

## Resolution of the Trade Union Unity League National Executive Committee Points Out the Road to Build Mass Revolutionary Unions

Adopted at a Meeting of the National Executive  
Committee of the TUUL in Pittsburgh  
on October 3rd and 4th, 1931

The economic crisis continues to plunge into greater and greater depths. Already it is the sharpest world crisis in history. In the United States, production is constantly declining and the number of unemployed has already reached twelve millions. The employers have now officially abandoned the so-called "high wage" policy and have gone over to the open reduction of the living standards of the masses. The plan of the capitalists is to make the recent wage cuts inaugurated with the U. S. Steel cut a beginning of general wage cuts. The program of the capitalists is to let the unemployed starve and to throw them a few charity crumbs.

While this condition of crisis and offensive against the living standards of the masses exists in all capitalist countries, the Soviet Union is making the most rapid strikes forward in the carrying through of the five-year plan and in building Socialism. The workers

in the Soviet Union are receiving tremendous increases in their wages and are experiencing a general all-around improvement of their conditions. The Soviet Union has abolished unemployment, and is experiencing a lack of industrial workers. This situation in the Soviet Union, side by side with the growing depth of the crisis, is pushing the capitalists of the entire world to perfect their war plans on the Soviet Union. The capitalists are determined to try to save their decaying system at the expense of the workers and toiling masses of their own countries and at the expense of the Soviet Union.

practically non-existent, so that the Lewis machine had no need of the Musteites, as it did in other cases.

In Illinois, where the influence of the NMU is growing, the Musteites are taking the lead (Edmundson, etc.) in betraying the workers. In Southern West Virginia, where the NMU influence spread because of the miners strike and the work of the NMU in Northern West Virginia, the Musteite, Keeney, asks for conferences with the NMU as a means to keep in check the revolt of the miners against his policies. In the textile industry, the Musteites and Socialist wing of the A. F. of L. led most of the strikes under the A. F. of L. leadership mainly because of the fact that the official MacMahon machine is known to the textile workers as a strike-breaking organization, and also because of the important struggles led by the NTWU in this industry and its growing influence. In those cases where the Musteites also have already exposed themselves (Paterson), the A. F. of L. makes use of the renegade Communists (Gitlow) in its strike-breaking activity. That there is no difference except in the methods used, between the official A. F. of L. and its Musteite wing, is best shown by the fact that the most unprecedented wage cuts ever carried through (30 to 45 per cent) was carried through by the Musteites in the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers Union, led by the Musteites and Socialists.

This can be seen not only through the whole campaign of lies that the present wage cuts will "help bring back prosperity", and the "wave of regrets" of the Greens and Wolls about the wage cuts, the gestures of the Thomases, but also in the question of the unemployment relief and unemployment insurance. A whole campaign of demagoguery from Swope schemes through the Roosevelt relief program, down to the Musteite and Socialist fake "unemployment insurance bill" is evidence of the fact that the bosses will continue to resort to demagoguery, side by side with the attacks on the employed and unemployed masses. It is particularly now that the A. F. of L. and Musteites became even more dangerous and must be exposed before the masses, as a condition for successful struggle against the bosses' offensive.

**TUUL Shows It Can Lead Struggles**  
The TUUL has demonstrated

### Only First Steps Taken Toward Building a Mass T. U. U. L.

The TUUL has only taken the very first steps in the directions of becoming a mass organization of struggle. The outstanding feature of the position of the TUUL and its unions today, still remains its lagging behind the ever more favorable objective situation, resulting in the ever widening of the gap between the growing tasks of

that it can lead struggles and that workers are willing to fight under its leadership. While at the last meeting of the national committee, we had to record the fact that the TUUL was not leading any serious struggles, that the work in the old unions was generally abandoned, that most of the strikes that took place (Reading, Illinois miners, Danville) were led by the A. F. of L. with practically no participation of the TUUL, that most of the unions, including the miners' union, were declining in membership, that the unemployment work had declined since the peak of March 6, 1930, at the present time, the TUUL is in a different position. The TUUL led in the recent period, the most important struggles, and participated, though only very feebly, in practically all the struggles led by the A. F. of L. and in some of them (Allentown) succeeded in giving real defeats to the A. F. of L. The work in the old unions was begun and already in some unions (building, needle) brought important results, not only in the winning of important positions in the old unions (needle, building) but increases in membership of the TUUL union (fur workers), as a result of the correct combination of the united front, work in the old unions, and the organization of struggle under the direct leadership of the revolutionary union. Practically all the unions have stopped the decline in membership, and in some of them, the membership is increasing (mining, needle, textile, agriculture). In the work among the unemployed, steps forward were taken although organization of the unemployed work still remains the burning question in which entirely insufficient progress has been made.

This change was made possible not merely because of the growing favorable objective conditions for our work, but principally because the TUUL to some degree learned "to put forward partial demands applicable to local situations, and to concrete disputes in factories and industries." Because more attention was given to preparation of strikes, based on a program of concentration in certain industries, and in a given branch and territory of that industry. And finally because of the beginnings of the developments of the united front policy from below and work in the old unions.

of the development of the strike movement, the organization of the struggles of the unemployed and the building of the unions as a consequence of these struggles. The examination of the lessons of the recent struggles, particularly the strike of the miners, furnishes the key to the problems and tasks that must be solved and undertaken in order to take hold and develop the struggles of the masses in the present growing favorable situation, and to build our organizations into mass unions. The present developments do not require a change in policy of the TUUL. On the contrary, the recent developments have confirmed the line of the RILU and the TUUL. The present situation demands, however, the overcoming of all the mistakes and weaknesses, and the quickening of the tempo in all our work, and the carrying through of the correct decisions which in a whole series of the most important questions (work in the shops, trade union democracy, development of cadres, etc.), still remain on paper.

### The Main Lessons of Recent Strikes

The question of the tempo is of decisive importance in the light of the new developments and the tasks that flow from them. What are the main lessons of the recent strikes, principally the strikes in the mining and textile industry? They are (a) the readiness of the workers to fight, (b) the willingness of the masses to struggle under the leadership of the TUUL and to join the TUUL unions, therefore the building of mass unions, (c) the solidarity of the unemployed and employed workers in strikes, (d) the possibility of drawing new cadres of leaders from among the masses. These lessons from the strikes show that as a result of the overcoming partly the mistakes in putting forward partial demands, as a result of the beginnings of the application of the policy of independent leadership, the united front from below, the policy of concentration, which was partly carried through, the TUUL has made progress in organizing for strikes. But the TUUL still has not learned how to properly organize the work during the strike and to lead the strike, how to end these strikes at the proper moment and how to sufficiently strengthen itself as a result of these strikes, how to extend the cadres of the unions.

The chief weaknesses in the conduct of the strike by the TUUL unions are: (a) failure to give sufficient attention to the organization of the strike committee (in the shops, mines and the central strike machinery) and the various departments of the strike committee (defense, relief, etc.). This resulted in the weak organization of picket lines, and a looseness in all the work. The strike committees (Paterson) were not organized on a representative basis and did not reflect the composition of the strikers (consisted not of elected delegates from the shops). Also there was insufficient drawing in of the strikers themselves in the leading posts in the strike, most of these positions being filled by trade union organizers. The link between the leading strike organs and the mass of the strikers was very weak, so

### Mass Struggles Are Coming

During the year 1931, thus far, the number of workers on strike (250,000) was nearly twice the total number of the entire year, 1930. These strikes took place mainly in such industries that were already in a state of crisis prior to the beginning of the present economic crisis (mining, textile, etc.), because in these industries the unemployment and wage cuts were greatest, so that these workers were the first ones to respond. While the most important of the strikes were of unorganized workers, large sections of organized workers entered into the struggle. Practically all the strikes were directed against wage cuts and the lengthening of the hours of labor. The majority of the strikes of the organized workers were led and betrayed by the Musteite elements in sham opposition to the official A. F. of L., whom the workers genuinely wanted to fight. The TUUL led about one-third of the numbers of workers on strike including the most important strike of the entire period, the strike of over 40,000 soft coal miners. The recent strikes demonstrated not only the growing radicalization of the masses in general, but also the growing activity of the Negro masses, as well as the growing importance of the women and young workers. The government played an increasing role as strike-breaker, and the federal government, through the Labor Department and deportations, acted as an open strike-breaker, more so than in any previous period.

### Militancy of Unemployed Grows.

The unemployed masses have shown increasing readiness to struggle against starvation. During the year 1931, there took place important struggles of the unemployed. The response to the unemployment insurance bill, the extent and militancy of the February 25 demonstrations, the successful hunger marches in about a dozen states, the numerous local and county hunger marches, numerous spontaneous struggles around the factories and the unemployment agencies, the solidarity of the unemployed and employed during the miners and other strikes—all these actions of the unemployed are in-

### The A.F.L., Musteites and Socialists Are Now Open Agents of the Bosses.

The A. F. of L. and its various wings from Muste to Gitlow, have played an increasing role as strike-breakers, and against the demands of the unemployed. Every struggle of the masses can only be carried on correctly, if it is directed against the reformists as part of the combination of the bosses, the government and labor bureaucrats. The A. F. of L. policy does not exclude the taking over of the "leadership" of strikes as part of its strike-breaking policy. Not only the Muste wing of the A. F. of L., which plays a more and more increasing role with the sharpening of the crisis, but even the official A. F. of L. undertakes to lead strikes when the masses show their readiness to fight, in order to betray and break these strikes. In only one thing is the policy of the A. F. of L. uniform—always to do that which serves the interests of the bosses, and which can defeat the workers. Thus we have that, while the strike of the anthracite miners was outlawed by the official Lewis-Boylan machine, and led by Musteites of the Maloney-Tomishek type, in the Hocking Valley and in Northern West Virginia, the Lewis machine element led the strikes directly and sold out the workers. It is interesting to note that in both of these places the TUUL forces at that time, were

# Organize to Strike Against Wage-Cuts!



# PUSH THE FIGHT FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

that the leading committees did not at all times have a firm grasp on the actual situation, and did not transmit the decisions of the leading bodies to the mass of the strikers. All these weaknesses led to a condition that the leading committees, in formulating their policy, did not fully know the actually existing situation, thus resulting in many serious errors. Thus in the course of the miners' strike, the back to work movement was already very strong, while the strike leadership was still slow to recognize the extent of this, and also slow to draw the conclusions in changed tactics. This also resulted in the policy of the organized retreat being adopted not soon enough. The organized retreat means to reform the front of struggle (concentration in certain places, liquidation of others, modification of demands, etc.) at a time when the enemy has made a breach in our front, but when we still have strength. If we wait until our forces are disintegrated, then it is impossible to make an organized retreat in order to gain concessions, and keep our ranks intact. In the Paterson strike, as well as in the strike of the textile workers in Rhode Island, the leading organs were not aware of the actual situation of the strikes in many instances during the critical moments because of the failure to register all the strikers, to organize the strike committees in the shops, and to organize the central strike machinery on a correct basis representative of all the strikers.

## Weak Application of United Front

(b) While in the recent strikes, the policy of the united front was followed, in the actual application, it was very weak. In practice it was the small bodies that carried through all decisions, and the united front organs had too much merely a formal existence. In the matter of uniting the unemployed and employed masses through the organization of the joint struggle for joint demands, only in the miners' strike were real beginnings made, and even here this was not followed up. In practically all the textile strikes little attempt was made to draw the unemployed workers into the struggle. Mistakes were made, particularly in the strikes in textile (Paterson, Weybosset, etc.) in liquidating the role of the TUUL union, and substituting the united front organs for the union. While this is not the main danger, the main danger still being the failure to apply the policy of the united front, we must fight against all tendencies to liquidate the role of our union. While always developing the broadest possible united front, we must from the very beginning in preparation for the struggle, during the strike and after the strike, take up energetically the recruiting into the TUUL unions, and the building of the unions into mass organizations. This requires that at all stages of the struggle and during the strike in particular, that the union shall be the instrument for the mobilization of the masses, to develop and lead the struggles. In the carrying through of the united front policy, we must be on guard to counteract all the fake unity maneuvers of the reformists and always maintain the initiative in the fight for unity. In the Paterson strike, at a certain stage, we lost this initiative because of the slowness and hesitation in carrying through the correct line, adopted in the struggle against the Musteite-Gitlow maneuvers.

(c) Our unions have not given enough attention in the course of the strikes, through their practical work, to smash the lies spread by all our enemies, that we are not interested in fighting for and winning every minute demands of the workers. This lie has some effect among the masses because we have not yet learned how to react properly in every stage of the struggle, and to adapt ourselves to the changing conditions during the strike. We do not yet know how to utilize every possible moment to gain some concessions for the workers in the struggle, when that is possible on the basis of partial settlements or individual settlements. In the miners strike, we have not sufficiently made clear to the min-

ers our readiness to make partial and individual settlements, when that becomes possible. We must prove to the workers that we are doing everything possible to mobilize all the forces at our disposal to gain immediate concessions for the workers. Our unions have already in the course of the recent strikes, succeeded in many cases to stop the attacks of the bosses and to gain concessions for the workers (fur workers, textile, etc.). We must fight against the wrong tendency which states that it is impossible to win strikes in the present situation. We must point out to the workers that if the strikes are properly prepared, if we can better organize the strikes, if we can spread the strikes in the decisive sections of the industry, if we can mobilize all the reserves, if we organize strike funds in advance, organize the relief machinery, etc., it is possible to defeat the combination of the bosses, the government terror, and the reformists and to win the demands.

## Weaknesses Due to Lack of Preparation.

(d) Our strikes have shown a number of other weaknesses, some of which grow out of the lack of preparation. We can learn of the necessity of organizing the relief machinery and to build a permanent relief organization, prior to the strike (WIR), to organize the relief locally and on a basis that will serve as an organizing means for the strike (mass kitchens, etc.). Another category of weaknesses that must be overcome and which were prevalent in the strike of the textile workers, is the underestimation of the influence of the old unions and the necessity of work in the old unions prior to and during the

strike, in order to mobilize the masses in these organizations in united front actions against the bosses and the labor bureaucrats. One of the important lessons shown in the miners strike, was the strong illusions with regard to Pinchot, which even the most energetic efforts of the strike committee only partially liquidated. This shows the necessity of even more persistent and systematic striving to politicalize the strikes on the basis of the concrete experiences of the masses during the strike with the government and the various capitalist political parties and politicians. Another important lesson of the strike, particularly the miners' strike, is the danger of substituting new tasks and general perspectives in place of the carrying through of the existing tasks and overcome the difficulties. Thus for example in the miners' strike, while the perspective of national strike was brought forward again and again, the spreading of the strike in Fayette and Westmoreland counties in Pennsylvania, which was of decisive importance, received little attention until the later stages of the strike.

We must not only draw the lessons from these strikes, but recognize that many of these mistakes were repeated again and again. Thus for example, the Paterson strike saw the same mistakes that were committed prior to this in the miners' strike. This shows that it is necessary not only to really bring to light the lessons of the strikes here and throughout the world, to popularize the positive and negative features of our work, but also to take steps to so organize the life of our organizations that we will develop some guarantee that these mistakes will not be repeated again and again.

## Necessary Steps to Carry Thru the Struggle Against Wage-Cuts and for the Jobless

In the very center of the work of the TUUL at the present time, must be the organization of the struggle against new waves of wage cuts, in the steel, auto, railroad, etc., initiated by the employers, in all the industries, with the wage cut of the U. S. Steel Corporation. The steel industry, in which production is now about 28 per cent of capacity, and in which the majority of the workers now employed work from one to three days, shows the necessity of connecting up the struggle against wage cuts with the struggle against the stagger plan, part time work, and mass discharge now being carried through. Only by connecting up the struggle in this manner, can we carry through a real fight against the bosses offensive on the living standards of the workers. The general slogan **ORGANIZE AND STRIKE AGAINST WAGE CUTS** must be linked up with the slogans, (a) **AGAINST WAGE CUTS IN ANY FORM**, (b) **FULL WAGES FOR PART TIME WORK**, (c) **THE SEVEN HOUR DAY WITHOUT REDUCTION IN PAY**, (d) **AGAINST SPEED UP AND FOR THE ABOLITION OF OVERTIME WORK**, (e) **EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK FOR THE NEGRO WORKERS AND FOREIGN BORN WORKERS**, (f) **ABOLITION OF INJUNCTIONS, RIGHT TO ORGANIZE, STRIKE, PICKET**, etc. These general slogans must not be transplanted literally into every strike. Local partial demands suitable to the given industry, and factory, must form the heart of the slogans on which we mobilize the masses for struggle.

## The Policy of Concentration.

The TUUL has already achieved some successes as a result of the policy of concentration. The last meeting of the National Committee of the TUUL decided to concentrate the work of the TUUL in four industries (mining, textile, marine and metal). At the present time, while the work in the mining industry still remains in the center of the work of the TUUL, and already we can see new struggles developing (strike in the Anthracite, gain in membership in Northern West Virginia etc.) the greatest attention must now be given to the

struggle against the new wage cut which means principally to organize the struggle in the steel industry, marine industry. In addition, the TUUL must make the automobile, chemical, railroad, and textile industries as the other industries of concentration. The recent conference of steel workers in Pittsburgh, at which with little preparation 423 delegates were present, shows that it will be possible to develop struggles in the steel industry. It is necessary to mobilize all our organizations and supporting organizations to give assistance to the Metal Workers Industrial League, to develop the strikes of the steel workers and to build the Steel Workers Industrial Union.

The NMU must do everything possible to consolidate the position gained, to stabilize and increase its membership, to activate the membership, to develop normal life of the local unions and the leading union organs, to develop and extend the influence of the MINE WORKER, to begin a serious collection of dues, etc. At the same time, the NMU must pay attention to the development of the struggles. The NMU must direct more attention to the work inside the UMWA and independent miners' unions, and through the policy of the united front, take the initiative as the fighter for one class struggle union in the industry—for the unity of all the miners against the operators and the labor bureaucrats. The TUUL must assist the NMU to carry through the decisions adopted at the last Board meeting of the NMU.

## Marine and Railroad.

The TUUL must help the Marine Workers Industrial Union to develop the struggle against the wage cuts and sell-out agreements of the officials. Great attention must be paid to the strengthening of the Marine Workers Industrial Union in the three concentration districts (New York, New Orleans and the Pacific Coast).

The employers are now preparing wage cuts against the railroad workers, more than 350,000 of whom are employed. Our League has made no progress under these favorable conditions. The TUUL must assist

the League in the strengthening of its center and in the working out of its policy of combining work in the R.R. brotherhoods, the other railroad unions, and the work among the unorganized.

In the textile industry we must consolidate the gains made as a result of the recent strikes, strengthen the leadership of the NTWU and assist them in the preparations for struggles now developing in this industry (Lawrence, etc.) in connection with the new wave of wage cuts in this industry. The NTWU must develop a broad united front

policy from below and give much more attention to the winning of the workers in the old unions (Paterson, Kensington, etc.).

Beginnings must be made in the work in the chemical industry because of the growing acuteness of the war danger. The TUUL Bureau shall be directly responsible for the development of this work and make regular reports to the NEB on the progress of this work. The other unions must assist in organizing the work in the chemical industry, giving assistance through organizing groups, finances, etc.

## Fight for Unemployment Relief and Unemployment Insurance

The TUUL must carry through a concentration of the work not only in the specified industries, but also in the districts in which the centers of these industries are located—Philadelphia, Boston, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago. We must therefore, give special attention to the development of the development of the TUUL in these districts.

Already there are 12,000,000 unemployed and the number is growing as a consequence of the deepening of the crisis, the increasing rationalization and the wage cuts. This requires that the struggle for the demands of the unemployed shall be in the very center of the work of the TUUL. The capitalists and their various agencies of fascists and social fascists are increasing their demagogy, with regard to

the unemployed at the same time when the policy of the employers and the government is one of no relief to the unemployed. The whole program of the capitalists is to doom the unemployed to starvation, to give charity crumbs to certain sections of the unemployed, to discriminate against the foreign born, Negro and youth unemployed, and to suppress every struggle of the unemployed through terror. We must make the TUUL unions the driving force in the Unemployed Councils, organized on the broadest united front basis. We must strive to organize the unemployed into the Unemployed Councils on the basis of the development of the day to day work of the councils on the basis of the struggle for the everyday needs of the unemployed, with the demand for unemployment insurance in the center.

## Work Among the Employed and Unemployed Must Be Coordinated

One of the most important of our present tasks is to link up the struggle of the unemployed and the employed on the basis of concrete demands. One of the most serious weaknesses in our general work is the tendency to develop the unemployed movement and the red union movement as separated from each other, exemplified by the situation in Chicago where the unemployed movement is large and vigorous and the red unions are anaemic and small and in New York where the reverse situation is the case with the TUUL unions active and very little organization and movement existing amongst the unemployed. In order to abolish these weaknesses it is important during times of strikes to draw the unemployed into the strike committees, into the mass picket lines, into the collection of strike relief and on the other side, to place in specific shops concrete demands regarding the unemployed. For example, the rehiring of laid-off workers, etc.

The TUUL must fight for the following program for the unemployed:

(a) Unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and the employers, amounting to full wages, for all workers, throughout the entire period of unemployment, and administered by the workers.

(b) Immediate WINTER RELIEF to the sum of \$150 for every unemployed worker, and \$50 for every dependent.

(c) For the reduction of the hours of labor (7 hour day for all workers, 6 hours for miners, etc.) without reduction of the weekly earnings, abolition of child labor under 14 and the provision for vocational training with full government maintenance; 4 hour day for youth workers up to 16 and 6 hour day for all young workers from 16 to 20 years of age.

(d) Prohibition of evictions of workers for non-payment of rent when unemployed for any reason. Free rents, gas, light, water, etc., for the unemployed at government expense. Free distribution of milk for all children of the unemployed.

(e) The struggle against the Hoover schemes of public works which are designed as preparations for war, as wage cutting expedients and systems of forced labor. Against this program, we must de-

mand the inauguration of the program of building homes for the workers to replace the present horrible barracks inhabited by the millions of unemployed, and underpaid workers, building of workers' hospitals, nurseries, etc. All public buildings to be at trade union wage rates and the 7 hour day.

(f) Absolute prohibition of all forms of forced labor or coercion of any kind in connection with relief and insurance.

(g) The development of trade relations with the Soviet Union, in order that the idle factories may work, fill the constantly growing demands of the successful construction of the workers government and its Five Year Plan.

(h) Struggle against mass dismissals from the shops.

We must bring this program to the millions of unemployed, mobilize them for struggle for these demands, win the employed workers to fight for these demands. We must organize the unemployed through the day to day struggle for these demands, and force the capitalists to grant these demands, through the organization and struggle of the unemployed. For this purpose there should be carried through locally, county, and state struggles and demonstrations leading up to the NATIONAL HUNGER MARCH.

The TUUL and its affiliated unions shall give the utmost attention and support to the National Hunger March organized under the leadership of the unemployed councils, and to develop the National Hunger March into a great mass movement involving many hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers. The National Hunger March must serve as an effective means to fight for the masses of American workers for immediate relief and unemployment insurance. The TUUL must use all their efforts to utilize the National Hunger March as the starting point to secure a solid organizational basis for the unemployed movement throughout the country.

## Struggle Against the Terror of the Government and the Fascist Bands

More and more the struggles of the workers are met by the terror of the government and its fascist



# SURANCE AND IMMEDIATE CASH RELIEF!

organizations. In every struggle of the workers, we find the full forces of the government, arrests, clubbings, jailings, lynchings, outright killing of the unemployed (Chicago, Cleveland, etc.) deportations, etc. Every right of the workers won through years of struggle (right to organize, picket, assemble, press, etc.) is being taken away. More and more gangsters with the full assistance of the police, are used against the workers in struggle. The T.U.U.L. unions must mobilize the entire working class to fight for the rights of the workers, against lynchings, deportations, and discrimination against Negro and foreign born workers. We must organize defense groups to beat back the attacks of the fascist bands and the police attacks against the workers. The T.U.U.L. must be in the very center of the struggle initiated by the I.L.D. and help to build the I.L.D. At present, we must mobilize all forces for the Harlan-Mooney-

Scottsboro campaigns.

One of the most important lessons of our recent strikes is the intense speed and vigor with which the employing class turns all the powers of the government against our strikes and the intense development of demagogy to hide this offensive. This requires on our part skillful politicalization of our struggles by the raising of concrete political issues growing out of the actual struggle. The need for the politicalization of our strikes is particularly emphasized by our developing orientation toward heavy industries. In these heavy and war industries, every move of the workers to defend even the simplest economic demands is met by special activity on the part of the government. This politicalization must be especially directed against the demagogy of the Pinchots, Murphys and the social-fascists.

neighborhoods (rents, food, evictions, etc.), in the unemployment agencies (cafeterias, etc.), soup kit-

chens, etc. All the unemployed councils have representatives of employed workers.

## Work in the Reformist Unions

There are more than 3,000,000 workers in the A. F. of L. and other reformist unions. These unions are not only in the industries of skilled workers. In the industries where the T.U.U.L. unions are strongest (mining, needle, textile) the reformist unions still have a membership more than ten times the membership of the T.U.U.L. unions. The influence of the A. F. of L. extends far beyond the organizational strength of these organizations, including workers in industries where even the A. F. of

the basis of the united front from below.

### Real Work in Old Unions.

Without carrying on real work in the old unions, not only in those industries where we have no unions of the T.U.U.L. (railroad, building, etc.), but also in the reformist unions that exist parallel to the revolutionary unions (mining, textile, marine, needle, etc.), we will make it possible for the A. F. of L. and the Musteites to maintain their influence over and betray the struggles of the masses, we will be unable to organize real mass struggles of the workers and build the revolutionary unions. Special attention must be given to work among the unemployed in the reformist unions. The left wing shall present its program at all conferences, conventions, etc., and strive to elect its delegates as well as all elective posts in the organizations.

### United Front Policy of the T.U.U.L.

Only through the application of

the united front policy from below will we be able to develop and lead the struggles of the masses and build our unions. This was demonstrated in the strike of the miners, the textile workers, the needle workers, etc. The T.U.U.L. unions must pay particular attention to the development of the united front organs in the shops. They must take the initiative in the fight for the united front of the members of the T.U.U.L. unions, the unorganized and the members of the reformist unions, on concrete programs of action. The T.U.U.L. unions must take the initiative in the fight for the unity of the workers, showing to the workers how one union in the industry can only be achieved against the reformist leaders. At the present time, when the T.U.U.L. is growing in influence, the A. F. of L., and particularly its Muste wing, will make any maneuvers in order to maintain its influence over the masses. We must be able to take the initiative and to unmask them before the workers by developing a genuine united front policy, studying all the experiences and suitable forms necessary in a given situation, always remembering that we are for a united front with the masses directed against the bosses and labor bureaucrats.

## Fight Against Imperialist War and for the Defense of the Soviet Union

The bosses are trying to find a way out of the crisis through war and principally through an attack against the Soviet Union. At this moment, we witness the sharpening of the war danger, the mobilization of all the vassal states bordering on the Soviet Union by the imperialists, and the open war steps by Japanese imperialism around the Manchuria attack.

The United States is constantly increasing its expenditures for war, while there is not a penny for the unemployed. We must expose the war moves against the Soviet Union, bring before the masses the meaning of the attacks on the Soviet Union, and how this is part of the enslavement of the workers of the United States. While intensifying our agitation against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, we must remember that only if we take steps to organize the workers in the key industries of war preparation (steel, chemical, marine, railroad, etc.) we will be able to make good our pledge to the defense of the Soviet Union. We must give all support in building the Friends of the Soviet Union. The T. U. U. L. unions must also take up the struggle of the masses in the colonial countries exploited by United States imperialism, give every possible assistance to their struggles, and give more attention to the winning of the masses of these colonial countries in the industries of the United States (Latin-American, Philippines, etc.).

Of particular importance are the Latin-American workers, as the drawing into the revolutionary trade unions of these workers will give a living expression to the solidarity pact signed by the T.U.U.L. and the Latin-American Federation of Labor and will facilitate the carrying out of our duties to these neighboring countries oppressed by American imperialism.

All the enumerated tasks cannot be carried through without a real and decisive turn to work in the shops. The main weakness of the T.U.U.L. unions, its main unpreparedness to organize the resistance of the workers to the wage-cut offensive, is the lack of contact and organization inside the shops. Without overcoming this weakness, it will be impossible to carry through the task of organizing the workers for struggle, to win the masses still under reformist influence, to build the mass unions of the T.U.U.L. The failure to develop the struggles of the workers in the basic industries is due primarily to the lack of contacts and organized work in these factories. This must be overcome first by reorganizing the existing membership of the T.U.U.L. unions on a shop basis. But this is not the solution to the problems, since the T.U.U.L. unions have little membership in these basic industries (steel, chemical, etc.). We must take the first steps to establish contacts in these factories and organize shop groups of our unions as the basic form of our unions. At the same time, our groups must take the initiative to organize broad united front com-

mittees of action, grievance committees, etc., around the immediate issues of struggle (wage-cuts, etc.). In many instances it will be possible through the initiative of the individual members of the revolutionary unions, or through the influence of the revolutionary press, to form united front committees of action, even before the establishment of the union groups. But we must strive at all times to develop the shop groups of the union, side by side with the united front organs of struggle, which are broad, loose committees, as the leaders of these united front bodies. We must not confuse the shop groups of our union with shop committees that are the representative committees elected by all the workers in the shops and which can only come into existence when the workers come to the point of open organization and have the power to establish the open existence of the shop committees.

### Concrete Information for Workers.

One of the reasons for our inability to establish shop organizations is the failure to give concrete information to the workers, how to carry on the work inside the shops, how to function without creating unnecessary dismissals, etc., because of the failure to take up and solve the questions of how to carry on the work inside the shops. The initial contacts for organization in the shops can be secured not only by a real turn to the factories, the activation of the workers in the large plants in our organizations on the basis of a program of struggle, but also by the utilization of the unemployed movements, by increasing the work among the unemployed and part-time workers, by the utilization of the tens of thousands of our sympathizers through the mass organizations and our language press.

In order to lead the struggle of the unemployed, we must create the organization of the unemployed. These organizations must be organized on the united front basis. The T.U.U.L. unions must assist in the building of these organizations and work through them. The basic form of organization of the unemployed council is the neighborhood council, elected by the workers in the neighborhood; unemployment agency, soup kitchens, etc. These councils carry on the work from day to day, through a real division of labor (sub-committee for evictions, securing food for children, defense, legal aid, etc.) and convene regular meetings of the unemployed workers, who pass on the reports of the committee, elect and re-elect these committees, etc. The committee should register the unemployed and the various local organizations decide if they wish to have any regular contributions, etc. The various councils in the neighborhoods of a given city (and in the larger cities of a given section) elect delegates to a City or Section Council of the Unemployed who lead the work in that territory. This form of organization corresponds to the organization of the day to day struggle for the demands of the unemployed in the



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER  
Secretary of the Trade Union Unity League

L. has practically no organization. At the present time there is growing resistance on the part of the masses in these unions, to the treacherous politics of their officials. These masses also suffer from unemployment. In the building trades, more than 50 per cent of the A. F. of L. membership is unemployed. In the railroad unions large sections of these workers are unemployed and working part time. All these conditions furnish a basis for and make very urgent that we undertake serious and systematic work in the reformist unions. Without such work it will be impossible not only to win these millions of masses to our banner of struggle, but even to organize the struggle of the unorganized workers.

### Some False Theories.

Until recently there had developed on the basis of our failure to carry on work in the reformist unions a number of false theories to the effect that all the workers in the old unions are aristocrats of labor, if not fascists; that it is impossible to work in the old unions, etc. But our feeble beginnings in recent months have shown that because of the radicalization of the workers in these organizations, it is now, in spite of all difficulties, more possible than ever to carry on effective work in the old unions, and that the masses readily follow our program. Because of our failure to work in the reformist unions, it was possible for the Musteites and Lovestoneites in a number of unions to take hold of the opposition movement which was veering into our direction, and lead it back to the channels of the A. F. of L. In the case of the needle workers union, where the Lovestoneites had taken hold of the opposition movement, we could liquidate their influence and take hold of the opposition movements when we began to carry on systematic work in the old unions, and the correct policy of the united front. This work, which must be carried on also within the locals of the reformist unions, can only be carried through successfully if we organize the work in the shops to win the members of the reformist unions on concrete struggles, and if we do not capitulate to legalism and limit the struggle merely on inner union questions, but take up and organize the struggles of these masses through independent leadership on

## Special Attention to the Winning of Various Categories of Workers, Negro, Women, Youth, etc.

Our unions, in order to be able to organize and struggle against the offensive, must pay special attention to the work among the various sections of the workers, raising special demands and using methods necessary to win these masses. Until now, the work among the Negro masses, work among the women workers and among the young workers, has been taken up in a formal manner. In order to really appreciate the importance of this work, and to make serious efforts to win these masses, it is necessary to realize the role played by all these masses in the class struggle. The Negro workers have displayed an increasing militancy and willingness to struggle (miners' strike, unemployment in Chicago, Camp Hill, around the Scottsboro, etc.). This must mean for us the exertion of all our efforts to organize the struggle of these masses, to formulate special demands in the strike struggles, in the struggles of the unemployed, in the interests of these masses. This requires that we mobilize the white workers to struggle for the demands of the Negro masses, against all forms of discrimination with regard to dismissals from the job, in the hiring of workers, in receiving of unemployment benefits, etc. The T.U.U.L. unions must set up live functioning departments and committees of white and Negro workers, for work among the Negro masses and work out concrete programs of action. The unions must check up that these plans do not remain on paper but that they become part of the everyday work of these organizations. To achieve this the Negro department in the center, which was organized and began to function, shall receive much more attention and assistance.

### Weaknesses in Negro Work.

The greatest weakness of the T.U.U.L. unions in Negro work is a tendency to confine their activities to the propagation of general slogans for equality and general political demands of Negroes, but not to develop concrete demands for the Negroes and to conduct an active struggle for the Negroes' economic demands and against all forms of segregation and discrimination on the basis of concrete facts and cases. This is exemplified by the exclusion of Negro women from the women's auxiliaries and discrimination against Negroes in the distribution of relief (mine strike), failure to defend the grievances of Negro workers in the shops and to develop the solidarity of black and white workers against specific wage-cuts directed against Negroes (needle), failure of the railroad and marine unions to develop def-

inite programs of demands for Negroes, etc.

The women workers constitute 20 per cent of the industrial workers, and in many industries (textile) the decisive sections are playing a more important role in every struggle. But this is not reflected in the membership of women workers in the T.U.U.L. unions (textile), in the drawing in of women workers into the leadership of the unions. This is a reflection of the lack of organized and planned work among the women workers: the failure to raise special demands in strikes and in the unemployed movement. Only through the regular functioning of the women's departments and the careful attention to the work among women will we be able to overcome this situation. Under the present conditions of developing struggles, this becomes indispensable for the revolutionary unions.

The work among the youth is lagging behind the number of young workers in industry, and the active role that they play in the struggles. This is due to the fact that in most of our unions there is even a denial of the existence of youth problems and youth demands. This means in practice a complete underestimation of the work among the young workers. It means to make it possible for the bosses and their organizations to keep the youth chained to the bosses' organization, and to make it more difficult to win the youth to our unions. The T.U.U.L. unions must develop the youth departments, insist on bringing forward youth demands in the shops, etc., and consciously promote young workers in leading posts in the organization.

Similarly, the T.U.U.L. unions must pay special attention to work among foreign-born workers, the Latin-American workers, etc. Without carrying through this special work among these various sections of the American working class, the unions will be unable to properly develop the struggle and grow.

The T.U.U.L. unions can only grow when they represent and are the fighters for daily interests and needs of the masses, in preparation for, during and as a consequence of the leadership of the struggle of the masses. But unless together with this, we develop a real inner life, correct organizational forms, regular meetings, real democracy, the drawing in of workers into activity, and overcome the present formless and bureaucratic empty life of the local organiza-



# Build Up Mass T.U.U.L. Unions!

tions, the unions will not be able to increase or maintain their membership and will never become real mass organizations.

The T.U.U.L. unions must be built on the following basis:

- (a) Shop branches, which are the basic form of organization;
- (b) local organizations which con-

sist of the membership of a number of factories in a given locality, plus unemployed and individual members from shops where no shop groups exist as yet. Then the district organization, which is subdivided into subsidiaries where necessary, and finally the national organizations.

## A Decisive Turn to the Shops

It is the duty of the T.U.U.L. to bring all its strength and determination to carry through a decisive turn towards building and developing the trade unions on the basis of the shops. Through the organization of shop branches, transferring the main work and activities of the union to the shops. These shop branches which are the basic organizations of the unions are composed of all the members of the union working in a given factory, shop or mine, and unemployed formerly employed in these places, so far as possible. These branches elect their respective leading committees. The factory branches must divide their membership in small groups, according to shifts, sections and departments of the given place of work. The leading committee of the factory group must maintain close connections with the smaller groups (in shifts, departments, sections) on the basis of permanent elected representatives from these groups to the leading committee of the factory groups.

The same procedure must be followed in the building of the local organizations of the unions which base themselves on the factory branches, unemployed groups and the individual members from shops where there are not yet organized factory branches and who live in the given locality.

The factory branches, as well as the local unemployed groups, must meet regularly and strive to give to every member of the group concrete and specified tasks, making these branches the driving force of all the union activities in the places of work. The tasks of the delegates and members of the union that are drawn in active work are: Carrying out the decisions, collecting of dues, selling papers and literature, and above all, every member of the union in the shops and out of the shops must be an active recruiter for our unions.

The assignments of functions at the base must be accompanied with

a corresponding division of work in the leading bodies of the union by creating various departments (organization, cultural, relief, Negro, youth, women, etc.). These committees must be elective bodies and draw rank and file workers into the work. The custom of one man doing all the work must be abolished.

### A Guarantee That Unions Will Play Proper Role.

The rooting of our unions in the shops and factories in this basic organizational manner will be the only guarantee that in time of strikes the union will be able to play its proper role in the united front organs of struggle (grievance committees, strike committees), and build themselves in the course of struggle instead of being entirely

## The Wage-Cut Drive in Full Swing in N. Y.

By JOSEPH ZACK, Secretary

It is quite obvious that the capitalists are quickly following the lead of the U. S. Steel Corporation in all industries. Within six weeks of the announcement of the wage cut in steel, we have the wage-cut move on the railroads, a wage-cut of 30 per cent announced by the Building Trades Employers' Association, to take effect on Dec. 1, wage-cuts in textile trades of 10 to 30 per cent, a move by the printing bosses to eliminate all restrictions on speed-up in this industry in order to reduce costs. In fact, everywhere we have the wage-cuts in one form or another either announced or in effect.

These drives will be affecting the overwhelming majority of the workers in New York before the year is up.

The workers are not accepting the

replaced by the united front organs.

By carrying through these measures the present situation in regard to the absence of any real democracy and rule from the top by commands and orders will be abolished. This will also be a real turn towards solving the crisis of lack of functionaries which hampers the growth of our unions.

To put this line of the R.I.L.U. into practice, every union must work out a concrete plan of work and devise means by which all the tasks embodied in the plan of work will be carried through and controlled.

The unions must strive in the shortest time possible to overcome the present chaotic situation with regard to finances. This can only be solved through the organization of the dues collections of the membership. To accomplish this, there should be set up financial and dues collection committees, who shall maintain direct contact with groups of members through the factory, the home, etc. The unions must elect financial control committees.

The unions must serve the needs of the membership on the questions of strike relief, defense, cultural activities, the press, etc. These ac-

tivities must be organized directly by the unions and in co-operation with the various workers' organizations operating in these fields (W.I.R., I.L.D., Workers' Cultural Federation, etc.).

The development of systematic cultural work (lectures, workers' affairs, questions and answers, trade union courses), in the revolutionary trade unions is one of the most important tasks. For this purpose we must utilize the Cultural Federation.

The unions must strive to broaden and improve the trade union press and the central organ of the T.U.U.L.—Labor Unity. The greatest attention and support in the present time must be given to build up the Mine Worker, the Marine Worker, the Metal Worker and others of our journals as real mass organs. The building up of the trade union shop papers has a great importance in the task of preparing strikes. Labor Unity, which now is too much detached from the life of the unions, must become the organ reflecting all the struggles and inner life of our organizations. We must look upon the trade union press as an important instrument in the development of the struggle, the leading of

the whole movement, the building of our unions.

Co-operation with workers' mass organizations (a) the Workers' International Relief: With the increasing strike activities of the revolutionary unions, the question of a broad and permanent relief organization becomes of paramount importance. While each union itself must raise strike funds and undertake to the best of its ability to finance the strikes in its industry, there is necessity for a broad relief organization to mobilize masses of workers and sympathizers generally, in support of major strikes. The building of the W.I.R. therefore becomes an urgent question and must be given all possible support by the T.U.U.L. organizations.

(b) The International Labor Defense: With the increasing terror of the government, the bosses and fascist labor leaders against the workers, the question of an organized defense becomes increasingly important. The T.U.U.L. endorses and supports the International Labor Defense, which is leading the struggle for the release of Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, the Harlan miners, the Centralia and Imperial Valley and hundreds of other class-war prisoners. But at the same time, the unions shall not make the mistake of simply turning over their labor cases to the I.L.D. and letting the matter rest there. They shall form joint defense committees with the I.L.D. and assume joint responsibility and mobilize all possible support for the release of the arrested workers.

(c) International Workers' Order. The T.U.U.L. endorses the International Workers' Order and calls upon its members and the workers generally to affiliate to it. Many workers' fraternal orders, the members of which suffer from all the exploitation and persecution felt by the working class generally, are friendly to the revolutionary unions and will lend co-operation to their building if properly approached. They are especially important approaches to the masses of foreign-born workers. In past struggles, these fraternal organizations have given their finances and their halls to the use of the strikers and have carried on active campaigns to enlist their members into the unions. The T.U.U.L. must everywhere establish fraternal connections with these organizations, which support the fight of the workers against wage-cuts, unemployment, etc.

### Statement of the Trade Union Unity Council of Greater New York

wage-cuts without resistance. Thus far the resistance has been particularly strong among the unorganized workers. We had wage-cut strikes in the food, metal and paper box trades, affecting a total of 4,000 unorganized workers, all of which, led by the T.U.U.L., resulted in the withdrawal of the wage-cuts. The outstanding defeat in the anti-wage-cut strikes in the New York District has been the full-fashioned hosiery workers, who, betrayed by their own officials, had to submit to a wage-cut of 40 per cent. The betrayal in this case was particularly effective, due to the total absence of a T.U.U.L. group in that

union.

On the whole, the new wage-cutting offensive which followed the U. S. Steel Corporation, has not yet hit the organized trades with strong T.U.U.L. organizations. The only attempt thus far has been on the waterfront, where the bosses, fearing our influence, signed up with the A. F. of L. union, withdrawing the wage-cut, but getting other things equivalent to it from the International Longshoremen's Association officials, with Ryan at the head.

The A. F. of L. unions in the building, needle and food trades are rapidly declining in membership and morale, while the T.U.U.L. unions have been increasing greatly in influence. The last few months registered an increase of 2,000 members per month, a distinctly favorable sign for our movement, reflecting the new fighting mood of the workers.