

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

PRICE 10

SOCIALIST

INDUSTRIAL

UNIONISM

*THE
Workers' Power*

by
ERIC
HASS

Socialist Industrial Unionism

The Workers' Power

By Eric Hass

Ballots or bullets? The stock question of would-be revolutionaries is here knocked into a cocked hat. "Socialist Industrial Unionism—The Workers' Power" offers comfort to neither the repudiators of the class struggle nor to the barricade boys, both of whom play into the hands of the forces of reaction.

The goal of Socialism can be achieved only by obeying the logic of the class struggle, and in Socialist Industrial Unionism the American working class has available the *one* logical method of obtaining its emancipation from the wage slavery of capitalism.

The workers' power is explained in this work by the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE in language as easy to follow as the excellent illustrative charts by Walter Steinhilber. The applications are modern and taken from industries with which all workers are familiar. It will orient the minds of those workers who are groping.

Price 10 cents—64 pages

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
61 Cliff St., New York 8, N.Y.

SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

The Workers' Power

By ERIC HASS

**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
61 Cliff St., New York 8, N.Y.**

1946

Only the economic organization is capable of setting on foot a true political party of Labor, and thus raise a bulwark against the power of Capital.

—Karl Marx.

First printing, December 1940; second printing, January 1941; third printing, March 1941; fourth printing, December 1941; fifth printing, August 1943; sixth printing, June 1944; seventh printing, April 1945; eighth printing, May 1946.

Ninth printing, December 1946.

FOREWORD.

Shortly after the Constitutional Convention of 1787 there appeared a series of essays, or pamphlets, in which the newly adopted Constitution of the United States was defended against the attacks which were being directed against it by various elements, notably by those opposing the republican form of government in favor of the monarchical form, or one resembling it; but also by those opposing the Constitution as not being sufficiently democratic, or as giving too much weight to property and not enough consideration to those without property. Ostensibly written by one person, all being signed "Publius," these essays came in fact from the able pens of John Jay, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton. These essays (later known collectively as the Federalist papers, or "The Federalist," for short) were brilliant, learned and extraordinarily persuasive, and represented the clearest and soundest thinking of the political scientists of the day. The oneness of thought expressed by otherwise divergent personalities is striking. They were undoubtedly instrumental in securing the ratification of the Constitution by the majority of the states. It is to be observed, however, that this "debate," this "pamphleteering," followed the organizing of the republican form of government in the United States—it was an *ex post facto* justification for establishing the bourgeois democratic Political State in America.

We are now facing another revolution in America,

the revolution which will transform this country from a Political State based on private property into an Industrial Commonwealth. For reasons made clear in the body of this pamphlet, the "defense" of the "Constitution" and the organic composition of the Industrial Commonwealth—this "pamphleteering," or the issuing of "essays" corresponding to the "Federalist papers"—must today *precede*, rather than *follow*, the organizing of the new form of society, to wit, the Industrial Union Republic.

The present pamphlet, written by the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE (official organ of the Socialist Labor Party), is in the nature of a "Federalist paper"—that is, it is one of many such "papers" written by the "founding fathers" of today, in explanation and justification of the Industrial Union Republic which is destined to supersede the present capitalist (political) form of society. It is an able defense and a lucid presentation of the principles and program of action underlying the Industrial Union idea of government, and withal a vigorous attack on the present outworn political society and the institutions (obviously equally useless and outworn) which this political society has projected, with particular reference to the reactionary pro-capitalist unions such as the A. F. of L., C. I. O., and so forth. This pamphlet, and the many others of similar character published by the Socialist Labor Party, likewise represent the clearest and soundest political and economic thinking of this modern revolutionary period, and though these neo-"federalist papers" proceed from different pens they, too, reflect that same oneness of thought which characterized the original Federalist papers. And like these, they embody the spirit of the age, and respond scientifically to the imperative need

of the times. Studied with care, this well written pamphlet will help to guide and direct the workers into the right channel, and aid them in steering clear of the multitudinous pitfalls with which the road is filled that all revolutionary classes must travel, and particularly the modern revolutionary class, the wage working class.

Accordingly, this pamphlet is far more than a mere dissertation on organizing the workers in unions for self-protection or for advancement within their present class boundaries. It presents the question of reconstituting society on new principles, and upon a completely new basis, as an answer to the problem posed by the unmistakable breakdown of our present political society, or the capitalist system of wage slavery. This proposed reconstitution of society on an occupational or industrial basis was originally projected by the American social scientist, Daniel De Leon, who, as long ago as 1904, outlined the structure and basis of the new society. Early in 1905 Daniel De Leon said: "What the several States are to the present Nation, the several Industries are to the Industrial, the Socialist, or Cooperative Republic—with the difference that, whereas the boundary lines of the States are arbitrarily geographic, the boundary lines of the Industries are dictated by the output [i.e., by the particular product of a given industry]." And he summed up the matter in these terse words: "Industrial Unionism is the Socialist Republic in the making; and the goal once reached, the Industrial Union is the Socialist Republic in operation."

This conception of future society constitutes a flash of genius. It places the conceiver in the "hall of fame" of the immortals of the race.

This brief, yet carefully worked-out presentation of the program and principles of Socialist Revolutionary

Unionism should have a wide circulation. Its claims should be as earnestly debated wherever workers gather as the Federalist papers of 150 years ago were debated by the serious citizens of that day. May its hoped-for mass circulation speed the day of working class emancipation, and of humanity's deliverance from all the evils born of a social system now rendered useless, yes, harmful, and utterly outmoded and outworn.

—*Arnold Petersen.*

December 18, 1940.

CONTENTS

The Twentieth Century Democracy	9
The Road to Peace	19
Nemesis to Unemployment	29
Peaceful Revolution	41
The Unions and Fascism	47
Poured Into the Industrial Mould	52
What To Do Now!	58
*	
Addendum	61

CHARTS BY WALTER STEINHILBER

18th Century Line of Representation	11
Line of Representation of the Socialist Industrial Union— Twentieth Century Democracy	17
Local Industrial Union Chart	32-33
National Industrial Union Chart	34

ILLUSTRATIONS

Tweedledum Lewis and Tweedledee Green, <i>by Milton Herder</i>	24-25
Cure for Unemployment, <i>by Walter Steinhilber</i>	39

Industrial Unionism is the Socialist Republic in the making; and the goal once reached, the Industrial Union is the Socialist Republic in operation.

Accordingly, the Industrial Union is, at once, the battering ram with which to pound down the fortress of capitalism, and the successor of the capitalist social structure itself.

—Daniel De Leon.

I.

The Twentieth Century Democracy.

"When a man does not know what harbor he is making for," said the Roman poet, Seneca, "no wind is the right wind."

What harbor are we, the workers of America, making for? What kind of a social system do we want? Until we have a clear conception of where we are going, we cannot know how to get there and "no wind is the right wind."

On these points, however, we can all agree: We want the abolition of poverty, unemployment and war; we do *not* want totalitarianism in any form, be it Stalinist, Nazi or a domestic adaptation of either of these European models.

We want a world freed of the war-breeding struggle for capitalist markets, a world in which goods are produced for the use of the producers and not for sale with a view to profit. We want a world in which machinery will become a blessing to multiply our output and give to the producers leisure in which to study, travel and enjoy the product of our labor. We want to live full lives relieved forever of want and fear of want.

He who says such a world is a dream is himself a dreamer. Throughout the ages man has struggled to learn how to produce an abundance. At last that problem has been solved. All the marvelous *material* requirements to make this world a veritable paradise are

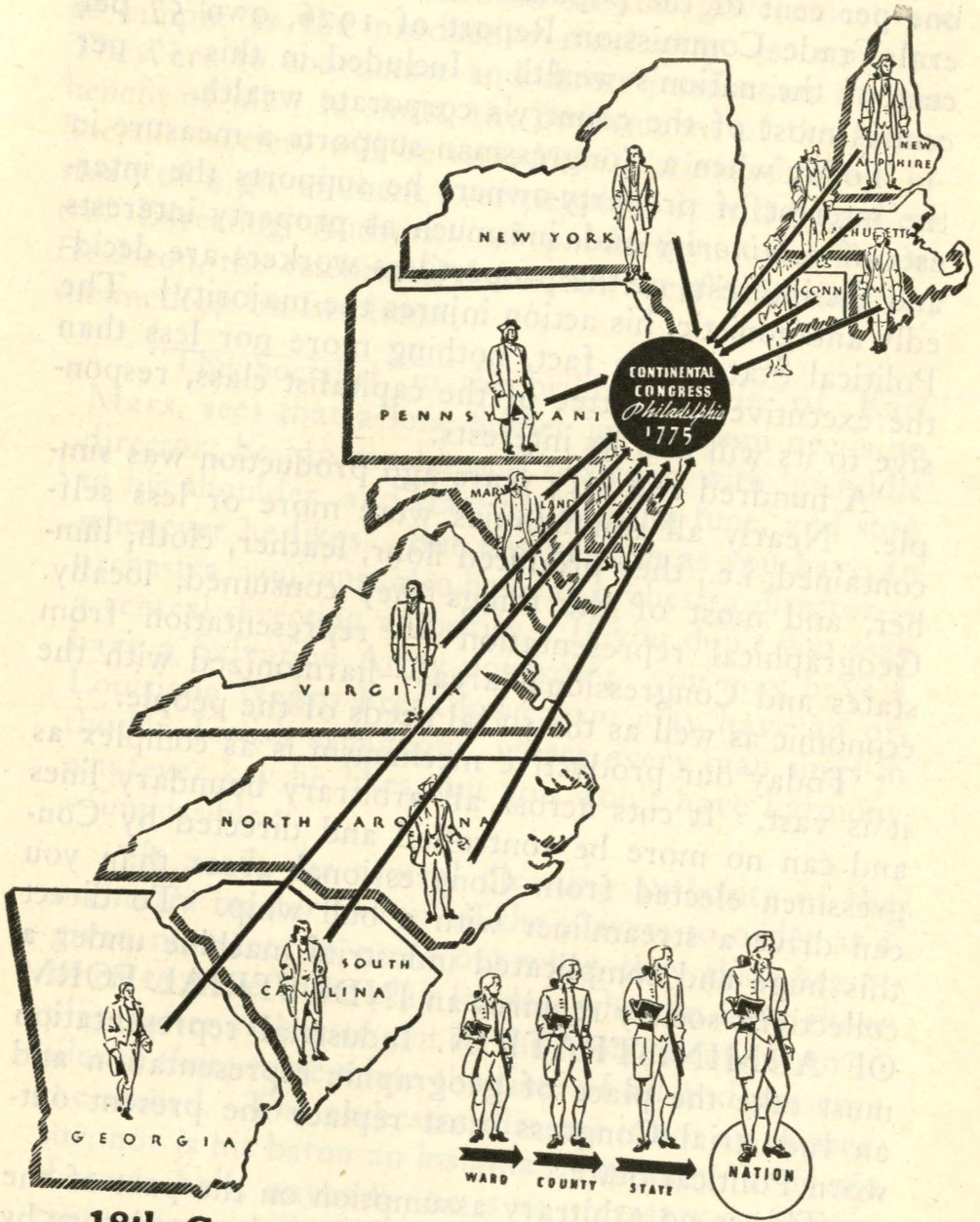
here! This fact cannot be denied. But between the hell on earth of today and the paradise of tomorrow stands a predatory social system based on private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation, by a few owners, of the useful producers.

It is self-evident that we cannot produce for use and enjoy the product of our labor until we own the means of production. As we run the industries socially we must *own them socially and run them democratically*.

The present form of political government was suited to the material conditions prevailing in this nation 150 years ago. Then the majority of citizens either owned, or could easily acquire, property.¹ A government established to protect property under such conditions represented the interests of the majority. When a Congressman, for example, voted for a measure which would make property more secure, he expressed the wishes of the majority of his constituents. Yet even at that early date, far-sighted men, capable of peering into the future, foresaw the time when the number of owners would diminish and the non-owners increase.

James Madison, the Father of the Constitution, declared that the time would come when "wealth will be concentrated in the hands of a few," and that it would be necessary "to readjust the laws of the nation to the changed conditions." Today a handful, barely

¹According to Bulletin 604 of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, craftsmen were given land by many communities in colonial times if they would "afford citizens the use of their trade." Typical of numerous examples cited is the following: "As early as 1635 Lynn voted to admit a landless blacksmith, and later granted him 20 acres of land, thus keeping both the blacksmith and the letter of the law requiring that residents be landholders."



18th Century Line of Representation

one per cent of the population, according to the Federal Trade Commission Report of 1926, own 57 per cent of the nation's wealth. Included in this 57 per cent is most of the country's corporate wealth.

Today when a Congressman supports a measure in the interest of property-owners he supports the interests of a *minority* and, inasmuch as property interests and the interests of the propertiless workers are decidedly antagonistic, his action injures the majority! The Political State is, in fact, nothing more nor less than the executive committee of the capitalist class, responsive to its will and its interests.

A hundred and fifty years ago production was simple. Nearly all communities were more or less self-contained, i.e., they produced flour, leather, cloth, lumber, and most of the things they consumed, locally. Geographical representation — representation from states and Congressional areas—harmonized with the economic as well as the social needs of the people.

Today our productive mechanism is as complex as it is vast. It cuts across all arbitrary boundary lines and can no more be controlled and directed by Congressmen elected from Congressional areas than you can drive a streamliner with a bull whip. To direct this huge and complicated industrial machine under a collectivist society requires an **INDUSTRIAL FORM OF ADMINISTRATION**. Industrial representation must take the place of geographic representation and an Industrial Congress must replace the present outworn Political State.

This is no arbitrary assumption on the part of the Socialist Labor Party. It is a goal made mandatory by (1) modern mass production methods and (2) the burning need for collective ownership and democratic

management. The functions of this government are as simple as the productive machinery is complex. They are to coordinate and direct production for the benefit of all. In short, the government of the future Socialist society will be an *administration of things* instead of a government over people. It will be a Central Directing Authority of production. As Daniel De Leon, the celebrated American Socialist pathfinder, summed up its functions:

“The Socialist, in the brilliant simile of Karl Marx, sees that a lone fiddler in his room needs no director; he can rap himself to order, with his fiddle to his shoulder, and start his dancing tune, and stop whenever he likes. But just as soon as you have an orchestra, you must also have an orchestra director—a central directing authority. If you don’t you may have a Salvation Army powwow; you may have a Louisiana Negro breakdown; you may have an orthodox Jewish synagogue, where every man sings in whatever key he likes, but you won’t have harmony—impossible.

“It needs the central directing authority of the orchestra master to rap all the players to order at a given moment; to point out when they shall begin; when to have these play louder, when to have those play softer; when to put in this instrument, when to silence that; to regulate the time of all and preserve the accord. The orchestra director is not an oppressor, nor is his baton an insignia of tyranny; he is not there to bully anybody; he is as necessary or important as any or all of the members of the orchestra.

“Our system of production is in the nature of an orchestra. No one man, no one town, no one State,

can be said any longer to be independent of the other; the whole people of the United States, every individual therein, is dependent and interdependent upon all the others. The nature of the machinery of production; the subdivision of labor, which aids cooperation, and which cooperation fosters, and which is necessary to the plentifulness of production that civilization requires, compel a harmonious working together of all departments of labor, and thence compel the establishment of a Central Directing Authority, of an Orchestral Director, so to speak, of the [production] orchestra of the Cooperative Commonwealth."

Industrial Government is an entirely new conception of administration. It implies an entirely new basis of representation. Instead of Senators and Representatives from States and Congressional areas, it requires industrial constituencies and functional representatives. For example, instead of Senators from New York, Ohio, Nebraska, etc., we shall elect to the Industrial Congress engineers, statisticians, etc., from the steel industry, automobile industry, textile industry, and all the other industries of the land.

We say "engineers, statisticians, etc.," because workers possessing technical training and experience, being best equipped for the duties of industrial administration, are most likely to be elected. But an administration so constituted is not an "engineers' government" or a "technocracy" as envisioned by the so-called Technocrats. Socialist Industrial Administration is raised upon a democratic basis utterly alien to the proponents of "technocracy."

The qualifications of those elected will be vastly

different from the "qualifications" of our present rhetoricians in Congress. The greatest asset of these politicians is their "lie-ability." Wretched though the pun is, it expresses a truth only too palpable. The qualifications of those who will sit in the Socialist Industrial Congress, on the other hand, will be (aside from devotion to duty), a technical knowledge and the ability to coordinate and direct production. On the basis of reports from local and national industrial councils, they will decide such questions as: how many pairs of shoes will we, the people, need next year; how many tons of coal; how many ton-miles of railroad transportation. They will also determine our productive capacity of these things. If it is necessary, they will see that the capacity is increased. They will coordinate research and facilitate the adoption of new techniques as these are developed. The questions are, of course, many and varied, but they are infinitely simpler than the questions which arise in a class-divided society.

We have referred to *Industrial* representation. It is more correct to say *Industrial Union* representation, for the Socialist Industrial Union forms the basis of the Industrial Union Administration. The workers who run the industries today under capitalism are the workers who will operate them tomorrow under Socialism — plus, of course, those millions who have been ruthlessly thrown upon the capitalist industrial scrap-heap, that is, the unemployed and so-called "unemployables." They will vote in their union, elect their foremen, management committees and representatives to local departmental and national councils, and finally to the All-Industrial Union Congress. They, the organized workers in the factories, mills, mines, stores, farms, ships and railroads of the land, will constitute the basis of a

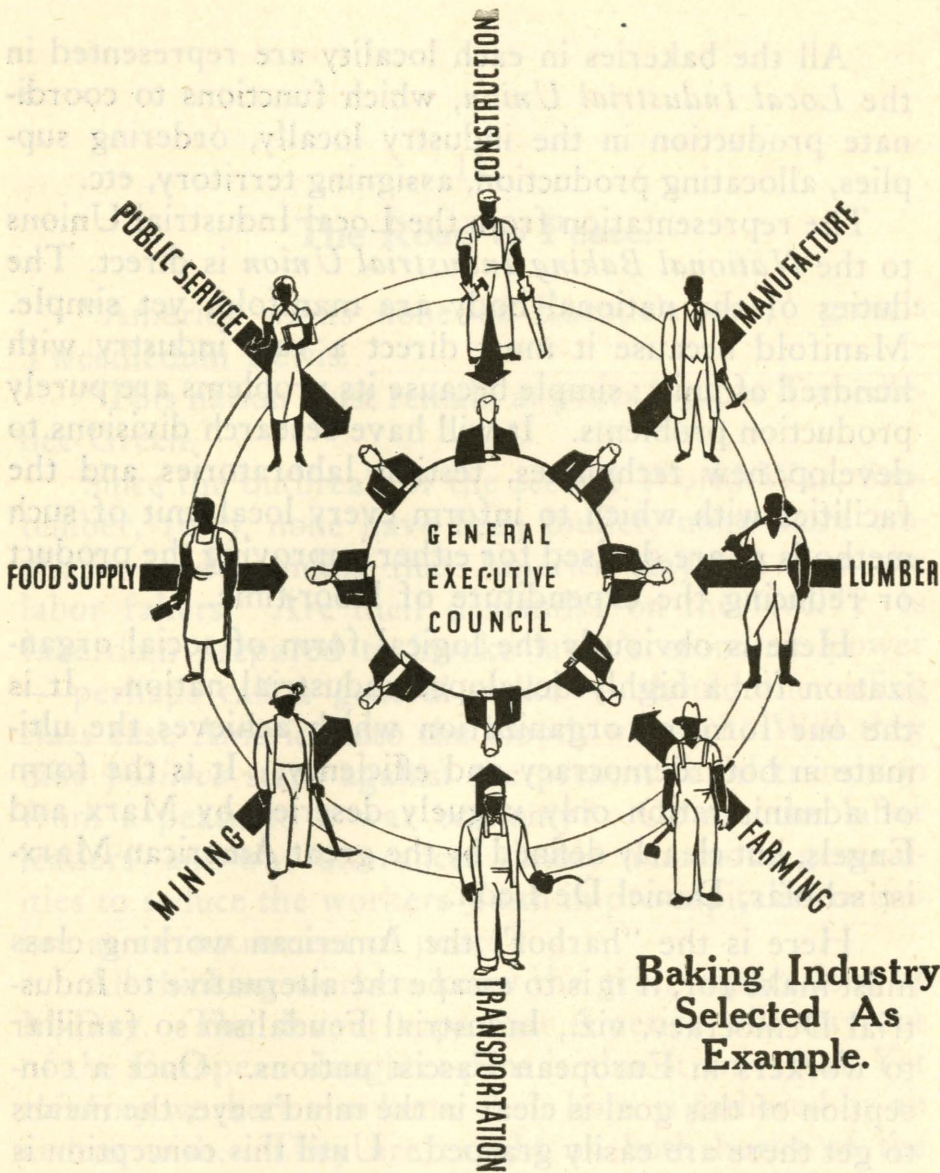
Workers' Democracy—the most complete democracy ever achieved since the dissolution of the primitive gens.

We do not presume to make a rigid blue-print of the Industrial Union Administration, nor lay down arbitrary lines of demarcation. But the general outline is clearly defined in the *mode of production itself*. All industries will be represented on the All-Industrial Union Congress which replaces the political Congress. All industries which produce goods falling into a single category, such as general manufacturing, food processing, mining, etc., will be grouped into Departments. And each industry, thus integrated, will have its National Industrial Union Council to direct and supervise production within that industry on a national scale.

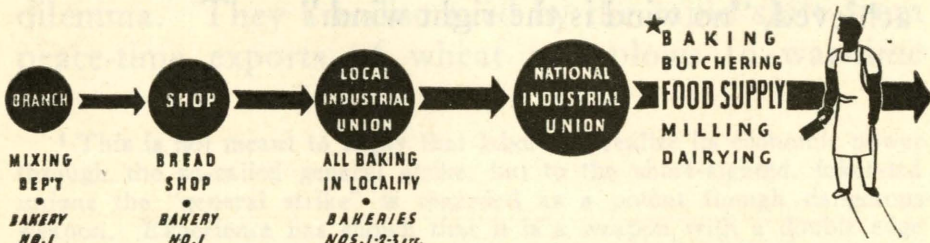
In the accompanying illustration depicting the representation on the General Executive Council, we have traced the line of representation of a Socialist Industrial Union, the Twentieth Century Democracy, taking the baking industry (integrated in the Food Supply Department) as an example.

Modern bakeries are subdivided into many departments, such as delivery, bread, confectionery, mixing, etc., each of which requires that the workers in them be organized to manage those affairs which are their exclusive domain. For example, workers driving trucks are not qualified to vote for the foreman of the mixing department, any more than the dough-mixers are equipped to select the best truck foreman. Each of these subdivisions we call a *trade branch*.

The *trade branches* elect their representatives to the *shop council* to supervise and coordinate production throughout the plant, order the materials, fix schedules, etc.



**Baking Industry
Selected As
Example.**



Line of Representation of the Socialist Industrial Union—Twentieth Century Democracy.

All the bakeries in each locality are represented in the *Local Industrial Union*, which functions to coordinate production in the industry locally, ordering supplies, allocating production, assigning territory, etc.

The representation from the Local Industrial Unions to the *National Baking Industrial Union* is direct. The duties of the national body are manifold, yet simple. Manifold because it must direct a vast industry with hundred of units; simple because its problems are purely production problems. It will have research divisions to develop new techniques, testing laboratories and the facilities with which to inform every local unit of such methods as are devised for either improving the product or reducing the expenditure of labor-time.

Here is obviously the logical form of social organization for a highly developed industrial nation. It is the one form of organization which achieves the ultimate in both democracy and efficiency. It is the form of administration only vaguely described by Marx and Engels, but clearly defined by the great American Marxist scholar, Daniel De Leon.

Here is the "harbor" the American working class must make for, if it is to escape the alternative to Industrial Democracy, viz., Industrial Feudalism so familiar to workers in European Fascist nations. Once a conception of this goal is clear in the mind's eye, the means to get there are easily grasped. Until this conception is achieved, "no wind is the right wind."

II.

The Road to Peace.

"America wants none of Europe's war," growls Tweedledum Lewis.

"This nation must remain at peace," pipes Tweedledee Green.

Since the outbreak of the second World War, September, 1939, none have been louder, none more emphatic, in demanding that America stay out than the labor fakers. Are their demands "on the level"? Is fakerdom prepared to invoke labor's economic power — perhaps call a general strike¹ — should the ruling class ease America into the bloody vortex? Will they take *positive* steps against the present rapid transition from a peace to a war economy? Or are the labor leaders' anti-war utterances simply innocuous generalities to seduce the workers' faith in pro-capitalist unionism as an instrument of peace?

All thinking workers know the grim implications of M-Day. The devout hope that America will stay out of the European slaughter-pens is almost universal. Yet *thinking* workers also know their hope is fathered by an ardent wish. They are caught on both horns of the dilemma. They are dismayed by the rapid shift from peace-time exports of wheat and plows to war-time

¹ This is not meant to imply that labor *can* realize its economic power through the so-called general strike, but to the short-sighted, faker-led unions the "general strike" is regarded as a potent though dangerous weapon. Experience has shown that it is a weapon with a double edge — and the sharp edge is turned on the workers themselves!

traffic in warplanes and guns. They correctly sense in this sinister shift the truth that American capitalism will be compelled to go to war if only to delay an economic collapse that might well be calamitous. On the other hand, the workers are desperate for the jobs made available by armament expansion. The consequent confusion and sense of helplessness are largely responsible for the present deplorable tendency to place the hope for peace in the keeping of faker-led unions.

Alas! Labor might as well deliver itself bodily over to the avowed enemies of peace!

Turn back the pages of history to the first World War, to the years of 1914-1915-1916. Note how the labor leaders conformed to the prevailing dominant spirit of pacifism. Then note how their "pacifism" declined in inverse ratio to the rise of artificially inspired war fever. Soon a cautious note endorsing "preparedness" crept into their speeches. Finally, the comedy was ended and they screamed for war at the head of the pack. As William Green affirmed in his recent book, "Labor and Democracy":

"Whatever our attempts had been to keep this country out of war, when war was declared we were prepared to cooperate in every way with the government to win the war."

And cooperate they did—with a vengeance! With their cooperation wages were anchored at the pre-war level while the cost of living soared and hours lengthened to the breaking point! Rank-and-file protests were answered with chauvinistic abuse. The fakers hailed with unqualified approval the government's drastic attacks on civil liberties. "We all had to shift from freedom of action, thought, and speech that belongs

only to peace over to circumspection and control made imperative by war dangers," wrote the charlatan and labor faker, Samuel Gompers, in his autobiography. In short, none were more zealous in their "patriotism," none more vicious in subduing labor, than the crew of labor skates who, a few years earlier, had declaimed for peace!

The sordid performance was repeated in each of the belligerent nations. The "patriotism" of British labor leaders and its resultant grinding down of the British wage-slave class are well known. In Germany the Social Democratic trade union leaders "opposed" the war before its outbreak with vapid declarations, but with the explosion in August, 1914, their tongues came out of their cheeks. Thenceforth they repeated all the philistine shibboleths of their masters. In a press communique, November, 1915, the Imperial Government declared:

"The free trade-unions have proved a valuable aidand almost indispensable to the economic and communal life of the nation. . . . The gratitude of the nation [German plunderbund] for the patriotic efforts of organized labor [read "labor fakers"] has been frequently expressed by responsible authorities. . . ."

Thus were the workers of all lands betrayed by their "pacifist" union leaders and hurled into the inferno of war!

*

Before the second World War became an irrevocable fact, American labor fakers were not so circumspect in their utterances on "labor's" attitude toward war. At the first convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in November, 1938, John L. Lewis

not only suggested the possibility of war but implied rhetorically that the C.I.O. would cooperate! But allow Mr. Lewis to speak for himself:

“If that day [day of war] comes, who is going to sustain the United States of America? Who is going to man the industries? Who is going to send its young men to military ranks to engage in war? Labor — labor! Who is going to protect the institutions of this country, those that are meritorious? Labor! *Who is going to protect the titles to property and great wealth down through the generations in America? Labor!*”

“Who is going to do the suffering and dying in the future but the sons and daughters of the workers of this country? The workers of this country will never make anything out of war,¹ they merely work and sweat and fight and die. Some one else takes the profits. Who took the profits in the last war? Not labor. **AND IF WAR COMES THE UNITED STATES NEEDS THE COOPERATION OF THE MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF WORKERS THAT ARE MEMBERS OF THE C.I.O.**”! (Emphasis ours.)

Lewis was not directing his words to the delegates assembled. He was addressing the employers of America—telling them that in consideration of mobilizing labor to fight in defense of their property and interests he expected the employers to respond in kind with so-called union-shop contracts!

The war in Europe was more than a month gone

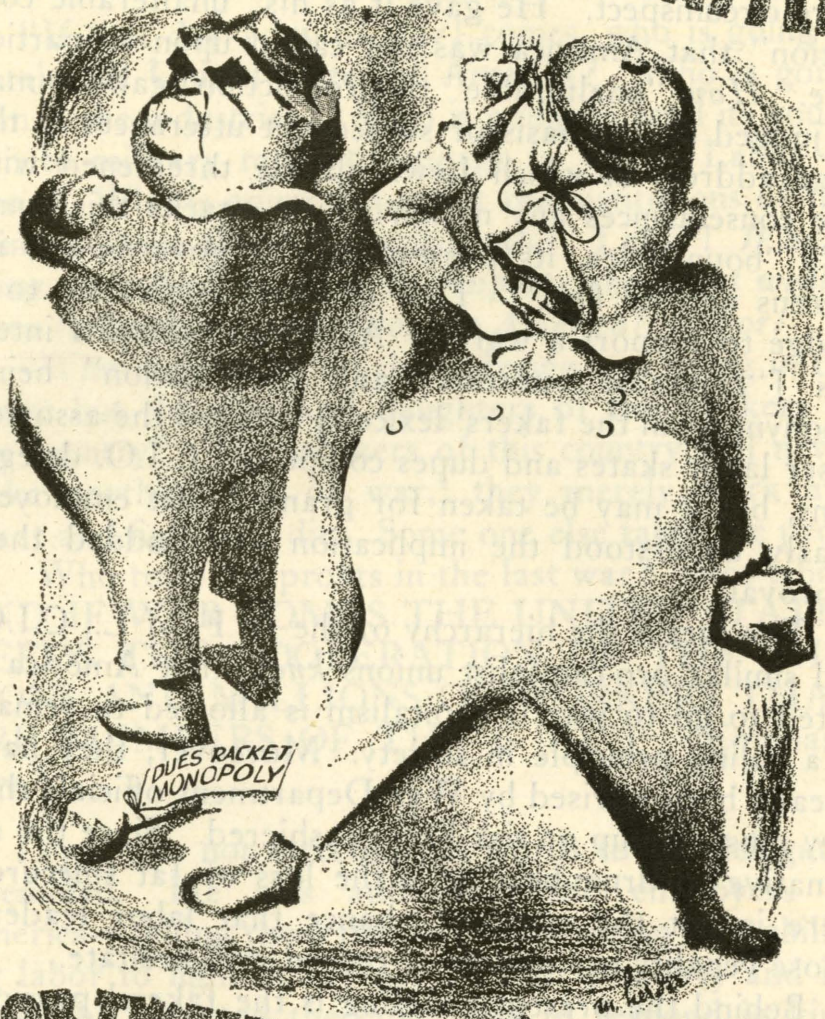
¹How well Lewis knows this! He helped negotiate the shameful agreement with the coal operators and the government in 1917 under which the miners were compelled to accept woefully inadequate wages and were forbidden to strike.

when the C.I.O. held its second convention. Sentiment against American involvement was at its height and the burly United Mine Workers' dictator was, accordingly, more circumspect. He gave it as his "unalterable conviction" that America was not called upon to participate. *How* "unalterable" this conviction really is may be judged on the basis of subsequent utterances in the same address in which Lewis darkly threatened with dire consequences any nation which attacks this country's "boundaries, its possessions, its government, its citizens and its flag." That this was equivalent to a pledge to support a war for American *capitalist* interests ["capitalist interests" and the "nation" being synonymous in the fakers' lexicon] escaped the assorted lesser labor skates and dupes composing C.I.O. delegations, but it may be taken for granted that employers clearly understood the implication and nodded their approval.

The fact is the hierarchy of the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and similar pro-capitalist unions *know* that America is slated to go to war if capitalism is allowed to remain as a ruling principle in society. Moreover, they have already been advised by War Department officials that they must line up or risk being cashiered. Since the alternative to drum-beating is the loss of fat sinecures, there is not the remotest chance that labor leaders, whose venality is a matter of record, will hesitate.

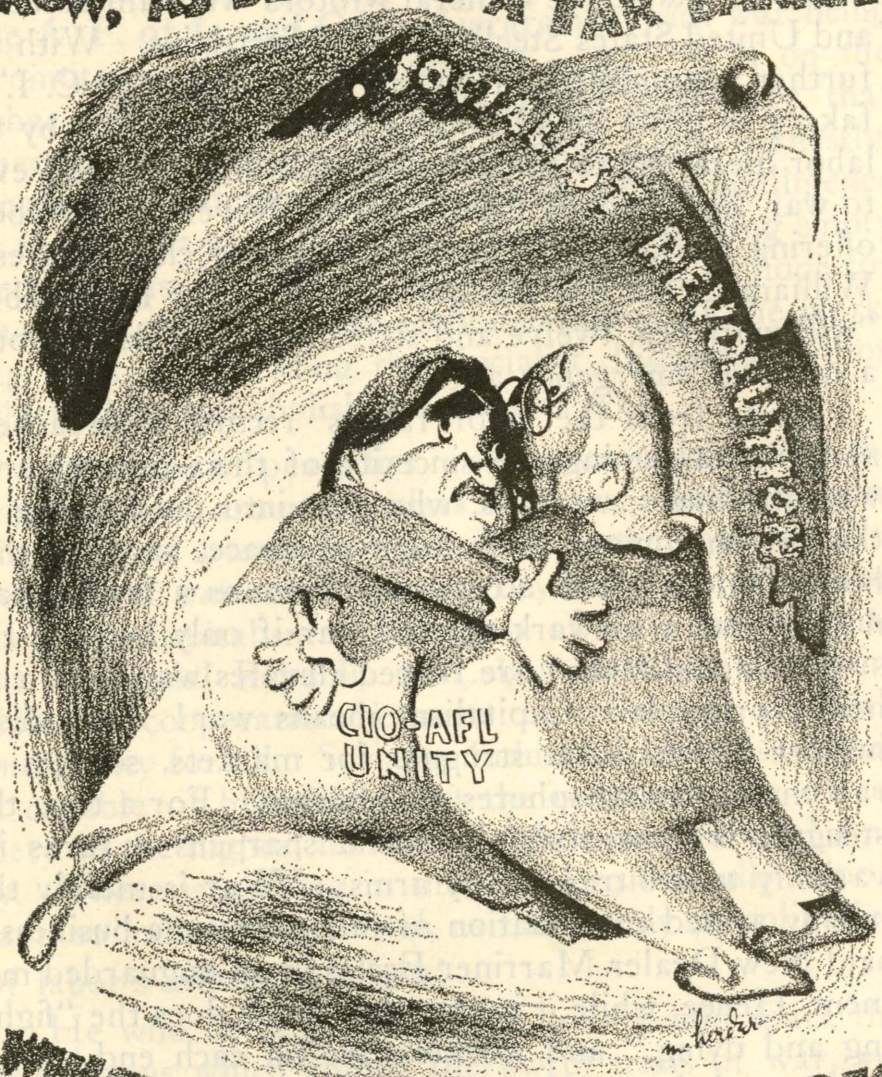
Behind the present finagling is the fakers' passionate desire to be appointed to war boards as Gompers was during the first World War. Lewis hinted broadly at this objective when he said, "Labor [i.e., labor *leaders*] demands and must be accorded its rightful consideration in any emergency which affects national interest."

**TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE
AGREED TO HAVE A BATTLE.**



**FOR TWEEDLEDEE SAW TWEEDLEDUM
HAD SPOILED HIS NICE NEW BATTLE.**

**JUST THEN FLEW DOWN A MONSTROUS
CROW, AS BLACK AS A TAR BARREL**



**WHICH FRIGHTEN'D BOTH THE HEROES
SO, THEY QUITE FORGOT THEIR QUARREL**

Subsequently, this demand was fulfilled with the appointment of Sidney Hillman to the defense board where he sits beside General Motors' William Knudsen and United States Steel's Edward Stettinius. With the further appointment of several A. F. of L. and C. I. O. fakers to posts on Hillman's board, opposition by the labor hierarchy to conscription, militarization and even to war, has virtually disappeared. Never queasy about offering workers as a sacrifice to ruling class interests, William Green has pledged that A. F. of L. members "will work ten, twelve and sixteen hours a day" should a national emergency arise.

Aside from the labor fakers' record of treachery and even assuming the sincerity of their present anti-war utterances, workers, who give into the keeping of the present unions their hope of peace, sacrifice that hope. Unions which accept capitalism as a finality cannot become a bulwark against war if only because the system in which they are rooted elevates war to an economic principle. Capitalism means war! Capitalism implies international struggle for markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. For a time the struggle is "peaceful," but as it sharpens it turns invariably to arbitrament by arms. "War is merely the openly armed continuation of our peacetime business," said New Dealer Marriner Eccles in an unguarded moment. Hence, while it is true that labor does the "fighting and dying," and workers are on each end of the bayonet, their sacrifice is made for the greater glory and aggrandizement of this or that national capitalist group. As capitalism cannot exist unless it periodically destroys the surplus and redivides the world between national groups of exploiters, so unionism based on the wages system and collective bargaining cannot survive

unless it accepts the consequences of the system it espouses.

While hypocrisy reigns supreme in the councils of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. hierarchies, with war being promoted under the pretense of peace, "it is on the other side of the line, in the Socialist camp only, that peace is a cardinal principle, a religion, a goal earnestly, sincerely and devoutly pursued with all the intelligence at the command of the race." Instead of making empty declarations, Socialism strives to implement its hope for peace by organizing the economic power of the working class; by creating the Socialist Industrial Union which alone can abolish the cause of war.

The hope of peace lies in unionism which unites the working class around its class interests. Such unionism aims beyond a *temporary* armistice or tenuous capitalist peace to a *permanent* peace; beyond the dog-eat-dog jungle of capitalism with its law of claw and fang, to the Industrial Republic of Labor raised on the principles of cooperation between the toilers of all lands and plenty for all. Socialist Industrial Unionism alone is capable of bringing about the reconstruction of society on the higher, humane plane of international amity. There is nothing in the world so crucially important, so indispensably vital, as the speedy consolidation of labor's industrial might!

He who declaims for peace, who would spare the generations which follow the awful trials of war, yet who gives his allegiance to unionism based on perpetuation of the wage system, supports the cause of war! Earnestness and sincerity do not alter this irrefutable conclusion. Therefore, if YOU be genuinely devoted to peace and an implacable foe to war:

“Organize the working class integrally-industrially. Only then can the revolt against militarism result in a Waterloo to the class of sponge instead of a massacre to the class of labor.”

III.

Nemesis to Unemployment.

One day a delegation called on Abraham Lincoln and demanded that he issue an immediate proclamation of emancipation. The moment was not propitious. Lincoln knew he couldn't enforce the proclamation after he had issued it. So he asked the delegation this curious question:

"How many legs would a sheep have if you called a tail a leg?"

"Five," they answered.

"You are mistaken," said Lincoln, "for calling a tail a leg doesn't make it so."

As easily as Lincoln's visitors were led to call a "tail" a "leg," the workers have been led to call the Congress of Industrial Organizations an industrial union. The same workers, without hesitation, correctly designate the American Federation of Labor as a craft union. Yet, in principle, in goal, and even in form, there are no essential differences between the two. Both proclaim their principle to be "brotherhood between capital and labor." Both contend that the method of achieving this idyllic relationship is through collective bargaining. Says John L. Lewis: "It is the opinion of the Committee for Industrial Organization [now the Congress of Industrial Organizations] that signed contracts are the essence of mutual good will between unions and employers expressed in collective bargaining." Says William Green: "It is the opinion

of the American Federation of Labor that stability of industrial relations in employment calls for the negotiation of wage agreements through collective bargaining." The two statements are alike in meaning; nearly identical in language. Both reflect training in the Gompers school.

Insofar as form is concerned, the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. each have affiliated unions which are organized along *plant* ("vertical") lines and others which are organized along *craft* ("horizontal") lines. According to Louis Stark, top-flight labor reporter for the *New York Times*:

"...both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. had swung freely from craft to industrial units, and back again, depending on their respective policy in each case...."

While it is undeniable that the C.I.O. has more so-called industrial units and fewer craft units than its rival, surely this is far from being a legitimate basis on which to lay claim to industrialism.

The monstrous absurdity of the claim is apparent to all who understand the principles of bona fide Industrial Unionism. Industrial Unionism is known today as *Socialist Industrial Unionism* in order that it might not be confused with its caricature, for Socialist Industrial Unionism and the fake industrial unionism are as different as the nutritious mushroom and the poisonous toadstool. The former is a weapon through which the working class can free itself from a servitude rapidly becoming intolerable. The latter is an instrument through which the capitalists, aided by their labor lieutenants, forge new chains for labor's limbs. How the two types of unionism accomplish aims so dissimilar

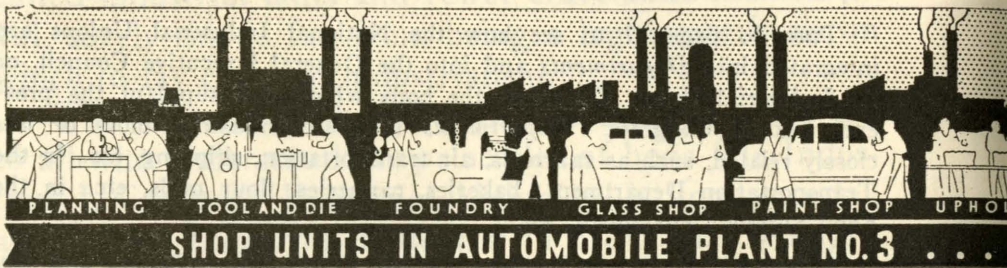
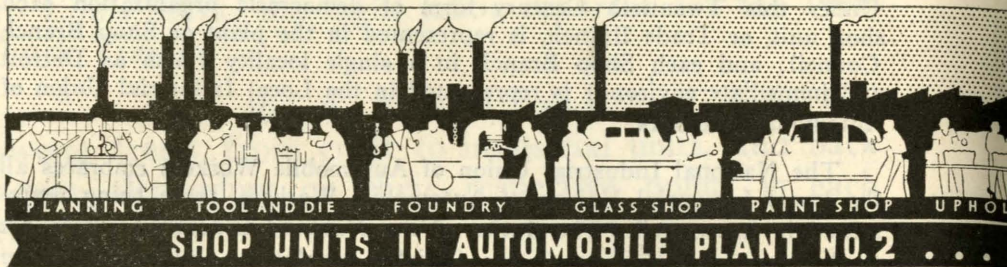
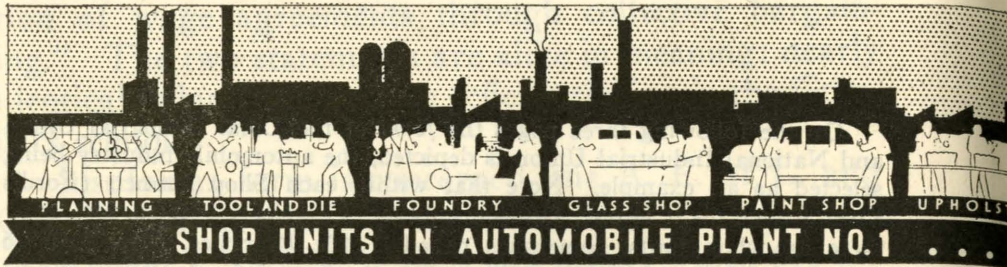
On the following three pages the *form* of the Local Industrial Union and National Industrial Union is depicted, the automobile industry being selected as an example. Note that within each Shop Branch (Ford's River Rouge plant is one, Hudson another, Chrysler the third, etc., etc.) there are shop units, sometimes called Trade Branches. On page 56 is explained how the *tool* used determines the line of demarcation between these subdivisions. Also why the tool must be the determining factor. Under this Twentieth Century form of democratic organization each shop unit, or Trade Branch, is represented in the plant or Shop Branch Council; and each Shop Branch in a single locality (such as Detroit and immediate environs) is represented in the Local Industrial Union of Automobile Workers.

The National Industrial Union of Automobile Workers embraces all the Local Industrial Unions of Automobile Workers, these being represented in its council. The duties of the National Industrial Union are to direct organization *before the Socialist revolution*, and to administer and correlate production of automobiles and parts *after the Industrial Republic has been formed*.

Turn to page 17 to see how the National Industrial Unions are integrated into *Departments* and into the General Executive Council, or All-Industrial Union Congress—the body which will supplant the present political Congress. *Departments* integrate industries more or less closely related, such as railroads, air transportation, shipping, etc., in the Transportation Department; bakeries, canneries, flour mills, etc., in the Food Supply Department; etc.

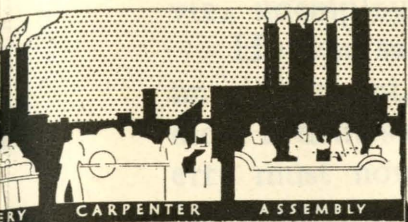
Substitute your own industry for the automobile industry, and you can easily visualize how *your* industry will organize locally and nationally.

Note: This is no "blue print," but a *guide* to correct organization whereby the workers may realize maximum power to abolish capitalism, and maximum efficiency in administering production under Socialism.



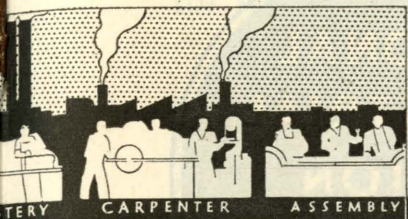
The Local Industrial Union, which organizes the plants turning out the same product in each community, unites the workers to perform the dual mission of Socialist Industrial Unionism. First, it unites them to "take over." Being in *de facto* possession, they are in a perfect strategic position to do this.

But the Local Industrial Union also unites the workers to carry on



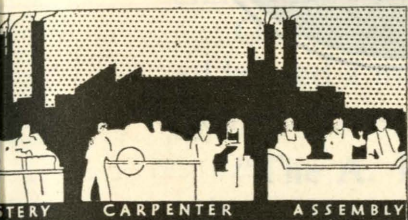
DETROIT

**SHOP
BRANCH
NO.1**



DETROIT

**SHOP
BRANCH
NO.2**



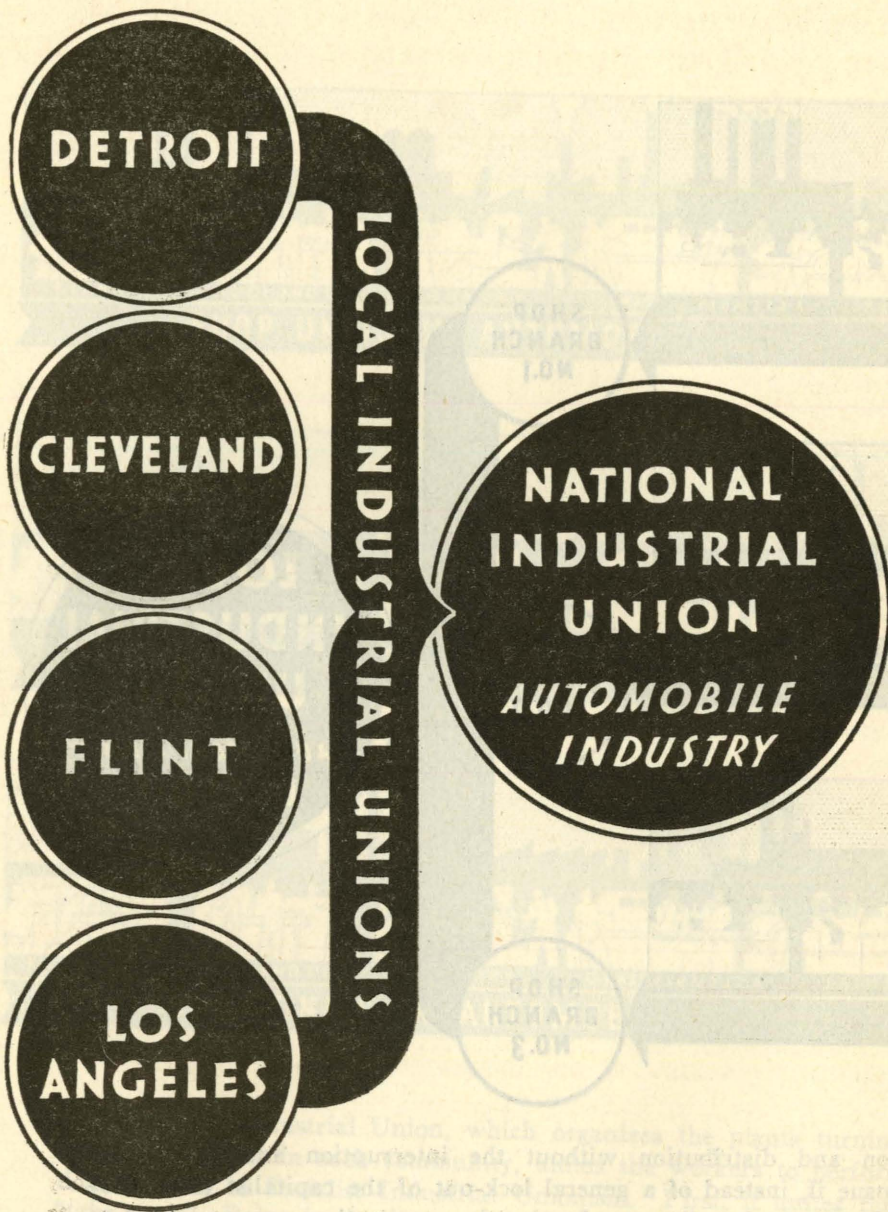
DETROIT

**SHOP
BRANCH
NO.3**

**LOCAL
INDUSTRIAL
UNION**

AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY
DETROIT

production and distribution without the interruption and chaos that would ensue if, instead of a general lock-out of the capitalist class, they attempted a general walk-out. In the shop units they are organized to elect their foremen; in the plants, their management committees, and from the plants, their delegates to the Local Industrial Union Council.



During the period of organizing, the National Industrial Union directs the organization drive. When the workers are in possession, it directs national production of the industry over which it has jurisdiction. Its council is composed of representatives, democratically elected, from the Local Industrial Unions.

may be understood in the light of their approach to but one of the problems besetting the working class, viz., unemployment.

He who says "Preserve capitalism" says "Preserve unemployment," for the one implies the other. The most ardent supporter of capitalism and private property must now confess that unemployment is a *permanent* and a *growing* evil as long as the system lasts. Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce under the New Deal and former Relief Administrator, told a reporter for the *New York Times*:

"It may be theoretically possible that unemployment may no longer have a place in our economic picture. *But that day won't happen in your lifetime or mine.*" (Italics mine.)

How do the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions cope with the problem of unemployment? Do they intend to eliminate the cause? Let us see.

On May 4, 1938, the A. F. of L. Executive Council addressed a manifesto to the United States Chamber of Commerce in which it assured that plutocratic body:

"The A. F. of L. is committed to the principle of private ownership, private initiative and the protection of private property. The right to own and manage property must be conceded and safeguarded."

But the C.I.O. is popularly believed to be "radical." Surely, it does not intend to sit supinely by while additional millions of our brothers are displaced by machines to become permanently unemployed. Alas! The "radicalism" of the C.I.O. is like its "industrialism"—pure fiction. "After all," said John L. Lewis in a radio broadcast, September 7, 1936, "the labor unions are

rooted in the institutions of our country. They are grounded on the rights of private property. They exist in response to the wage system." Before the first convention of the C.I.O. Lewis declared his organization "is dedicated to the proposition of the right of investors to have a profit on their investment...."

To the employer this is comforting indeed, but how about the worker? Is he to enjoy security? Tweedledum Lewis and Tweedledee Green answer "Yes!" but their sweet words butter no parsnips. Examine an A. F. of L. or C. I. O. agreement. Does it enjoin the employer from laying off workmen when business is dull? Does it forbid him to install new machinery which displaces hands? On the contrary, the unions which are "dedicated to the proposition of the right of investors to have a profit on their investment" accept curtailment of working forces as a matter of course. Indeed, some unions are so anxious to promote the employer's interests that they virtually obligate him to install new machinery as quickly as it is developed. The contract between the American Federation of Hosiery Workers (C.I.O.) and the Gotham Silk Hosiery Company reads in part:

"The employer hereby covenants and agrees to purchase and install additional new type, long section, high-speed machines, if and when business conditions, earnings and profits of the employer shall warrant."¹

The *Wall Street Journal* jubilantly declares that

¹The *Milwaukee Journal*, March 4, 1940, relates that in their agreements with Holeproof and Phoenix the American Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers Union goes a step farther. It provides for a 13 per cent wage cut to aid the mills in competing with non-union competitors. The wage cut was extended for another year to "continue the program for installing high speed machines."

this agreement refutes the contention that machines displace men! John L. Lewis knows better. In a speech before the New York *Herald Tribune* forum, October, 1938, he said:

"Every month sees new displacement of workers by technological advance and labor economies. To say that the victim of the machine is compensated by the new avenues it opens to employment is a foolish evasion of a stark reality."

"Job security" is a slogan of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. What this means in actual practice may be inferred from the following incident related by the New York *World-Telegram*, December 23, 1938.

Harold Ruttenberg, research director for the C.I. O., told a mass meeting of steel workers employed by the independent McKeesport Tin Plate Company they would have to accept reductions in pay amounting to 6 to 25 per cent or there would be no jobs after Christmas. Why? "That big monster on the hill," Ruttenberg told the workers, referring to the new \$60,000,000 highly mechanized Irvin Works of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, "is taking your jobs. By the end of 1939 it alone will have replaced between 15,000 and 16,000 workers."¹

¹If ever there was a confession of the impotence of the present so-called unions in meeting the problem of unemployment it was the testimony of Philip Murray, new C.I.O. president and chairman of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, before the Temporary National Economic Committee, April, 1940. Here is the *New Republic's* summary of Mr. Murray's confession:

"The continuous automatic steel strip mill enables 126 men to do the work previously performed by 4,512. Already more than 38,000 workers have been dismissed because of the change-over. Another 50,000 will go if the mill owners can carry out their plans.

"When the new process is introduced, hourly wage rates are increased

The same story with variations might be told of a dozen industries where workers enjoy the dubious protection of A. F. of L. and C. I. O. "unionism." And what are the fakers who run these organizations doing about it? Absolutely nothing! They are interested in renewing agreements that they might mulct the workers who are spared by the machine. The records show that union officials and mill superintendents jointly go over the payroll to decide who is to be laid off. And this is what Lewis and his tribe brazenly call "job security."

*

How does Socialist Industrial Unionism approach

somewhat, but there is so much less work that even the men who retain their jobs don't have any more money at the end of the year. Steel prices to the public have gone up nine per cent and profits have increased substantially; in the last three months of last year they were the best since 1929.

"In this actual case history it can be proved that the men displaced do not get jobs anywhere else. They simply go on relief. For instance, in New Castle, Pennsylvania, 5,700 men were fired. There are 7,000 families on relief in New Castle, 64 per cent of the total population.

"The new mills are very expensive; a third of a billion dollars has been spent on them in the past three or four years. Small steel companies cannot afford to change over and are rapidly going to the wall. Twenty-six such companies have disappeared in ten years, only eight of which have been merged and still retain their own identities.

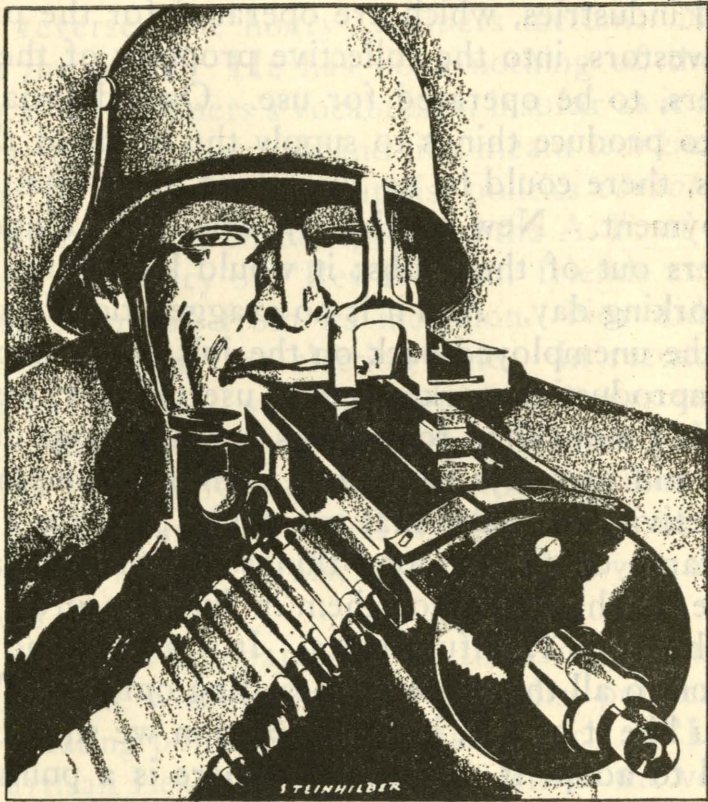
"The companies have a deliberate policy of not employing old steel workers in the new mills. They claim that the old worker is psychologically unfit for the new process. They are hiring young fellows who were never in a mill before. Yet the new process is so profitable that one company has been able to write off its entire investment in two and a half years.

"Within two years man-hours in steel have dropped 21.5 per cent, or 17,000,000 man-hours. Though hourly wage rates were increased a quarter, monthly pay envelopes are down by \$14,000,000. If the working week had remained as long as it was in 1929, the number of men dismissed would have been 150,000.

"Mr. Murray is not aware of any instance where the new sheet steel has resulted in creating new industries. If it is used in plumbing fixtures, he points out, thousands of persons now engaged in making plumbing fixtures will be out of work. If it is introduced in building, plasterers, carpenters and bricklayers will lose their jobs."

—*New Republic*, May 6, 1940.

the problem of unemployment? It faces the issue squarely. The unemployment problem cannot be solved as long as the means of production are privately owned. A stuporous treatment program and the slaughter of millions of our brothers in war will take up a part of the slack but it is a costly solution and a temporary one. There remains but one avenue of escape from this dilemma. It is the conversion of the privately



Capitalism's Cure for Unemployment.

elementary human dignity and increasing progress. It is the revolutionary way out, given by years of bitter experience. The capitalist Democracy has tried to starve the workers, Lewis has tried to starve the candidates with whom he can make the best deal. This was dramatically illustrated in his treatment

the problem of unemployment? It faces the issue squarely. The unemployment problem cannot be solved as long as the means of production are privately owned. A stupendous rearmament program and the slaughter of millions of our brothers in war will take up a part of the slack but it is a ghastly solution and a temporary one. There remains but one avenue of escape from this dilemma. It is the conversion of the privately owned industries, which are operated for the profit of the investors, into the collective property of the useful workers, to be operated for use. Owned socially and used to produce things to supply the needs of the producers, there could be no such thing as involuntary unemployment. New machinery would no longer kick workers out of their jobs; it would kick hours out of the working day. And it is no exaggeration to say that with the unemployed back on the job, waste eliminated and unproductive workers put at useful labor, we would work not more than four hours per day, four days per week, and 150 days per year. Such is the unparalleled productivity of labor that we could produce a superabundance of all the good things of life and have the leisure in which to enjoy them in full measure.

This is no fanciful dream. It is a sane and logical solution to all the problems besetting our class. Whether you like it or not, it is the solution we shall be compelled to adopt if only because there is a point where elementary human dignity rebels against the increasing pressure of exploitation.

It is the revolutionary way out.

IV.

Peaceful Revolution.

The fiction is current that John L. Lewis has completely reversed the hoary Gompers dictum: No politics in the union. He has done nothing of the sort. "Politics" in Gompers's vocabulary, insofar as it related to the activity of the rank and file, meant *working class politics*. At no time was capitalist politics *verboten*. On the contrary, it was encouraged and the A. F. of L. has practised the policy of "Reward your friends and punish your enemies" from its inception. Nor did labor ever lack "friends" at election time. In recent years the list has included such distinguished names as Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and the "gallant American" labor-skinner, Wendell Willkie, each of whom received the fulsome praise and God-bless-you of John L. Lewis.

Where Lewis departed from the Gompers method of leading the workers into the capitalist political fold was in creating political organizations, such as "Labor's Non-Partisan League," in order to deliver the votes en masse. He has also added the ingenious touch of making the workers pay for the election of capitalist politicians by levying assessments and contributing the proceeds to the decidedly capitalist Democratic party. But like Gompers, Lewis bell-wethers for *capitalist* candidates with whom he can make the best deal.

This was dramatically illustrated in his theatrical

endorsement of Wall Street's "barefoot boy," Wendell Willkie, after months of dickering and bargain-hunting.

With this sort of "political" action Socialist Industrial Unionism is in violent disagreement. It holds that, as the workers must organize as a class on the economic field, they must also organize politically as a class. As Daniel De Leon formulated the principle:

"The Social Question and all such questions are essentially political. If you have an economic organization alone, you have a duck flying with one wing; you must have a political organization or you are nowhere. Watch the capitalist closely and see whether the Social Question is exclusively an economic one, or whether the political wing is not a very necessary one. The capitalist rules in the shop. Is he satisfied with that? Watch him at election time, it is then he works; he has also another workshop, not an economic one—the legislatures and capitals in the nation. He buzzes around them and accomplishes political results. He gets the laws passed that will protect his economic class interests, and he pulls the wires, when these interests are in danger, bringing down the strong arm of political power over the heads of the striking workingmen, who have the notion that the Wages or Social Question is only an economic question.

"Make no mistake: The organization of the working class must be both economic and political. The capitalist is organized upon both lines. You must attack him on both."

But there is still another reason for working class political action. Even though the propertied class has perverted and distorted the Constitution, it still remains

the organic law of the land. That Constitution sanctions a change in the form of government by providing, through Article 5 (the amendment clause), the means to amend, or even to abolish, the present system.¹ In the language of Washington the people hold the government in the hollow of their hand. We can, whenever we like, unite to effectuate the revolution to Socialism by the peaceful and legal means of the ballot, i.e., by voting for the candidates of that political party of labor which demands the unconditional surrender of capitalism in its platform. Political action, because it offers the opportunity to agitate and educate for Socialism in the broad open day, and because it holds out the possibility of peaceful revolution, is a weapon vital to our success.

The mission of the political party of labor may be briefly stated:

1. It is to agitate, educate, clarify the issue and lay bare the true nature of the class struggle;
2. It is to place the issue of collective ownership squarely before the people by adopting a platform based on this single demand and by nominating candidates to contest elective offices; finally
3. It is to complete its mission the moment its can-

¹ The Declaration of Independence, which is, in a sense, the preamble to the Constitution, goes a step further. It unequivocally asserts that "whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends [Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness], it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." Again, as though to emphasize this right, the Declaration of Independence declares: "...it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government and to provide new Guards for their future security." This is precisely what the program of Socialist Industrial Unionism is designed to do.

didates are elected, by adjourning the Political State *sine die* and by itself disbanding.

According to the Biblical tale, Samson destroyed himself when he destroyed the Temple of the Philistines. Except for the fact that Samson was blind and the political party of labor has its eyes wide open, the parable holds. Instead of taking office *to govern*, the candidates of the political party of labor will take office only to abolish political office. It captures to destroy,¹ in the same sense that a conquering army captures, only to destroy, the fortifications of the vanquished foe, though blood and treasures were poured out to secure possession of these fortifications. The Political State is the robber citadel of capitalism, and can serve capitalist purposes only. The Political State is a *weapon* of suppression and oppression—a weapon designed to enable the skimmers to keep in subjection the class that is being skinned. The true Industrial Union is a *tool* designed to direct the processes of production for socially useful purposes. HENCE THE VICTORIOUS WORKERS WILL TURN THE REINS OF GOV-

¹The Social Democrat, James Oneal, offered this feeble "critique" of De Leon's argument in "Socialist Reconstruction of Society" that the Political State must be conquered only to be destroyed:

"Political action is not completely rejected [in "Socialist Reconstruction of Society"], but to abandon political power after winning it differs little from refusing to struggle for it in the first place."

De Leon disposed of Oneal's "critique" as follows:

"This is a choice chunk of dialectics. According to such logic—

"To have demolished the Bastille, after having captured it, differs little from having refused to capture it in the first place; or—

"To have disbanded the federal armies, after having overthrown secession, differs little from having refused to gather the federal armies in the first place; or—

"To cast off your crutches, after you have regained the use of your legs, differs little from having refused to use crutches in the first place

"Mr. Oneal's pamphlet should be read. It is a dialectical blunderbuss fired at the S.L.P. from a blunderbuss that 'kicks' the blunderbusser."

ERNMENT OVER TO THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL UNION!

The point to note here is that the political party of labor, crucially important though it is tactically, is transient and has no place under the Industrial Republic of Labor. The Socialist Industrial Union, on the other hand, is a *permanent* form of labor organization, becoming the framework of the new social order.

But let us look at the question in another way.

Suppose the workers unite politically to demand Socialism but fail to consolidate their economic power. Their political victory would then be the signal for a bloodbath. Without the power to enforce the peaceful demand of the ballot they would be at the mercy of a class whose malignant hatred of those whom they exploit knows no bounds. Here one can see the vicious and disastrous consequences of all "pure and simple" political movements. They leave the workers defenseless against the onslaughts of reaction and prepare their neck for the industrial feudal yoke.

Of the weakness of the ballot alone, De Leon said:

"The ballot is a weapon of civilization; the ballot is a weapon that no revolutionary movement of our times may ignore except at its own peril; the Socialist ballot is the emblem of *right*. For that very reason the Socialist ballot is

weaker than a woman's tears,
Tamer than sleep, fonder than ignorance,
Less valiant than the virgin in the night,
And skillless as unpracticed infancy,
unless it is backed by the *might* to enforce it."

But how can the "*might*," i.e., the Socialist Industrial Union, enforce the ballot? Precisely what are the workers to do?

The source of all power is economic. Armies, particularly modern armies, cannot operate unless they are constantly supplied with a multitude of items which flow uninterruptedly from industry. Although an army is a military *power*, it is dependent on industry, hence *on the workers who operate industry*.

Modern capitalist production has achieved such magnitude that it has greatly expanded the potential economic power of the workers. This is true because the workers *run the industries from top to bottom and are therefore in the best strategic position to take possession*. "Take possession" is precisely what they must do in an orderly and resolute manner the moment the victory at the polls is achieved. This is not a general strike (which leaves the workers in the open terrain and precipitates chaos and anarchy) but a **GENERAL LOCKOUT OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS!**

Summing up, these are the tactics of the Socialist Industrial Union:

1. Political action to agitate and capture the political ramparts of capitalism.
2. Economic action to back up the ballot by occupying the factories, mines, mills, railroads, and all the other means of social production, and locking out the outvoted owners and their agents.

These tactics are not designed arbitrarily. They are determined by the economic and political topography of America. They are the tactics of an industrialized proletariat in a nation which has not yet surrendered to Fascist barbarism. The only tactics which can prevent such a surrender.

V.

The Unions and Fascism.

We hear it said frequently that the Nazis and Fascists destroyed the free trade unions of Germany and Italy. Actually, although the unions were deprived of independent action, they were not destroyed. On the contrary, the Nazis and Fascists *took them over* and transformed them into instruments of suppression. The methods that were employed are too familiar to require elaboration here. We know, for example, that on May 2, 1933, Nazi hoodlums, under the direction of Dr. Robert Ley, struck "brutally and ruthlessly" as they had been instructed. They seized and occupied the property and premises of the German unions and imprisoned the union leaders. With the exception of the Jews and those considered politically "unreliable," the members were then informed that they were automatically enrolled in the Labor Front.

Although the Fascist coup in Italy ten years earlier was less efficiently conducted, it followed a similar pattern. Long before Hitler's rise to power, Mussolini recognized in the existing trade unions (industrial in form but based upon the tenets of class peace) the logical instruments for keeping the workers under control.

The question arises: Why did not the rank and file possess the initiative to act? Why was it merely necessary for the Nazis to capture the union headquarters, arrest the leaders, and by so doing take over the entire union? Why were these unions so flabby and inert as

to be unable even to make a show of resisting when they were led into the Fascist camp?

Why? Because the German and Italian unions, like our own so-called free trade unions, the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., were never organized to unite the workers as a class and promote their class interests. They were job trusts organized to restrict competition for jobs. Instead of cultivating a spirit of unity, they kept the workers involved in internecine strife. Over the years the union members in Germany had acquired certain dubious "benefits," such as pensions, insurance, equities in caskets, etc. These are also familiar devices to American workers, devices used to hold members who might otherwise drop away. The Nazis well understood that the German trade unionists, being non-class-conscious, treasured their "benefits." Dr. Ley swore that he would "keep intact everything that already exists" and "extend still farther" the alleged union gains that had been made. Had the workers rejected membership in the Labor Front, their precious "benefits" would have been lost to them. They were led into the Nazi stockade without a struggle.

For the most part, the German and Italian unions which were thus taken over and incorporated in the State apparatus were *industrial* in form. Where they were not, they were reorganized into "industrial unions" under Nazi or Fascist direction. Thus it is seen that merely aping the industrial form does not make of a union an instrument of emancipation. Daniel De Leon cautioned the American workers against this assumption thirty years ago. In a "Letter Box" answer to a question, published in the *Daily People*, he said:

"Caution must be observed lest one attach to the term Industrial Unionism more than there is in

it. Industrial Unionism does not of itself mean the economic body necessary for the revolutionary act. The form of Industrialism may subserve the most reactionary of schemes. It is with Industrialism as with the alphabet. Without the alphabet there can be no good literature; but the alphabet may also furnish vulgar words. *Without Industrialism the Social Revolution is not accomplishable in America; but Industrialism could also be turned into the most effective capitalist weapon to bridle the working class.*"

To which we might add: *Vide* the unions of Italy and Germany! Believed to be weapons of defense against the encroachments of capital, they were transformed into huge "company" unions to bridle labor, serving substantially the same purpose for the Italian and German capitalist classes that company unions serve for the individual capitalists.

It is well to think long and hard on this lesson. It is well to ask ourselves: Are the C.I.O., A. F. of L. and the railway brotherhoods less flabby and inert than the "free trade unions" the Nazis took over? Do the American unions also divide the workers? Cultivate a narrow, selfish outlook instead of a class outlook? Teach that the present system is everlasting? Utilize insurance, burial policies, pensions and similar "benefits" to hold members? The answer to all these questions is, alas, yes! Moreover, in a greater degree than in Germany and Italy, the American unions foster class disunity. Witness the shame of organized scabbery! When one union walks out on strike, other unions in the same industry stay on the job and scab upon the strikers. Should the rank and file of the latter unions, moved by the instinct of solidarity, demand of their leaders that

they too be called out, a contract is waved in their faces. They have a sacred contract with the boss. Would they repudiate their sacred word? Would they be so lacking in honor, so low, so iniquitous? Ninety-nine times out of a hundred they would not be "so low, so iniquitous." *Ninety-nine times out of a hundred they scab it on their brothers!* On the rare hundredth time the international officers recall their charter, expel them from the union, and furnish the "injured" employer with a more docile staff.

Nor is this shameful scabbery confined to the craft ("horizontal") unions. Members of John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers (a "vertical" union) are also pitted against each other. Time after time, while the coal miners of one district have locked in desperate counter with their employers, United Mine Workers in an adjoining district have dug the coal that broke the strike.

In view of this disunity, fostered by brotherhood-between-capital-and-labor unionism, it is palpably visionary to look upon the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. as bulwarks against Fascism. Like the German and Italian unions, they are better suited to become weapons with which reaction may bridle the working class.

Socialist Industrial Unionism could not be led unresisting into the prison of Fascism because it organizes squarely on working class interests, unites all who labor, and aims for the abolition of capitalism. Socialist Industrial Unionism cultivates initiative in the rank and file, and develops the latent sense of class solidarity capitalism unionism would stifle. No wrecking of union headquarters or imprisoning of union officers could transfix this mighty class instrument. The union would

live, not in the headquarters or in the officers, but in the great mass of workers.

Craft and pseudo-industrial unionism is flabby and inert. Its motto is: "For ourselves first, last and all the time, and the devil take fellow craft unionists!"

Socialist Industrial Unionism is dynamic, conscious of its invincible power, unconquerable. Its motto is: "One for all, all for one!"

VI.

Poured into the Industrial Mould.

Chapter I limned the Goal of the Socialist Industrial Union. Chapter IV set forth the tactics. Here we shall deal with the form of structure.

"Industrialism," wrote Daniel De Leon, "is a trefoil that constitutes *one* leaf; it is a term that embraces three domains, closely interdependent, and all three requisite to the whole. The three domains are Form, Tactics and Goal. The Goal is the substitution of the industrial for the political government, another term for the Socialist Republic; the Tactics are the unification of the useful labor of the land on the political as well as the economic field; the Form concerns the structure of the organization."

Socialist Industrial Unionism aims to achieve *solidarity of labor*. The A. F. of L. and C.I.O. affirm that they, too, aim to achieve solidarity of labor. But "solidarity of labor" in the mouths of craft and pseudo-industrial unionists is an ironic travesty. Solidarity of labor presupposes class-consciousness, that is (on the part of labor), that it is conscious of the fact that the interests of the *skinnners* (the capitalists) are the direct opposite of the interests of those (the workers) who are being *skinned*. The A. F. of L.-C. I. O. Siamese twins are avowedly and violently opposed to class-consciousness. They are founded upon job-consciousness. They assiduously foster the baneful spirit of job-consciousness. Their appeal to the worker is on the

basis of protecting his job—not against lay-offs or displacement by machines, but against his fellow wage slaves who compete for the job! The A. F. of L. and C. I. O. are, in fact, *job-trusts*. It is this job-trust character which is the primary cause of the woeful disunity so apparent in the labor movement today.

Unions which are job-trusts are frequently riven by jurisdictional disputes. They vigilantly guard their own jurisdiction, but are ever on the alert for territory which can be invaded. Not only do they “protect” their jobs against the unorganized, but also against rival unions. As a consequence of jurisdiction raids, wars are frequent in which weapons of violence, even assassination at the hands of hired sluggers, are employed. A recent example of the rat-pit character of the job trust was the dispute (July, 1939) between local 60 and local 147 of the International Hod Carriers Union over control of the 3,200 sand-hogs building the Delaware Aqueduct in Westchester, N.Y. The members of both locals clashed in pitched battles at the shaft openings. Could employers ask for a situation more to their liking than this?

In the last analysis the victors in these feuds are usually the unions which promise the exploiters more for their money. Samuel Gompers, whose portrait is displayed in the offices of both Bill Green and John L. Lewis, once told a union convention:

“Jurisdiction controversies are unavoidable. They are, though, only a phase in the struggle for the survival of the fittest. The craft in whose membership the greatest amount of efficiency is crystallized will finally win out in the fight for jurisdiction and control of the job.”

A slave class torn by fratricidal conflict is an easy class to rule.

Jurisdictional disputes are not the only evils bred by the job-trust. As most union members have learned to their dismay, no matter how determined the membership is to attain "rank-and-file" control, the real control over the jobs is vested in the officials. Closed shop or "union shop" agreements make this power of the officials absolute. From then on, the rank and file must toe the mark or suffer the consequences, for the labor faker has devious methods for ousting malcontents from the union—and from their jobs. Control of jobs forms the base of the faker's pyramid of power. All the way up it is cemented with jobs and patronage. With the passage of time the structure solidifies and the faker at the top acquires such broad authority that he can ignore the rumbling of discontent from below. The boss of the East Coast stevedores, Joseph P. Ryan, is so firmly entrenched that, although the majority of the rank and file hate him, the 1939 convention of his toadies gave him a \$5,000 a year boost in salary, bringing his income from this source up to \$20,000 per year.

Before genuine solidarity of labor can be achieved, the workers must lose their job-consciousness and acquire *class-consciousness*. Then, and not until then, can they organize *as a class*, employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled, office worker and factory worker. United, they will no longer be an easy class to rule. On the contrary, the exploiters and their labor lieutenants will learn to their sorrow that their ruling days are over.

It is self-evident that labor solidarity doesn't mean bringing together all the workers into a loose, shapeless body. As the great De Leon, who, more than any

other man, is responsible for the clear-cut principles of Socialist Industrial Unionism, said:

“The industrial principle of *one union* excludes, as a matter of course, the jelly-fish conception of oneness. The oneness of the high structure of the human being is a different oneness from that of the lower jelly-fish. As the structure of the human being implies parts and coordination to parts, so does the structure of Industrialism, a concept born of the higher development of modern society, imply divisions and subdivisions. The field upon which Industrialism operates warrants the parallel with a modern army. One though an army is, it has its separate divisions and subdivisions. These are also imperative to the Industrialist Army—it also has and must have companies, battalions, regiments, brigades. divisions.”

The need for separate divisions in the Socialist Industrial Union is manifest. What, then, is to determine the line of demarcation?

The industrial set-up is the mold into which must be poured the molten metal—an awakened class-conscious working class. The *facts of production*, therefore, determine the divisions between the Industrial Unions and the subdivisions within the Industrial Union. Let us apply the principles of correct structure to the automobile industry.

Keeping in mind the central principle that the *form* must be in accord with the facts of production, we must first determine the external boundaries of the automobile workers' union. Obviously, neither the airplane workers, textile workers nor rubber workers belong in this union. Why? Because the *output* is the determining factor. In this case the output is automobiles. All

the workers who fabricate parts and assemble automobiles, whether they work in the offices or shops, in parts divisions or on the final assembly line, belong in one automobile workers' Industrial Union—a union which must also embrace the *unemployed* automobile workers.

“In the first place,” said De Leon in his epochal address, “The Burning Question of Trades Unionism,” “the trades union has a supreme mission. That mission is nothing short of organizing by uniting and uniting by organizing the whole working class industrially—not merely those for whom there are jobs, accordingly, not only those who can pay dues.”

In the automobile workers' Industrial Union will be found a great list of specialized occupations. There will be janitors, stenographers, tool and die makers, common laborers, nurses, chauffeurs, printers, draftsmen and dozens of others. Despite their specialized labor they help produce the “output” which determines the boundaries of their union, viz., automobiles.

Automobiles are produced in many cities: Detroit, Dearborn, Pontiac, Flint, South Bend, etc. *For purpose of organization and administration a local automobile workers' Industrial Union includes all the automobile workers in each community.* We have learned the fact of production which marks the boundary between this and other unions. Now we have to discover the fact of production which determines internal divisions within the Local Industrial Union. The chart on pages 32-33, which depicts the structure of the Automobile Workers' Local Industrial Union establishes the principle, i.e., that the subdivisions within the Local—Trade and Shop branches—are determined by the *tool which is used.*

Let us narrow our investigation down to Ford's

plant at River Rouge. In this plant will be found many departments which require their own tools. There are a steel mill, a glass factory, a hospital, a tool and die department, etc. Hearths and rollers are the tools of the steel mill trade branch. They determine the boundaries of the steel mill trade branch, and all the workers who direct or run these tools, regardless of their degree of skill or the specific nature of their work, belong in this trade branch. A furnace and polishing apparatus are the tools of the glass trade branch. The ambulance, beds, operating tables, etc., are the tools of the hospital trade branch. The lathes, grinding machines, etc., are the tools of the tool and die trade branch. In every case the workers who direct or run these tools belong to the trade branch designated by the tools.

But the Ford River Rouge plant is a unit and as such it must be operated. The trade branches, made necessary by the variety of tools, are united in the *shop branch* which includes all the workers in the River Rouge plant.

Here, in short and in fine, are the subdivisions of the Local Industrial Union. They are not disconnected parts but integrated parts which function together. They make possible instantaneous action and solidify the workers for the great act of backing up the Socialist ballot by taking and holding the industries of the land. Lastly, they organize the workers into the only human machine capable of operating the industries without interruption during the period of transition and under the Socialist Industrial Republic of Labor.

VII.

What To Do Now!

Has the Socialist Labor Party organized a Socialist Industrial Union?

If this question has been asked of S.L.P. members once, it has been asked a thousand times. Sometimes it is asked by sincere persons, but usually by wiseacres who wish to imply that the S.L.P. is not living up to its convictions because, obviously, no such Socialist Industrial Union exists.

It is self-evident that workers cannot be organized to abolish the capitalist system and establish Socialism *until they want to abolish capitalism and establish Socialism*. The idea must precede the actuality. Workers who cling to the vain hope that somehow, some way, the predatory system of wage slavery can be made tolerable, can no more be organized for their emancipation than Mohammedans can be organized to defend the sepulchre of Christ. But that vain hope is cracking under the impact of staggering events. It is no longer possible to conceal from intelligent workers the guilt of the capitalist system for the anarchy and chaos in the world today.

Human masses, like masses of matter generally, are subject to the force of inertia. They do not move until, in an hour of political and economic crisis, they are compelled to. It is not our purpose here to set forth the causal factors of the approaching crisis. Suffice it to say that we are hurtling toward it and that it

will arouse the great mass of workers, as they have never been aroused before, to the imperious necessity for social change. The question then will not be: "Shall we organize to reconstruct society?" but will be: "How shall we organize?" To this question the Socialist Labor Party supplies the only satisfactory answer, viz., the program of Socialist Industrial Unionism.

What can you do *now* to enhance the success of this program? You can do a great deal. You can prepare yourself to prepare others. You can equip yourself with a thorough understanding of the principles of scientific Socialism, and particularly its American expression, De Leonism. You can supply those among your fellow workers who are politically awake with this vital knowledge. You can secure from the Socialist Labor Party leaflets to distribute among them. You can read the WEEKLY PEOPLE and pass it on for others to read. In short, you can take an active and intelligent part in preparing the working class for its historic role, for the conquest of its final emancipation.

The weeks and months which lie immediately ahead are fraught with great peril and with great promise. Should the useful producers fail to organize their powers through the dereliction of those among them who see their duty but fail to do it, this period will be marked by violence and brutal suppression. Without industrial power labor is impotent. *With* industrial power it is omnipotent. And this industrial power *can be organized*. In the words of the eminently great American and social scientist, Daniel De Leon:

"First, its cost is trifling, positively within reach;

"Secondly, every scrap of information it gathers while organizing is of permanent value;

“Thirdly, it will be able to offer resistance to capitalist encroachments, and thereby to act as a breastwork for its members while getting ready;

“Fourthly, and most significant and determining of all, the day of its triumph will be the beginning of the full exercise of its functions—the administration of the productive forces of the Nation.

“The fourth consideration is significant and determining. It is the consideration that Social Evolution points the finger to, dictating the course that the proletariat must take;—dictating its goal;—dictating its *means*. The proletariat, whose economic badge is poverty; the proletariat, the first of all revolutionary classes whose badge is economic impotence;—for the benefit of that class, apparently treated so stepmotherly by Social Evolution, Social Evolution has wrought as it has wrought for none other. It has builded the smithy of capitalist industrial concentration; and, in keeping with the lofty mission of the Working Class to abolish class rule on earth, Social Evolution has gathered ready for the fashioning, not the implements of destruction, but the implements of future peace, withal the most potent weapon to clear the field of the capitalist despot—the *industrially ranked toilers*. The integrally organized [Socialist] Industrial Union is the weapon that Social Evolution places within the grasp of the proletariat as the means for their emancipation.”

Let us seize that weapon! Let us inscribe upon our banner and raise high the demands:

The Workshops to the Workers!

The Product to the Producers!

ALL POWER TO THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL UNION!

ADDENDUM.

The essential principles of correct organization have been treated. When these principles are adopted and incarnated in the Socialist Industrial Union the knell will sound to wage slavery and the race will enter a period of boundless cultural and material progress. But we do not assert that problems of organizing will not arise. They will, but with correct principles as guide they can be coped with. Although other questions may be anticipated, we shall mention only a few here. The first is:

Would not the employers seek to smash the union at the first incipient attempt at organization?

They would, and, judging from their past performances, their methods would not be gentle. They would, however, take on themselves the onus for employing lawless violence, and the effect would be much like the effect of the attack on Fort Sumter which lit the fuse of the Civil War—that is, its effect would be to fire with indignation those who were formerly apathetic and enlist them to active participation in the cause of working class emancipation.

Moreover, it cannot be assumed that the revolutionary temperature will arise in one or two localities and leave the rest of the country immune. When conditions raise the revolutionary temperature, the movement to organize *will be general* and of such an imposing magnitude as to defy the puny repressive efforts of the ruling class. Those conditions are certain to develop as the contradictions which have produced the present world crisis become more acute.

A second problem of organizing arises from the complications of capitalist production. It is the question of jurisdiction of the various industrial unions. It will arise, however.

not through a struggle for dues-payers or jobs as in the present job-trust unions, but in a revolutionary sense.

In the chapter, "Poured Into the Industrial Mould," it was pointed out that the *output* determines the line of demarcation between unions. This is the general principle, but it so happens that some plants have two or more outputs which belong to unrelated categories. Some industries, such as meat-packing, produce many by-products through utilization of waste.

Inasmuch as the first job to be done is to "take over," the workers engaged in producing these by-products would, as a rule, organize with their fellow workers who produce the main product. Thus they are welded into a solid unit to take over operation of the entire plant. It is, therefore, not only the output, but the *principal* output, which determines the line of demarcation between National Industrial Unions.

There is also the question of jurisdiction over the unemployed, for bona fide unionism does not exclude them as dues-collecting "unions" do. In most cases the solution is simple, for unemployed workers, as a rule, will join with the workers in that industry in which they are normally employed. Thus, unemployed sailors will join the marine transport industrial union, unemployed textile workers the textile workers' industrial union, and so forth, down the line.

These and similar organizational problems can be solved and will be solved once the principles are grasped and the immediate problem is resolutely faced. If errors are made in jurisdiction, etc., they can be corrected without harm being done. Such errors are not fatal. Errors which are fatal are those which arise from wrong principles of organization, such as acceptance of the fatuous theory that capital and labor can be brothers. It is these errors which far-sighted workers must seek to disperse. Then only will the soil be hospitable to the Socialist seed.

PAMPHLETS ON DANIEL DE LEON

DANIEL DE LEON: PIONEER SOCIALIST EDITOR, by *Arnold Petersen* (10 cents). A lively study of De Leon as Editor of *The People* (1892-1914) and an appraisal of the lofty standards of Socialist journalism he set.

DANIEL DE LEON: FROM REFORM TO REVOLUTION, 1886-1936, by *Arnold Petersen* (10 cents). De Leon's own development from reformer to America's foremost Marxist and revolutionist.

DANIEL DE LEON: THE UNCOMPROMISING, by *Arnold Petersen* (15 cents). To De Leon principle was indivisible. Here a warm and appreciative tribute is paid to De Leon's unyielding and scientific posture and important lessons are drawn.

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY vs. DICTATORSHIPS AND DESPOTISM, by *Arnold Petersen* (15 cents). De Leon's great contribution to the science of Socialism and Lenin's theories concerning proletarian dictatorship contraposed.

DANIEL DE LEON: SOCIAL ARCHITECT, by *Arnold Petersen* (10 cents). De Leon's crowning achievement: conception of Socialist Industrial Union Government.

DANIEL DE LEON: ORATOR, by *Arnold Petersen* (10 cents). Contrasts the content and effectiveness of De Leon's oratory with that of some "spellbinders."

DANIEL DE LEON: DISCIPLINARIAN, by *Arnold Petersen* (5 cents). Formulation and clarification of revolutionary discipline.

DANIEL DE LEON: INTERNATIONALIST, by *Arnold Petersen* (10 cents). De Leon's contributions to the world-wide solidarity of the workers.

DANIEL DE LEON: SOCIAL SCIENTIST, by *Arnold Petersen* (15 cents). De Leon on the law of value, on capitalist "education," etc. Contains a valuable appendix, giving direct quotations on the subjects covered.

DANIEL DE LEON: EMANCIPATOR, by *Arnold Petersen* (15 cents). An exposition of the reasons why De Leon was the emancipator, with stress on De Leon's analysis of capitalism and program for Socialism.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY

61 Cliff St., New York 8, N.Y.

SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY

The Industrial Vote

By Daniel De Leon

This magnificent address by America's greatest sociologist and Marxian scholar, Daniel De Leon, exposes the cause of the collapse of capitalism, and points to the road out of present-day misery and difficulties. *Read it. Study it.* Pass it along to fellow workers. On the lines laid down in this booklet the American working class must organize. The alternative is industrial feudalism. Look to fascist Italy, and particularly to Nazi Germany, for a sample of that industrial feudalism.

Price 10 cents

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
61 Cliff St., New York 8, N.Y.

WEEKLY PEOPLE
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Read the *Weekly People*, official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, a paper of Revolutionary Socialism and Industrial Unionism. Rates: \$2 a year; \$1, six months; 50c., three months; 25c., trial subscription six weeks.

WEEKLY PEOPLE
61 Cliff St., New York 8, N.Y.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY,
61 Cliff St., New York 8, N.Y.

I am interested in Socialism. Please send me information and free literature published by the Socialist Labor Party, including sample copy of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, official organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

Name

Address

(S.I.U.)

(*May be pasted on back of postcard.*)

