

# INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM--THE I. W. W.

BY HAROLD LOID VARNKY.

(Continued from Wednesday.)

And it is peculiarly apt that industrial organizations be the means of overthrowing the capitalist system. An industrial organization is the only machine which can transform the present into the future, bloodlessly and costlessly. An industrial organization can build up the very framework of the new society while the old is still in power. All that remains then is to suddenly transfer the management of industry into the hands of the existing unions. The Social Revolution reduces itself to the incredible simplicity of a victorious lockout—the lockout of the capitalists.

The pattern of capitalism is industrial. The veins of its vitality are the industries which it owns. The political state is but the pomp and glitter of a power which is rooted in economic ownership. It is unreal and valueless to the proletariat. It is but the first trench of the capitalist redoubt. To overthrow capitalism, the I. W. W. assaults capitalism from within. It attacks the fortress of the industries rather than the breast-work of the state. It rears itself within the capitalist lines; it enters the fight from a place of vantage in the very heart of the capitalist industries. By organizing the workers of every industry, industrially, in great class-conscious unions, the I. W. W. builds up, while capitalism is still dominant, a power which overtops it.

An I. W. W. revolution is thus something different from the revolutions of the past. It is not an explosion. It is not a sudden carnage of blood, of barricades or gory battlefields. It is not destructive or mutilating. An I. W. W. revolution is a logical, sane and scientific social act. It does not occur in one passionate moment; it is an accumulated process which stretches over slow years. The revolution, to the I. W. W., is an act of organization. Slowly growing—following the inexorable urges of proletarian determinism—a general departmentary momentum as it expands. At some final moment, this growing industrial organism becomes more powerful than the existing regime. And when that moment comes, the I. W. W. will blot out capitalism as the burning brilliance of a rising sun fades the moonlight from the dawn.

And the third function of the I. W. W. carries us over beyond the revolution. For when the proletariat shall have overthrown capitalism the I. W. W. will stand, ready-made, the pre-established government of the new order. It will not be necessary to call constituent conventions. It will not be necessary to create a new constitution. At some final moment, the proletarian energies of the proletariat in desperate experiments of politics. For the I. W. W., which shall have fought the revolution, will also pass over as the framework of the new communism. The existing parliamentary government will crumble into uselessness. The existing industrial unions will become the supreme national power. Each industrial union will appropriate the capitalists from its industry. The functions of industrial management will be taken over by the union. All kindred unions will be integrated into general departments. Each department will have its representative on the general executive board. And this G. E. B. will be the supreme executive of the nation—taking over the political as well as the industrial functions of society. As Daniel De Leon said in 1905, "Where sits the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.—there sits the government of the future!" And this new administrative machinery will simply be a continuation of the industrial union movement which I. W. W. has already created.

The I. W. W. thus spans all the needs of the labor struggle. It meets the impetuous demand of present-day grievances with a unionism which is highly effective. It meets the ideal of the ultimate social revolution with a mechanism by which that revolution can be waged. And it meets the acute problems of the post-revolutionary period with a scientific framework, which the new society can group itself around. In the I. W. W. program there is need for no other movement but the I. W. W. itself.

## THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE I. W. W. AND BOLSHEVISM

It is in this respect that the I. W. W. has a distinct advantage over Bolshevism and the other European Communist groups. For Bolshevism—springing historically from the Second International, as it did—has always been fatally shadowed by the ideology of politics. Bolshevism carried an outmoded theory. It entered its revolutionary task weighted down with the sophistry of the Second International. And thus its task has been unnecessarily severe. The I. W. W., on the contrary, is sublimely free from theorizings. The I. W. W. aims to take its color solely from life. It prescribes no arbitrary modes of action. It makes no hard and fast drawing of the future. And its ideology—what it has—is spontaneous. To the I. W. W. the Social Revolution follows the traceries of our economic life, and the future is merely the reverse side of the present. To understand the Communism, the I. W. W. does not go to metaphysics; it goes to capitalism.

In so far as the Bolsheviki are political, they contrast themselves to the I. W. W. in the same sense that all political parties are contrasted to industrial unions. The difference between political action communists and industrial union communists is a fundamental difference in historic method. The political action communist is an insurrectionist; the industrial communist (the I. W. W.) is an evolutionist.

The Zimmerwaldian-Left Wing Socialists, led by the Bolsheviki, have definitely divided with the old Second International in their conception of political action. To the political action communist, political action no longer means voting. It has been broadened; the Left-Wingers have taken a leaf from Russia; and political action now has the meaning of mass action, or insurrection. To capture the political state is still their goal. But they seek to capture it by physical force, not by the ballot box.

Let us organize a militant minority of the proletariat, they

say. Let us seize upon every mood of the mob, to bend the mob to the control of this minority. Let us conduct unorganized, emotional political strikes. Let us parade and sing and stir the passions of the masses on the street. Let us finally act with quick precision, at some psychological moment, and seize the physical machinery of the political government, as Lenin has done in Petrograd. Let us set up a dictatorship of blood and iron. This is our meaning of political action.

And it is upon this point that the industrial communist takes issue with the political communist—the I. W. W. with the Bolsheviki. The fact that such a method has been seemingly successful in Russia is no argument for its application elsewhere. And, although the Bolsheviki have attained some measure of Communism through these tactics, the I. W. W. claims that Communism would have been far more speedily and fully attained had the Bolsheviki used the industrial rather than the political type. The industrial communist believes that Russia has proven the case for industrial unionism, and not for political insurrection. In calling attention to this contrast the I. W. W. does not seek to minimize or criticize in any sense the Bolsheviki. Lenin and his party were placed in a position where they were obliged to act. They had no choice of tactics. They had no opportunity to build scientifically for the future. Russia was a land where industrial unionism had been practiced in the very birth of the Black Hundreds. Russia was also a country whose economic life was not predominately industrial. It was an agrarian nation with an agrarian-minded proletariat. In the logic of such conditions Lenin used political insurrection and won. The criticism of the I. W. W. is against those who seek to apply this haphazard, accidental Bolsheviki tactics to other countries and other economic situations. The I. W. W. does not criticize the Bolsheviki; it does not criticize Bolshevism. The I. W. W. does not criticize the use of the Bolsheviki program in Russia. It does criticize the importation of the Bolsheviki program to America.

To return then to the contrast. Bolshevism in its more international application by the Left Wingers, represents the historic tradition of insurrection. It believes that intellectual minorities can build the future out of their ideologies. It believes that it can diagram communism out of its theories. And then, it believes, it can clamp this diagram down over the human race, by a sudden insurrection, followed by a long dictatorship. Bolshevism would make the world communist, by terror and force. It would free the proletariat by compelling them to be free. The economic conditions of the times, and the resultant psychological condition of the workers, might be inapt for a communist regime. But Bolshevism would go doggedly ahead, and it would bring Communism, if necessary, by the gallows and the knout.

But the industrial communist (the I. W. W.) takes sharp issue with such Bolshevism. The I. W. W. asserts that a revolution is not necessarily an insurrection. The revolution, to the industrial communist, is a process of social growth. In contrast to the political communist the industrial communist is an evolutionist.

All lasting social changes have been evolutionary, not insurrectionary, in their coming. Systems are not created by the thought of the idealists or by the winning of mob battles. They develop scientifically; they grow like the plants, slowly but surely. The new system of communism is not something which we can impose upon the present. Communism, to be lasting and to be economically successful, must grow out of the present. Its roots must be in the very heart of the capitalist soil. And if it lifts its great shaft to the heights prematurely and unformed, it will wither and perish in the scorching noon.

Therefore, the I. W. W. attempts to build the framework of the new society within the shell of the old. He builds the machinery of communism by building up the industrial unions which will be the arteries of communist life. He inculcates the psychology of communism in the masses, by teaching them to function in these industrial unions. He assures the economic success of communism by preparing the proletariat for the problems of industrial mastery, in the school-house of the industrial unions. And so, to the I. W. W., the final act of revolution will not hinge upon the accident or upon the sudden flooding of untrained popular emotion; capitalism will be overthrown automatically, when these industrial unions reach the point where they are ready for industrial management. The social revolution is thus reduced to the laws of science and evolution.

In such an industrial communism there will be no need for dictatorship. There will be no Red Terrors. There will be no futile, economic experiments or silly political adventurings. The new system will move, as capitalism moved, in a sure, scientific step. It will succeed, because, behind it, will be the invincible momentum of natural, economic law.

Such is the first prime distinction between Bolshevism and the I. W. W. The second is related.

Bolshevism is a political program. It seeks to establish communism by capturing the political state. The I. W. W. is non-political. It seeks solely to capture the industries, and it believes that the capture of the political state is unnecessary.

The I. W. W. does not believe in the fiction of the equal power of the political government with the industrial oligarchy. There is no such division, or duality, in the controlling system. The political government is but an organ of the real industrial government, which is the administrative machinery of Wall Street. Politics is but the administrative machinery of capitalism, and those who own the industries overshadow the political state like Titans.

The I. W. W. believes, then, that the proletariat should organize themselves around this fundamental or industrial government. The proletariat should concentrate all its energies to capture the industries; the political state will then crumble into their hands. Just as the capitalists today rule signing officials, careful of their reputation with the exploiters.

"For once to every nation comes the moment to decide. Some of our leaders have decided to further lawlessness, strengthen conspiracies, and keep in prisons their own flesh and blood, others have decided to take the manly stand. To use labor's most wonderful power the strike weapon, against injustice."

After all, the nameless wage-worker, millions of him and her, serving steadily at their daily toil, dreaming dreams of hope for the morrow, have not been poisoned by false ambitions, and their hearts and brains are filled with ideals and idealism—they want and will maintain justice at the sacrifice of personal privation. It is this wonderful faith in whom we appeal, and we appeal to us not in vain. We are going to carry out as executors, the trust imposed upon us, the program, the great labor program adopted at the Chicago Mooney Labor congress.

We have reached the step that calls for a strike. Strike as a protest against wrong and injustice. Labor's voice will shortly be announced. This vote will be taken by secret ballot. It will be a record vote. The number of those interested in the Mooney case, interested in seeing justice done will be recorded within the ranks of organized labor.

On the outside of the labor movement, there are millions who are fully watching this tremendous struggle. Some cannot get in the labor unions on account of position in life. Others have been suspicious of the labor movement for reasons of their own.

These millions of slips of paper, headed "Mooney Ballot" will tell the greatest story ever told as far as labor history is concerned. This will tell, among other things, this will tell, among other things, this will tell that no official, sanctified by glittering, boostings of the enemy press, is powerful enough to balk the will of the common man and the common woman—yes, even the child, for maybe the child will lead—like the newboys of America, thousands and thousands of them will refuse to sell newspapers during the strike period. We are even hopeful that the little children of the south, stunted and

the state by owning the industries, the proletariat, once the industries have been taken over, will make the political state obsolete. The I. W. W. visualizes the existing system as a high building. Its turret and cornices represent the political state; its foundation stones are the industries. One may topple over and pull down the turrets, in a great political assault, but the system will stand intact on its foundation. But if one destroy these industrial foundation stones, not only will the industries be mastered, but the political turrets will plunge down in the same collapse. Therefore the tactics of the I. W. W. are monistic; it devotes itself solely to industrial action, knowing that, thereby, the political state will also be mastered.

But the Bolsheviki stumble here. They are monistic; they are dualists. They talk of two arms to the movement—political and industrial. They fail to see the needlessness of capturing the state in order to use the powers of state to socialize the industries, and they seem sublimely oblivious to the plain truth that, by first socializing the industries, one avoids the necessity of capturing the state altogether. That such a program means two steps where only one is necessary.

And so the Bolsheviki have made the immense error of organizing themselves into a political party around this "state" program. In every country they have exhausted themselves, hacking at the branches of the economic tree. They have fallen into the political trap which the master class has laid for them, and they have left the economic army unorganized. But now, in Russia at least, they are conscious of their lost opportunity. Russia has learned that a political party cannot run the industries of a nation. Russia has learned that communism, to be proletarian, must be preceded by the industrial organization of the proletariat. And it has been a costly lesson to the Bolsheviki.

An industrial union movement in Russia, in place of the Bolsheviki political movement, would have meant the saving of priceless months to the revolution. It would have meant the avoiding of chaos. It would have meant that famine and the havoc of industrial prostration would have been spared. There would have been no need of Soviets. There would have been no Red Terror. Even the Kolchaks and the Tschakovskys of the counter revolution would have been powerless to revolt, for counter revolution is necessarily political and can only spring out within the fabric of a political state. Had the Bolsheviki been industrial communists, instead of political, their eighteen months of power could have been stabilized the richest, most united and most powerful nation in history. But hoist on their political petard, the Bolsheviki still battle with chaos and thither with the futilities of Soviets.

It is this scientific, industrial viewpoint which is the contribution of the I. W. W. to the revolutionary thought of the world. It is the 20th century expression of Marxism. It reflects the highest development of capitalist centralization. It liberates the revolutionary movement from the misleading ideology of the master class; from political confusionism and dualistic futility. It lifts the revolution from the chaos of insurrectionism; it plants it on the plane of scientific, reasoned certainty.

## THE UNITY OF BOLSHEVISM AND THE I. W. W.

THE contrasts of the I. W. W. and Bolshevism have been noted. But beyond them there is a great field of similarities which link the movements together into natural unity. They may differ on tactics, but they are moving toward the same same goal. Both are communists.

In the United States, it is the I. W. W. which holds up the Communist banner and battles for the cause of the American Bolsheviki. On politics it may differ with his Russian comrade, but it marches with them in the same international army toward proletarianism.

The fundamental aim of the communists—both industrial and political—is a world ruled by workers. It is the historic mission of the working class to become the masters of society. It is the golden vision of the communists to hasten the accomplishing of this mission. In European Bolshevism and in American I. W. W. the line-up for the final struggle is being made. Bourgeois reformists and sentimental impossibilists are being repudiated. The Social Revolution is being placed upon a scientific basis of proletarianism. And communism has at last become the organ through which the revolutionary dream of the ages finds its triumphant voice. Socialism which began as a Utopia; Socialism which became a futile dogma in the Second International; Socialism which seemed to perish in shame with the coming of the world-war, has given place at last to the destined proletarian star—Communism. And this Communism, girdling the globe, has produced a successful Bolsheviki revolution in Russia, and a flagging, faltering I. W. W. in revolutionary America.

The future of the United States belongs to industrial communism. Resistlessly the avalanche of economic law hurls the capitalist system toward a communist culmination. And indomitably—with the very urge of destiny—the I. W. W. surges through the industries and waters the sprouting gardens of industrial communism. The Russian Bolsheviki have given to the I. W. W. the thrill of success. They have given to the I. W. W. a great historic example of tactics. The I. W. W. glories in the Russian victory. But the I. W. W. also learns the lesson of organization from the mistakes which Russia has made and the tragedies which political communism has there endured. As the proletariat of America rally to the I. W. W., they build an organization which shall not only win to Bolshevism. They build an organization which shall rise in its victory beyond Bolshevism to INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM; which shall accomplish not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the democracy of the proletariat; which shall create not a Soviet but an industrial commune of free labor. It is with that vision that they battle on to destiny.

## Department of Labor Reasons

William Tanner, who has just been released from the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth on bond, was to have been arrested as soon as his sentence of five years had been completed.

It has been arranged, however, that the appeal bond that he has been released under, shall also hold good as a bond for his appearance at any time the immigration authorities want him.

The warrant for his arrest as an alien is a classical document, and charges about everything vile against him. There is no proof submitted of the charges, but they are made any how. What "the other reasons" are is not stated, but in view of the action of the department of labor during the past two years one cannot help wondering if these other reasons are not that Tanner is a member of the I. W. W.

The reasons that are given for the arrest of Tanner are absolutely false. He has never advocated or taught the things he is charged with doing. The "reasons" there given are nothing less or more than an attempt to prejudice the cases of the men who are making an appeal for a new trial.

Warrant—Arrest of Alien. United States of America, U. S. department of labor, Washington. No. 54616153

To Harry R. Landis, inspector in charge, Chicago, Ill., or to any immigrant inspector in the service of the United States.

Whereas, From evidence submitted to me, it appears that the alien, William Tanner, who landed at an unknown port, on or about the first day of January, 1914, has been found in the United States in violation of the act approved Oct. 16, 1918, for the following among other reasons: That he advocates the assassination of public officials; that he teaches the assassination of public officials; that he advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States; and that he advocates the unlawful destruction of property; and that he teaches the unlawful destruction of property.

I, John W. Abercrombie, acting secretary of labor, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by the laws of the United States, do hereby command you to take into custody the said alien and grant him a hearing..... to enable him to show cause why he should not be deported in conformity with law.

For so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Witness my hand and seal this 22nd day of April, 1919. (Signed) JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE, Acting Secretary of Labor.

## Eugene V. Deb's Daily Message

From NEW YORK CALL.

"The workingman is the only man in whose presence I take off my hat. As I salute him, I honor myself."

The workingman has given me what I am, and will make me what I hope to be; and I thank him for all, and above all for giving me eyes to see, a heart to feel and a voice to speak for the workingman.

"Like the rough hewn stone from which the noble statue is chiseled by the hand of man, the toiler is the rough-hewn bulk from which the perfect man is being chiseled by the hand of God."

"All the workmen of the earth are necessary to the whole workingman—and he alone will survive of all the human race."

"The way has been long and weary and full of pain, and many have fallen by the wayside, but the Unconquerable Army of Labor is still on the march and looking ahead, it holds upon the horizon the first glowing rays of the social sunrise."

"Courage, comrades! The struggle must be won, for Peace will only come when she comes hand in hand with Freedom."

"The right is with the labor move-

ment and the gods of battle are with the Working Class."

## WORKING WOMEN PRESENT DEMANDS

(By United Press.)

Philadelphia, June 2.—Organization of all working women into trade unions will be the aim of the National Women's Union league, which opens here today. This is the sixth biennial convention of the league.

Leaders have announced their intentions to make the following demands:

Equality of women with men in industrial and professional opportunity; making the phrase "Equal Pay for Equal Work" into an established fact; maintaining by legislative action the war work standards for women, so as to insure for them in peace times, the same protection that was given them during the war.

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The Butte Daily Bulletin

## Which Side Are You On?

By E. D. NOLAN, Secretary Workers' Defense League.

Almost three years ago, the conspiracy against Tom Mooney, Warren Billings and other victims of corporate greed was hatched in the decaying brains of enemies of the people.

Every avenue organized by society has been utilized to frustrate the diabolical plot. Every court in the land from the police court in San Francisco to the supreme court of the United States in Washington, D. C., was appealed to, but justice was not to be found anywhere. The police court stood on par with the supreme court. Labor, in union meetings, in conventions, has begged, pleaded, demanded and exhorted, attempting to get simple justice.

Strike upon strike was threatened, but labor's better judgment caused it to hesitate until all remedies at law were exhausted.

A call was made to organized labor as a whole to assemble and discuss and decide what to do. This call went to the local unions of the United States. It went to the labor councils, to the departmental councils and to the internationals.

The response to this call was wonderful. Never before in the history of American labor has there been a convention of similar import and character. Wages were not discussed. Hours of labor were not discussed. Jurisdiction differences were not considered. The convention was on a high plane. It organized to consider and decide what action should be taken by labor itself to establish the principle of "equality before the law," the greatest of all democratic ideals.

At this time when there is concerted opposition upon the part of certain executives of the American labor movement toward the carrying out of the program of the National Mooney Labor congress, let it be understood that these opponents were invited to the congress and had a chance to exert their power and influence in mapping out the program. Why were they absent? They had a tremendous opportu-

nity to speak with, to consult with, delegates from local unions and all crafts, as well as numerous central bodies. Perhaps it was because these labor officials, somehow or other, felt that they could not impress these job representatives with their dignity and their importance. Another thing, clever political manipulators, either labor or otherwise, would be lost in a body of that magnitude and spirit.

New spokesmen for labor were born at this convention. New ideals were thrust upon the American labor movement—those of the "old guard" that were present gladly accepted this new spirit, these new ideals and threw themselves into the hopeful labor movement and went to work.

What was this convention's decision? It was a terribly tense convention, but nevertheless acting on the work at hand, it decided to appeal to the state legislature of California for remedial legislation. That state legislature adjourned and refused to give an opportunity for justice to prevail.

The congress further asked for federal intervention, which intervention upon the part of the government is not only possible but, it is the government's duty to intervene, by the virtue of the very fact that two separate and distinct government investigating commissions have reported that the verdicts in the Mooney case are miscarriages of justice. They have reported that justice is outraged; that there is no equality before the law; that citizenship is a mockery; when fraud and perjury is used to deprive one of life or liberty.

Yet will all this, the verdicts are being carried out. Injustice is temporarily triumphant, and the government at Washington is not acting upon the recommendations of their own commissions.

Labor knows its duty and its power. Labor will not be balked by the "holier than thou" attitude of de-

## KINDNESS OF "WILLIE REX" TAUGHT SCHOLARS

Germans Aroused Over Moves of "Pans" Relative to Education of the Country's Young Ones.

By JOHN GRAUDENZ.

(United Press Staff Correspondent.) Berlin, (By Mail.)—The radicals claim that "equal education for everyone," the principle of socialism, has been dropped by the socialist German government. While the latter, during the last three months, spent eight and a half billion marks on the "new militarism," the Prus-

sian minister of finances turned a deaf ear to all calls for help from the minister of culture. Both ministers are majority socialists. The total amount needed for the most necessary school reforms is estimated at two hundred million marks, but not even one million and a half was granted for the proposed people's high school, where intelligent workmen could be trained as administrative officials. This, according to the radicals, is the only basis upon which the socialistic republican stand. In order to erect a temporary school for this purpose, the reformers are now begging for funds from capitalists.

There are from ten to fifteen thousand unemployed teachers. Thousands of governesses are being dismissed to make room for the returning soldiers. All these girls are in great need. Hundreds appeal daily to the minister of culture who is unable to assist them. The reformers intend to change the entire school system to correspond with American, Danish, and Swedish systems, especially with regard to the so-called working schools. Their plan to abolish all privileged schools is opposed by the government, because it needs the fees paid by the pupils of these schools. The municipal administrations promised to reserve 25 per cent. of all the seats in the privileged schools for the workmen's children. The reformers, however, fear that this would spoil their children, since they would adopt bourgeois manners. Meanwhile the school system is becoming more reactionary. The directors and high school teachers mostly members of the Pan Germanic parties, are forming leagues of youths and offer active resistance to all orders issued by the minister of culture.

Socialistic teachers are dismissed by the directors. The school books are, as before, filled with imperialistic and royal history. Asking a boy what kind of a lesson he had to learn for the day, he showed me his book. This was the lesson: "The kindness of heart of William Rex."

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