

ACTIVE WORKERS CONFERENCE

BULLETIN VIII

July 31, 1945

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE TRADE UNIONS

I. THE AIMS OF THE WORKERS PARTY IN THE TRADES UNIONS.

The central aim of the Party in the unions is to establish its influence, leadership and prestige as a revolutionary socialist party; to impel the working class to organized militant struggle around a program of economic demands, to orient the trades unions to independent political action; and by our activity, our loyalty, our inspiration and teaching to build the road over which ever increasing numbers of militant proletarians find their way into the Party. This is our central aim today and for the post-war period. We stand fast on the position taken in the Manifesto of the 4th International that: "It is possible to save the unions in only one way: by transforming them into fighting organizations which will accept as their goal victory over capitalist anarchy and imperialist banditry. The trade unions will play a paramount role in building socialist economy, but the preliminary condition for this is the overthrow of the capitalist class and the nationalization of the means of production. The trade unions can escape burial beneath the ruins of war only if ~~they~~ they take the road of socialist revolution."

We ponder these words today as we stand in the midst of the wreckage and carnage of the Second Imperialist World War. We see and feel the concrete results of "capitalist anarchy and imperialist banditry." The anarchy of capitalist production expresses itself today in the debacle of bourgeois reconversion procedure where the only program the ruling class has, is to lay off the workers and close down the plants. In order to alleviate the suffering of the masses the government can propose only that the unemployment insurance benefits be raised to a maximum of \$25 a week. In order to facilitate holding back the militancy of the working class the bourgeoisie can propose only that the differences between owners and wage-earners be adjudicated by compulsory arbitration. (Hatch Bill)

We see the concrete results of "imperialist banditry" in the spectacle of the United Nations sitting astride Europe, in the midst of the devastation wrought by their imperialist armies; crushing the democratic aspiration of the masses, frustrating their revolutionary potentialities, and planning to reduce the whole continent to economic suffocation and political subservience to the United Nations.

This is the concrete situation confronting the trade union movement in the United States today. This is the situation in which the largest and mightiest proletariat in the world carries on the struggle for its very existence and independence. It is such a situation and in such an organized proletariat that the Workers Party must intervene.

We have said before that the trades unions cannot go on in the old way; meaning that faced with the situation which we have described over and over in Labor Action, the New International and in the Party resolutions, the trade unions cannot hold their own even in a defensive way, unless they clearly grasp the fact that the bourgeoisie itself has posed before the working class the urgent necessity for raising its economic struggle to the level of political activity and organization.

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It follows from this that the problem for the Workers Party is not primarily whether or not the trade unions can go on in the old way, but rather to say and understand that our Party cannot go on in the old way. We cannot do our trade union work in the old way. This is what must be important for us. It is important for the reason that when we say that our central aim is to arouse the working class to more militant mass action, to impel it to independent political action and to recruit the trade union vanguard into the Party, then it is necessary that the Party organize itself for such leadership and activity in a most practical way.

Such a task cannot be left to the trade union bureaucracy with its chronic policy of class collaboration. This is a task imposed on our Party. We know what the trade union bureaucracy will do. We must oppose them, fight them and differentiate ourselves from them. To understand the trade union bureaucracy and then to spend our time in lamentations, over their capitulations and betrayals, is to act as though we did not understand the role and function of the trade union leadership.

The achievement of the "task imposed on it by history" cannot be left to the instinctive groping of the working class, no matter how militant and aggressive. The working class will not find its way to independent political action in the revolutionary class sense, nor to socialism merely out of its own experience in the class struggle. The ripeness of the objective situation is not enough. Spontaneous mass actions by the working class or the trade unions, while portraying in some sense the desire of the working class for a change do not necessarily mean a conscious determination to break politically from the bourgeoisie nor is it a conscious striving after socialism.

The Workers Party must intervene in this struggle, in a most practical way with our program. It must be our aim to seize on these militant mass demonstrations of the workers for the purpose of elevating the thinking of the workers to the class conscious level. This can only be accomplished through the intervention of the revolutionary Party.

Militancy on the part of the working class without the leadership, instruction and guidance of the revolutionary party will bring the workers face to face with the gravest dangers for which they will not be prepared and for which they cannot prepare themselves. The more the militancy, without political organization and activity, the greater the danger of complete suppression and organizational annihilation by a reactionary and class conscious ruling class.

Our aims, therefore must always be indissolubly connected with the Party and with the Party program. Without the Party the fractions and the individual Party members are nothing. Without the Party and its program the striving, loyalty and courage of the proletariat will not and cannot save the working class from certain defeat. This is the most significant and most tragic lesson of history; the most ominous portent of our time. "The present crisis in human culture is the crisis in the proletarian leadership." ("The Death Agony of Capitalism." --Trotsky) All that Comrade Trotsky was saying here is that the cultural degradation of today, the economic and social debacle, the mounting tide of political reaction (fascism) can only be halted and swept away if, and only if, the proletariat is politically organized and led into battle by a trained, disciplined and hardened revolutionary party.

Not to understand this is only to play with words and worse; to play with the very existence of the unions and the proletariat as an organized and effective force in society. The mistake at this point is virtually to liquidate the Party. It means the loss of opportunity and the stultification of the class struggle. It is the 433

surest preparation for the victory of fascism. 3

II. Our aims are set for us by our principles, by the objective situation, by the instinctive and conscious strivings of the working class and by the historic interests of the proletariat. In principle we are a Marxist party, a Leninist party, a Trotskyist party, a Bolshevik party. This has been treated in the report of Comrade Shachtman.

We do not say this in any spirit of ceremonial boasting nor in the inane manner of the Cannonites. "Candidate of the Trotskyist Party". We mean that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky are our teachers, our theoretical guides in the field of politics and of political organization. We make no apology for this, we do not hide it. They are our guides in our trade union activities no less than in our propaganda and agitation in LA. and the NI.

We seek to make this known to the working class in our trade union activities. Of course our approach to this question and the way we handle it in the mass organizations will differ sharply in the matter of approach and tactic from the manner of approach in the press. What must be emphasized however is that the difference is one of approach and tactical handling. This is not always clearly understood. At times the press is adversely criticized, for instance, for using the word "Trotsky" or "Trotskyism". It is in the press, in our pamphlets and at our public meetings and classes where we can and must emphasize our political ancestry and connections. This gives support to the necessarily more "practical" and cautious approach of our comrades in the unions. There is no necessary conflict between the procedure of the press and the Party trade unionist. The press can do openly what the Party trade unionist must do in a more oblique manner. Both the press and the Party trade unionist however proceed concretely. In neither case do we emulate the Cannonites. What they do is to hide their identity completely in the union but unduly, mechanically and dogmatically inflate their Trotskyite affiliation in their press.

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It is clear from the above that the WP member is not a "pure and simple trade unionist". He is not merely a trade union organizer even while functioning formally in such a post. His vision must be broader than his local, his plant, his industry, his international. The Party member who understands the role of the Party in the unions will approach his work in the unions with a perspective for the working class as a whole. The trade union movement is our base because it is the primary economic organization of the working class. Here is where the working class begins its struggles against capitalism. The union therefore is the vanguard of the proletariat at the economic level

The Party had important and significant reasons for instructing its members to become stewards and shop committeemen for example. While the trade union movement as a whole may be correctly be called "the vanguard of the proletariat at the economic level", we differentiate between the ranks and the bureaucracy. The Party insisted and still insists that our comrades stay with the ranks. This does not mean to become lost in the rank and file mass but to assume leadership in the ranks. The most fruitful leadership posts from the standpoint of the Party are the posts of steward and shop committeemen.

The WP member must understand the trade union movement as the organization of a class, participating in class struggle in the interests of that class. Within the framework of the principles of our Party the trade union movement is not simply a mass grievance committee, which must be concerned only with the day to day grievances of the working class in the plants and factories. To look at the trade union movement in this narrow way is to fall into the ways of thinking of the rank and file unionist and that of the old line trade union leader and functionary.

We look at the trade union movement as a whole, and adopt our perspective for the trade union movement as a whole, in line with our socialist aims. This is the beginning of the correct political approach to the trade union movement. Insofar as the Party member fails to understand this approach and method, he is and will continue to function as a pure and simple trade unionist. It is particularly necessary to stress this point today as the unions are progressively faced with the problems of the intensification of bourgeois pressure on the labor movement and the increased intervention of the government.

What we are attempting to do here is to lead the Party unionist to see and understand the general situation which confronts the union movement today, to orient him away from a too narrow concern with the practical problems of his own local or international. Here again it may be necessary to caution against the inference that the doing of the day to day tasks in one's own local are unimportant. This is not the case and any such conclusion would place such a person in the position where he could really only "look" at the trade union movement.

What we do mean is that the Party member must develop and have a wider, broader and deeper conception of the trade union and its possibilities than the bureaucracy of the membership. The Party looks upon the unions as a vast proletarian reservoir of class political strength, power and potentiality. It is our emphasis on "class political strength" which differentiates the WP from the leadership of the

PAC for example Here the working class was organized politically but its class collaborationist leaders frustrated the real but primitive desires of the workers for independent political action.

Comrade Trotsky wrote in "Communism and Syndicalism" that the trade unionist looks only at the unions as they are, while the Marxist looks at the unions as they might become.

Pure and simple trade unionism in the classic sense, in the U.S. has been called "Gomperism" after Sam Gompers, one of the founders of the the AFL. Gompers was the most outspoken and most influential exponent of what is known as "pure and simple trade unionism". This was a conscious policy with Gompers and in no sense just an accident. The heart of the Gompers policy was the exclusion of independent working class political organization and activity and his position (in his latter years) that strikes were out of style and that the time had come for capital and labor to sit together around the council table and arrive at agreements in the mutual interests of both groups. It was under the influence of Gompers that the labor movement (AFL) adopted the political position of "reward our friends and punish our enemies", meaning of course no independent labor politics.

What the Party must be careful about today is that we do find ourselves opposing "Gomperism" in theory but adopt it in practice, through a negative or passive attitude towards this all-important question of the role of the Party in the unions.

To have a "line" for the unions and not to use it, or to become bogged down in trade union routine to the detriment of "political work" along the lines indicated by the Party, is objectively to fall into an insidious form of "Gomperism".

We can no longer confine the meaning of "pure and simple trade unionism" to the doing of simple day to day tasks of union activity. For beneath the tendency to confine oneself to "trade union work" or to sporadic and disjointed "political work" is the lack of understanding of what is "trade union work" for the member of a Bolshevik Party. This is at the root of "pure and simple trade unionism" in the case of the revolutionary trade unionist. Those who do not understand the role of the Bolshevik Party in the trade unions, who do not understand the objective situation, who do not realize concretely the level of development of the working class, who do not have a correct policy, who do not have a "feel" for the situation; can only fall into "pure and simple trade unionism" or the rankest sectarianism.

In line with its aims and principles the WP contends not only for the independence of the unions but for the right of the Party to propagate its political views in the unions. Our demand that the unions be independent of the ruling class is not a demand that there be "no politics" in the unions. On the contrary, independence for us is for the purpose of isolating the unions from bourgeois political influence to facilitate the entrance of the political program and views of the WP. At the base of this program is the explanation to the unions that they cannot go on in the old way: the old functions must be performed in a new way and with new perspectives. To the degree that the Party does not assimilate this lesson and this perspective it can only function as "pure and simple" trade unionists.

The Party has always advised its trade unionists to integrate themselves into the working class in the plant and into the union. This begins at the bench at the trade union level. But in order to establish the independence of the Party in the factory and in the union, the Party member and the Party trade union fraction must rise above this level. On one hand the Party member and the fraction must become differentiated from the trade union leadership and, in a different way, from the trade union ranks. We differentiate ourselves from the trade union leadership on the basis of the contradiction between our revolutionary class struggle principles and the class collaborationist principles of the union bureaucracy. In so far as the trade union leadership is the representative of the bourgeoisie we oppose them on principle. We differentiate ourselves from the ranks in a different way. We rise out of the ranks as leaders, teachers and political organizers, while at the same time retaining our roots in the rank and file, and remaining a part of the rank and file. We are different from the ranks while remaining an integral part of the labor movement. At the same time we do not equate the bureaucracy with the ruling class nor do we idealize the rank and file.

Only sectarians would attempt to equate the trade union bureaucracy with the bourgeoisie. This is not the meaning of our position that this bureaucracy is a class collaborationist leadership. The trade union bureaucracy is a part of the working class; a part of us. Because they are a part of the working class and because of their roots are and remain in the working class, we take a certain measure of responsibility for them.

It must be emphasized too that the trade union leadership is not a solid reactionary mass, always betraying the working class. There are degrees of progressivism and conservative in the trade union leadership. Within the general framework of class collaboration, trade union leaders may and do play objectively, a progressive role today and a reactionary role tomorrow. (e.g. Organization of the AFL, CIO. Role of Lewis in UMW strikes, etc. etc.)

To idealize the rank and file of labor is to run off to another extreme, in the manner of the petty-bourgeois (peace-time) "friend of labor". The working class is not a solid progressive mass. This can be said of the working class only in the sense that, historically it is the only progressive class in society. Its place in capitalist production, the impulses of the class struggle and its experience with bourgeois society make it possible to speak of the working class as the only progressive class in society.

Large sections of the working class (or at times the whole class) in its concrete actions, or absence of action, may and do retard the development of the class to class unity and class consciousness. (Anti-Semitism, oppression of Negroes, reactionary attitudes toward women in industry etc. etc.)

The WP. will recognize these things and in its role of teacher and guide will attempt to orient the trade union movement in line with its principles and its goal.

We establish the independence of the party in the trades unions and the independence of our fractions by our aims, our principles and our program. We draw a sharp line between the unions and the Party. We do not confuse the two. Union work is Party work only in so far as it is carried on in consonance with the aims, principles and program of the WP. Any other type of trade union work is "pure and simple trade unionism."

By drawing a "sharp line" between the Party and the unions we mean to emphasize that the Marxist party is an organization which accepts people into membership on the basis of acceptance of the program of the Party. This is not true of the union. The union must (or should) accept all those who work in the industry or in the craft without regard to political belief or affiliation. A worker may pass freely CIO to AFL from the UAW to the UMW, from the electricians to the carpenters. The only demand made is that he have a transfer card, or that he meet the financial requirements and that he work in the industry or craft. But to pass from the Socialist Party to the WP or from the WP to the CP one must accept the political program of the organization in which membership is sought. This means that the Marxist party is not an "all-inclusive" organization, but a programmatic one. (This point and other relevant points are covered in the report on the Tasks of the Party).

Politically immature workers do not understand this point and its importance. Quite often difficulties arise in our trade union work because of this lack of understanding.

III. In order to accomplish our aims in the trade unions, the Party must function in a certain way. That is we must have what is known as practice. It must be emphasized again that our practice does and must flow from our principles and aims. Our practice is the application of our program. Our program concretely is contained in the political and trade unions resolutions of the Party. It is not enough to have some vague feeling that one is a "Marxist" and is carrying on in the unions in the manner of Marxism. For the practical activity of our trade unionists must be based consciously on the political line of the WP. All that has been said in the report of Comrade S. is particularly applicable at this point. It is in the trade union work of the Party where the concept of the Party cadre can be demonstrated as correct in a most potent way. To be homogeneous in an ideological, political and organizational sense, or to become so in the course of common activity together, is the necessary prerequisite for effective trade union work.

A party that even makes pretensions at being a Bolshevik organization, cannot present two lines in the unions or to the working class. Work in the union cannot be carried on effectively and in a Party sense, by waverers, doubters, quibblers, skeptics, or pessimists. For effective work to be done; enthusiasm, loyalty, intelligence, pride and an intellectual clarity are fundamental. Not mere emotional reverberations but disciplined and controlled thinking and action. Not only loyalty, enthusiasm and pride in the working class. This is of course necessary. But loyalty, enthusiasm and pride in the Party and its future. Without these the Party cannot attain its aims and its principles and program will remain words written on paper.

In order to function correctly and effectively the Party must have a correct policy. By "policy" we mean the line to be followed and the action proposed in concrete situations. Policy means primarily, what we do, what we propose in a concrete situation. In order to determine the correct policy it is necessary to examine the situation; to have a factual report and a discussion of the report.

Policy is always based on our political line and what we aim to accomplish. From time to time the Party trade unionists display impatience with insistence on correct

policy. They feel that it is time wasted. They want to get on with the "practical" matters at hand. This is in large part due to immaturity and to the pressure of the practical tasks confronting the Party or the fraction. There can be no compromise with this attitude however. In the long run such a position reduces to "pure and simple unionism." Correct policy, if properly understood, is the key to effective trade union work. It is the understanding of the manner of applying the line of the Party. It is the foundation upon the practical activity must be carried on.

The Party member, in an important sense is and must remain a rank and file member of the union. The concept of leadership which obtains in the Party should not be carried over to the trade union. The Marxist Party considers itself, and correctly so the vanguard of the working class. That is the Party is the political vanguard of the working class. The party member develops a sense of leadership, of political and organizational competence. He is encouraged to aspire to leadership in the Party leadership. However in the union our role and responsibilities are different. There we plan to remain in the ranks and with the ranks in a very direct way. We have to organize the rank and file against the leadership and in opposition to the class collaborationist policies of the leadership. Not only this but it is our job to recruit to the Party. It is in the mass of the workers that we find our recruits. (We are speaking here of course specifically of the unions as they are today in capitalist society.) In order to achieve our aims it is imperative that the Party core in the unions remain in the closest actual contact with the rank and file. This does not mean the development of working class rank and fileism in any maudlin sense or in the manner of a liberal "friend of the working class". It does mean to recognize that the program of the Party is designed for the working class ranks and not for the trade union bureaucracy. The Party member is the teacher of the worker and is at the same time the pupil of the worker. If this interrelation is understood and maintained at all times, even the political-organizational task will be facilitated.

In line with our aims the chief tasks of the Party is to promote class consciousness in the proletariat. We do not and cannot approach this task concretely in any broad way except in our press. In its work in the unions the Party must depend on the forces available. For our Party today the performance of such a task means, for each and every member, every fraction to maintain the closest contact with the rank and file membership.

In order to carry on our work effectively as revolutionary socialist politicians in the unions it is necessary that the WP be the most outspoken proponent of inner union democracy. And not only this but we must be the most consistent practitioners of democracy in the trades unions. The Party member in the unions fights for democracy because this is the necessary prerequisite even for the mass organization of the working class. More importantly it is only in a democratic union that the worker has the chance to learn and develop. It is only under union democracy that class struggle notions can make their way and that the revolutionaries; the class conscious vanguard, can have the opportunity to penetrate the ranks of the workers with the political program of the Party.

IV. In order to function correctly, to accomplish our tasks and achieve our aims the Party must be prepared. Prepared from the standpoint of theory and experience. Prepared educationally and organizationally. Ignorance, even though articulate, and lack of experience, even though joined to good intentions; are not the proper

credentials for leadership of the working class or for activity in the trades unions. The crying need of the working class is for education: education to understand the nature of capitalist society, the place of the working class under capitalism; for trade union education, political education, socialist education. It is only the Marxist party that can provide this education. Trade union activity that does not provide the working class with education, in this sense, is only to indulge once again in pure and simple trade unionism.

The beginning of the preparation of the Party member for functioning in the trade union is for him to know those things which the whole working class must know and understand. The difference is of course that the Party member must know more things and understand them better. Not only must the Party member know more in a theoretical sense than the trade unionist but he must as rapidly as possible acquire the experience of the trade unionist. Without this experience the Party member is merely a trade union pedant and an eyesore to the trade union militant.

For carrying out the tasks of the Party in the unions the Party member must acquire at least an elementary knowledge of the principles of Marxism. This is primary. He must know the history of the labor movement, its principles and tactics. He must be alert to what is going on about him in the capitalist world. The Party member must know and have assimilated the current political line of the Party and how to apply it in practice. All of this means constant study, reading and practice. The Party member who is not equipped has not yet reached the stage where he can be effective in aiding the Party in carrying out its tasks. It is necessary to emphasize particularly the line of the Party as contained in the political and trade union resolutions adopted from time to time. These are guides to what we advocate in the unions and how we carry on our campaigns. A member who does not know the political line of the WP cannot possibly represent the WP in the union. He may do "revolutionary" work but it will be the revolutionary work of a free lance foot loose revolutionary.

V. The contentions made in the sections above are not new to the Party. They have been advanced many times before. In resolutions reports, articles, classes and discussions. But they must be emphasized over and over not only to the new party members but to the older members as well. They are only an outline. They need concretization. This will be done in the verbal report made to the conference. What we must have for this conference however, is full discussion on the questions posed above.

VI. The Active Workers Conference must however give the major part of its attention to practical matters. Practical not in the sense of the non-party trade union militant, but in the sense of program of action and organizational and tactical procedure. The Party must know WHAT TO DO AND HOW TO DO IT.

The Party has before it still, and will for a long time, the task of carrying on the struggle against class collaborationist position of the trade union leadership. During the war we witnessed this leadership sink to the lowest depths of class collaboration. It is to the honor of our Party that we did not in any sense, as a Party succumb to this position but on the contrary carried on a relentless struggle against the social chauvinism of the trade union bureaucracy and the social patriotism of the masses. We did not compromise with the social patriotic mood of the masses. In Labor Action, in the N.I., in our work in the mass organizations in our public meetings we marched in front of the masses, pointing out the revolutionary road; the road to socialism.

The Party as a Party did not slip into pessimism or fall prey to any enervating cynicism. This was due not only to the considerations brought out in the reports of Comrades Shachtman and Gates but to the fact that the working class, under the conditions, maintained a high degree of militancy throughout the war. This is a significant consideration and indicates the road of the Party into the future.

It was stated above that our task is to continue the struggle against the class collaborationist policy of the trade union bureaucracy. This means in a positive sense to win the workers to class struggle and class consciousness. In practice this means to win the workers to struggle against the crying social, economic and political evils of our time. The Party must take the lead in this and the organization of our future or post-war activity must have this need constantly in view.

The concrete organization of our future trade union activity must be projected on a higher plane than ever before. The militant activity of the working class, its persistent reaching out for a higher standard of living, its often outspoken opposition to war-time regimentation, combined with the open conspiring of the bourgeoisie against labor, make it necessary for the WP to prepare for concrete and militant manifestations of labor against the employers and the government in the "reconversion" and post-war days.

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We have said again and again that the main problems before the working class today are political problems and questions. In line with this analysis and in accord with our analysis of the political level of the proletariat, we have adopted the slogan for a labor Party. We have projected the slogan "Turn the PAC into a LP."

Following this conference we must in fact carry through a campaign around our LP slogan. In view of the tremendous victory of the LPGB in the recent elections our LP slogan takes on the utmost significance for the U.S. In our press and in our work in the plants and unions, the whole Party must become open and active advocates of the LP. This task devolves specifically on the Party fractions.

The most pressing question before the Party in its trade union activity is in connection with unemployment and the unemployed. Not only should the unions plan to organize the unemployed outside the unions but definite steps should be taken to keep all present union members in their respective unions after they are unemployed. The WP must work out its program on this question both in connection with the above proposals but also for any unemployment emergencies that may arise through failure of the unions to organize the unemployed.

It will be necessary for the Party in its trade union activity to lay great stress on the international aspects of the working class movement. The Party trade union member must become the champion of working class international solidarity in the U.S. First of all we must increase our work among Negro proletarians and in the unions in behalf of social political and economic equality for Negroes. As in other fields we have conducted this activity in a very desultory manner.

Any development of working class solidarity must take into immediate consideration returning veterans and the women workers. The Party must have a position too on these vexing questions which the fractions advocate in the unions.

One of our main tasks must be proper and timely opposition to the tendency of the trade union movement to base itself on merely holding on to the gains that it has made. The unions must go forward or they will not hold on to what they have already gained. The main agitation and propaganda for this development of course must revolve around our political slogan for independent political action and the formation of the LPUS.

The future of our future work in the unions must take into consideration the "new turn" of Stalinism. This will be dealt with in the verbal report and in written documents to the Party after the Conference.

IX. The Party must concern itself with all the main problems which the labor movement will face in the post-war period. The Party has already given attention to these problems, as we see them, in the adoption of our Reconversion Program. In a more elaborate way we have the foundations for our propaganda in our Transitional Program. We have also, for the political scene, adopted the slogan: "Turn the PAC into a Labor Party." These are our basic programmatic material for the post war period.

What is necessary is that we learn how to apply our PAC slogan and our Reconversion and Transitional Programs. They all remain basically propaganda slogans. This does not mean that they are "purely" propaganda slogans and programs. That is true of some of the planks in the two programs. Others however, are or may become agitational slogans. The use of the program and slogans in the concrete can only be determined when and if relevant situations arise.

This report has not dealt with the organizational aspects of the questions raised. To the extent necessary this will be done in the verbal report. However it is not the intention of the report to stress the organizational and tactical aspects. This must be done in other documents and in other ways.

The following literature is planned for issue.

A Trade Union Manual

Pamphlet of Workers Control

Pamphlet to White Workers

Pamphlet on Negroes in Unions

Pamphlet on Political Action

David Coolidge