On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

BUSINESS SELF-CONTROL . .

became defunct.) . . . Sixteen Har- revolutionary force. lan, Kentucky, coal companies have filed suit attacking the constitu- different conceptions of the party Hillmans, John L. Lewises, etc. tionality of the Guffey Coal Control does the "Militant" program ad-Act. . . . In Baltimore, the American here? Elsewhere in the program, the McLevys that they have no bus-States Public Service Co., at the we find references to the party as instigation of the Edison Electric the "vanguard," "revolutionary Institute, filed suit attacking the party," etc. But where the program constitutionality of the Public Util- must be concrete, as in its trade tty Act. . . . James M. Landis, new union section, its similarity to the chairman of the Federal Securities reformist conception of the party and Exchange Commission, spent becomes obvious. From the doctrine the third day in his new position that "trade unions without a revowith eleven representatives of the lutionary party can achieve only of the whole truth. No, the "Milipublic utilities drafting new rules partial and temporary success," a tant" program in the unions is an

of the United States Steel Corpora- right and duty of the revolutionists tion, finits New Deal "kibitzers" to fight for the supremacy of their "who behind the mask of assumedly ideas and leadership in the trade necessary social reconstruction of unions. The "Militant" program, our national life would, without in- on the contrary, draws from the of L. Officialdom vitation from the players, change the rules of an ancient and honorable game"

. . .

PROSTERITY . . .

Cup in hand, eleven blind persons Love Their relief had been shut workers? off. . . . "More people have eaten better food for a longer time under members is not enough for the orthe constitution than under any ganizational drive. other form of government," proclaims Frank Knox, millionaire carefully how he can best uphold

WITH THE STRIKEBREAKERS

bane in the Hearst papers. . . .

"Employers like him because he is conservative and practical—he gets men back to work," says News-Week of Edward F. McGrady, Mc-Grady is becoming the greatest traveler in labor history. "I hope that a settlement may be made by the time I have to leave by airplane tomorrow for the Louis-Baer fight pleasantness of President Roosevelt's visit. . . The Los Angeles Railway Corporation spent \$350,000 last November to break a strike of its employees. \$159,960 went to Nick Harris of the World Wide Detective Agency; \$7,393 to Chief Hynes of the Los Angeles Red Squad. . . .

SOCIETY NOTES . . .

richest girl, on her round-the-world Washington to help the coal oper- to join the strike. Confusion was reports of huge spending. "It's less threatened to glut the market. ports state that "Doris wears a gold no alarm over the strike. Demands tion. anklet and paints her toenails a by the United Mine Workers that pale lotus pink. She and her hus- the FERA stand ready to rush re- would be short lived along with band watch each other dive and lief to the strikers is the only thing the fact that the United Mine the Edgewater Beach Hotel. Fash-

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Comments 'Militant Socialists' on Trade Union Question

The revolutionary party fights

The Old Reformist Line Is Dusted the trade union bureaucracy not Off; Basic Problems Not Answered with the spirit and policy of class struggle. Irreconcilable struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

for regulating the power industry, really revolutionary program would implicit support of a degenerate . . Arthur H. Young, vice-president draw the conclusion that it is the

The "Militants" do not say with iness in the trade unions. No, they say they have business in the unions. Not the revolutionists' business: the pitiless struggle against the reactionary officialdom and for the hegemony of the revolutionists. the faithful exposition to the working class, through the party press, clique which temporarily raises certain progressive slogans in its fight for power,

2. The Fight Against the A. F

Rubber Price War Begins at Needless to say, there is not a field of labor organization. The crete applications of it would be motors is thrown out of gear. As soon as the recent Chevil state that in these instances it will in the trade unions. But even

(Continued from Page 1) were forced to take to the streets pany plans which mean added mis- bosses to retreat! last week in the City of Brotherly ery and starvation to the rubber

publisher of the Chicago Daily workers' desires and needs can they workers, the key to success lies in long run to emasculate the unions, the really dual unions brought in bankruptcy of the "Militant" pro-News and prospective Republican be rallied. This must include: (1) this very danger. candidate for President. . . . After No wage reductions; (2) Continuabeing evicted from his home, Ed- tion of the six-hour day and abol- this situation calmly, armed with power of resistance. This policy is into Minneapolis by Tobin). In ruptcy arises from the fear of ward McLaughlin, 51 year old Chi- ishment of the eight-hour day where the correct policy and platform, strongly nourished by the degenercago electrician, climbed through a it has been introduced; (3) Senior- they have created for themselves ate leadership of the A. F. of L., "Militant" program plumps down Ideologically, this bankruptcy flows window and hanged himself. . . . ity rights in lay-offs and no dis- and the union a formula which, including the Lewises, Hillmans, for the A. F. of L. and leaves it at mosning of the revolutionary con-"The American worker must think crimination against union members, placed into action, can only result Dubinskys, whom the "Militants the American institutions and the tional officers as speakers should be into the union by the thousands. American industrial system which held explaining what is happening As always, the Workers Party ment than are Green and Woll.

and the most highly paid represent sive are the unions. tative of constructive labor in the on the fact that the rubber worker will show which leaders are giving world," editorializes Arthur Brisunions have won complete indepen- the rubber workers the correct dence from the A. F. of L. bureau- ideas and bringing results. Every ever possible, we also recognize with the "trade unions"? cracy and that now the workers officer of both the international present realities. Often enough, imcan build an international of their itself and of the local unions should portant groups of workers have own desire-one with a progressive welcome this opportunity to display policy that meets the changing con- their abilities and their fundamen- A. F. of L. by outright betrayal of ditions in the rubber industry.

cut brought complete solidarity in cause of the crisis,

By GERMINAL

light on a significant angle of the

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Sept. 26.—

coal situation in Illinois.)

the department and forced the Test of Leadership

have made him the frees, the hap- and pointing out that the only bul- will do its utmost to achieve this plest, the most highly esteemed wark against the capitalist offen- aim-build the unions and strengthen the working class against Insufficient stress has been placed the ravages of capitalism. This tal interest in the workers, as we do.

Ample proof that the rubber It is in the field of battle that workers will rally around such a generals and the army itself are Firestone where a threatened wage the rubber workers' union today be-

only in order to infuse the unions against the reactionary officialdom correct premise, the false (reform- is also necessary in order to secure other hand, has a completely differ- ist) conclusion that their party democracy in the unions, an end At an annual cost of over \$7,000,- ent conception of its relation to the "will therefore support the trade to bureaucracy and racketeering, 000, a staff of 2,760 former NRA unions. For a revolutionist, his unions and work for cordial rela- organization of the unorganized and employees is kept to teach business party is not merely a "political tions," etc. This is hopelessly Phil- unskilled, etc. The revolutionist, of "self-control." Seventy of the staff party," in the usual sense; his party istine stuff. The clue here is in the course, knows that the fight for receive more than \$6,700 per year. is the vanguard of the whole work- phrase "cordial relations." With these is also the fight for a class . . . Forgetting his prediction of ing class, is its consciousness; the whom? Any party which advances struggle policy. Bureaucracy, for "chaos" with the ending of the party, as Trotsky once put it, is a real class struggle program in the example, arises because of the nec-NRA, Donald Richberg states: "The what the working class should be, unions will not get "cordial rela- essity of repressing the combative NRA developed collective thinking while the trade unions are what the tions" from the present officialdom, instincts of the masses (John R that made it possible for business working class is today. Hence, the Yet, this is what the "Militant" Commons, the theoretical exponent men to carry on their standards." party must intervene, as far as it program really means. True, they of the A. F. of L.'s "class peace" . . . (Workers in textiles average can find the power to, in every do not expect cordial relations with policy, has developed the tendency \$690 yearly; in boots and shoes, problem of the trade unions. For everyone. Their programmatic of bureaucracy along these lines \$744. Workers in both industries only by so doing can it eventually statements cut them off from white into a systematic theory.) So, too, report a decrease since the NRA transform the working class into a chauvinists, from the bitter-ender racketeering can only arise in the craft unionists, etc. They want atmosphere of "deals" with the To which of these fundamentally cordial relations merely—with the bosses which is typical of conservative unionism. And the failure to organize the unorganized and unskilled is perhaps the most pervasive expression of the class-collaborationism by which a privileged section of skilled workers is used in cooperation with the bosses who are simultaneously permitted to exploit organized) workers in the same in- in some cases may make it even clalist" labor fakers. The distincthe unskilled (and deliberately unclerks, who finally had to wage a famous Teamsters Local 574 of members in the unions. fight by way of a federal local and Minneapolis. What does all this If, in contrast to this, the "Mili- plant. By striking at this Achilles

> 3. The Fight Against Government Control.

The "Militant" program fails the A. F. of L. This is the first major test of the even to mention one of the most The house-to-house canvas for new leadership of the U.R.W.A. Al- significant tendencies of the present though the unfolding events in the regime: its attempt to tie the trade rubber industry are filled with union movement up with the cap- unions come into being; it gives no Program of Struggle dangerous situations and can pos- italist government, by way of hint of the necessity of supporting hint of the necessity of supporting points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions, if necessary against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions, if necessary against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions, if necessary against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions, if necessary against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions, if necessary against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions, if necessary against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions, if necessary against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions, if necessary against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions, if necessary against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions, if necessary against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions are not against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions are not against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions are not against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions are not against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions are not against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions are not against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions are not against points; but sufficient to reveal the such unions are not against points. to restrict the right to strike, and by the A. F. of L. (as in the case gram on trade unionism. Psycho-For if the leaders can confront thus to undermine the workers' of so-called "Local 500" brought logically, practically, this bank-Mass meetings with the interna- in bringing the rubber workers back support. Lewis and Hillman, in fact, are even closer to the govern-

L. Monopoly.

been, and will be, repelled from the strikes, by bureaucracy, racketeer- MacLevys make between politics cowardly program of the "Miliing and other evils. Often enough, and trade union work is not really the A. F. of L. has been, and will as innocent as it appears. The real program was given recently at tested. This applies perfectly to be, unwilling to organize important function of the distinction is to sections of unorganized workers. In- prevent the spotlight of proletarian sistence on craft union jurisdictions policy from being cast on the "So- gram on the United Front.)

THE 'MILITANTS' PROGRAM

(From the "Militont" Program presented at the "Call Institute") "The Socialist Party recognizes that the trade unions, no matter how conservative, are organs of the class struggle and schools of Socialism. Without trade unions, even the most elementary labor struggies would be impossible. But trade unions without a revolutionary party can achieve only partial and temporary success. The Socialist Party will therefore support the trade unions and work for cordial relations with them. It will support all the actions of the trade unions on behalf of the workers (strikes, boycotts, shortening of the working day, etc.). It will work for the unification of the unions into industrial unions and against union splitting, disruption, or dual unionism; it will fight against hureaucracy and racketeering, and for clean and democratic unionism; it favors the organization of the unorganized and the unskilled; it opposes discrimination against Negroes, women and youth; and will champion them on all occasions. It opposes discrimination against union members or applicants because of their political beliefs. The Socialist Party recognizes and supports the American Federation of Labor as the mainstream of the American labor movement, and will urge all independent trade unions and individual workers to affiliate with it. It is the duty of every Socialist, and of every worker to belong to a trade union, and work there as a good

struggle for Socialism." (page 8)

that; thus providing no theoretical

5. The Fight for Party Respon-

The distinction which the Jasper

dustry. This goes on in so-called imperative that the workers first be tion is a credential of irresponsibil- a glaring weakness in the armour industrial unions. For example, organized in independent industrial ty to every Socialist to do as he of General Motors. The Chevrolet the sacred cow of the Socialist Call, unions. Last but not least, are the will in the unions—to do as he will plant at Toledo manufactures all Dubinsky, in the last agreement cases of unions under militant lead-except that it rules out a demand Chevrolet transmissions. The comwith the bosses, traded off certain ership, which have their charters that the Socialist Party accept re- pany has found itself powerless to points by abandoning the shipping taken away, as was the case with sponsibility for the conduct of its break the automobile union or di-

in spite of Dubinsky. All this mean? It means that the revolutants" were to take seriously their heel, it becomes possible to shut means is that the fight for every tionary party must firmly declare phrase that their party must repredown General Motors assembly progressive demand is a fight itself against the claimed right of sent the "historic interests" of the plants all over the country. Thus against the Dubinskys, Hillmans, et the A. F. of L. to a monopoly in the working class, one of the first conal. Needless to say, there is not a field of labor organization. The crete applications of it would be adjusted mechanism of General state that in these instances it will in the trade unions. But even As soon as the recent Chevrolet solidly support independent unions, though their fractions would be strike was over, the order went out while working for the unification already bound to a pusilianimous from General Motors: Break up of the whole labor movement within policy of supporting the Dubinskys Toledo! Instead of one plant man and Hillmans, the "Militants" fail ufacturing all Chevrolet transmisto put this demand into their slo- sions, there will be three: Toledo, gram do? It gives no hint of the gans. Are they, perhaps, waiting Munsey, Ind., and Saginaw, Mich. conditions under which independent to get the permission of Dubinsky Machinery has already been sulpped to put it in the program?

We have touched on only a few meaning of the revolutionary conjustification for the many instances ception that the party is the conin which any honest trade unionist scious vanguard of the proletariat. must support independent unionism. In line with what we have said, we 4.The Fight Against the A. F. of Thus it provides the basis solely for ask Socialist workers to read Lencapitultaion to the dictates of the in's "What Is To Be Done," the While we unreservedly favor the Tobins and Wolls. Is this part of classic exposition of the role of the organization of workers into unions the price which the "Militants" are party; read Trotaky's "Communism affiliated with the A. F. of L. wher- ready to pay for "cordial relations" and Syndicalism," which, though it revolutionists' task in the trade unions everywhere. Read the works of the great teachers, and see how utterly alien to their spirit is the

(Note: This is the second of a series of articles; next week's will deal with the "Militant" pro-

AUTO NOTES

TOLEDO, Ohio.-The "big three" of the automobile industry-Ford, Chrysler and General Motors-employ diverse methods in smashing unionism and keeping their wage slaves divided and unorganized. Ford likes concentration in the manufacture of automobiles. He has centered the greater portion of Ford Motor Car production at the River Rouge plant at Detroit, thus eliminating the necessity of constant shipping of parts to the various assembly plants. Ford relies therefore upon an elaborate and vicious spy system to terrorize his workers and keep them in constant fear of being blacklisted all over Detroit. The Chrysler-Dodge Co. has a particular fondness for the company union. General Motors, in addition to both these methods, has perfected a system of marvellous integration in the manufacture of its cars accompanied by a geographical decentralization of its various plants. In the event of a strike, a few plants can be tempotrade unlonist and a good Socialist. Through such work the trade rarily shut down, the workers unions and their members will eventually support the revolutionary starved out and the particular work diverted to other near-by plants.

The Chevrolet strike has revealed

is already working on transmissions. Every worker employed at Munsey is carefully checked and rechecked. He must live in Munsey at least one year prior to date of employment; he must have a recommendation from a reliable Munsey erchant. Saginaw will probably open up early in the winter,

For the workers to attempt to course be worse than futile. What that can be done, is to organize Munsey and Saginaw! The offensive of General Motors must be answered by a counter-offensive by the Automobile International. Dillon has boasted that by October 1 a campaign will be started to organize "141 automobile plants in the United States." The automobile workers must force him to keep good that promise. The campaign should start with Munsey and Saginaw!

Toledo federal local 18384 of the United Automobile Workers is waiting expectantly for word from the International office at Detroit of the new charter which it will receive. It is believed that separate charters will be granted the various shops comprising the Toledo local and that a district committee will be formed on the model of the districts in the U.M.W.A. The present clique dominating the local execu-ALLENTOWN, Pa., Sept. 28. struggle and solidarity displayed by tive committee belong mostly to the the project workers in Allentown smaller and weaker shops and so and throughout Lehigh, Northamp- fear that such a move would deton, Berks and Somerset counties. stroy them. If they attempt to fight it, however, they will probably meet with the resistance of the best un-

The committee of seven elected at the constitutional convention of A motion was put that all pro- the United Automobile Workers of ject workers be organized directly America to appeal the decisions of into the Joint Labor Council. At the executive council to the 55th

the bituminous strike parley. From New York he hastened to Ports-mouth, Va. to address the Holy Name Society. Then to the coast to head off a threatened longshorements strike that might mar the please princes of the bituminous strike parley. From Coal Strike Exposes Keck The miners of Illinois should not forsake their militant tradition at this time by supplying coal while thousands of their fellow workers in the U.M.W. of A. remain at work. Allentown WPA Workers Win State-wide Victory

After two weeks of militant strike struggle, the WPA project workers of Allentown last night voted to return to work on the basis of the victory conceded by the state WPA administration on Thursday. The Pennsylvania Works Progress Administration in Harrisburgh announced a raise of 10 percent in wages for all laborers, the payment of prevailing union scales for all skilled work and a reduction in hours from 140 to 120 per month last Thursday night. Terms of Settlement

4) The administration will recog- the hall from throwing the disrupt- constitution or in some other form

Lester W. Heckman of the Pennsylvania Unemployed Leagues, Bill Kocher of the Joint Labor Council ion members of Chevrolet, Bingham and Simon Levine of the Citizens' and other shops who have no rep-Welfare League joined the other resentation on the present executive speakers in urging the workers to board and who have been dominatconsolidate their victory by streng- ed by this unprincipled clique of thening their united front organ-union "politicians." ization, the Joint Labor Council. Stalinist Disrupters 'Routed

Before taking the vote, the strik- this point the Communist party convention of the A. F. of L. in ers, meeting at the Silk Workers stalwarts came forward with their appointing all officers of the newly Hall, listened to reports by Anthony contribution to the strike. As formed automobile international, Batuello, fighting president of Ramuglia, chairman of the strike usual, the Stalinists tried to carry are preparing to leave for Atlantic in laughter. No matter how much "mutual admiration," as Lewis him mere 11 cent wage increase aided local 1, P. M. of A., Gillespie, Ill., committee and Sam Gordon, speak- into the workers ranks their tyical- City and are counting on the supthe Progressive leaders in keeping which consists of 2,300 working ing for the negotiations committee. ly disruptive and strike-breaking port of the progressives in rubber, The negotiations committee had tactics. After the united front org- steel, and many of the city centrals son, who gave the strikers the fol- and demonstrated its effectiveness, trial unionism. the C.P. counter-posed a motion to 1) The new schedule of wages form a seperate project workers' this move as an attempt to break

2) There is to be no discrimina- their united front and gave the Only two sections of the country struggle between the P.M.A. and prolonged for another week, indica-3) First men to be requisitioned the Joint Labor Council. The strike will gain some apparent victories

(Continued from Page 1)

5) The administration will order After the vote, strikers filed by for seeking to prepare the unions to change the federal WPA wage Keystone Workers Association, is to fight not only with more vigor

she spends she can't use up the in- self called it. terest on her fortune." . . . Twin Without question, the present the mass of the rank and file in members, stated that as far as he baby girls were born to Mr. and strike, involving approximately check. Indications were that the was concerned he "would fight to met on Friday afternoon with As-Mrs. C. R. McWithy, in a tent near 400,000 mine workers in 26 coal Progressive leaders would not hold the last ditch to see to it that the Springfield, Ill. The family could producing states, is the most effect the rank and file at work should Progressives joined the strike." not afford a doctor. A woman from live walkout since the 1922 strug- the strike assume a militant chara neighboring tent acted as mid- gle when the United Mine Workers acter, carrying forward a fight for referendum vote to decide the queswife. . . . From the fashion page of America succeeded to the up the 6-hour day and a basic \$6 wage. tion of a strike in all Progressive and hours is to go into effect as of union. The workers recognized of the Chicago Tribune: "Furs val- 650,000 coal miners-or 76 percent ned at \$557,000 will be shown at of the industry.

ionable women are preparing to failed to respond to the strike call the U.M.W. in Illinois, rank and tions are that the Progressives ers; swathe themselves from head to -Harlan County, Kentucky, and file miners of both organizations would walk out. Conditions, wages toe in luxurious furs. They make the 14,000 working Progressive met at Pekin, Ill., and voted to and contractual relations are not will be the first to be returned on leaders had to exert themselves The basic consideration is that by a flattering foil for milady on crisp Miners of Illinois. In Kentucky the unite their forces in the strike for satisfactory to the rank and file, the projects; which the new garments are mod- for an independent union of any Jack Battuello, Joe Burrell, Pat Illinois is uncertain. Acrimonious nize the collective bargaining agenelect are remarkably slenderizing." kind had the first stages of the Ansboury and Gerry Allard, left discussion continues in the ranks of cy of the project workers (the incensed at this Stalinist provoca- campaign against the emergence of strike stopped the strike movement wing leaders, were carrying the the P. M. of A. as the left wing and Joint Labor Council);

> gressive Miners of America worked "In the strike the economic wel- is clear, the very existence of the The speakers stressed the fact unions, the unemployed leagues, the sives and revolutionists in view of closely with the Coal Producers fare of the mine workers is the first P. M. of A. now hangs on a thread, that Pennsylvania is the first state Citizens Welfare League and the this development, will have to learn at work. Taking advantage of the said, speaking for the left wing. BIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT! schedule, a fact which serves to meeting this Sunday to consider but also with more subtlety than

sive rank and file have against the (Ed. Note: The following article, United Mine Workers in this state, written before the settlement of the Keck leadership stated that the the coal strike, throws a clear policy of the organization was against striking with John L. Lewis' union.

Keck's policy did not succeed to ous coal miners might officially be diction at work, however. In Salcalled off any day now, as Lewis ine county, Pekin, East Peoria and Doris Duke Cromwell, world's continues his shady maneuvers in Belleville, Progressive miners voted honeymoon is collecting animals for ators rid themselves of a surplus evident in the Progressive ranks her Palm Beach zoo. She resents of 55,000,000 tons of coal that and a bitter factional fight over the question of the strike threatened than 30,000," she says. Press re- Large coal corporations expressed the very existence of the organiza-

Constant reports that the strike

Left Wing Leaders in Action

deep rooted prejudices the Progress "John L. Lewis and his rotten poli- RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE emphasize the force of the militant plans for further action.

strike, militantly bring forward the demand for six hours a day and for the \$6 basic wage scale,

"The policies of Keck in keeping the Progressives at work while a glorious labor struggle is in the making exposes the class collaboration policies of his machine. In The national strike of the bitumin- keep all the miners under his juris- this instance they are not any better than the past Lewis policies."

> "Whether we like it or not," Allard continued, "Our failure to join the strike will place us in a reactionary role and place Lewis in the progressive light he is aiming for. There is only one road for the real union men in the P. M. of A. to follow and that is to strike and strike hard."

Battuello for Joint Struggle

Battuello suggested a strike-wide lowing assurances:

As this is written the situation in in this field. Western Kentucky, fight to the Progressive membership right wing of the organization over the heads of the union leaders, again come to grips over a question recognition of grievance committees the desk to sign up with the Joint for a role of subserviency to cap-"Progressive" Officials' Shady Role calling upon the Progressive miners that will definitely decide the future of the Progressives. One thing ject.