

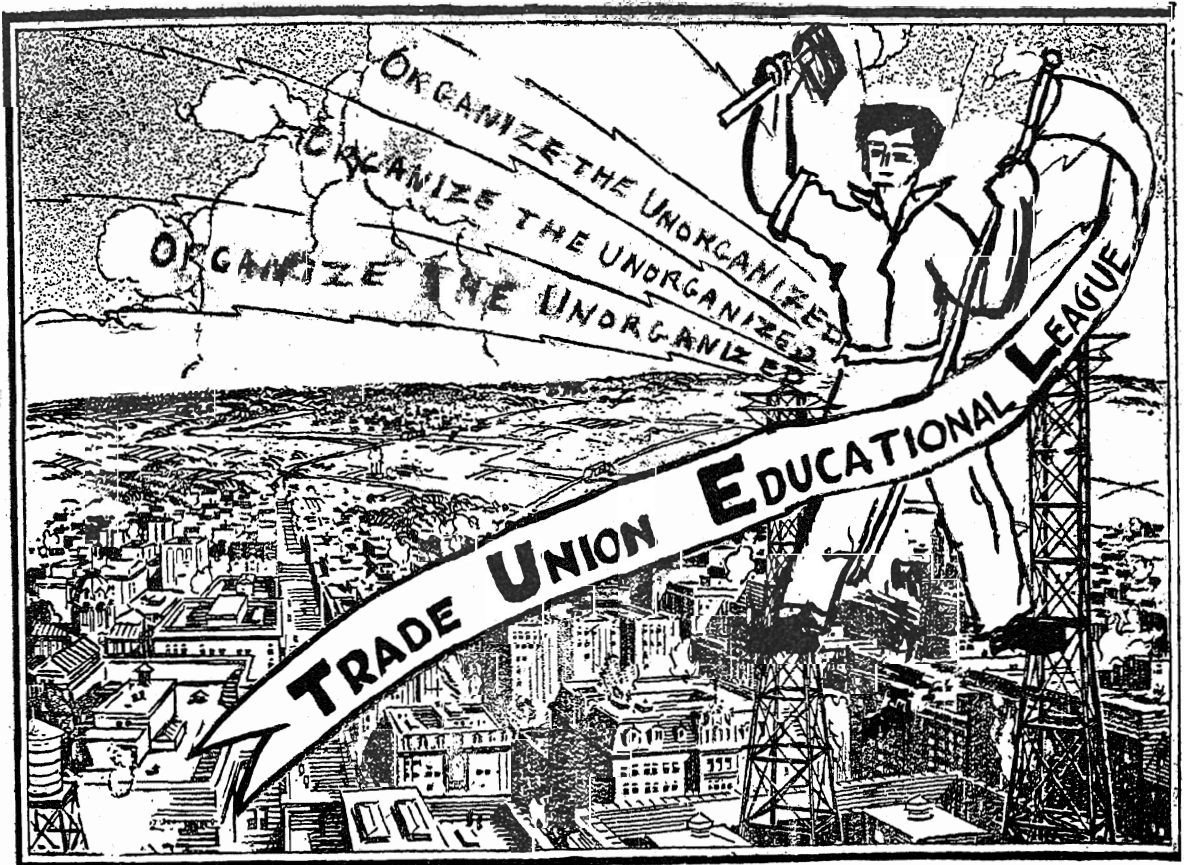
# New Tasks of the T. U. E. L.

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**W**ITH the present depression in industry, the widespread wage cutting campaign, the great growth of the army of unemployed, the breakdown of the old trade union movement, the unprecedented speed-up developments in industry, and the vast war preparation plans of the capitalists, the workers in the United States confront practically a new situation. This thrusts fresh tasks upon the Trade Union Educational League, and requires a shifting of the emphasis on old ones. This article, stressing the resolutions of the 4th World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, undertakes to give a lead on the tasks of the T.U.E.L. in the present situation.

Organization of the unorganized is the basic task confronting the left wing. It must be tackled with far greater energy and directness than ever before. The great key industries of the country, the vast armies of semiskilled and unskilled, are almost totally unorganized. The reactionary leaders of the A.F. of L. will not organize these masses; they are opposed to it. More and more they base themselves upon skilled workers and sacrifice the interests of the unskilled. The organization of the great mass of unorganized is the task of the left wing. (Continued on Page 18).



AS A JAPANESE WORKER IN AMERICA SEES IT.

The appeal broadcast by the T.U.E.L. to organize real unions, taking in all races, creeds, colors, and nationalities is making its impression on those who have been excluded from the old trade unions.

## *New Tasks of the T. U. E. L.*

(Continued from page 1).

The situation for the organization of the unorganized grows increasingly favorable. The wage cuts, the unemployment, the speed-up, are tending to stir vast sections of the workers, and to put them in a mood for organized resistance to the employers. This raises the question of the organizations through which this growing spirit of resistance shall express itself. It is manifest that the old reactionary trade unions which have been wiped out in the great basic industries and are dying as a real weapon of the workers, are incapable of coping with this task. Hence, new unions, founded on the industrial principle and headed by real fighters must be built up where there are no old unions or when these are incapable of functioning, and that is in the overwhelming bulk of the industries. The formation of new unions in the mining, needle, and textile industries within the past few months is indicative of the general trend of development. The T.U.E.L. must push forward with organization campaigns in mining, steel, automobile, packing, textile, needle and other industries.

The struggle to build these new unions constitutes the central task of the T.U.E.L. It must become the fighting leader of the battle of the unorganized for an organization and for better conditions. And more than ever the T.U.E.L. must come forward under its own name in this basic work. For the time being the question of creating a definite national center of the new unions is not on the order of the day. The T.U.E.L. will continue to develop as the general revolutionary union rallying point. As the American resolution of the 4th World Congress of the R.I.L.U. says:

**"The T.U.E.L. must now become the genuine organizational center of the unorganized workers, as well as being the center of the left wing in the reformist unions."**

In order to develop its work of organizing the masses, unorganized workers must be drawn into all groups and leading committees of the T.U.E.L. This important measure, adopted by the recent T.U.E.L. National Conference, has been largely ignored in the practice.

### **As To The Old Unions**

The great stress that the T.U.E.L. lays upon the building of new unions does not mean, however, that the work in the old unions shall be abandoned. On the contrary, in those unions that still preserve anything of a mass character the struggle against the reactionary bureaucrats must be intensified. The

T.U.E.L. will never surrender to the Greens, Wolls, and other misleaders the 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 organized workers in the United States.

Under the pressure of the employers the breaking up and company-unionization (or more properly, the Fascistization) of the trade unions proceeds rapidly. Never were the leaders so hopelessly corrupt as now, never were the organizations so weak, never was democratic control in the unions so low. And the crisis constantly grows deeper. The employers are fast turning the old labor movement into an instrument against the working class, where they do not destroy it outright.

We must fight against all these tendencies, struggle to save the mass unions from the combined attacks of the bosses and their agents, the labor fakers, fight to revolutionize these organizations and to draw the membership masses under the leadership of the left wing. Even in the teeth of the sharpest expulsion policy and bitterest persecution, the T.U.E.L. must press on with the organization of the left wing in the old unions. There is a growing element in the unions awaking to the crisis and seeking a way of solution. These must be organized around the T.U. E.L. program.

### **Strike Strategy**

T.U.E.L. militants must give increasing attention to the question of strike strategy. The coming period will be one of growing struggles by large masses of workers, in which left wing workers will be increasingly in the leadership. The big battles in the mining, textile, needle, and shoe industries are only a foretaste of the future. It is of the most basic importance that left wing militants properly equip themselves theoretically to lead these great struggles.

The great masses must be organized in the teeth of violent opposition of the powerful imperialist employers. To establish the new unions in the trustified industries will involve much more militant struggles than to build the old craft unions during the competitive stage of capitalism. The militants, to defeat the bosses and their labor leader agents, will have to understand how to utilize every advantage in the class war. Mistakes in policy and tactics will be disastrously costly. Hence, the great importance of a thorough understanding of strike strategy, a phase which the R.I.L.U. now is correct in sharply stressing.

The T.U.E.L. must give more attention to the fight against the war danger. All its propaganda must aim, in addition to its other specific purposes, to

arouse and organize the masses to resist the militarization program of American imperialism, which is heading straight to war. It must expose the sham of the Kellogg pact, which is designed not to prevent war but to blind and demoralize the workers so that the capitalists can go ahead even more freely with their war program. The T.U.E.L. must uncover to the workers the growing conspiracy of the capitalist countries to overthrow the Soviet Union and it must seek even more militantly to rally them in defense of the first Workers Republic. The T.U.E.L. must also give far more active support to the Chinese workers in revolution.

More and more the strikes of the workers take on a political character. More and more the employers use the state to repress and exploit the workers. This makes it all the more necessary for the T.U.E.L. in all its activities to expose the capitalist character of the state and to stress the necessity of working class political action. Although propagating the formation of a labor party, the T.U.E.L. should endorse the Presidential candidates of the Workers (Communist) Party, Foster and Gitlow. They alone of the various candidates support the principles of class struggle upon which the whole program of the T.U.E.L. is based.

#### Work Among Negroes

The R.I.L.U. sharply criticizes the T.U.E.L. for its inactivity among negroes. This criticism is fully justified and the cause for it must be ruthlessly eradicated. The near future must develop much greater T.U.E.L. activity in this very important phase of our general work.

Negroes are an increasingly important factor in many industries, especially those of a basic character. They are more bitterly exploited and persecuted than any other section of the working class. The T.U.E.L. must come forward aggressively as the defender of the Negroes, demanding for them full social, political, and industrial rights. In all T.U.E.L. organization campaigns special attention must be paid to unionizing Negro workers. The new unions being built must of course include Negro workers and draw them fully into the leadership. Besides, the T.U.E.L. must redouble its efforts to secure the admission of Negro workers into the old unions, and it shall, whenever necessary, organize Negroes in separate unions where the white unions do not admit them. In order to develop this general work Negroes must be drawn into all the groups and leading committees of the T.U.E.L. The bureau just organized by the R.I.L.U. to conduct revolutionary trade union work among Negroes in all countries will greatly facilitate this task in the United States.

#### Rationalization

The T.U.E.L. must become more concrete in its struggle against capitalist rationalization, the employers' speed-up program in industry. The first step in this direction is to carefully analyze what is actually happening in the rationalization movement. Already the British and German left wing movements have made important progress in this respect, in the shape of printed pamphlets surveying the results and tendencies of rationalization. The recent National Minority Movement Conference in London had before it a splendid document of this kind, taking up rationalization thoroughly, industry by industry. Such a thorough-going analysis is the very foundation for a successful fight against the speed-up, wage-cuts, unemployment, and the company unionization of the trade unions, which are such important phases of rationalization. The T.U.E.L. must have such a close-up study of American industry. So far our tendency has been to reside too much in the realm of generalities.

#### Unemployment

In all the great industrial countries the army of unemployed tends not only to become larger, but also permanent. This is true of the United States with its multitudes of workless toilers, as well as of England, Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc. Rationalization of industry, shrinkage of home markets, industrialization of new countries and sharpening of international competition generally, are throwing larger and larger masses of workers out of work in all the big industrial countries.

This means that the T.U.E.L. will have to devote much more attention to the question of unemployment than heretofore. The T.U.E.L. must intensify its propaganda explaining to the workers how capitalism inevitably develops mass unemployment; it must help to organize the unemployed; to arouse the trade unions on the subject and to get them to make common cause with the unemployed. As a means to combat unemployment, the T.U.E.L. must much more aggressively fight for its program of the shorter work-day and work-week and stimulate the workers to fight for state relief for unemployed workers. The proposal of Lewis and the coal operators to drive 300,000 workers out of the coal industry, and the absolute necessity of uniting the miners against such a monstrous proposal, indicate the deep importance of the question of the T.U.E.L. intensifying its activities on the unemployment question.

#### Women and Youth

The T.U.E.L. must also focus its attention more upon active work among women and the youth. Work among these super-exploited categories of workers

becomes the more important and necessary because, with the mechanization and specialization of industry, the tendency of the capitalists is to employ larger and larger numbers of women and youth workers.

The young workers take on an added importance because they are the ones who will be called upon primarily to lead in the labor struggles of the near future and to do the real building of the new industrial unions. This lesson is as clear as day from our recent experiences in the mining, needle, textile, and other industries. One of the first steps necessary in the development of successful T.U.E.L. work among women and youth is to draw these elements into all the groups and leading committees of the left wing.

### International Solidarity

It is necessary further that the T.U.E.L. lay more emphasis on the international aspects of the workers' struggle. First and foremost in this respect is required a more intensive popularization of the Red International of Labor Unions in the United States. Especially is this necessary in view of the tendency to form unions not affiliated to the A.F. of L. Such unions will be militant and will necessarily look more and more to the R.I.L.U. as the real leader of the world struggles of the workers.

In order to fight more effectively on all fronts against American imperialism, in order to play an effective part in the international battle of labor, the T.U.E.L. must establish better connections with

the respective International Propaganda Committees of the R.I.L.U. and with the left wing movements in Germany, England, Canada, etc. Also the T.U.E.L. must give its sustained and active support to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the Latin American Trade Union Secretariat. These militant organizations will lead the great struggles of the workers in those increasingly important centers of imperialist exploitation and conflict, the Orient and Latin America.

### Build the T.U.E.L.

The present situation, with all its opportunities and problems, thrusts great tasks upon the T.U.E.L. But our organization is all too weak to accomplish these tasks as it should. The necessity for building the T.U.E.L. is urgent. The matter must be taken in hand as never before since the militant activity at the time the T.U.E.L. was launched.

The T.U.E.L. remains still pretty much of a skeleton organization, especially with regard to its general organization in the big industrial centers. This condition must be remedied at once. Intensive organization campaigns must be put on to build up the local and general sections of the T.U.E.L. everywhere. Large numbers of militant fighters exist in the various cities and industries. But for the most part they are unorganized. To bring them into the T.U.E.L. to build our left wing organization everywhere, is the first requisite for progress in working out the great problems and tasks confronting the left wing.

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