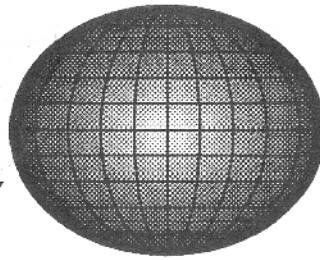


World Socialist Review



\$1.00
No. 11
Spring 1994

Journal of the world socialist movement in the united states

Industrial Unionism: Can it abolish wage-slavery?

A De Leonist debates us on-line

2 March 1993 — M. Lepore

HOW SHOULD WORKERS who agree with the recommendation, "Workers of the world, unite!" actually set out to unite? Should the organization of the entire working class take place on the political or on the industrial field? This paper defends the thesis of the North American Marxist Daniel De Leon (1852-1914), who argued that a dual political/industrial program will be necessary for success.

Why Industrial Organization?

The change from class-divided to classless society will require a workplace-based

association encompassing all occupations. Since approximately the year 1900, this concept has been called industrial unionism.

This statement is given in response to the Companion Parties of Socialism (the World Socialist movement). These fellow workers, who do not see in the industrial union an instrumental role in the revolutionary transition, are welcome to explain why I'm wrong.*

* See our reply on the back cover. —Ed.

I view the industrial union theory as a switch-over theory. A new system of industrial planning has to be assembled, at least in its basic or foundational structure, while capitalism still exists. Only then can we smoothly switch the task of industrial management, from the old class-ruled system, to a new democratic system.

This revolution must be enacted without any interruption in the flow of food, medicine, education, transportation and the other necessities of life. The flow of these necessities requires workplace units to be in close and daily communication, such as designers sending specifications to fabricators, tool operators placing orders for field

About the Discussion

The entire text of this issue (with the exception of the comments found on the last two pages) is taken from an electronic symposium conducted in Nos. 5 and 6 of *Organized Thoughts (OT)*, an on-line (electronic) journal edited and published by Michael Lepore. It has been edited here only for grammar and syntax. Readers with a computer and modem can access back issues of this publication on the internet at anonymous FTP site etext.archive.umich.edu in the directory pub/Politics/Organized.Thoughts.*

The title of the original symposium is "From Capitalism to Socialism: Should the Workers Organize Politically, Industrially or Both?" Lepore, a De Leonist (though unaffiliated with the Socialist Labor Party), opens the discussion by proposing industrial unionism as a "switchover" theory for ending the division of society into social classes (and therefore the class struggle between capitalist and working classes). The World Socialist participants (Steve Szalai of the Socialist Party of Canada, Ron Elbert and Harry Morrison both of the World Socialist Party [US]) answer his assertions point for point.

Discussion Bulletin No. 60 billed it as "the first head-to-head published debate... between socialist industrial unionists and world socialists since 1918." We are reprinting it here for the light it sheds on the difference in the approaches taken respectively by industrial unionists and world socialists to the question of how to achieve a moneyless, classless, stateless society.

Readers can obtain printed copies of *OT* 5 through the *Discussion Bulletin* (PO Box 1564, Grand Rapids, MI 49501). Please feel free to contact the WSP (US) by regular mail or e-mail with any comments to the participants at one of the following on-line addresses:

- (1) M. Lepore, mlepore@mcimail.com;
- (2) S. Szalai, (72607.2404 @compuserve.com;
- (3) R. Elbert, ronel2@aol.com (America Online), relbert@igc.apc.org (PeaceNet), ron.elbert@bcsinfo.bcs.org (Boston Computer Society).

We would definitely like to hear from you.

* *OT* invites "relatively like-minded people, that is, advocates of a classless and stateless society, based on the control of production by workers' associations... to join an e-mail discussion group associated with this publication." It is called "1-UNION," and if you are interested, you can contact M. Lepore by e-mail for details.

repair, repair crews obtaining replacement parts, public services sending requisitions to suppliers, procedures prearranged between hospitals and laboratories, an unbroken connection from agriculture to trucking to food stores, etc.

Therefore, our preparation for instituting a new economic system needs to be workplace-based, linking up the departments of workers from manufacturing, mining, transportation, health, education and all other necessary functions, into a network which is intended to provide the substratum for cooperative administration in the future. We need to erect the skeleton of the new system, as the IWW preamble points out, "within the shell of the old."

The revolution will mean reidentifying, not some, but all of the workplace connections we have with one another. For example, let's say the working class decides to abolish capitalism next Tuesday at 9:00 AM GMT. (This is to be a coherent action, not a fuzzy "transition period.") At that time, we are to discontinue making military weapons, and, in their place, start making useful items such as school books and medicine. This will require new plant and office committees to meet, new communication lines installed, machinery relocated, specifications written, blueprints requested, shipping instructions changed.

We're talking about a class revolution. In nearly every workplace, the recently-deposed capitalist managers will be shouting and insisting that we must obey their "Plan A," yet we must be ready to laugh at them, ignore them and if necessary lock them outside, so that we can perform our new "Plan B." Our preparedness for that will require that the workers in each facility must have had at least one prior meeting and that this meeting must have also resulted in some communication among different types of work facilities. This minimum requirement, at least one prior meeting with department level co-workers, would fulfill the basic requirement of the industrial organization of workers needed to bring the industries under social ownership. More likely, however, there would be many prior meetings, since the working

class is expected to attain class consciousness over some period of time. The revolution itself can be enacted in five minutes, but learning to advocate a revolution can take years (decades, centuries).

But elements of instantaneous change are not all. Even in cases where some aspect of the work does *not* change, for example, if the same driver intends to drive the same truck, or the same operator intends to use the same machine, we would still need a completely new procedure for scheduling everything. We will suddenly have a non-profit economy, with a workweek that's less than half as long as what we work today. The coordination of everything must be rearranged from scratch.

The magnitude of this restructuring is such that it must begin well before the industries are converted to social owner-

LEPORE: If our food pantries and coal bins are empty for a month, some workers may start to welcome a fascist dictator to enter—especially since a political mandate for socialism could occur with a fragile majority of 51 percent.

ship—otherwise we will have a vacuum and not a new system to switch over to. This vacuum would have worse implications than our lights going out and our food pantries being empty. It would mean that another force would fill the vacuum, such as an unpredicted retention of the political state.

Worse yet: If our food pantries and coal bins are empty for a month, some workers may start to welcome a fascist dictator to enter—especially since a political mandate for socialism could occur with a fragile majority of 51 percent.

I ask the World Socialists to respond to this, my objection:

I don't see how a conquest of the political field by the working class could logically and quickly handle the redesign of the industrial interconnections. The geographical lines of the political state (city,

town, county, province) are irrelevant to the linkage of all the departments within the industries and services. Also irrelevant to production is the state's basis of regulating human behavior, such that its major organs are legislatures, courts, police and armies. The rational plans for moving materials, parts, information, etc. from one economic department to another are nowhere found in the anatomy of the state.

If the working class unites politically but not industrially, we would then have to start remaking the industrial links, from the very first steps, after announcing that the old management system is ejected. Only then would we begin the identification of the naturally-occurring economic functions, subdivision according to minor functions, committee formation, proposals, feasibility study and debug by trial-and-error. Meanwhile we would very soon get cold and hungry while waiting for production to resume.

* * * * *

Another reason for workplace based organization is because there are at least two advantages to permanently retaining a degree of sectional workers' self-management, e.g., councils of nurses selecting the best procedures for nursing, committees of electricians deciding on the electrical codes, educators

voting on the best mathematics syllabus, etc.

(1) The people in the respective fields possess greater technical understanding of the details than a democratic assembly of the general public would have.

(2) Our basic right to control our own bodies would seem to imply that some facets of management should be decentralized (admitting local preferences for certain tools, methods, shifts, holidays, etc.).

However, the general public (either the direct democracy of referenda, or the indirect democracy of a public congress) should always have the ability to overrule the plans of the workplace sub-departments, if ever the more localized choices are seen to be in conflict with principles which have been adopted by society as a whole. Therefore, I conclude that we need both forms of industrial administration—some general popu-

lation control of industry (which the World Socialists usually recommend) and also some localized and occupational forms of control as well (which the syndicalists usually recommend). The balance between the two, of course, would need to be written into the Constitution which the people eventually decide to adopt.

Why political organization?

The preceding section doesn't tell the whole story. I also believe that the working class must unite *politically*.

Many reasons have been cited by De Leonists for the political organization of labor, e.g., because an election campaign can be used as a soapbox by the industrial organization and because election results can be used by the union as a gauge of class-consciousness. I would personally like to see those arguments set aside. I don't consider any of that to be fundamental. Those purposes may or may not be possible, depending on fluidic circumstances, and they appear not to be efficient means for achieving their ends.

In my view, organization on the political field is needed mainly because the police and military agencies of the state take their orders only from one place—political offices. These violent agencies of the state will not hesitate to massacre millions of workers if the political offices give them the order to do so. If the capitalist political parties still control the state on the day that revolutionaries start taking collective control of the means of production, the state will certainly order a massacre to take place.

Let me break this reasoning into three parts: (1) present-day law says the capitalists are the owners of the industries; (2) the law-enforcers would be the very last segment of the working class to become revolutionary; and (3) the law-enforcers possess such an enormous inventory of deadly weapons and other supplies, that even a general strike could not deprive them of the materials they would need to conduct a slaughter.

How can we prevent this ruling-class reaction?—here's how: When someone is about to hit you with a stick, you're fortunate if you have the option of grabbing the stick away from them and breaking it into several pieces. We must have workers' del-

egates elected to political offices—not to “run” these offices, but, rather, to distract and disassemble the oppressive state mechanism, which is merely the ruling class's instrument for maintaining its privileged status.

There is also a possibility that the recently-deposed capitalists will contact bands of thugs (Mafia? Klan? CIA?) and promise them riches on the condition that they can restore the old ruling class to power through acts of violence and terrorism. If the working class has acquired control of the state, then this state force can be used

for riot control. This riot control should take no more than days or weeks, certainly not the many years imagined by those who advocate a “dictatorship of the proletariat.”

The synthesis

I conclude that a synthesis of the industrial and the political programs shall be required. The optimum point between those who propose political organization (like the World Socialists) and those who propose industrial organization (like the Industrial Workers of the World) would be to combine the strengths of both fields. Ø

10 March 1993 — S. Szalai

FIRST, AND I THINK foremost, among your errors is the concept that socialism could be established “with a fragile majority of 51 percent.” I believe that this is central to our disagreement on the “need” for industrial unionism.

Second, and also very important, your belief that “at 9:00 AM GMT” everything will suddenly change dramatically in the workplace, is mistaken.

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold that a fragile majority cannot establish socialism. The establishment of socialism will be the work of the vast majority of the population. By allowing for the establishment of socialism with a fragile majority, you necessarily put yourself in league with the Leninists that you elsewhere argue so eloquently against. With a bare majority, you would have to try to lead the remaining 49 percent to socialism against their will. You would have to force them to follow some grand plan with which they disagree. It seems to me that industrial unions could supply much of the required coercive force in league with the state, which could not be dissolved. The state would need to remain to provide the “dictatorship of the proletariat” so cherished by the Leninists.

All of the links between productive organizations that would be needed on day one will already be in place. The person in the hospital that orders syringes will continue to order them from the same person in the same company as they ordered them from the day before. The world will not fall apart by removing the profit motive.

I agree that the state, by and large, does not and will not, have the procedures and expertise to run the productive mechanisms of society. I don't expect it to.

Why do you believe that the coordination of everything must be rearranged from scratch, immediately? Why must this restructuring begin well before the industries are converted to social ownership? Why would there be a vacuum if it did not? How could this restructuring begin before the industries were converted to social ownership while the capitalist class retained ownership? Why would the managers be insisting we obey their “Plan A”?

Let us consider an entirely different approach to a socialist revolution. An approach that recognizes the impossibility of imposing socialism upon a huge minority and does not try to do so.

No dearth of discussion

As socialist consciousness grows in the world populace and when socialists become a majority of the population, the ideas of socialism and the ideas of how to organize a socialist world will become topics of everyday conversation. At work we will discuss what changes should be made, we will discuss them with our friends, we will have mass meetings, we will discuss these issues within our “professional groups.” There will be no dearth of discussion, we will not have to have our union specially schedule last minute workplace meetings to determine the action to take place at the “moment” of the revolution.

You make the very important point that "the revolution itself can be enacted in five minutes, but learning to advocate a revolution can take years (decades, centuries)." You seem to ignore it in the rest of your paper.

In the years during which the revolution of consciousness is taking place, all of the issues will be discussed and planned for, without the need for "socialist" unions. I have used the phrase "socialist unions" as opposed to "industrial unions" very explicitly. An industrial union that is not socialist is of no more use to revolutionaries than is nuclear weaponry. I am a member of an industrial union that is, like most, anti-socialist. I have a strong preference for industrial over crafts unions, for much the same reasons as outlined by the IWW, but industrial unionism does not mean socialism. I digress.

Whether or not the unions will ever divorce themselves from the capitalist parties they now support openly, I do not know. I do believe that if workers don't give up totally on the unions that they may indeed become socialist, but workers may accelerate past the anti-socialist unions and leave them in the dust of history, while organizing politically for the conquest of power.

A socialist union today would have a very, very small membership and could not be overly successful in the day-to-day struggle against the employer. It is better for us as workers to cultivate un-socialist, un-NDP/un-Democratic/un-Republican/un-Liberal/un-Progressive-Conservative/un-Reform/un-whatever Party unions that can succeed for us today, in the limited fashion of unions.

In any case the union is not necessary to the establishment of socialism, or to the planning for a new industrial organization. Because unions are inherently tied to the current economic system, it is possible that the most successful unions could not even approach the creation of a new industrial organization progressively. This is a bit tentative because none of us know what the future holds in store for unions.

As the revolution progresses, management, the police and the military will also be composed of socialists. At the moment of changeover, with a political state in the hands of a huge socialist majority, the police

and the military will be working for socialism. It is important to remember the lesson of Tiananmen Square in 1989. When the police were ordered to suppress the protest, they did not, when the local military was ordered to crush the protest, they did not. Military units from the boonies were required, units unaware of what was going on. That the military, did of course finally crush the protest, demonstrates the need for both a huge majority of socialists and political power.

course the people in the respective fields possess greater technical understanding of the field than a group of "lay" people. Unfortunately that technical knowledge often involves training that ignores human need and leaves technicians very proficient at very damaging technological approaches. That is already starting to change, and the changes will accelerate as the socialist revolution of thought progresses.

I oppose the idea of a community vs the industrial workers. The syndicalist work-



Before the Revolution I. Slaves acting as "riot police" often suffered from vision problems and loss of a sense of direction.

Consciousness and planning

As socialist, conscious cooperation increases, it is inconceivable that planning on a global, local and industrial unit basis would not occur. This is not a function of the industrial union or the "socialist" union; it is a function of socialist consciousness.

It is my understanding that today there are groups "of nurses selecting the best procedures for nursing, committees of electricians deciding on the electrical codes, educators voting on the best mathematics syllabus, etc." What will change with socialism is that these groups will not have to consider the profit factor as a part of their deliberations about "best."

I do not propose that production be controlled by some distant body of administrators with no knowledge of the industry. Of

place-based approach would engender this sort of antagonism. It seems that rather than some need for a community override, what is necessary is more open communication with others outside the immediate organization, an approach inherently fostered by socialism. If mistakes were made by the technicians, they would be quickly noted by others, inside or outside the organization and would be corrected, not by override, but by the technicians recognizing the problem. The working class is the community. Workers are not distinct from that community.

I suppose that if you are going to have some formalized general population vs industrial worker setup, as you propose, there would be a need for a constitution to balance the two. In a truly cooperative world, based upon production for need, I do not see

any need for a constitution. The fine sounding constitutions of the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada and other countries exist(ed) within a society that made (makes) them worth very little to the working class.

Your point about decentralization does not argue for industrial unions, as far as I can tell. Industrial unions need not be decentralized or democratic. The Teamsters Union is a good example.

To summarize.

I don't see that you have shown the need for industrial organization either to overthrow capitalism or to establish socialism (if one can separate the overthrow of capitalism from socialism).

By allowing that socialism could be declared (by whom?) with a slim majority, you fall into the Leninist, vanguard approach of leading the workers to socialism, against their will.

SZALAI: As socialist consciousness grows in the world populace and when socialists become a majority of the population, the ideas of socialism and the ideas of how to organize a socialist world will become topics of everyday conversation.

Socialism is not the rebuilding of society from scratch, it is the rebuilding of society from wherever it happens to be when the time to rebuild is upon us.

Constitutions are requirements of capitalist societies and some pre-capitalist societies. They protect only the welfare of the ruling class. They are not desirable in socialist society. Ø

before the revolution will begin to foreshadow some pattern-formation in the management process which will persist immediately after the revolution.

- *At work we will discuss what changes should be made, we will discuss them with our friends, we will have mass meetings, we will discuss these issues within our "professional groups"*

- *...all of the issues will be discussed and planned for, without the need for "socialist" unions.*

I wonder if that discussion and planning, which you do allow for, might take on a certain departmental shape, like the way the IWW is composed of six definite departments (agriculture and fisheries; mining and minerals; general construction; manufacture and general production; transportation and communication; public service). If so, then that's exactly what I mean by unionism as part of the revolution. And if such a comprehensive plan is not used, I don't see where we are to have a "nervous system" to interconnect all of these complex functions into a harmonious whole.

- *I oppose the idea of a community vs the industrial workers. The syndicalist workplace-based approach would engender this sort of antagonism.*

If there is no antagonism between a small group and the human race, that's fine. I don't think that having a protocol which we can follow in the event of such an antagonism could itself engender that antagonism.

If the workers in my office want to run UNIX instead of DOS on our desktop computers, the general public should not interfere and make this decision for us, since such interference would be unnecessary. However, if we set out to do something which has been found to be harmful to the public safety, a wider constituency of the public should be able to veto it.

- *In a truly cooperative world, based upon production for need, I do not see any need for a constitution.*

We can't even run a very small organization, let alone a whole society, without some sort of edifice—an agreed-upon listing of what tasks are being delegated to what departments and how the various

11 March 1993 — M. Lepore Replying to S. Szalai's March 10th letter

- *WHY DO YOU BELIEVE that the coordination of everything must be rearranged from scratch?*
- *Why would there be a vacuum if it did not?*

Many workers under capitalism are trained according to job descriptions which put the boss's intervention in the middle of each transaction. For instance, to get a part on the assembly line from sector 1 to sector 2, the following sequence may be written: When the part finishes at sector 1, then the manager of sector 1 signs a certain form... When the manager of sector 2 receives the signature of the manager of sector 1, additional paperwork is generated, bearing the number of a storage bin... When the workers at sector 2 receive that paper, they go to the indicated bin and pick up the part. The whole system is set up so that nothing can move without the capitalist's hand-picked supervisor in the loop, placing phone calls to have doors unlocked at certain moments, distributing computer passwords and processing financial documents such as contracts and bills of sale.

Establishing common ownership of industry will require the prearranged adoption of alternative rules; otherwise, it seems to me, production would halt and have a difficult time resuming in a democratically coordinated fashion.

- *How could this restructuring begin before the industries were converted to social ownership while the capitalist class retained ownership?*

At some point prior to a socialist revolution, the people in a workplace are likely to gather around a table and say things of the sort, "After the revolution, we will no longer have a supervisor chosen for us by Corporate Headquarters, but I do believe we're going to need one. I'd like to nominate Matilda to be our supervisor. And we should get rid of those blue log books. And we should slow down the inspection line a little bit. What do the rest of you think? Hey, let's hold this meeting every week. Let's ask the other departments to meet regularly too and to exchange the meeting minutes with us."

The association of workers which occurs

committees are related to each other. I don't care if the composition is amended daily, but we must at least know what composition we're talking about at any given time.

- *that socialism could be declared (by whom?)*

I don't understand the part about "by whom." It seems that your own program, no less than mine, calls for the votes to be counted, the final results to be announced and then acted upon. Otherwise there is no working class conquest of the powers of the state.

- *the concept that socialism could be established "with a fragile majority of 51 percent." I believe that this is central to our disagreement.*

Many of the Wobblies and De Leonists disagree with me on this point also. They too give me the immense majority argument that you're giving me. So I'm not sure that this is central; in fact, I fear that I might have gone off on a tangent. But the tangent illuminates a possible problem that may lie ahead.

A slim majority?

Suppose that socialist consciousness grows at a rate of one population percent per year. Then there will be a significantly long period of time in which a majority, but not a vast one, advocates socialism. Are we then to continue the operation of capitalism, a system which kills and mutilates hundreds of thousands of people per year? With even a slim majority, socialists may win the control of the parliament. If so, do we then say that the mandate is not sufficient and that the horrors of class rule should continue until the majority becomes more vast? I can think of no other course but to say that the majority has won.

- *...the impossibility of imposing socialism upon a huge minority.*

I'm not sure that any "imposing" would be taking place. In this hypothetical case, many of the people who failed to vote for socialism would be of the opinion that "socialism is a beautiful dream, but it will never happen"; "I'd support socialism if other people would, but I don't think other people would, so I won't either." In fact, in my experience, that's the most common objection to socialism. The next largest

group is likely to be those who say, "I was outvoted on this proposal, but willing to give the new form of administration a chance to prove itself."

- *By allowing for the establishment of socialism with a fragile majority, you necessarily put yourself in league with the Leninists.*

Leninists strive for votes by a failure to concentrate of the education of the working class regarding a clearly enunciated goal. Leninist parties seek votes by filling their platforms with lures, such as demands for a higher minimum wage, local control of ethnic communities, etc., instead of presenting a direct systemic approach. I differ in that I consider the unwavering statement of the goal to be everything.

- *Why would the managers be insisting we obey their "Plan A"?*

The capitalists personally choose the management chain and are likely to choose only individuals known to be loyal to them.

5 April 1993 — S. Szalai

YOUR ARGUMENT seems to stand upon two legs: 1) the belief that current supervisory personnel will be loyal to a deposed, tiny minority, 2) the establishment of "socialism" by a small majority.

It is not necessary that socialist consciousness develop evenly throughout the populace, although I think that it will probably be a lot more even than you suggest. If, as proposed by the World Socialist Movement (WSM), there is a huge majority of socialists in the worldwide and local populations, the supervisors will most likely be as socialist as other workers. In my workplace I find that management is no more and no less progressive than the rest of the staff. Managers are workers too.

My manager, for example, is reasonably receptive to socialist ideas. I haven't convinced him, but that is not the point. The point is that managers are workers too and face the same problems as the rest of us. In the dying days of capitalism the managers may be forced to "follow orders" to keep their jobs (just like the rest of us), but when the time comes, I see no reason to believe that managers and supervisors will not be supportive of socialism.

I am a member of an industrial union, and

- *As the revolution progresses, management, the police and the military will also be composed of socialists*

We don't have any evidence that class consciousness occurs uniformly among working-class people of all backgrounds. The opposite seems to be indicated. The least class conscious individuals are more likely to have self-images based on joining management or the police. (Soldiers are more likely to be "regular" people, because, if they're not conscripted, they might have volunteered just to get the guaranteed work with room and board.)

Any segment of the population which has been consistently known to fire (or fire upon) the workers, shrugging it off with the Nuremberg war crimes defense, "I'm not the one who gave the order, but it's my duty to carry it out," cannot be counted upon for a last-minute display of proletarian solidarity. Ø

when it comes to negotiation time, there are always managers who wish us well. They know that as a union we have more power to push our demands for better wages and working conditions and that management will be able to tag on to our improvements. These people understand their position in society as well as the rest of the workers.

Managers are working class

I note that more than one manager has told me that one of the reasons they became managers was to try to organize their department more rationally and to try to get a better deal for their staff. These are not the motivations of anti-worker, crush-the-revolution recidivists.

If a specific supervisor, or other worker for that matter, was getting in the way they would simply be ignored or ejected. This does not require a massive rewrite of the rules and procedures of production. It is a simple, obvious outgrowth of the change to socialist production.

While workers may be trained to put the supervisor or manager in the middle of every work sequence, I think most of us, including those who think capitalism is great, chafe at this kind of approach, recog-

nize how unnecessary it is and easily see how to eliminate the useless steps. It is not a big deal. Most workers do not open a book when they go to work to find out how to do their jobs. Workers know how to get the job done and often get the job done *despite* the rules and procedures that are in place.

When the supervisors are socialists, no matter how chosen, they will have no incentive to insert themselves unnecessarily into the production process. If rule changes are required they will be made. It is not a big issue. If production methods need to be changed, while it may be a big issue materially, it will not likely be so intellectually.

The capitalist, at least in large organizations, plays no part in the day-to-day run-

I do not see any reason that socially useful production should stop just because there are no pre-arranged alternative rules to govern the process. I do maintain that these alternative "rules" would have developed anyway, without the requirement for union intervention (which is what superficially distinguishes us).

RE: *Restructuring within capitalism.*

The restructuring you speak of does not take place in the capitalist system. We seem agreed on that now. What you are talking about is *planning* for restructuring. The WSM has no disagreement with that, and I did state that it would occur. I do not care how supervisors are chosen, the point is to get the best one.

RE: *Community vs Industrial Workers.*

The decision of what operating system to run on your computer is, of course, going to be decided in the workplace. But that does not require the antagonistic approach that your dual decision-making stream puts in place. Every worker is also a member of the community. There is no stone wall of isolation (except that I believe your idea of workplace-based organization imposes one) between the "community" and the "industrial workers." I repeat that without this wall, there is no need for overrides of one group by the other, because there is only one group.

RE: *A Constitution.*

The reason why society today needs a constitution and "we can't even run a very small organization...without some sort of" rules and constitutions is that we live in a competitive society where, as workers, we have to be at each other's throats to survive. In a cooperative society this problem goes away. It seems to me that a constitution could not change every day because the structures you build around it would then *require* daily modification to follow this constitution—as opposed to perhaps needing daily modification to adjust to changing needs of society.

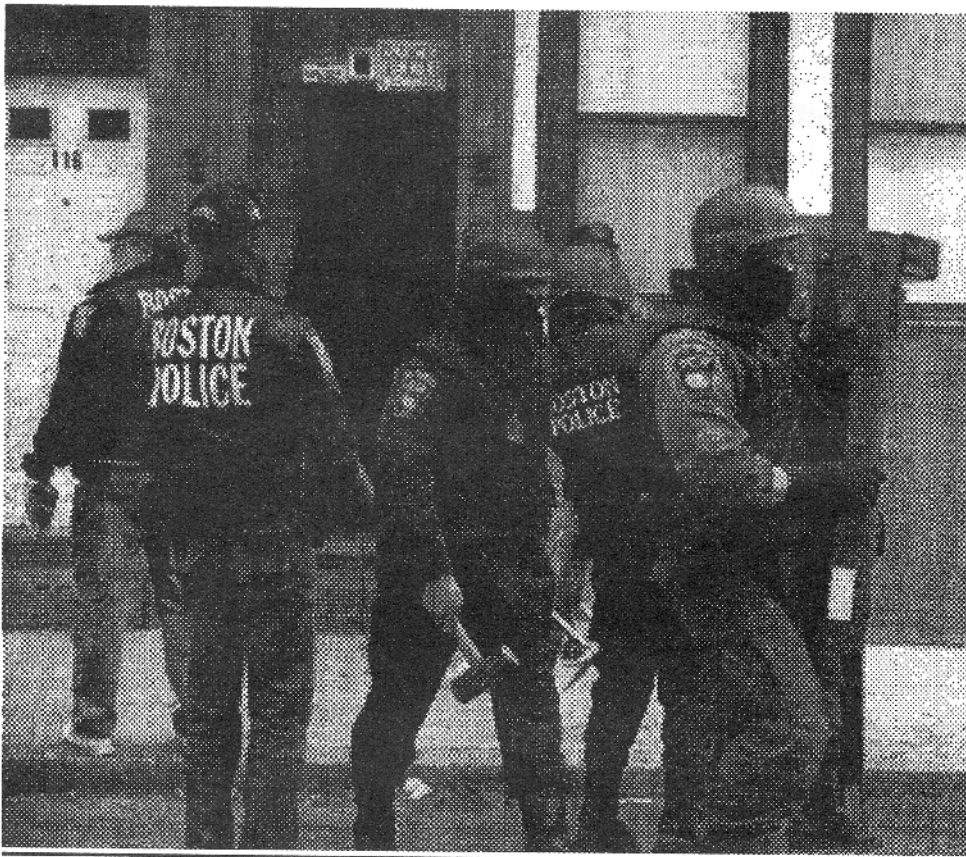
Leave it loose. If something needs changing in a production-for-use society, it will change. Give the working class some credit for its ability to be creative and cooperative.

Changing a constitution is not child's play

If there is a constitution, changing it is not going to be a daily thing. In Canada the capitalist political parties just spent months arguing about and convincing the working class to worry about every cross on every "t" and every dot on every "i" for a constitutional change that amounts to nothing except a public relations ploy and diversion. By having a written document that everyone is tied to, it is of utmost importance to ensure that it says what everybody wants. This is a monumental task that makes the program of the WSM look like child's play.

RE: *Fragile Majority.*

My comment "declared (by whom)" is based on my disagreement with your idea of the ability to establish socialism with a slim majority. I think the "immense majority" is



Before the Revolution II. Both employed and unemployed slaves took solace in a multitude of cures and distractions from the horrors of everyday life.

ning of the organization and therefore does not hand-pick the supervisors and managers; they are picked by other managers. The criterion in a successful organization is not for the manager/supervisor to be a slavish devotee of capitalism. The criterion for choosing a manager (in a successful organization and most others) is the belief that the person can get the staff to get the job done, economically. The two are very different.

RE: *Union Departments.*

We are not in agreement. The union department is still a *worker-oriented* as opposed to a *working-class-oriented* approach. More on this later.

The "nervous system" already exists. It does not have to be invented. It might need modification or even wholesale change, but it does exist and can be used.

in fact central to our disagreement on a whole range of issues.

You ask "are we then to continue the operation of capitalism, a system which kills and mutilates hundreds of thousands of people per year?" The WSM answers no, we are not going to continue capitalism, it is going to continue itself because a slim majority cannot end it.

There will be problems

Even your rather modest proposals will require a significant majority to implement. If it is just that 51 percent have voted for it (some of whom may be a bit shaky) and the rest just think it might not be too bad an idea so they'll give it a try, it will fail. There will be problems. If the first serious problem has everybody saying that they should have stuck with capitalism, then come the next election, they'll vote out the socialists.

I point to the current situation in the former USSR where workers disillusioned with their "new" capitalist bosses are even electing the old "communists" and questioning whether they did the right thing in supporting Yeltsin and his bunch.

What socialism requires is a huge majority that *understands why capitalism must be replaced*; without that all we will see is a temporary disruption (and it will be the sort of disruption that you worry about) followed by a, probably violent, return to the normal violence of capitalism. I see the violent return because ownership would have to be reasserted and there would be no structures in place to accommodate that.

RE: Leninism.

My reference to Leninism was not related to its slimy vote-getting tactics. It was a reference to imposing "socialism" on the working class (or a large part thereof). This results from the slimy vote-getting tactics of the Leninists—the vanguard leading the masses to "socialism."

The initial imposition might not be that great, but when there are problems, the imposition would necessarily increase unless we fell back to capitalism (see above).

It seems to me that by the time 51 percent of the population are ready to vote for

socialism, that people are not going to be saying "I don't think other people would" support socialism. It is more likely that those in disagreement would be saying that they don't think socialism can work. If that is the case, they are likely not to be easily convinced to stay on a bandwagon when a wheel falls off.

Only if they have recognized the reasons for capitalism's failure to satisfy our needs and that there will be problems that are

SZALAI: I do not see any reason that socially useful production should stop just because there are no pre-arranged alternative rules to govern the process. I do maintain that these alternative "rules" would have developed anyway, without the requirement for union intervention.

worth overcoming to establish and maintain socialism are they likely to hang around the wagon and help put the wheel back on.

RE: Uniformity of class consciousness.

I disagree with your thesis that the least class-conscious gravitate to management and the police. Your thesis seems to be called into question by the existence of police and management "unions."

I have personally been on picket lines where there was a police presence. It was generally cordial until a *specific* order came down, or senior officers showed up to get the job done. In fact the police often showed a sympathetic approach to the picketers. I am not claiming that there are not many (more) occasions when the police employed a jackboot approach, but in general that jackboot approach has had community "sympathy," perhaps through ignorance, so it does not

show a difference between the police and the general populace.

"Just following orders"

In dog-eat-dog capitalism, the "just following orders" defense is tried, true and justified. How many of us would tell the boss to shove his job because we thought that what we were doing might be *deadly*? If it was common we would not have the reality of capitalism today.

In truth the bully-boy approach of the police is partly based on following orders and partly based upon general societal beliefs. When unions are hated by the general populace, the police will hate them too.

Of more significance is the firmly rooted popular support for *law and order*. As long as this ruling class idea prevails and comprehension of the reasons for our problems is low, the knee-jerk law-and-order responses to "problems" will continue. And they will continue to

have popular support.

As long as property rights are superior to human rights, in the minds of the majority, the police will continue to enforce property rights.

The East German revolt for "democracy" was accomplished without the police slaughtering the populace, precisely because the police are not a separate entity apart from society. The Tiananmen massacre was preceded by police and military refusal to fire upon the protesters.

Your thesis is based, I think, on not clearly analyzing societal norms. This is a major problem that I think extends to most of our disagreements.

I do not count on the police for a "last-minute display of proletarian solidarity." I count on them being socialists, just like the rest of the majority. Ø

19 March 1993 — R. Elbert

Replying to M. Lepore's March 11th letter

THE "IU CONCEPT," you begin, is what you call a "switchover" theory, "a new system of industrial planning [that] has to be assembled, at least in its basic or foundation structure, while capitalism still exists." Implementing this embryonic system under these conditions will allow us to "smoothly switch the task of industrial

management...to a new democratic system." You single out some of the salient characteristics of the new system: (1) "our preparation for instituting a new economic system needs to be workplace-based"; (2) "we need to erect the skeleton of the new system, as the IWW preamble points out, 'within the shell of the old'; (3) "the revolution will mean reidentifying, not some, but *all* of the workplace connections we have with one another."

It would be out of keeping with historical materialism to deny any of these points as generalities; but what you subsequently do with them presents certain problems. In the first place, you take a misleadingly concrete focus on the whole question of expropriation; you picture the revolution as happening *at the workplace*. Workers "in each facility" will, if necessary, "lock them [the managers] outside." The world outside each workplace is made up of "different types of work facilities" (which communicate with each other as the revolution moves along) and an undefined mass of social experiences and activities. The revolution itself consists of replacing the capitalist-inspired hierarchical arrangement of work relations ("Plan A") with a non-authoritarian arrangement based on the satisfaction of workers' needs ("Plan B"). Of course, as a result of what to the capitalist class appears as this seizure of capital, the capitalist class itself ultimately disappears, bringing "the industries under social ownership." The class consciousness workers have developed up to this point ceases to be a means to an end: it becomes social consciousness, an end in itself.

Ownership is a function

But are things so simple? Capital accumulation, the progressive appropriation of value (profit) by the capitalist class at the point of production, is a *function*. Whoever controls the use of capital becomes an investor and therefore a capitalist; the names investors give themselves do not matter. Merely seizing capital assets and re-deploying them for the direct benefit of society does not by itself abolish the use of capital in production. "Plan B" offers no guarantee that the "social ownership" aimed

at will materialize. This happens because the ownership of the means of production is also a function; it is the "soul" of a system of production, and it resides as a generality throughout the entire community of possessors. (World socialists insist for this reason that the revolution must be essentially worldwide in character—it must happen everywhere.)

A revolution in consciousness

The revolution in consciousness that precedes and directs this replacement, this switchover, has to be functional *at this level*. This makes it not only a takeover of the production and distribution of goods and services in the economic sense (wealth) but also the replacement of a system for producing and distributing wealth in the political sense. This revolution only completes itself when it has become society's official decision to make access to goods and services unconditional, as a result of the consciously expressed desire for it by a clear majority of

SZALAI: Leave it loose. If something needs changing in a production-for-use society, it will change. Give the working class some credit for its ability to be creative and cooperative.

people—workers or otherwise.

World socialists stress also that workers generally (not simply in industry) must *understand and want* common ownership, and they must want it because they can control the production and distribution of wealth democratically. This phrase, "understand and want," is admittedly a bit of shorthand we have gotten very used to wielding without much reflection; it signifies precisely what you have been speaking of as the class-conscious workers formulating their "Plan B" and following through on the impulse to implement it in place of the capitalists' "Plan A." Where would workers get a concrete sense of the implications of common ownership if not from their own experience of the class struggle? And where

else would they get a sense of the urgency of replacing an anti-social system of production for sale at a profit on the market with a system of production based on the satisfaction of human needs?

Understanding and wanting

So "understanding and wanting" common ownership means this process you have rather simplistically described as the decision to abolish capitalism. Effecting this decision, however, can only occur *outside* the workplace, and in fact it really occurs nowhere in particular because, as the implementation phase of a revolution in consciousness, it occurs everywhere in general. It has to be on a generally understood, politically defined, signal that the revolution is enacted—the explicit, formal abolition of the use of capital in production and of any prior restriction on gaining access to needed goods and services. (It might take a little longer than five minutes.) Terminally, massively and completely decapitalizing wealth production is the only feasible alternative. Having a "Plan B" and "taking and holding" is not enough.

It's easy to see why De Leonists would accuse us of concentrating exclusively on the political aspects of this changeover in the basis of society. We have all been sold by the propaganda system on the top-down character of the political parties doing their Byzantine thing at the pinnacle of the pyramid of privilege. But to this you have added the oversimplification I mentioned above: picturing the revolution as a concrete event. "How," you ask, could "the working class...logically and quickly handle the re-design of the industrial interconnections" if they simply decided at the polls to replace profit for use as the motor-force of the production system? You very consistently maintain the concrete frame of reference in projecting the working class as "uniting politically but not industrially" and being then forced to "start remaking the industrial links, from the very first steps, after announcing that the old management system is ejected." And you add a dreary finishing touch to the whole picture: "Meanwhile we would very soon get cold and hungry while

waiting for production to resume.” (Also, the unintended implication of this scenario is that, pending the outcome of this way of proposing a change of Plans [“B” for “A”] and putting it into effect, the revolutionary socialist government would meanwhile become involved in ... er ... governing; i.e., it would at the very instant of carrying out the revolutionary mandate cease to be socialist.)

since industrial workers have become so productive they no longer even constitute a majority of their own class. How can an “industrial” union speak for the majority, if most workers are not industrial?

But the whole problem of counting heads is pernicious. Exploitation may look a lot fuzzier where you can’t pin it down to exact formulas (as Marx did in *Capital*), but its functions and effects still bedevil everyone

marketplace thus translates directly into a political majority—one whose consciousness is not tied in any case to a number of differential categories of occupation.

Finally, your mention of “the Constitution” fits in well enough with seeking merely to replace “Plan A” with “Plan B”: whereas the transmutation of class consciousness into social consciousness is the new “constitution.” A document analogous to those which litter today’s junkyard of nations is strictly unnecessary. Insisting on the need for one literally, moreover, creates a trap-door back into the system of exploitation, because the whole purpose of a political constitution is to spell out régimes of privilege and pecking orders showing everyone where their place is. Political constitutions reflect the class division of society. But your casual reference to one (even taking it metaphorically) demonstrates exactly why we in the World Socialist Movement frame the revolution in global, political terms. We do not propose “pure political organization”; but we do insist that the crucial phase of the socialist revolution is the political one. And while De Leonists, on the other hand, may concede rhetorically that this phase has some importance, for purposes of carrying out the replacement of capitalism they really only dwell on the aspect of industrial organization.



Before the Revolution III. A noted historian, von Clausewitz, once asserted that “war is politics by other means”; while late-capitalist reformer Mao Zedong displayed a curious ambivalence toward parliamentary procedure in his famous dictum, “Politics grows out of the barrel of a gun.”

The “continuity” of production already operates now against a global backdrop of ongoing, routine disruption and dysfunction: continuity seems a rather moot point, on the whole. Also, in this age of Social Democracy’s decline (and Bolshevism’s demise), the corrosive question of where exactly is this working class anyhow? seems to have been broached. If “workers” must be employed in industry, are unemployed or non-industrial workers excluded? The trouble with the industrial union concept is that it pegs itself too narrowly to one specific phase of capitalism’s evolution; well under a majority of wage-slaves are employed in production these days in the rich, developed centers of the capitalist world-system. This question of a “majority of 51 percent” you bring up is thus problematic,

who works for a living. It may be much more of a “syndrome” for most people than it was in the classical heyday of theoretical socialism (“you say you’re exploited—what do you mean?”). The mix between “workplace” and “community” (as Cde. Szalai points out) should not depend on such a narrowly defined relationship—especially one so vulnerable to the pressures of dynamic transformation—as the organization of industry.

A political question

The only coherent approach is to treat the organization of labor as a political question: since all workers have a stake in it, no matter how their experience of exploitation may have affected the way they conceptualize the system. The majority in the

“Social madness”

Control of the government certainly includes what you refer to as “riot control,” but a working class that has felt its muscle should have relatively little to worry about from its “recently-deposed” employers (who will be more flabbergasted than anything else at the majority’s succumbing to “social madness”). The main reason is rather that the process of decapitalizing production and decommercializing consumption (breaking the money-commodity-money cycle) requires an act of political coordination. Once this act has been definitively accomplished, the need for controlling the government, and with it the role of the Socialist Party, becomes superfluous—to say nothing of any further need for repression. Ø

YOUR ARTICLE, Ron, highlights some of the crucial questions facing the movement. I hope the readers are starting to form a picture of your party's unique solution.

First I'll reply to some of your specifics, and then I'll make a general observation about how your philosophy sits with me.

- If "workers" must be employed in industry, are unemployed or non-industrial workers excluded?

The word "industrial" in the phrase "industrial union" refers to the use of a tree structure which defines union membership according to the output or the function of the work site. For example, if you're a school nurse, you would be represented in the education workers' branch. It would be called "craft unionism" for the school nurse to be part of the medical workers' branch. (This distinction is made for the transition out of capitalism and is not necessarily a permanent feature.)

Career activities

Any usage of the words "production" and "industry," by any Marxian as well as any syndicalist source, includes all career activities which the population finds use for. The IWW has been wise to realize this fact, and so it has organized subdivisions for everyone from poets to exotic dancers. Since the word "industry" isn't meant to imply the popular image which the word invokes, perhaps someone will suggest a word that isn't so misleading.

Unemployed individuals need to be included in general membership branches, although usually not in the workplace branches.

- The trouble with the industrial union concept is that it pegs itself too narrowly to one specific phase of capitalism's evolution...

The various types of social boundaries given by capitalism are used as vehicles for getting beyond them. Your movement does something similar when it forms national political parties. After the revolution, there will be no limit to the changes we can make

to the form of democracy. No longer will we have to specialize in one career, nor act within national borders. We won't have to continue using any of the transitional forms of organization. But we must walk before we can throw away our crutches.

- ...the new "constitution." A document analogous to those which litter today's junkyard of nations is strictly unnecessary...the whole purpose of a political constitution is to spell out régimes of privilege and pecking orders showing everyone where their place is.

You're speaking of a political constitution, where the task at hand is to do anything necessary to preserve class rule, such as collecting taxes, regulating commerce and fighting wars.

LEPORE: I propose that we take just one leap, and then we can take another look at where we are. Perhaps the workers' council structure will be a temporary phase, but it provides a definable way to move from class rule to a new collectively coordinated system.

An economic constitution would be a snapshot of how all economic parts are arranged within the whole at any given moment. For instance, it might say that school bus drivers are being represented by two delegates to a local education council and three delegates to a local transportation council. It would also give the formula for determining whether each administrative decision is to be referred to central planning, to municipal planning, or to the occupational associations. Perhaps, because of the huge volume of detail required, "almanac" is a better word than "constitution." I would call it a constitution because democratically amending the form of the economic departments and democratically amending the reference record would be the same

action.

Finally, some general notes —

Your philosophy and mine both advise the working class, not to follow leaders, not to install leaders, but to attain an understanding of the better life we could have and what we must do. Then we will express that new consciousness by building a classless society. No disagreement there. However, we seem to disagree on the type of details which we must learn to hold in our consciousness and why.

The end result

I argue that the manner in which we organize will largely determine the result we will end up with. The working class needs to focus on the question of what sort of administrative structure our collective economic planning should have, and we must organize along the lines which will implement that goal. Failing to do this, we may acquire some bureaucratic system which is not what we have intended.

As you pointed out, I do believe that the revolution must occur at the workplace. I view the revolution as the act of implementing workers' control of industry and an end to the extraction of surplus value. I begin with merely this, because there will be many future opportunities to do more. There will be plenty of time to change our whole thinking, to give up our metaphysical superstitions and our material greed and to make additional social changes that might now be beyond our comprehension.

Like a strobe light

When we make our history, we have to find our way as though a strobe light were intermittently shining on an obstacle course. I propose that we take just one leap, and then we can take another look at where we are. Perhaps the workers' council structure will be a temporary phase, but it provides a definable way to move from class rule to a new collectively coordinated system. You're probably right to say that "the revolution is not completed" until we transcend many remnants of the past, such as the use of exchange values, the division of

labor inherited from capitalism and so forth. But my objectives would also be transmutable into yours, by a majority vote, and I think that course can be taken more easily than moving directly from the violent storm of capitalism to a system completely free of all remnants of capitalism.

It wouldn't be fair of me to attempt to paraphrase you, but I'll tell you what your message sounds like to me, subjectively:—There's no need to experiment early on with workers' councils, because, when the revolutionary period comes, we will spontaneously deduce, and we will nearly all agree, how society needs to be arranged. The working class will attain such a highly evolved collective mind that the new socialist system won't even need a constitution. We won't need to prearrange any structural safeguards against bureaucracy because, in our condition of supercharged awareness, bureaucracy couldn't even begin to take hold. We won't even need that section of the constitution which guarantees individual freedoms, because no one will ever think of infringing on anyone else's freedoms. We won't need to require people to contribute some work before they can go shopping, because no one will ever think of being greedy or egotistical. And exactly how are we going to arrive at this elevated plane? I suppose that we're going to write our socialist pamphlets in such a convincing manner, that the whole working class will attain Buddhahood. Then we will all act in unison and synchrony, making a world in which no one will show any signs of competitive behavior, forevermore. Again—I'm not claiming that this is what you said, but that's what your transitional program sounds like to me.

Leap to enlightenment

However, I'm skeptical about this leap to enlightenment that's supposed to take place in our minds prior to the revolutionary period. If we were capable of that, I suppose we would have already done it long ago. While humans are capable of improving our reasoning capacity in gradual phases, we are not a wholly logical species. I see that, in a recent poll, between 65 and 80 percent of the U.S. population (depending on the age group) said they agree with the statement that "the Bible is the totally accurate

word of God" (*Time*, 4/5/93). Even if we leave alone the matter of blind faith for the moment, to conclude that any book so filled with self-contradictions can somehow be "totally accurate" shows our frequent inability to reason properly. If this is how the human species is, if we are often unable to recognize a simple logical fallacy when we trip over one, then I propose that we should set out to enlighten ourselves by one step at a time. Therefore I don't begin with a goal that expects people to abandon all false thinking before historical progress can commence. Instead, I identify the immediate goal to be the replacement of class rule by workers' collective self-management. Let our mental unfolding and much additional

social restructuring, come as it will.

We may guess what habits and values we will live by a hundred years after the revolution, but we must be concerned now with the first decade after the revolution. At that time, we will show some tendency toward greed and chaos and bureaucracy, and we must have structured our revolutionary goal and program to work around these recurrent traits. The industrial union idea builds stability into the instrument of transition, the type of organization itself, so that we won't have to demand so much of "pure" consciousness. Industrial unionism is a program that we can enact without every member of the working class first becoming a Buddha. Ø

The remainder of the debate consists of correspondence between Harry Morrison (WSP-US), who formerly wrote under the pen name of HARMO in the Western Socialist, and Michael Lepore (taking a De Leonist position). Although HARMO eschews presenting his views as officially those of the World Socialist Party (since he, like the other participants in this debate, took part as an individual socialist), we feel he speaks for all of us.

H. Morrison

I HAVE NEVER dug deeply into the writings of Daniel De Leon. As a young man, some 60 years or so ago, I read only enough and by him to realize that his theories were not my cup of tea. But my reasons for rejecting Industrial Unionism should become a bit more clear in my statement below.

My statement for publication is not intended as an *official* position of the WSP, but simply as my own interpretation of what that position is.

I have heard protests, even from comrades, that "you can't have complete socialism over-night!" My response has always been that once a significant majority indicated with emphasis that they want a socialist system, why would they wait "over-night" to install it? By that time, the needed "apparatus" (international organization) would be ready and waiting, and the capitalist class would know that it no longer enjoys the support of the population—that their time had come to disappear—along with the working class, and class society itself.

I will expatiate on what is wrong with De Leonism—as I see it.

In the first place, we World Socialists have enough "gall" in continuing to insist on the need for a majority of socialist-conscious working class people, in the industrially developed world, to understand and approve of

the rudiments of a socialist world-society before such a revolution can be successful. We agree with Marx and Engels as put by them way back in 1848 (in the Manifesto) that it is the working class that will eventually become revolutionary-minded. Now that, in itself, is quite a proposition; but to actually lay out a "blueprint" of how such a mass of human beings are going to act in organizing for such a society—perhaps *another* century or two from now, takes a hell of a lot of gall! How in hell do you know what the world of capitalism will look like even fifty years from now? If Marx and Engels—and even De Leon—were to come alive today, they'd probably all drop dead in shock at what they see in the factories and workshops of the industrial world. And here we have De Leonists, today, knowing full well that the entire numbers of workers throughout the world of our times who are even interested in listening to or reading about a socialist discussion are infinitesimal in numbers!

The only task for socialists that makes any sense is to propagate the ideas of a world without national boundaries, without buying and selling, without wage-labor and capital. How in hell can such propaganda be of any interest, or use, to the members of a Labor Union—even a De Leonist type Industrial Union? The Number One reason for its exist-

ence is to fight for "immediate concerns," wages and conditions. Not only that—the members of such a Union, if it is to be at all effective, will be representative in their political preferences, of the various political groupings; not to mention religious affiliations.

I shall concentrate only upon the two paragraphs in your rough draft beneath your request for a response from the World Socialists to your objection. The implication in paragraph #1 [see "Why Political Organization?"] is that, following a socialist revolution, a *state* in the sense of the historical political state would continue to exist. I realize that this is in line with some of the De Leonist material that I have seen over the years; we will continue to have police and armies, for example. My question to you is this: Why would a significant majority of socialists want to continue a system with a traditional, failed, state apparatus with all of the trapping of capitalism—army, police, not to forget secret police?!

In this socialist's opinion, a 51 percent majority is greatly insufficient and in such an eventuality, the capitalist parties should be permitted to continue running their Government until the continuing chaos would produce that significant majority. The De Leonist concept of a successful revolution has to be one of a majority—or near majority—of non- and even anti-socialists in the population. How could it be otherwise when you—an avowed De Leonist—raise the potential threat *after* the socialist revolution? What you apparently fail to understand is the fact that the capitalist class does not back fascist parties before they demonstrate a mass working-class support. Such certainly was the case in both Italy and Germany. And in the former USSR the "Communist" (state capitalist) dictatorships were not able to withstand the rising withdrawal of support by the working class.

You see, Michael, the main reason that the capitalist class is able to continue to rule is the fact that it has wide support among the population—and the same holds true where there is a ruling bureaucracy rather than a nominal capitalist class. Governments have to spend more money in "head-fixing" than they spend even in weaponry. And with good reason, for how useful are weapons to them when the heads that direct the wielders of them are not

properly fixed? So we get back to the question of the prime work of socialists today: the propagation of socialist theory—the socialist explanation of why capitalism cannot work in the interest of the working class—that it is a historical development of world societies that has long since now outlived its usefulness.

Finally, I see no suggestion in your message of how the population after the revolution is to have access to the requirements of life. Do you suggest the De Leonist plan of labor vouchers? If so, does that not demonstrate that you just do not grasp the fact of the matter: that capitalist industry, in its modern development, can turn out such quantities of all of mankind's needs and wants with such abundance that it has to be restrained because of its celerity in flooding markets? We live in the tail end of the 20th century—not back in the mid- or last quarter of the 19th!

M. Lepore — Responding to H. Morrison

HARRY, HERE ARE my thoughts about your recent letter:

• ...but to *actually lay out a "blueprint."*

I assume that blueprint being referred to, for example, De Leon's famous statement—

MORRISON: The only task for socialists that makes any sense is to propagate the ideas of a world without national boundaries, without buying and selling, without wage-labor and capital.

"Civilized society will know no such ridiculous thing as geographic constituencies. It will only know industrial constituencies." I recall also that, in one of your articles years ago, you used the word "blueprint" when you criticized the SLP's frequently reproduced chart which depicts possible examples of a future socialist administration. (For example, the chart appeared in the SLP's newspaper, *The People*, 10/22/90.) This chart shows "Automobile Plant No. 1, Detroit" containing departments labelled "engineering," "tool & die," and "assembly." This plant, along with

Can a system of free right of access to all needs and wants be introduced immediately following a socialist revolution? Let me answer that one with a sort of parable:

Let us imagine, in a dream, that an Arabian Nights genie rises out of the sea and issues a guarantee to world capitalism that every family and every individual would enjoy a healthy bank balance, enabling them to unload markets, through purchases, as fast as they become loaded; thus enabling capitalists and bureaucrats to reap their profits. How long would it take the ruling class to order the needed rate of production? That is all the time it would take for a world socialist population to convert to the needed intensity of production. After all, Michael, a large percentage, if not the majority, of capitalist production is wasteful and parasitical, and would be eliminated. And the advance of scientific techniques has long since knocked any Malthusian ideas out of believability. 'Nuff sed! Ø

"Automobile Plant No. 2, Detroit," and also "Plant No. 3," are interconnected to a larger conference entitled "local automobile industry council." This Detroit council, in turn, is interconnected with the "Cleveland council" and the "Los Angeles council," to form a wider circle which bears the name "national automobile industry council." That larger organization is connected to the "All-Industry Congress," which has various sections: "Mining; Public Service; Food Supply; Manufacture; Construction; Transportation." Above the chart appears this explanation: "The chart below is not a blueprint. Rather, it is intended to illustrate graphically the principle upon which socialist industrial unionism and the future socialist industrial democracy rest, using the auto industry as an example." In fact, the headline appearing above the text is the phrase: "Not a blueprint." Another diagram on the side, entitled "Representation," says, "You will cast your ballot in your shop for:

- Plant Council
- Local Industry Council
- National Industry Council
- All-Industry Congress"

Except for the fact that I would say "global" in place of the word "national," I agree with

the basic point being made in the SLP's chart.* The intent is not to define the precise structure of a future society, but to give a hypothetical example to aid in the visualization process. Since most people have difficulty imagining how social ownership of industry can possibly mean something other than state ownership based on territorial constituencies, I rather like this sort of this visual aid. Of course, the exact department designations in the chart are known to be fictitious. It may be that we no longer use automobiles, or that we won't make them in Detroit, or that the central conference of all industries may not include a "manufacture" delegation, but something else which does the job. Since the diagram is not to be taken literally, I don't think such expressions should be viewed as attempts to provide a "blueprint." The basic points appear to me to be:

- that all industry sub-functions, whatever they are, must be interconnected so that production can be administered;
- that the structure must feature democratic election of all planning levels (rather than having "top-down" appointment of intermediate management);
- that nested geographical units (town, country, province) are not recommended as the primary basis of structure.

If you disagree with these points, I'd be interested to know why. If you agree with these points, I wonder why there would be an objection to expressing them through speculative illustrations. If you have no opinion about these points, then it seems you are asking people to support a nebulous goal without knowing what they would be getting.

- a world without national boundaries...

I agree with the World Socialists' viewpoint that socialism must be a worldwide system without national boundaries. I disagree with the traditional De Leonist view on this matter. There are severe problems with the SLP's use of national terms, such as "a socialist United States" (*The People*, 10/10/87) and "an international socialist order" (*The People*, 12/5/87). The SLP has proposed: "Socialist America will deal with other real socialist

countries as part of a Socialist International..." (*The Weekly People*, 1/9/71). First of all, socialism means organization of society according to the people's intentional decision about what best suits our needs. There is no conscious choice involved in the use of national boundaries, because these boundaries are given from the past. Boundaries are as meaningless as random cracks in the earth's crust which have formed bodies of water, or the lines drawn in ancient times by advancing armies, or monarchs' land grants to their cousins. It is clear that such arbitrary lines should not be part of the planning of modern economic production and distribution.



Before the Revolution IV. Many slaves, believing the pleasant stories of peace and justice told them by their cunning masters, forgot—to their chagrin—that no matter who got the profits, a slave was necessarily born to lose.

Secondly, "socialist countries" would have to trade materials with each other, something similar to, "We'll ship you four tons of bauxite for each ton of chromite that you ship to us." This would be followed by disagreements based on localized self-interests, e.g., "Why should we trade with you, when this other country will give us five tons of bauxite for each ton of chromite, rather than four?" The "socialist" countries would then have a material basis for conflict. The method of historical materialism shows that a material basis for conflict generally leads to actual conflict. That's not my idea of a socialist world.

- ...even a De Leonist type Industrial Union? The Number One reason for its existence is to fight for "immediate concerns," wages and conditions.

De Leon's actual position was that "...the trades union has a supreme mission...enabling

the working class to assume and conduct production." This particular purpose was described as "the remoter utility of the union, in fact, its real revolutionary and historic mission." (*The Burning Question of Trades Unionism*) According to this view, struggles over wages and working conditions are secondary, something that should be pursued only if the union has sufficient membership in a few sites to press such demands, but not yet enough membership society-wide for a revolution to occur.

- ...the members of such a Union, if it is to be at all effective, will be representative in their political preferences, of the various political groupings.

Just for the record—De Leonists usually advocate "educate first; organize afterwards," on both the political and industrial fields; "...wage workers must be educated in socialism before they can be organized upon industrial lines." (Olive Johnson, report to the 1924 SLP national convention.) The socialist industrial union can, of course, admit members who agree with the basic concept of social control of industry but need further education about the complete sociological theory. In the latter case, it is the job of the union is to educate them, and to prepare them for actual self-management. A "pure and simple" trade union, i.e., a union which formally endorses capitalism (such as the AFL-CIO), must fail to perform this function. De Leon said, "...'pure and simple' neglects the drilling in class-consciousness, aye, prevents it... No revolutionary class is ever ripe for success before it has itself well in hand... It is one of the missions of the trades union to drill its class into the discipline that civilization demands." From the editorial "A Mission of the Trades Union," *The Daily People*, 3/4/1905.

- The implication in paragraph #1 is that, following a socialist revolution, a state in the sense of the historical political state would continue to exist.

I'd like to clarify this point. The De Leonist position is not that the state shall continue to exist after the revolution, nor should the De Leonist accuse the World Socialist of advocating continuation of the state after the revolution. However, the De Leonist, who believes in defining a crystal clear alternative, a takeover of the industrial management role by a large workers' association, based on integrally united industry branches, is usually at a loss to imagine what the World Socialists

* Since I'm not affiliated with the SLP, I'll ask the interested reader to contact their headquarters for information about their program: Socialist Labor Party, 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94303 USA. Subscriptions to *The People* (two issues per month, except monthly in January and July) are \$4.00 (foreign subscriptions require payment by International Money Order or U.S. dollars).

could mean by "conscious" but not "industrial" organization. If the management method is not to be the political state, nor is it to be an amalgamation of workplace committees, then it's difficult for me, personally, to imagine what else it could be.

But let's admit that there has been some misunderstanding on both sides. I think that former SLP national secretary Arnold Petersen was wrong when he said this of the World Socialist program: "The inference, of course, is clear that the political state will conduct the processes of production—an inescapable conclusion in any case, since they reject the Socialist Industrial Union Government as such an 'agent.'" (Petersen letter dated 10/21/63, reprinted in *The Western Socialist*, No. 4, 1964, p. 15). On the other hand, I think the SPGB was wrong when it wrote in the 1980 pamphlet *Trade Unions*: "If some unions still have 'socialism' as their object, it is only nationalisation (state capitalism) that they have in mind" (p. 16). This statement is not typically true of syndicalists. Neither philosophy aims at state management of industry, and it is to be hoped that neither side would be firing this inaccurate charge at the other.

- *In this socialist's opinion, a 51 percent majority is greatly insufficient and in such an eventuality, the capitalist parties should be permitted to continue running their Government.*

Although I disagree with your strategic preference, I'm gratified to hear this important question answered directly. I haven't seen this matter of narrow majority support dealt with in the literature of your Companion Parties, nor, for that matter, in the De Leonist literature.

- *What you apparently fail to understand is the fact that the capitalist class does not back fascist parties before they demonstrate a mass working-class support.*

The capitalist class is generally not placed in jeopardy of having all its property rights declared null and void, so I'm not so sure what lengths it would go to.

- *Do you suggest the De Leonist plan of labor vouchers?*

I understand that the World Socialist goal is "free access" to goods and services by everyone. I can easily picture this as applied to things that no one can collect in unreason-

able quantities, such as food, transportation, and education. I cannot imagine how we could have unrestricted access to items capable of being accumulated, such as hobby equipment, jewelry, and automobiles. Infinite access to such things, even if automation could put out all the production, would destroy the planet's ecosystem through deforestation, industrial heat emissions, and the generation of garbage. Since finite limits to consumption must exist, either due to ma-

chine throughput rates or for environmental protection, the only question is how these limits should be set. It seems reasonable to me to have access to such collectible items in proportion to personal work hours. This approach allows the individual to choose for oneself the relative importance of leisure time and material consumption, which I consider a greater of measure of freedom than simple rationing would be. Ø

H. Morrison — Reply to M. Lepore

IN REGARD to your thoughts about my recent letter, let me just concentrate upon one of your objections, which will go far—I hope—in clearing what I consider to be your (and the De Leonist) confusion of a socialist system in operation, even in its early stages.

You use as an illustration of the need for an Industrial Union, the manufacture of

LEPORE: I agree with the World Socialists' viewpoint that socialism must be a worldwide system without national boundaries. I disagree with the traditional De Leonist view on this matter. There are severe problems with the SLP's use of national terms, such as "a socialist United States" and "an international socialist order."

automobiles and, I presume, trucks of various sorts. Really! You must be aware of the fact that, under capitalism, the prime concern of the car companies is the production of profits, not motor vehicles; that contrived obsolescence is built into them to keep them from lasting in "health" over too long a time. Do you really believe that once the capitalist system has been abolished, once all of the useless and parasitical industries have been abandoned—which would have to take place immediately upon declaring the era of capitalism over and done with—that as many as one half of the vehicles being produced in these times would be needed? Why, even

when it comes to the "ownership" of cars for pleasure—for traveling purposes—the object is to get wherever one wants to get to with the greatest possible degree of comfort and dispatch—unless one just wants a leisurely drive. How much easier it would be—and pleasurable—were it possible to call by phone for a car, and even for a driver, rather than having the nuisance of one's own vehicle in one's garage or yard. What you are doing, Michael, is carrying over the methods and the needs of industry under a system, the mode of production of which is geared to the "manufacture" of profits, into a system the mode of production of which is geared to consumerism—production for use.

Furthermore, Michael, you must be aware of the fact that the "wants" of the population are largely "manufactured" by the Advertising Industry. And, as noted above, the motivation behind it has to be profits. Would everybody want a yacht, for example, of his/her own? I, personally, cannot imagine why one must own a yacht in order to enjoy right of

access to the use of one, when desired! I, personally, and as I am certain, millions of others, would not even be interested in yachting. And your inclusion of "jewelry" reminds me of an observation by that patron saint of capitalists—the 18th-century economist Adam Smith:

Gold and silver, as they are naturally of the greatest value among the richest, so they are naturally of the least value among the poorest nations. Among savages, the poorest of nations, they are of scarce any value." (*The Wealth of Nations*, Bk. 1, Ch. XI, PT. 111)

Continued on page 19

Socialism—a classless, wageless, moneyless society with free access to all goods and services—is necessary and possible. The only obstacle to it in our time is the lack of a class-conscious political majority. Are YOU a socialist? You might recognize some of your own ideas in the following statements.

Capitalism, even with reforms, cannot function in the interests of the working class. Capitalism, by its very nature, requires continual “reforms”; yet reforms cannot alter the basic relationship of wage-labor and capital and would not be considered, to begin with, if their legislation would lead to disturbing this relationship. Reforms, in other words, are designed to make capitalism more palatable to the working class by holding out the false hope of an improvement in their condition. To whatever extent they afford improvement, reforms benefit the capitalist class, not the working class.

To establish socialism the working class must first gain control of the powers of government through their political organization. It is by virtue of its control of state power that the capitalist class is able to perpetuate its system. State power gives control of the main avenues of education and propaganda—either directly or indirectly—and of the armed forces that frequently and efficiently crush ill-conceived working class attempts at violent opposition. The one way it is possible in a highly developed capitalism to oust the capitalist class from its ownership and control over the means of production and distribution is to first strip it of its control over the state.

Once this is accomplished the state will be converted from a government over people to an administration of community affairs (both locally and on a world scale). The World Socialist Party of the United States advocates the ballot, and no other method, as a means of abolishing capitalism.

Members of the World Socialist Party do not support—either directly or indirectly—members of any other political party. It is always possible, even if difficult in some instances, to vote for world socialism by writing in the name of the Party and a member for a particular legislative office. Our main task, however, is to make socialists and not to advocate use of the ballot for anything short of socialism.

The World Socialist Party rejects the theory of leadership. Neither individual “great” personalities nor “revolutionary vanguards” can bring the world one day closer to socialism. The emancipation of the working class “must be the work of the working class itself.” Educators to explain socialism, yes! Administrators to carry out the will of the majority of the membership, yes! But leaders or “vanguards,” never!

There is an irreconcilable conflict between scientific socialism and religion. Socialists reject religion for two main reasons:

- Religion divides the universe into spiritual and physical realms, and all religions offer their adherents relief from their earthly problems through some form of appeal to the spiritual. Socialists see the cause of the problems that wrack human society as material and political. We see the solution as one involving material and political, not spiritual, means.

- Religions ally themselves with the institutions of class society. Particular religious organizations and leaders may, and frequently do, rebel against what they deem injustice, even suffering imprisonment and worse for their efforts. But they seek their solutions within the framework of the system socialists aim to abolish. One cannot understand the development of social evolution by resorting to religious ideas.

The system of society formerly in effect in Russia, and still in effect in China and other so-called socialist or communist countries, is state capitalism. Goods and services, in those countries, as in avowedly capitalist lands, were always produced for sale on a market with a view to profit and not, primarily, for use. The placing of industry under the control of the state in no way alters the basic relationships of wage labor and capital. The working class remains a class of wage slaves. The class that controls the state remains a parasitical, surplus-value eating class.

Trade unionism is the means by which wage workers organize to “bargain collectively” so that they might sell their labor power at the best possible price and try to improve working conditions. The unorganized have no economic weapon with which to resist the attempts of capital to beat down their standards. But

unions must work within the framework of capitalism. They are useful, then, to but a limited extent. They can do nothing toward lessening unemployment, for example.

In fact, they encourage employers to introduce more efficient methods in order to overcome added costs of higher wages and thereby hasten and increase unemployment. More and more the tendency of industry is toward a greater mass of production with fewer employees. Unions must, by their very nature, encourage such development although they are also known, occasionally, to resist this natural trend through what employers like to call “featherbedding.” As Marx put it: instead of the conservative motto, “a fair day’s pay for a fair day’s work,” the workers ought to inscribe upon their banner “abolition of the wages system.” Ø

Membership in the World Socialist Party of the United States requires an understanding of and agreement with what we consider to be the basics of scientific socialism. We have always been convinced that a worldwide system based upon production for use, rather than for sale on a market, requires that a majority of the population be socialist in attitude. Events since the establishment of the World Socialist Movement have, we maintain, proven the validity of this judgment. If you are in general agreement with these statements, we invite you to join our organization.

Boston: Contact us in writing at Box 405, Boston, MA 02272 or call us at (617) 628-9096.

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in the united states**

The *World Socialist Review* is published by the World Socialist Party of the United States at Boston, Massachusetts. Please direct any correspondence or communications regarding subscriptions, address changes, manuscripts and donations to the World Socialist Party (US), PO Box 405, Boston, MA 02272.

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The Companion Parties of Socialism hold that—

- Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
- In society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- This antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- As in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
- This emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- As the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
- As political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

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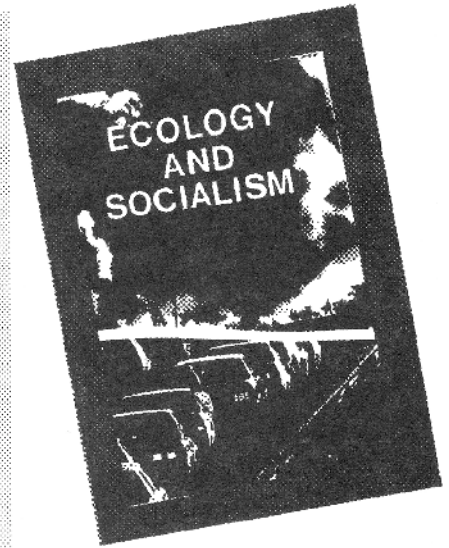
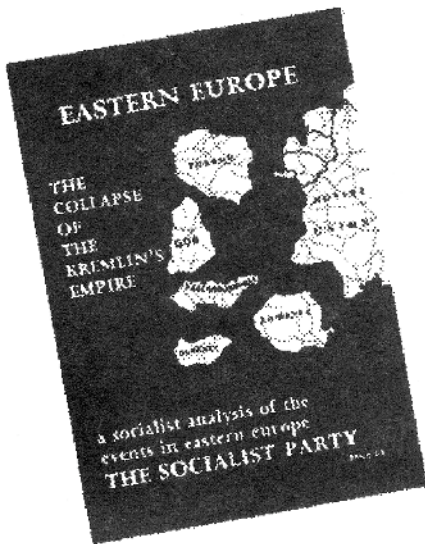
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AFTER SEVERAL DECADES of being marginalized and generally ignored by the British electoral system, our Companion Party in Great Britain, the Socialist Party, is now getting a chance to bring the case for socialism within at least nominal reach of two million British voters (approximately one million households) in the upcoming Euro-elections in June.

Socialist Party candidates will contest four European constituencies—Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow and London. A leaflet has been prepared for subsidized distribution ("Politics is too Important to Leave to Politicians"—see box). This is easily the most ambitious campaign in the SPGB's history and will be the first direct, large-scale contact with members of the working class on the political field. If it succeeds in getting enough people to contact the Party, it will prove that abolishing the wages system really does have the "constituency" Marx and Engels thought it had.

For more information, contact the Socialist Party of Great Britain at 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UN, England. Ø

The Socialist Party is a movement of and for workers. We are not here to make the millionaires richer. The vast majority of people own little more than their abilities to work. We are part of that majority. We say that the world (not just Britain or Europe) should belong to us all. Why should we be tenants in a world owned and controlled by a small, exploiting minority? Why should we have to sell ourselves to them for wages and salaries? Why should their profits come before our lives? The Socialist Party seeks to change all this.

Continued from page 15

In fact, as Marx, a century later, would note, savages had no concept of "value"—use value yes, but value (socially necessary labor time) no! And the concept of value will ultimately disappear once the world has shaken production for profit.

In short, Michael, you should apply your excellent reasoning on the anachronistic ideal of national boundaries in a socialist world to De Leon's carrying over of industrial organization of an (improved) capitalist-oriented nature.

Continued from back cover

importance political action will assume as the number of socialist workers grows worldwide. If anything, the role of unions in the class struggles of late capitalism faces an uncertain future. As the "economic organization of the working class," they do not bid fair to "organize and drill" it for anything but short-term resistance.

The need for unions implies the poverty of a class-divided society; their persistence into a classless society is in any case unlikely, since common ownership is grounded in free access to abundantly available goods and services. What differentiates socialism from capitalism is precisely that no one can conveniently "accumulate" the usefulness of goods and services, and no one can be denied the use of what they need. Abundance cannot coexist (as a basis for organizing society) with employment and poverty—with exploitation, the very condition whose intensification, at the dawn of capitalism, gave rise

The very thought of the existence of a group of people designated as workers (of various types) is foreign to the concept of traditional Marxists. It is really, in my opinion, a case of "the dead hand of the past weighing like an Alp on the minds of the living" (Marx, in his 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte). Of course there will have to be some sort of organization in production centers, but why not leave that problem to the imaginations of those who will live at that time? Ø

to the need for unions in the first place. A world of abundance will require no defense against exploitation. (Unions might very well on the other hand—after the revolution—serve as a good point of departure for organizing the production and distribution of wealth.)

Reorganizing production

The free associations of workers that under socialism will replace capitalism's companies and enterprises (as we know them today) will take forms that must remain hidden from our eyes even at this late date; for the working class as a whole has yet to put the same originality into experimenting with ways of reorganizing production as it had earlier demonstrated in learning to resist capital—transforming the wild, inchoate rebellion of individuals into a socialized, organized resistance. Not until such experimenting has reached a fairly advanced stage on a

ON SECOND THOUGHT

From the Western Socialist

The main flaw in the industrial union as a means of emancipation is the fact that a labor union, in order to gain any sort of recognition, must open its doors, even to the point of compulsion, to any and all workers in the industry it seeks to control. If it does not do so it will not be in a position to control anything. If it does its membership must be dominantly made of workers who are not socialists.

Even if the "political arm" were 100 percent socialist, how could they hope to be backed by a union whose membership were predominantly non and anti-socialist? And if it is argued that the socialists of the "political arm" would educate the union members to socialism, this merely knocks De Leon's theories for another cocked hat. This would certainly demonstrate once more that the political party does not arise from the industrial union.

The truth of the matter is that unions of any kind, whether craft or industrial, arise out of the relations of wage-labor and capital. They can only be used as weapons by the workers in resisting the pressure against their living standards by the capitalist class. They are the means the working class must use under this system to sell labor-power at its value. It may be argued that industrial organization is superior to craft unionization, but even if this is so it only applies in so far as it concerns a capitalist society, for no union could possibly be carried over into socialism. The material conditions for their existence will be absent in a society devoid of economic classes.

"The Socialist Labor Party"
HARMO, July-August 1948

fairly large scale will we be able to make intelligent guesses as to how society may organize the production and distribution of wealth after capitalism. Such experiments (under capitalism) could even, to take a hypothetical instance, assume the form of organized labor "taking and holding" the function of capital investment in a reactionary effort to save the system from revolution.

Without faulting De Leon's Marxism, his "socialist" industrial unions seem more explicitly designed to fit into this hypothetically described scenario than to cultivate a socialist majority determined to replace capitalism entirely with common ownership and democratic control of the means of production by the whole of society. His theory does not give workers an adequate basis for uniting to cast off the chains of wage-slavery. Ø

Only a socialist working class can replace capitalism

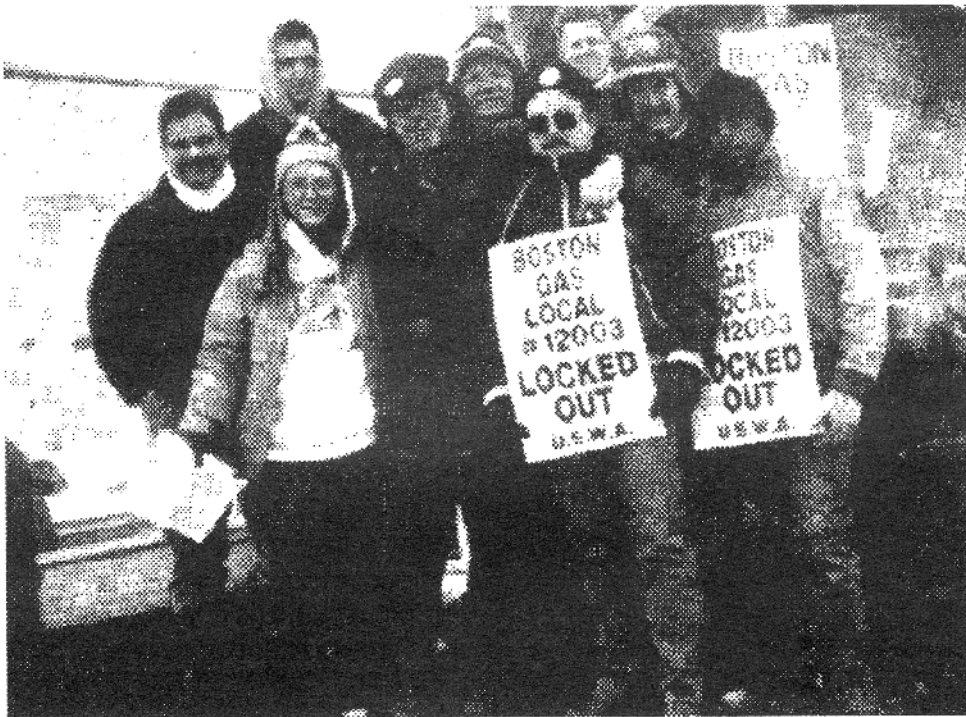
The concept of an industrial union implies a condition of wage-slavery. When workers organize in unions, they are carrying out a defensive strategy—exerting pressure on their employers (the owners of capital) to increase wages and improve working conditions. By doing this they hope to counteract the continuous tendency on the part of the capitalist class to keep wages down. Employers want to maximize profits, and the way they do that is to exploit the working class as much as possible. Employers deploy a battery of pressures to keep wages down (and profits high)—pressures ranging all the way from lockouts to death squads—that workers resist by organizing into unions.

Unions—a tool of resistance

Before capitalism trade unions did not exist. No one had ever heard of one, and no one had ever formed one. Artisans had formed guilds to regulate standards (although they also wanted to keep out unwanted competition); peasants and slaves had risen up in insurrection at intervals. But only wage-laborers, those possessing nothing but their own working abilities, could experiment doggedly with what the bourgeoisie once liked to style “combinations against trade” until they had fashioned a tool of resistance to use against the owners of capital.

Wage-earners have in principle no other means of survival than selling their working abilities to some employer for a wage or salary—no means, at least, recognized by what passes for economic “science.” This alone suffices to make employment slavery; but the whole reason for employing anyone is that, by reducing the bulk of the population to depending for its survival on employment, capital can accumulate itself by maximizing the difference between wages and the total value of the product reaching the market (surplus value or profit).*

Empirically speaking, people are compelled to pay to stay alive via this system of



Before the Revolution V. Discontented Boston gas slaves sending a message to their owners that they were tough enough to take still more punishment.

legalized robbery. Most people have considerable difficulty obtaining the money to pay with. *Only in this context* do unions (trade or industrial) make sense. The very notion of a union assumes a condition of wage-slavery—of employment—whether or not the union itself aims to eliminate production for profit.

The only “mission” of unions is to improve the conditions of wage-slavery within the capitalist system. To accomplish this, unions need only be anti-capital. Nothing requires them to be anti-capitalist; and ordinarily they aren’t. Workers may be anti-employer some or all of the time—but the most compelling argument for unions is that they enable workers to sell their labor-power on the market at its value. One way or the other, unions promote *employment* (which, again, is slavery). In system terms, they favor the continuation of a system that requires poverty to be the lot of the majority. Daniel De Leon’s notion that “the mission of Unionism is to organize and drill

the Working Class for final victory”** in the class struggle between workers and capitalists has little basis in history and no basis in fact.

Economic organization

Resistance to capital, furthermore, can take innumerable forms that don’t need to originate in the workplace. It can appear as political action, as social protest or as some combination of the two. While these are in the main reformist initiatives intended merely to improve the functioning of a bad system, they foreshadow the growing

* Workers who don’t actually produce wealth—and these are in the majority nowadays—have the dubious privilege of suffering their employers to preserve the surplus value the latter have scooped up at the point of sale. The same pressure tactics work just as well, and for the same reason: cheaper workers mean a higher return on invested capital.

** Preamble to the Industrial Workers of the World.

Continued on page 19