikes are impossible during periods of economic decline. However in such periods it is necessary to organize the strikes very carefully and to deliberately pick the most favorable time. At all times care must be taken to guard against the dangers of strikes conducted by small minorities.

The sit-down strike is an important weapon for the workers which must be defended against all attempts to outlaw it. Tending to break down the conventional awe of bourgeois private property, it is a forerunner of the mass slogan "Workers Control of Production."

Care must be taken to guard against foolish, indiscriminate use of the sit-down strike so as not to expose this weapon unnecessarily to attack in minor controversies.

The AFL has openly stated its disapproval of the sit-down. The CIO leadership gives lip service to its defense before the rank and file, but the general official policy is to quickly call the workers outside the plant when they sit-down and conduct the strike by means of an outside picket line.

Government has not yet felt prepared to definitely proclaim the sit-down a criminal act. Penalties against the workers in sit-downs have thus far been confined in the main to the denial of certain civil rights, such as the right of appeal to the NLRB. In general such criminal prosecutions as have occurred have been for contempt of court because of the violation of injunctions.

So-called unauthorized strikes are to be seriously considered. Not on the cowardly premise of the Thomas-Addes policy in the UAW-CIO which threatens union penalties against members who engage in unauthorized strikes because "our enemies (will) call the union irresponsible and say that it does not live up to its solemn agreements." The revolutionist seriously considers the danger of unauthorized strikes because of the vital need for the widest possible working class support in every mass action.

The calling of a strike is the prerogative of the rank and file, not of the officialdom. This right must be defended. While the membership of other unions are not ordinarily concerned about whether a strike has been authorized by the officials once the striking workers are in action, it is nevertheless a fact that the officialdom of these unions can many times block financial and other aid to the strikers on the ground that the strike is not officially called. Those circumstances dictate the advisability of making all possible efforts to secure official sanction before a strike is called.

Failure to get official authorization does not necessarily mean that the strike cannot be called. The final decision must be made on the basis of existing conditions - the degree of solidarity among the workers, rank and file sentiment in the other unions, the nature of the issues on which the strike is being called, the possibilities of getting material support, the length of time the workers in the strike can go on their own resources, etc. etc.

Every strike must be carefully prepared for in advance. Broad committees must be set up for the management of the strike. Provisions must be made for regular meetings of the strikers to keep them advised of developments and to keep the morale at a high level. Arrangements must be made to

feed the strikers while on duty and to provide food for their families. Evictions will be attempted, furniture and automobiles replevined, lights and gas shut off. Medical aid will be needed for the sick and the injured. There will be bail, fines, attorneys' fees, court costs. Gasoline, oil and repairs must be furnished for the picket cars. Shafts for the picketing must be organized. The main lines of the strike strategy must be carefully worked out. These are only a few of the problems. A group of workers on strike must go without their wages, keep scabs from taking their jobs, find a means of subsistence for their families and prepare to meet all the exigencies of the fight. This is not a small task. But, the ingenuity of the workers in coping with the problem, with the help of a few practical suggestions, is a most stirring demonstration of the dynamic character of the proletariat.

Class Collaboration.

The policy of class collaboration flows from a false evaluation of the nature of bourgeois economy and the resultant failure to understand the true position of the working class in present day society. Capitalism is accepted as the best possible economic system. The accumulation of private property is looked upon as the only conceivable incentive for human initiative and social progress. The employer must have a reasonable profit if he is to pay a fair wage. The intolerable contradictions of bourgeois economy are recognized as the result of the social backwardness of all mankind. The defeats of the European workers in revolutionary struggle are interpreted as indisputable proof of the vitality of capitalism. The degeneration of the workers state under Stalin is pointed to as the crowning proof that socialism is a Utopian dream. The downfall of bourgeois democracy and the complete destruction of the trade union movement in the fascist nations is deplored, but it is pointed out that this can't happen in "socially enlightened" America, especially as long as we have a Roosevelt.

Not all of those who practice class collaboration have thought this policy to these complete conclusions. But those who follow its strategy and tactics are traveling in this direction.

The class collaborationist visualizes the trade union as a miniature pattern of the bourgeois state in which he plays the role of the bourgeois statesman. He seeks to pattern union democracy after the methods of bourgeois democracy. He must have a constituency. Therefore he demands of the employer the right to organize his employees. He must have an apparatus and a treasury and is thus strongly interested in closed shop contracts and checkoff systems for the collection of dues. He attempts to convince the employer that a union is a necessary part of his business, as necessary as the accountant, the supervisor and the workers themselves. Harmonious relations with a union having a "sound" leadership are posed as an indispensable adjunct of modern industrial management. The class collaborationist must have something to offer the membership if he is to hold the union together. So he demands that the employer "sit down across the table" with him and negotiate a "reasonable" contract. If the workers are not willing to accept the results of this negotiation, he proposes that an "impartial" third party be selected to arbitrate the differences. The class collaborationist does not like strikes, and he will go to considerable lengths to see that a strike is prevented. And he does not want anyone in the union who does not believe in his theories.

This is class collaboration in its worst form. It is most often not applied in this complete sense; but to know the whole pattern is to be able to quickly identify the worst symptoms of the practice.

The over-recurring militant strike struggles of the workers impel the employers to recognize the need of class collaborationist labor leaders to keep the leadership of the mass movement in safe hands. During periods of exceptional militancy among the workers the bourgeois state itself feels constrained to grant special privileges to safeguard their leadership. Bourgeois politicians are always willing to trade a few favors for the union vote. The recipients of all these considerations do not always understand that they are being used as bulwarks against the social revolution. Instead, they impute their apparent successes to the soundness of their policies. They begin to distinguish between "good" employers and "bad" employers; "friendly" politicians and "unfriendly" politicians.

On the question of war, the class collaborationist, if he is true to his theories, cannot fail to support the military machine of the bourgeois state. History is more than surfeited with evidence that he will.

The policy of class collaboration is followed in one manner or another, to one degree or another, by virtually the entire predominant section of the trade union officialdom - AFL, CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Arbitration

There is no such thing as an impartial arbitration of disputes between the contending forces in the class struggle. The conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the big bankers and the huge industrial corporations, is irreconcilable. There is no middle ground. There is no individual, no group, no independent social class that stands unaffected by the struggle. The theory of impartiality is a myth.

Between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie stands an amorphous mass of humanity known as the petty bourgeoisie. Incapable of pursuing an independent program this middle class group is buffeted by both the principal contending classes, responding to the greatest pressure regardless of the side from which it comes. This is the customary source from which the arbitrators, the so-called impartial persons, are selected - lawyers, jurists, professional men, clergymen, small employers with a liberal reputation, etc. They are not impartial. The pressure of capitalism is as continuous for them as their daily life. They accept its institutions. They aspire to a more favored position in the capitalist world. They make decisions which favor the workers with great timidity and then only in response to real pressure. Whether the union contract is written through negotiations with the employer or by arbitration, the workers get just what they fight for and no more; often not as much. Many times the workers have won a decisive victory on the picket line only to lose most of their gains in an arbitration proceedings.

Arbitration of disputes over the interpretation and enforcement of a contract is permissible under certain conditions. However, every effort should be made to avoid this course whenever possible. Certain minor points may, for tactical considerations, be submitted to arbitration in the negotiation of a contract, both with and without strike action being involved. This should be considered as a sometimes necessary evil, not as the best tactical procedure. The basic issues under dispute in a controversy with the employers, issues around which real mass sentiment is mobilized, should not be submitted to arbitration, except in most exceptional circumstances; for example, as a final effort to salvage at least some concessions out of an otherwise lost strike.

A union should not in any case agree to a contract containing a clause providing for the arbitration of the terms of the renewal contract to be negotiated upon

its expiration. To do this is to give up the strike weapon, to handcuff the workers.

Attempts to legislate compulsory arbitration upon the unions must be fought with every ounce of energy which the workers can rally.

Other Working Class Parties

The Communist Party is a disruptive force within the trade union movement. It must be dealt with as such. Posing falsely as the representative and defender of the proletarian revolution in Russia, it is capable of great deception among the workers, especially the most militant elements. Once the rallying force around which the progressive and left wing movement in the trade unions was organized, it is today nothing more than the tool of Stalin, who directs its policies with the same contemptuous disregard for the interests of the American workers that he has toward the interests of the revolutionary workers of the Soviet Union.

Stalinism has shown itself capable of pursuing the most fantastic and completely impractical class struggle policies only to suddenly make a complete reversal in program and become the most servile of class collaborationists before the representatives of the bourgeois state; then to veer again as sharply in the other direction, and so on with their zig-zag course. The state of affairs in the trade union movement, in industry generally, have no bearing on their decisions on policy. Nor do the opinions of the workers in the ranks of the Stalinist party. Program, policy, slogans and tactics are handed down ready-made according to the plan which best suits the foreign policy of the Kremlin. They must be put into effect regardless of the opinions of the rank and file members, regardless of their effect upon the trade union movement.

The most thorough-going class collaborationist trade union leader is less dangerous than the Stalinists. Supporter though he is of capitalism, fatal as his policies are in the long run, he at least must try to preserve the union in order to preserve himself. The Stalinists consider the Kremlin first, the preservation of the unions second. They are the most violent enemies of the revolutionary militants in the trade unions.

Blocs with the Communist party are inconceivable, except under extraordinary circumstances and then as a rule only when they are part of a broadly organized progressive movement of which we may be a part. Even then blocs would only be permissible under certain special circumstances provided there is utmost vigilance toward them and rigid political independence.

In Stalinist-controlled unions the revolutionists must remain at their task, avoiding and fighting expulsion, so as not to leave the rank and file under the uncontested leadership of the Communist Party.

The current line of the Stalinists - their fake anti-war campaign, etc. - will have the effect of attracting new forces to them among the most militant workers. It must be remembered that many of these and similar elements in the Communist Party are genuine anti-capitalist, anti-war fighters and not corrupted Stalinist lackeys. We must make special efforts to reach these workers and bring them into the genuine revolutionary party of the American working class.

The Socialist Party is not a decisive force in the unions. It is a sterile opportunist propaganda group with little influence. SP members in union posts get there generally by adaptation to the policies of the class collaborationists. The SP

has no control over these members and does not try to exercise any. Party discipline is applied only against militant rank and filers who try to promote class struggle policies and fight against class collaborationist leaders.

Some members of the Socialist Party rank and file are ready to go part of the way in left wing struggles. It is permissible and necessary for revolutionists to form blocs with them in specific instances for specific ends.

The Lovestone Group has declined sharply in influence with its crash in the UAW. What has already been said of the Socialist Party also applies generally to them. They will feel compelled at times to make a bloc with the revolutionary militants on such elementary questions as the rights of union minorities. Temporary blocs with clearly limited aims are quite conceivable.

The IWW can play only a limited role in the movement. As an organization it is a reactionary sect, dominated by an anarchist clique who are haters of Marxism and the Russian revolution and who are animated by narrow factional interests.

In certain fields former members, still influenced by its ideology, are permeated with an irreconcilable class struggle spirit. Such workers are material for the revolutionary party. Blocs with these forces against Stalinists and class collaborationists are imperative, advisable and fruitful under certain conditions. We must conduct at the same time a persistent and stubborn, though patient and comradely, struggle against their anti-political, anti-Marxist prejudices.

The Class Struggle Party

The Socialist Workers Party, the American section of the Fourth International, is the only consistent revolutionary force in the working class movement. It sets for itself the task of leading the workers in their immediate struggles to eke out a day by day existence, in their fight against imperialist war and in the decisive coming revolutionary conflict for the emancipation of the working class. The most important arena in the immediate field of action is the trade union movement.

Craft Unionism

The rise and decline of craft union organizational methods is graphically reflected in the history of the American Federation of Labor. The story of the AFL is an epitome of the end results of its inability to adjust the organizational structure of the unions to conform to the changing social organization of industry. The organizational policies of the AFL are not the unanimous expression of the opinions of all the leaders, much less of the rank and file. There are many sympathizers of industrial unionism in its ranks, even in high circles. The Executive Council, however, is dominated by a case-hardened core of craft-unionists, who stand facing the past, stubbornly refusing to recognize the new conditions produced by the grinding wheels of history. They have their principal roots in the building trades and metal trades, supporting themselves on a brittle mass base of one-time privileged workers who also stand with their faces to the past. William Green is not a part of this core. He is their helpless tool. It is one of the ironical pranks of history that a miner had to turn musician to remain at the head of the A.F. of L.

The AFL today reports a membership which represents about ten percent of the organizable workers. Prior to the NRA it had never more than seven percent and more often less than five percent of the organizable workers on its membership rolls. There is one exception, the period from 1919 to 1921. The wave of militancy which swept through the American working class under the impact of the Russian revolution,

symbolized by the great strikes in the steel and packing industries, flooded the AFL. The crest of the wave was reached in 1920 when the reported membership exceeded by 72,386 the 4,006,354 represented by the delegates at the 1939 Cincinnati convention. But craft union methods and class collaboration policies had whittled this figure down to 2.9 million by 1923. Ten years later, on the eve of the New Deal, the AFL membership had dropped to 2.1 million, the lowest figure since 1916. Then came the NRA and with it came a new crisis for the craft unionists.

Under the impulse of Section 7a, the first wave of workers came into the established unions outside the basic industries. Then the mass production workers began to stir. With ominous forebodings of the future in store for them, the craft unionists immediately pressed demands for their jurisdictional rights in the big plants they had never tried seriously to organize. True, they had sought to organize the skilled craftsmen in the plants, but they had no place in their unions for the mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers on the mass-production belts. Then, too, as good class collaborationists, they had no desire to enter into class struggles conflict with the huge industrial trusts. Their demands for jurisdiction under the new conditions did not represent any change in basic policy. They still had no desire to organize the semi-skilled and unskilled; they just didn't want anybody else to organize the skilled workers. That they were prepared to fight desperately for their craft interests and policies has been indisputably demonstrated by events.

Lewis, Hillman and Dubinsky, representing unions already patterned along industrial lines, and therefore finding no serious contradictions for themselves in the problems of organizational structure in the mass production industries, sensed the dynamic character of this new mass pressure for unionism and saw a great future for themselves in taking the early leadership of the movement for industrial unionism. As class collaborationists of long training, as experts in this field of policy, they were confident of their ability to harness the revolutionary spirit of the workers and direct the new industrial unions into the safe channels of employer-employee, government-union cooperation. Lewis had learned this trade well in the miners - how to stem the tide of class struggle and how to twist the principles of union democracy out of shape in order to protect his ruling position. Hillman and Dubinsky had learned the same lessons in the needle trades. Not as skilled as Lewis in strangling democracy in the unions, although they are far from being amateurs at this, both surpassed him in the more refined points because of their practice in giving a class collaborationist twist to the radical political movement. For the tasks at hand Lewis, Hillman and Dubinsky were a good working combination. With Roosevelt - a clever bourgeois politician who knew a good class collaborationist scheme when he saw one - in the White House, they felt that their plans could not fail.

The conflict broke into the open at the 1934 AFL convention in San Francisco. A compromise was reached through the agreement of the AFL to issue Federal Charters under the control of the Executive Council. For immediate organizational purposes these charters were to have general jurisdiction in the basic industries. The final decision on jurisdiction was to be made later. The craft unionists decided to lay back until the plants were organized and then demand their pound of flesh. The Federal Charters were issued. The workers flocked into the AFL.

On the field of action against the employers the mass production workers found themselves thwarted. The fight in auto was steered into a governmental board. The same thing occurred in rubber, although some gains were made in spite of the leadership as a result of militant strike action. A hard-fought strike in textiles, where the workers went up against police, special deputies and national guardsmen was steered into a similar cowardly settlement. Decisions on even the vicious

speedup and stretch-out systems were referred to governmental boards. The steel workers fared no better. In sharp contrast stood the militant, victorious struggles of Toledo and Minneapolis. In the midst of it all the craft unionists began to clamor for jurisdictional guarantees. The AFL was through in the basic industries. The workers were tearing up their membership cards.

Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky had stood on the sidelines and cheered the workers as they fought the craft unionists leaders to a stand still. They now had a clear field before them. The industrial unionists had rolled up an impressive minority vote at the 1935 AFL convention in Atlantic City. The time had come to act.

The Committee for Industrial Organization was formed, under the Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky leadership, at the end of 1935. Its announced purpose was to work as an organized group within the AFL to promote the cause of industrial unionism. Suspended in advance by the AFL Executive Council, they didn't get to the 1936 AFL convention at Tampa.

Industrial Unionism

The industrial unions correspond to the modern organization of industrial life. The development of modern industry, with its automatic machinery, capable of great precision, has sharply reduced the need for the skilled worker. In his place has appeared a predominant element of semi-skilled and unskilled workers, chained to the production machinery in such a manner that dividing lines cannot be drawn among them as is demanded by the craft unionists. In each industry there must be one union for all the workers in the plant, with all the plants tied together through the democratic organization of the administrative machinery of the industrial union. In like manner the various industrial unions must be linked together. The complete organization of labor must envisage the uniting of all unions in the closest bond of cooperation, with full democratic rank and file control on the job and in the administrative apparatus of the entire union movement.

The organization of the industrial unions has produced a decisive change in the social composition of organized labor. The workers in the basic industries are the most complete proletarians - creators of wealth who share in none of its benefits. They have introduced real militancy into the trade union movement. The great sit-down strikes, conducted in spite of the restraints by the class collaborationist leadership of the CIO, are only heat-lightening of the revolutionary courage and determination of the American workers.

The relation of forces between the repressive leadership and the aggressive rank and file has been sharply altered in the new industrial unions. The rapid development of the shop steward system, plant committees, grievance committees, industry councils; the immediate appearance of broad strike committees when open conflict breaks out with the employer; the decisive manner in which the workers take matters into their own hands when the union leadership fails to force the employer to abide by the union contract - these are the convincing evidences of a rising pressure for rank and file control in the unions. This pressure from the ranks upon the class collaborationist leaders reduces their value as an insulation between the workers and the employers. Capitalism feels ever more keenly the heavy hand of the working class.

The CIO, now the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has enjoyed a speedy growth, especially among the unorganized workers in heavy industry. Since its suspension from the AFL in 1936 it has recruited two new members for every one taken in by the AFL. Beginning in 1936 with an organization only two-fifths the size of the just purged AFL, it today claims a membership equal to if not larger than that of the AFL. The actual size of the CIO is a disputed point. Most of this growth and the resultant

mass actions have occurred in industries controlled by the most powerful sections of the bourgeoisie.

There is great ferment in the ranks of the industrial unions. Dissatisfaction with the official politics of the CIO leadership is widespread. Failure of the officials to enforce the union contracts is leading to frequent strike revolts initiated by the workers in the plants. Important contracts are coming up for renewal. The workers want action. The 30 hour week at 40 hours pay is today demanded by the auto workers, ground down by chronic unemployment. The 30 hour week with no reductions in pay is the slogan of the ladies garment workers. Demands for constitutional conventions, democracy in the unions, are heard with increasing frequency in the CIO. Pressure for independent working class political action, an independent Labor Party, takes on new force. These CIO sentiments are telegraphed into the more progressive sections of the AFL. A new wave of working class militancy is on the way.

Position of the AFL

The AFL has replaced the one million members lost with the suspension of the CIO and has added an additional half million. Its membership today is slightly over four million. The tonic effect of the CIO campaign immediately gave new life to the AFL. The CIO sit-down victories, the contract with U S Steel, gave new courage to all the workers. The AFL registered increased vitality and strike activity. The favoritism of the employers toward the AFL as against the CIO added to its prestige. Outside the basic industries the workers were more inclined to lean toward the AFL as the traditional organization of labor. It had stable unions of long standing. There were partial adoptions by the AFL of the industrial organization form in a few specific cases. In the first stages of the campaign the CIO carried on little activity outside the basic industries. The AFL continued to remain the union of the skilled workers. The absolutely unprecedented activity of the AFL organization staff was also a large contributing factor in its growth.

The main foundation of the AFL is the building trades, the metal trades and the truck drivers. The secondary strata is composed of actors, bakers, barbers and beauticians, brewery workers, building service employees, clerks, fire-fighters, laundry workers, postal employees, stage hands, teachers, affiliated railway organizations and small miscellaneous groups. The secondary organizations are in fields not seriously disputed by the CIO, but they also are not a decisive factor in the movement. Among them are groups with strong sympathies for the industrial union movement.

The building trades, the metal trades and the truck drivers are both the main strength and the greatest weakness of the AFL. The building trades are now under direct attack from the CIO. At the outset of the struggle they have felt themselves compelled to begin experimenting with new organizational policies. The heat of the battle will force more radical changes. The metal trades have before them the futile task of protecting their hegemony over the skilled workers in heavy industry as the only substantial possibility for growth. Failing to grow they cannot help but retrogress. The powerful and fast growing truck drivers organization, whose aid is especially vital to the building trades in its present fight, is becoming more and more outspoken in its demands for unity. The craft union core is in very difficult straits.

Position of the CIO

Beginning in 1936 with about one million members, the CIO today claims more than four times its original size. Its main base is in aluminum, auto, mining, auto, noodle trades, oil, radio, rubber, steel and textiles. The extent of organization

varies in these industries, but it does not follow that failure to successfully organize decisive majorities will result in successes by the AFL. It is more often the case that those workers who are not in the CIO are either unorganized or in company unions.

The most serious defection suffered by the CIO was the withdrawal of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which is headed by Dubinsky, one of the original CIO leaders. The ILGWU, now independent, has just recently negotiated a jurisdictional agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, headed by Hillman, also one of the original CIO leaders. There is a possibility that the ILGWU will return to the AFL. If so, there is little likelihood, in view of the pact with the ACW, that a jurisdictional fight would develop in the needle trades as a result. However, reaffiliation to the AFL on the part of the ILGWU would give unwarranted moral and material support to the craft union core.

Among the secondary CIO fields not seriously disputed by the AFL are the distillery workers, certain sections of the transport workers and numerous small organizations. The newspaper editorial workers are generally with the CIO, but there was quite a battle in this field in Chicago.

The AFL attack upon the CIO in auto, disruptive though it was, turned out to be a dud. The auto workers have definitely had their fill of the craft unionists. It will take a great deal more than a Homer Martin, gone haywire, to change their minds. The AFL campaign in mining has been noisy but ineffective.

The main danger to the industrial unions is not the possibility of successful AFL attack; the danger lies in the bold counter-offensives of the corporations and the governmental preparations for wartime regimentation of the workers. The ignominious and still unretrieved defeat in Little Steel, the failure to organize Ford, the retreat of the union leadership before the onslaughts of the corporations and their government -- these are the most serious dangers to the CIO workers. Nor can the industrial unions afford to maintain silence while the FBI attacks the AFL unions. They will be next on the list of victims of the Roosevelt-Arnold-Hoover drive.

Fields of AFL-CIO Conflict

Insofar as healthy growth has been accomplished by the AFL and the CIO they have functioned as parallel organizations operating independently and in separate sections of industry. The practice of organizational cannibalism in the fields of conflict has resulted either in the complete failure of both unions to make any substantial headway, or their mutual weakening through the internecine struggle to a point where a maximum of militancy is required of the workers in the fight against the employers in order to realize a minimum of gain.

Even when the most principled tactics are followed by the combatants in this civil war, the employers are able to direct their strategy in such a way as to strike heavy blows against the entire union movement under the subterfuge of demands for the protection of their "neutrality" toward the contesting unions. The workers draw many incorrect conclusions about trade union principles which they then have to unlearn before they can effectively fight against the employers. The employer finds new ideas for the artificial creation of phony independent unions. In watching one union fight another the employer learns new methods which he will use in fighting all unions. These are present day conditions under the best of existing circumstances

There are individuals and groups participating in the conflict between the

unions that are not motivated primarily by trade union principles. They turn an already bad situation into a state of complete chaos. The outstanding example of this unprincipled type is the Communist Party.

A classic example of the work of these disrupters is to be found in the maritime unions. The Stalinist leadership in the CIO maritime unions has launched a drive for a "Five Year Peace Plan" in the industry. The CIO workers on the waterfront and on the ships are to be bound hand and foot and thrown upon the quick-sands of arbitration while their heroic Stalinist leaders "fight the ship owners in their real base - the agricultural fields" (1) The Stalinists estimate that it will take only five years to do this. Five years during which the workers are to sail the high seas under wartime conditions, denied any opportunity to fight for their rights. The workers are asked to bind themselves to arbitration when the capitalist government is already openly backing the ship owners to the hilt. And to do this in a period when it is not impossible that within five years there will either be no bosses or no unions in the United States.

It is not enough, however, for only the CIO workers to have this privilege. The other union maritime workers outside the CIO must also have these five-year "benefits." The Stalinists therefore launch a drive for "Unity" which is just as ^{careful} as the "Peace Plan." The first candidates are to be the Marine Firemen, the second the Sailors Union of the Pacific. The MFCW is independent, and the SUP is in the AFL. They support the principles of industrial unionism, but they refuse to join the CIO because of the domination of the Stalinist misleaders in its maritime section. The Stalinists propose that the MFCW and the SUP shall have both "Unity" and a "Peace Plan", or else. This is the policy of disrupters whose loyalty is not to the trade unions.

Both the AFL and the CIO contend for membership in the packing houses. The CIO has been most successful in gaining members, but their tactics in dealing with the Big-Four packers have been weak and largely fruitless. The AFL only plays with the problem of organization in this industry. It places the main emphasis on the recruiting of employees in the retail meat markets. Company unionism remains strongly entrenched in the industry.

The accomplishments of both organizations in the utility field are even less impressive than in the meat packing industry. The AFL has managed to recruit telegraphers only from the secondary sections of the workers. The CIO has launched a campaign in the major companies, but no great results have been reported to date.

Organization by the AFL in the tobacco industry has been directed especially toward the smaller companies. They have recently made important gains in one of the larger companies. Their main argument in the negotiations with the employers has been a discourse on the merits of the union label on tobacco products. The CIO has suffered one bad defeat in this industry and has reported no impressive victories.

There is sporadic conflict between the two unions in the furniture, glass, paper and shoe industries. Competition is stronger in the contention for members among the wood workers, government employees and office workers.

The newly developed AFL organization drive in the south is mainly a move against the CIO. The minimum objective is an additional block of members recruited from every possible field in this poorly organized section of the country. A stronger motivation is the desire to make a flank attack on the CIO by attempting to organize the southern plants of the mass production industries. These plants in the south are steadily increasing in size and number as a result of the attempts of the industrialists to evade the rising militancy of the northern workers.

The printing trades have not been included in the arena of jurisdictional conflict. The important Typographical Union has from the beginning been an active supporter of the CIO. Although the union remained in affiliation with the AFL and was not suspended with the other CIO unions, Charles P. Howard, president of the ITU, was the official secretary of the CIO. The overthrow of the Howard leadership in the ITU, hailed by the AFL as a victory for craft unionism, was followed soon by the refusal of the union, through membership referendum, to pay the special assessment levied by the AFL for the fight against the CIO. The AFL has suspended the ITU and it now has an independent status. Although the union clearly does not endorse all the policies of John L. Lewis, it is also plain that the typographical workers, although themselves dominated by a craft psychology, do not give approval to the policies of the AFL in fighting the CIO.

Trade Union Unity

The main responsibility for the AFL-CIO split rests upon the AFL as does the main burden of the blame for the continuation of the split. The formation of the CIO was a progressive action. The continued refusal of the CIO leadership to negotiate a unification with the AFL is progressive only insofar as they defend the industrial organization methods against the onslaughts of the craft unionists. Both leaderships are class collaborationists, both are subservient to the bourgeois government. The basic difference in policy between the top leadership of the AFL and the CIO relate formally to the question of organizational structure. The leadership of the CIO, however, is based on a more dynamic stratum of the proletariat and is more sensitive to their bitter discontent.

This explains why the CIO has followed a somewhat more enlightened policy on social legislation, on the problems of the unemployed, and on the housing question. It has given more concrete expression to the political sentiments of the workers. But its superiority to the AFL in these respects is more the result of rank and file pressure than of a more enlightened policy on the part of the leadership. This pressure from the ranks will continue with increasing vigor in a united labor movement.

The workers have no stake in the manipulations of the two leaderships for positions of power in the united movement. They have no interest in the aspirations of the leaders to positions of special influence with the bourgeois politicians, nor are the workers concerned in their ambitions to enthrone themselves in high positions in the bourgeois political apparatus. On the contrary, the workers need democracy in the unions and their own independent political party. The criminal actions of the leadership in utilizing the division in the movement for the achievement of their own nefarious goals is against the wishes and the expressed desires of the trade union workers.

Once the craft unionists have capitulated on the question of organizational structure, and the preservation of the industrial unions has been assured in the united movement, there can no longer be any justification for the continuation of the split. Despite these indisputable facts the strongest impelling force that has caused any serious movement toward unity on the part of the national leadership of the union is the pressure from Roosevelt.

Roosevelt's Kind of Unity

Roosevelt wants unity in the labor movement, not for the benefit of the workers, but to serve the interests of the third-term movement and the war machine of American imperialism. To make war it is necessary to have strait-jacketed workers in the factories and patriotic worker-soldiers in the army. The best

guarantee for this is to have a peaceful, orderly labor movement, dominated by leaders who believe firmly in the defense of capitalism in imperialist war and in its defense against the proletarian revolution. Roosevelt is justifiably confident that a majority of such leaders are at the head of both the AFL and the CIO. All that remains to be done in this phase

of the war program is to bring these leaders together in a united labor movement, thus to eliminate further possibilities of internal friction. That is why Roosevelt is for unity - his kind of unity.

Many labor leaders, not otherwise impelled to action, are becoming increasingly energetic in the fight for unity under Roosevelt's pressure. They do not tell the workers why he wants unity. Some are not clear-sighted enough to understand. Others are flattered by receiving the confidence of "state secrets" and will not tell. The workers are told that the division in the trade union movement jeopardizes the reelection of their "friend", Roosevelt, because of the united opposition to him by the worker's "enemies", the anti-Roosevelt Democrats and the Republicans.

John L. Lewis has brought down more wrath upon his head in official trade union circles by coming out against Roosevelt than he ever did for espousing industrial unionism. And all that Lewis wants is to elect some other capitalist politician. Senator Wheeler of Montana was ballyhooed at the last miners' convention. Lewis has serious differences with Roosevelt on one main point - Roosevelt shunted him off the inside track at the White House.

For a Rank and File Referendum

The test of time has proven to the hilt that craft union organizational methods are outmoded. The success of the industrial unions has demonstrated to the rank and file AFL workers the false position of the craft union core of the AFL Executive Council. The decisive majority of the organized labor movement agrees that the industrial unions have proven to be an indispensable instrument for working class organization in modern industry. The only ones who remain unconvinced are the craft union leaders and the small section of skilled workers who support them. They no longer deceive anyone but themselves. They are fully discredited.

The great majority of the workers want unity and yet it does not come. The usurpation of the right of policy making by the present undemocratic official apparatus of the trade union movement is responsible for this unreasonable situation. The trade union workers must insist upon a referendum vote in the AFL, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods and all other bonafide independent unions for the complete unification of the organized labor movement, on the basis of full guarantees for the preservation and extension of the industrial union method of organization, full union democracy and rank and file control in the united movement, with an orientation toward class struggle policies on the field of action against the employers.

Building Left Wing

The workers must now fight for the unity of the trade union movement with the same determination that they have fought and won the battle for their industrial unions. A rank and file decision would bring the immediate unification of the movement. The officialdom, entrenched behind its usurpation of the policy making prerogatives of the membership, is not prepared to make the decision desired by the workers. Nor are the officials willing to let the membership make the decision in spite of them. There is little democracy in the unions so far as any control over the higher officials is concerned. The workers must fight for the return of the policy making powers to the rank and file where they rightfully belong. Only revolutionists can successfully lead the workers in this fight.

The party must take the initiative in organizing a left wing movement of all the progressive forces in the trade unions, participating actively, on the basis of the party program, in existing progressive groups, and organizing them where they do not now exist. These groups must be formed first in the local unions. The linking together of the various progressive groups in the left wing movement must of necessity

follow the organizational lines of the trade unions - industry and trade councils, city assemblies, district committees, etc.

As against the AFL, the CIO is the more progressive union. This does not mean, however, that in all cases and under all circumstances the progressives give blind loyalty to the CIO. Present conditions in maritime are an eloquent proof the need for careful consideration of all factors before making a decision. Under certain specific circumstances when the CIO is strangled by Stalinist domination the affiliation of an independent union to the AFL is the better alternative; for example, the affiliation of the Marine Firemen to the Seafarers International Union. Under different conditions such action could be a reactionary step; for example, the affiliation of the ILGWU to the AFL. While the tactical line in each particular case must be subordinated to the general line of support to the industrial unions and the complete unification of the trade union movement, it does not follow that the tactical and general lines coincide in every given instance or at every given moment.

It is necessary for the party forces to work in either the AFL or the CIO according to specific local circumstances. The revolutionist does not withdraw from a union just because it may be conservative in policy or leadership; on the contrary, such a condition is usually all the greater reason for revolutionary activity in the union, always provided, of course, that the union embraces the decisive sections of the workers in its particular field. It is also necessary to exercise practical judgement as to the advisability of publicly linking together the progressive forces in AFL and CIO unions in certain special circumstances. Wherever it is at all possible this should be done.

The decisive question is for the various progressive groups in both the AFL and CIO, as well as the Railroad Brotherhoods and the bonafide independent unions, to be ideologically linked together on the basis of a common fundamental program:

1. A rank and file referendum for the unification of the entire trade union movement on the basis of the preservation and extension of the industrial form of organization.

2. Unity of the employed and unemployed. The trade unions to assume full responsibility for the organization of the unemployed.

3. Full democracy in all the unions. The return of the policy making powers to the rank and file.

4. Against class collaboration. For class struggle policies.

5. For an Independent Labor Party.

6. Against racial discrimination. For the immediate repeal of all union laws restricting membership rights of the negroes and other race minority groups.

7. For special attention by the trade unions to the problems of the youth.

8. For the defense of the strike weapons, including the sit-down. Against all attempts to incorporate the unions or impose government regulation.

9. Against imperialist war. For the defense of the Soviet Union.

Unemployed and Unorganized

Roosevelt has pursued a cold and calculating policy in dealing with the question of unemployment relief. His intentions have been to provide just enough relief

to the unemployed to prevent the sharp edge of hunger from causing riots and serious upheaval, but he had deliberately intended to provide no more than just enough. Understanding clearly that a static policy would be too dangerous, he has followed a more flexible plan which has given him the desired results.

With the adoption of a given federal relief policy, the increasing pressure from the unemployed forces the government to make greater concessions. Organizations are formed among the unemployed workers on the basis of this struggle. Roosevelt retreats slowly, fighting every inch of the way, giving up very little and then only under extreme pressure. The relief budgets increase, however, and he is soon brought into conflict with the bourgeoisie. The banks and the big corporations crack down on "government spending" and the "unbalanced budget." He then discards the entire existing relief program and begins the transition to a new one based on reduced relief allowances.

The organizations of the unemployed attempt to fight the cuts. Roosevelt does battle with them. The unemployed, unaided by the trade unions, cannot muster the necessary strength to win. The economic foundations of their organizations have been cut away with the junking of the relief program on which they were based. Having only the will to fight, but not the material means, the unemployed wage a losing battle. The relief cuts go through. Their organizations decompose. They must begin to rebuild under the new relief program. Each defeat makes the task of reorganizing more difficult.

The relief policies of the New Deal may be summed up as CWA - cut off; FERA - cut off; WPA - war.

The Roosevelt-Woodrum campaign to slash the WPA allowances didn't stop with the unemployed. It hit the trade unions also, especially the building trades. The strike called against the layoffs and the wage cuts was a miscarriage from the start. Class collaborationists who haven't the courage to fight the bosses can always be expected to back down before the bosses' government. It was only in a few isolated places where the workers displayed great militancy that anything at all was salvaged from the fight. Roosevelt took vicious reprisals against the Minneapolis unemployed. Several are now in federal penitentiaries or jails. Many are on probation. The trade unions cannot afford any longer to ignore the unemployed. They must act for their own preservation.

In the event of a continued postponement of United States entry into the war, it will be necessary for Roosevelt to make certain alterations in policy on the WPA or replace it with a new program. Whatever his decision may be, the point of departure in his plans concerning unemployment relief will be his estimate of the probable date of entry in the war.

The trade unions cannot afford to calmly drop their unemployed members from the union rolls and forget them. Nor can they ignore the great mass of the unemployed outside their industry. The unions must create auxiliary sections for their unemployed. These sections must be linked together according to the pattern of the various union councils. All the unemployed workers, regardless of their trade, must find a place in these special trade union sections. The unemployed must have the full right of voice and vote on all questions directly affecting them and their specific problems. There must be full unity of the employed and unemployed workers. Pending the acceptance of this responsibility by the trade unions, the unemployed shall have to continue with their own independently organized unions. The revolutionist must participate actively in this work assuming full responsibility of leadership.

There are approximately 41 million organizable workers in the country. This figure includes 6 million workers who have entered the labor market since the 1930 census. A bare one-fourth of them are included in the combined membership of all the trade unions. There are over 30 million unorganized.

The unification of the labor movement will bring many unorganized workers into the trade unions. The organization of the unemployed by the union movement will help greatly in reducing the ranks of the unorganized. Among these 30 million unorganized are certain of the most oppressed layers of the working class who are drawn into the struggle only in periods of exceptional upsurge. Many who cannot be successfully drawn into the trade unions will give their loyal support to a policy of independent working class political action under the leadership of the union movement.

Independent Labor Party

The labor party is a practical vehicle for a broader field of mass work and a further means for the sharpening of the class struggle within the framework of bourgeois democracy. The second stage in working class political development is the break through bourgeois democracy to the Workers Councils, the revolutionary stage. It is not impossible that under exceptional pressure, as for instance during war, working class political development will be so rapid that Workers Councils may be created even before a labor party has taken form. Under such circumstances it would be completely reactionary to create a labor party to function within the framework of the political machinery of capitalist democracy when the working class is already prepared to challenge the entire bourgeois state. The immediate task, however, is the serious agitation for an independent labor party.

The workers must be taught that they cannot rely either upon bourgeois political parties or individual bourgeois politicians. The class collaborationist trade union leaders must be put on record as either approving or disapproving the actions of the government. If they seek to evade answering by claiming that the workers' bourgeois "friends" would be embarrassed by criticism of their actions against the unions, then the workers must demand an end to collaboration or support to such "friends" and the election of government officials from the ranks of the working class by the workers' own party. Class collaborationists so elected to political office will yield to the pressure of the bourgeoisie. They, too, will find themselves "embarrassed" by the criticisms of the workers, and the workers will thereby learn new political lessons. Revolutionists elected to political office will utilize this opportunity more effectively to demonstrate the fraud of bourgeois "democracy". These lessons will sharply accelerate the developing class consciousness of the proletariat.

The revolutionists must analyze the history, program and present policies of such reformist political organizations as the American Labor Party, the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party, Labor's Non Partisan League, etc. The full lessons of the experiences of these political groups must be drawn clearly and simply before the eyes of the workers. In this manner many can be saved from the necessity of learning the same lessons by bitter experience. The road to true independent political action will more quickly become clear to them.

These are the methods whereby the workers can be taught to demand of their leaders: **Break with the bourgeoisie! Take the power!**

Revolutionists in Unions

The participation of the party in the development of the trade unions is vital. The unions are the fundamental instrument for the organization of the proletariat. Through this activity the party must demonstrate that it understands the

immediate problems of the workers, and how to fight for a temporary solution, just as thoroughly as it understands the problems of the higher political struggle for the complete social emancipation and economic liberation of the working class. Proper caution must be exercised against phrase-mongering super-radicalism which could only result in the loss of party contact in the trade unions.

On the other hand it must be recognized that the unions in themselves cannot offer the workers a finished revolutionary program. Their most important function is the organization of the proletariat on the basis of the struggle for immediate demands. Through this conflict social contradictions are sharpened, and the workers learn important political lessons. To subordinate the opportunity to draw these lessons to the attention of the workers in favor of a super-cautious effort to protect the party position in the union is opportunism. To do this for the protection of a personal position is an outright betrayal of revolutionary principles.

The revolutionist must not attempt to amaze the workers with his great knowledge of political questions. They will not be very greatly impressed. He must convince them that he is a capable leader through practical demonstrations of his ability. The revolutionist must be a model of efficiency, even in the smallest details of the union work. He must not be afraid to do the Jimmy Higgins duties. He must volunteer his services on all union business. He must be a courageous fighter on the picket line. He must strive to be the most useful member of the union. It is not out of place to point out in this connection that the workers want the meetings called at the time scheduled. Careless habits in calling party meetings are bad training for mass work.

The flippant use of trite names, hackneyed language and patent formulas must be avoided. Terms such as "bureaucrat", "faker", "sell-out", "betrayal", are dangerous if lightly used. Laziness of thought is caused by this tendency to substitute a catch-phrase for a serious analysis. The workers are not very much impressed by bombastic language. They respond much better to a penetrating analysis and the resultant convincing arguments. Any other presentation is apt to discredit the critic instead of the criticized.

There are no patent policies for the handling of trade union questions. That which applies in one case may work with opposite effect in another. The revolutionist must study the industry in which he is organizing. The government reports and the trade journals of the employers are excellent sources of information. The workers can give the clearest picture of all as to just what the conditions are and just what immediate practical steps can be taken for improvement. The question of locality - deep south, industrial east, agricultural west, etc. - is also an important factor.

Policy in the trade unions must flow from a careful analysis of specific conditions with the resultant general conclusions. The economic trend, the direction of development in the labor movement generally, the immediate nature of bourgeois political policy and its general trend, the strength of the employers in the given circumstances, the level of development of the workers - these are a few of the important considerations. The revolutionist must guard against catering to mistaken sentiments of the workers which could only result in unnecessary injury to the workers and the movement generally.

The revolutionist cannot make arbitrary categories for each type of individual in the mass movement. It is a serious mistake to make snap judgment of people on the basis of the first speech heard, their position in the first discussion, or on the basis of rumor and generally accepted ideas about them. It is necessary to determine first if the individual reflects in his attitude the experiences of the union, or if he has failed to learn the lessons of these experiences. It must be remembered that not all who practice class collaboration in one form or another are

conscious class collaborationists. Not members of other working class political groups are fully conscious of the role of the organization of which they are members or sympathizers. The question is one of level and direction of development.

It is necessary to carefully check each person's past. What has he contributed to the movement? What mistakes has he made and under what circumstances? Has he had bad teaching? How does he now respond to progressive proposals? Is he learning from experience? All the factors responsible for his present attitude must be thoroughly analyzed, and every effort must be made to accelerate his progressive development. A worker who through ignorance scabs today may be a militant striker another day. A leader who at one time supports reactionary policies may at a later time become a progressive, even a revolutionist. The ideology of human beings is not a static thing, especially in the labor movement.

Even in the case of those who appear to be hopelessly reactionary, the revolutionist dare not turn his back upon them. The problem is to find a way to attenuate their opposition, even halt it, if only temporarily, and it is not impossible that under the impact of certain experiences the direction of their development may be reversed in a progressive direction. Ways and means must be found to attempt to cause each individual in the movement to voluntarily, or, if necessary, involuntarily, play a certain progressive role.

It must be remembered that each trade union is a tiny mirror which reflects a small though distorted image of the whole class struggle. On the right stands the class collaborationists, the conscious reactionaries. On the left are the revolutionary elements. Between these two forces lies the great mass of the trade union membership, deceived by false education, poisoned by vicious propaganda, chained to the wheel of capitalist exploitation, ground down by the struggle for their daily bread, dreaming of freedom but failing to understand the revolutionary road to its realization. The revolutionist seeks to guide these masses along the road of revolutionary class struggle. The class collaborationists seek not only to block this road, but also to drive the revolutionists out of the unions. In spite of this brake upon them the workers surge forward in struggle, only to recede again into a period of passivity. The revolutionist must learn to understand the moods of the masses and he must adjust his tactics to them. He must press at every opportunity for the sharpening of the class struggle, but he must not press the workers into actions against their collective will. To attempt to do so is to play into the hands of the reactionaries, to risk the loss of the workers' confidence, to become isolated from them. The revolutionist dare not forget or ignore this.

Party Press

The popular press of the party must contain much more than a correct political line. It must reflect the life of the workers: how they live, work and fight; what their immediate problems are and how they may be temporarily solved, as well as a description of the more fundamental problems and the correct program for their solution. The theoretical organ of the party must devote a portion of its columns to special articles on trade union problems directed to the more advanced trade union workers. These tasks must for the present be carried out in the most efficient possible manner through the existing party organs. When it is possible without jeopardizing the continued publication of the present organs, practical efforts should be made to launch a new popular paper which would deal primarily with the day to day problems of the trade union workers, drawing the proper general conclusions from these experiences which will teach the highest political lessons.

A correct editorial policy is the first requisite for a successful party press. But the best of editorial performance is of doubtful value unless the articles are read by the workers. The problem of regular circulation and special distribution

rests primarily upon the party units in the field. The entire party membership must cooperate in the exchange of experiences and the development of new ideas for successful distribution of the party organs.

While it must be recognized that the trade union papers cannot be edited in the same manner as the party press, it is nevertheless necessary for the party members writing in the labor papers as editors, reporters, columnists, special contributors, etc., to strive consciously to make them something more than an ordinary trade union organ. Writings on current subjects, following the lead of the party press, should be designed to draw the proper political lessons from the experiences of the trade unions. A clear understanding of all circumstances in and around the union is necessary to determine the correct approach in each individual case.

Educational features should be utilized to raise the level of political education of the workers. Reviews written of Darwin, Morgan*, etc. Memorial articles of important events should be published with the historical explanation; Bastille Day, the Commune, the February and October revolutions, San Domingan Independence, Homestead, Ludlow, the Haymarket Riots, etc. Anniversaries of more recent events should also be observed: Memorial Day at Chicago in the Little Steel strike; Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco in 1934; the sit-downs in auto and rubber, etc.

Those who oppose these policies in writing for the workers' papers should be invited to write their criticisms for publication. Letters from the workers on controversial issues should be encouraged by publication of these received. In this general manner the standing of the paper will be raised in the eyes of the workers and at the same time a much higher basis will be provided for political analysis.

Special attention must be paid by the party to these problems of the trade union press. There must be a continuous interchange of ideas between the members engaged in this field of work through the coordination of the party center. Correspondence on these subjects must be supplemented by conferences held with reasonable frequency and on the broadest possible basis.

Teaching Worker-Recruits

The study of fundamental political problems begins for the average trade union worker after, not before, he enters the party. He comes to the party more because he has been so strongly impressed by the efficiency of the party members in his union than because of any preliminary conclusions as to the correctness of the fundamental party program. His education must be undertaken in the light of these conditions.

The average worker finds considerable difficulty in reading under any circumstance. The scientific terminology of Marxism, absolutely foreign to him, makes the task even more irksome. He will learn best at the beginning through personal talks with the more politically developed party members, especially those whom he knows personally and who therefore have his confidence. Special lectures to groups of worker-recruits and special group study classes are the next best mediums for education. These efforts should be supplemented by carefully selected reading courses, beginning with the popular party documents, supplemented by careful study of the party press. The reading material can then be gradually oriented into the field of the fundamental Marxian works.

The assimilation of the worker-recruit into party life begins most easily with the party fraction in his trade union. His introduction into the organizational work of the party must be handled with the same care as his theoretical training. He should next be introduced into the general trade union fraction meetings where he will broaden his party experience and learn to think of the tasks of the trade union movement on a much wider scope than the immediate problems of his own union. Social

*Lewis H. Morgan - "Ancient Society"

affairs, organized in the most informal manner, help to facilitate the integration of the new recruit into full party life. Simultaneously with these steps the new member should be introduced into the meetings of the party branch. With this careful beginning, a foundation will be laid for more complete integration and higher party training; for example, in the active workers conferences, district meetings, party conventions, etc.

The preliminary training of the worker-recruit both as to his political education and his organizational development is begun in advance as the main basis for the work of recruitment. The prospective member is asked to read the party press, the popular pamphlets and in some cases a few of the fundamental party documents. The party members in his union have personal talks with him about the party and the political problems of the workers. He is invited to social gatherings and public meetings conducted by the party. He is closely consulted regarding the policies to be carried out in the union. All of this is done even before he becomes a member of the party, and if it is not done, there is little likelihood that he will join, or if so, it will be more in spite of, than because of, the party members in the union.

There are altogether too many cases in which the worker-recruit, once he has joined the party, is more or less forgotten. He is not always taken into consultation by the fraction in his union. He is frequently introduced into the party circles and then left to find his own way without attention or consideration. It is the rule rather than the exception for him to be dumped into the midst of the voluminous accumulation of revolutionary literature and left to shift for himself.

Each worker-recruit must continue to receive careful personal attention after he has come into the ranks of the party. The party should consider the loss of every serious worker from its ranks as a black mark against itself. Instead of dismissing these losses by referring to the lost worker as an "opportunist", the party should seriously examine its own negligence and correct those shortcomings. Many of the future outstanding leaders of the proletarian revolution are today in the ranks of the workers, unknown to the party and the party unknown to them. They are already organizing their worker-comrades, leading them in strikes, pressing the fight against the bourgeoisie. The party must get into the mass movement, deep into the ranks of its class, establish contact with these leaders of the workers, educate and train them as revolutionary fighters. The party must prepare seriously to fulfill its historic role.

Immediate Party Tasks

Fractions - Organize functioning fractions wherever the party has forces in the various units of the trade unions. The work of each fraction is supervised by the respective Branch or City Committee, and the Committee coordinates the activities of the various fractions, including the holding of regular branch-wide or city-wide fraction meetings.

The National Trade Union Department shall organize national fractions in the various industries and coordinate their work, also giving supervision to all general trade union activity under the direction of the National Committee.

Fraction-helpers. Party members not active in mass work are to endeavor at once, with the help of the party, to find a place in the trade union movement. Those who are not successful in a reasonable period of time shall be assigned as helpers to the trade union fractions to do general work of which they are capable. They shall be under the immediate direction of the fraction and subject to the general supervision of the Branch or City Committee. There shall be no exceptions to this rule other than through assignment to special party work or by special permission given for valid reasons by the leading party committees.

Concentration - Each Branch or City Committee shall analyze local industry and the local trade union movement for the purpose of selecting the best places for the concentration of available local party forces. The National Trade Union Department shall analyze national industry and the national trade union movement for the purpose of selecting the best places for the concentration of available national party forces. This shall include the possibility of colonization in cities and industries where party units do not now exist.

It is to be clearly understood that all existing points of contact in the mass movement are to be retained and vigorously developed parallel to the campaign for concentrated activity, unless otherwise decided for special reasons by the party. No member is to withdraw from a position in the mass movement without the permission of the party.

Active Workers Conferences - The calling of active workers conferences shall be a regular practice in the various districts. Special effort shall be made for one or more representatives of the National Trade Union Department to be present. The National Office should be consulted in advance in calling these conferences so that practical arrangements for its cooperation may be worked out.

District Organizations - In connection with the work of the active workers conferences and through the assignment of special national organizers, as well as by all other possible means, the National Committee shall endeavor to organize official party districts in those areas where sufficient concentration of membership exists to make this action practical and necessary.

Building Left Wing - The party fractions in the individual trade unions shall be the first point of concentration for the building of a left wing movement. Progressive groups so organized shall be linked together through the medium of the higher union councils, and the work of the various party fractions in carrying out this task shall be coordinated by the national organizational machinery of the Party. Along these lines a solid national left wing movement can be built. The party members must participate in existing progressive groups, fighting for the party program, and build progressive groups where they do not now exist.

Unemployed - The party must devote close attention to the problems of the unemployed, especially in the coming period. The policies of Roosevelt on unemployment relief must be closely followed. Serious and determined efforts must be made to arouse the trade union movement to take responsibility for the organization of the unemployed and to fight for their interests.

Negro Department - The work of the Negro Department of the party must be directed energetically toward the task of establishing full democratic rights for the negro workers in the entire working class movement and to cooperate with the Trade Union Department in facilitating the union organization work among the negro workers.

Youth - The party must give special attention to the problem of helping the youth members integrate themselves into the mass movement. To facilitate this work and to give direct assistance in the problems of organizing the young workers into the trade unions it is necessary for a Youth Representative to be assigned to the Trade Union Department.

Women-workers - The party must devise ways and means of more successfully recruiting women-workers into its ranks. A most effective first step is the more complete activation of the present women-members of the party.

Agricultural Workers - The trade unions must be systematically pressed to carry out organizational work more actively among the exploited workers in the agri-

cultural fields. The increasing practice of the bourgeoisie in using the agricultural population against the trade union movement cannot be safely ignored. The party must carefully analyze the various layers of the rural population to facilitate the prosecution of the class struggle in this field. It is necessary to create a special committee to gather data and prepare preliminary discussion material for the party to facilitate the working out of a more specific and detailed party policy toward the agricultural workers and the farmers.

Workers Self Defense - The problem of the organization of workers defense guards must be taken up seriously and immediately. The present accomplishments in this direction must be analyzed and the lessons made available to the party. Special studies must be made of the methods employed by the Red Guard, Polish National Revolutionists, Spanish Militia, Irish Republican Army, etc. A special committee must be created for this work.

Party Press - The editorial policy of the popular party press must be oriented toward the publication of as much material as possible which reflects the life and the immediate struggles of the workers, drawing the political lessons of those experiences. This, of course, cannot be carried out at the expense of the proper treatment of the fundamental political issues. The theoretical organ must carry regular articles on the most important trade union problems directed to the more advanced trade unionists. The party membership must energetically undertake a persistent campaign to give the widest possible distribution to the party press.

Press Conferences - Practical methods must be devised for the exchange of ideas and experiences between the party members writing for the trade union press. General conferences should be arranged wherever and whenever possible.

Popular Pamphlets - Arrangements must be made on a basis consistent with available party means for the further publication of popular pamphlets and for the preparation of reading courses, programs for study classes, etc.

Non-member Subscribers to Press - The subscription lists of the party press should be checked and interviews arranged with non-member subscribers for possible recruitment, special financial aid to the party, etc. This work will be especially helpful in organizing official party districts and in colonizing in cities where a party unit does not exist.

Research Committees - Special research committees must be created for the purpose of obtaining full data on the following subjects for the information of the party and to implement the mass work: government M-Day plans; FBI activities; preparations of industry for war; falsification of textbooks in the public schools; mediums of bourgeois propaganda; local, regional, industry and trade, and national employers' organizations; campaign to force incorporation of unions; employer' suits for damages against unions; suits for accounting against unions; seizures of union books by government agents; employer' methods in strikes; union strategy in strikes; attacks on the legality of the sit-down strike; state and national labor relations acts; municipal ordinances and "voluntary" systems for labor mediation; arbitration decisions; price committees; and for use in the agitation for an independent labor party: the record of the "friendly" bourgeois politicians, the political role of the class collaborationist trade union leaders and the record of the reformist ALP, LNPL, etc.; and last but not least the housing conditions of the workers, curtailments of education for the workers' children, industrial diseases, industrial accidents, prevalence of tuberculosis, pellagra, etc.

Transitional Developements - Just as the revolutionist must watch the mood of the workers in the union so as not to move too fast, or too slow, in mobilizing the fight against the employer, so must the party carefully study the mood of the great mass of the working class so as to constantly step up the tempo of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie in accordance with the Transitional Program of the Fourth International.