

LEFT SIDE IWW Convention

As determined by a constitutional referendum, there will be a General Convention of the IWW held this year. It will convene September 1, at General Headquarters in Chicago. Representation will be by individual members and by delegates elected in branch and group meetings.

Spokesman for the new Alliance for Labor is Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers which recently eased itself out of the AFL-CIO. With the UAW and the Teamsters union to start, the ALA has two of the largest business unions in the U. S. lined up. It is inviting others to join.

Reuther is out front again, at least in the news. Actually, he isn't leading. He's following in the wake of growing demand for wider horizons in labor union planning and action.

The demand has long been voiced by militants within his own union.

The demand comes, in fact, from the whole labor community which is in daily contact with social and economic wrongs not touched in wage bargaining for fractional parts of the labor force; it is ruled out of order in local meetings, and is never seriously considered in councils of the top leadership.

For sure, a higher calibre unionism is needed to reach working class targets. But will the new "Alliance" do better than Meany and his string of labor diplomats have done? Or will it, perhaps, just corral some of the prevailing discontent in another federation, a slightly modernized AFL-CIO, guaranteed safe for employers in the hands of a pair of their labor lieutenants?

However that may be, birth of the ALA is a significant event on the labor front, though not necessarily a blessed one.

* * *

In Paris, the city bosses are surfacing cobblestone streets where students rioted in May with thick layers of asphalt. Chances are it's only a delayed urban renewal project. But one remembers that the cobblestones were pried up and used as missiles a few weeks back, and that they have been thus used from time to time for centuries by citizens in revolt. Hanceforth cobblestones are out as weapons, even for students in Paris.

The incident could be a reminder that we are in the 20th century, not the 13th when students first battled on the street for progressive education in Paris universities. Anyway, as far

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★ EDUCATION

★ ORGANIZATION

★ EMANCIPATION

Industrial Worker

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

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10 Cts.

Campus Revolt: Passport To Revolution?



The eyes of the world have been turned upon the upheaval in France where it at first appeared that an uprising of students and workers was ousting de Gaulle. It is almost certain, with its well-supported general strike, that it was not the spontaneous rebellion some observers claimed, but a well-conceived, self-conscious, and carefully engineered project.

What, indeed, is revolution?

The idea is rife in certain quarters that it must be attended by violence, that it must occur overnight, that it must be instigated by political rebels. These are not necessary concomitants of revolution. Violence, a spurious militancy, a popular slogan, a dominant and aggressive stance by the leaders of the hour are, as often as not, the meretricious accessories of reactionaries determined to lead us backwards.

Revolution is a complete turning, in social institutions as well as mechanics, or, as Merriam Webster claims, a total or radical change. The violence and abruptness sometimes accompanying this change are peripheral occurrences; they are not intrinsic elements of revolution. Demonstrations may be the impetus, even the vehicle of change, not the core of revolution.

Certain types of economic revolution may consist of disparate parts, each one of which may be a minor revision in the economy, the sum total of which, over a period of time, constitutes a fundamental and complete break with the past. The French Revolution of 1788, though bloody and melodramatic, was incomplete. Later revolts were necessary before the people finally banished their king forever and instituted a republic. The Industrial Revolution, on the other hand, was composed of numerous nuts, bolts, and screws—a series of commonplace mechanical developments that took a vast time to wreak economic upheaval. Nor was it a self-conscious, organized development. But it was responsible for setting in motion many wheels within wheels, many subsidiary social and economic innovations such as the rise of the industrial proletariat, the freeing of the black slaves, the emancipation of women, the stimulation of popular education, and so on.

Just what are the revolution-

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Welfare State

Most Keynesian reformers hope to achieve wellbeing by a rate of growth high enough to assure widespread employment.

In recent years the American economy, with large military expenditures and other forms of deficit financing, has expanded to a Gross National Product approaching a thousand billion, new high interest rates, and an alltime high in the cost of living. Yet we still have large pools of hard core unemployed; a third of the population unable to afford decent living; 15% of it actually hungry.

For wellbeing we have to direct production to what we need and arrange to get what we produce.—F. T.

Half of World's Jobs

More than half the world's labor force is engaged in agriculture, says the International Labor Office. This does not hold true for the United States where mechanized farm equipment has reduced manpower need tremendously. But in other respects, a recent ILO report describes the situation of U. S. farm workers perfectly, for instance:

"The lot of agricultural workers is harder than that of town workers; the land today holds much greater risks for the wage

earner than does the factory; and there is greater inequality than in other branches of economic activity".

And the report adds, "technological progress involves a growing threat to the health and safety of the agricultural worker."

Shopping in Sweden

On a shopping trip to Sweden in July, Soviet Premier Kosygin hobnobbed with the king and other government big shots. He was looking for dairy equipment, but when Gustaf Adolf showed him the Findus deep freeze plant at Bjuv, he displayed a lot of interest in the processing of a pea crop. However, he brusquely refused a drink of baby juice offered him. At Harpsund he told journalists the Czechs never worried about the presence of Russian troops in their land. Ha!

Leaders

Says Senator Percy of Illinois: "The American people and the entire free world are starving for leadership....." But as T-Bone Slim might have said, "Workers can follow leaders or let 'em walk alone, if only the bastards wouldn't insist on riding on our backs."

"An Injury to One Is an Injury to All" • One Union One Label One Enemy

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Left Side...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

as labor's battle is concerned, it can be carried on without cobblestones. Factories occupied by the workers in the big strike were ready to roll when the strike ended. Where there is organized strength, brickbats and destruction are a nuisance.

* * *

The IWW believes firmly and without reservation in free speech, free press, in the right to dissent and to organize dissent. In all areas where these rights are withheld, though they claim to be socialist or communist, we say the battle for a true workers' society remains to be won.

Derty Tricks In Idyllic Sweden

The big industrial struggles in Sweden from 1907 to 1909 between the craft unions and the boss class ended with the complete fiasco of the big strike of 1909, leaving the rank and file deeply disappointed.

Large numbers of workers were blacklisted and persecuted for their part in this class struggle. Many managed to go to America. Others, who could not raise the money for tickets, were forced to take to the highways. They wandered from place to place, but it was hard for them to get jobs because of the black-listings.

After much agitation, a committee called for a congress in Stockholm in June 1910. It was at this congress that a Swedish workers' central organization was born—Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation (S. A. C.).

From its start in 1910, SAC propaganda for a new and better workers' organization was well received. Many of its struggles against the boss class were victorious. But it had to struggle

also against the reformist L. O. which attempted to break SAC's strikes and to force its members from the job. From that time to the present, L. O. has used all possible dirty tricks to injure SAC.

But SAC continued to grow. It has been "up and down" for this militant organization of Swedish workers, but since 1958 it has gradually and steadily continued to grow.

We have a law in Sweden which claims. "To guarantee all employees, public and private, the right to organize and the right to bargain collectively."

This law should, and many think it does, give all workers the right to democratically choose the union they want to represent them. But it is not so. The L. O. has been able to use this law as a weapon against SAC.

On July 2, SAC sent a delegation to the Minister of the Interior and demanded that measures be taken to forbid effectively the monopoly of the right to work.

As it stands now, this outmoded law of 1936, though it is supposed to grant free choice in bargaining, in practice permits monopoly clauses. An immediate change in this law and in the unjust Labor Court law, and in related legislation, are necessary to make Sweden really a State of Justice, an appellation which it now hardly deserves, despite its reputation in other lands.

SAC demands to be represented when a new and better labor law is drawn up.

It may surprise fellow workers in other countries to learn that 600,000 full time workers in Sweden have less than 10,000 kroner annual income. At the same time, many consider that three times this sum is inadequate. The income scale here ascends up to 60 times 10,000, to 600,000 kroner a year.

As you can see, we are far from having a society of Freedom, Equality and Solidarity.

David Sund

INDUSTRIAL WORKER ANNUAL APPEAL

Every knowledgeable worker knows that underlying riots, freedom marches and legal reforms offered by politicians, there is the fact of economic exploitation of the poor by the rich. That poverty of millions and insecurity of fairly well-to-do workers are due to concentration of wealth in a ruling class is no secret. That the special problems of youth are products of ruling class systems, capitalist or so-called socialist, is well understood.

What needs clarification, within the enlightened LEFT itself and in the ranks of puzzled victims of exploitation, is the question as to where and with what action the war for a good world can be won. Where will the battles be staged? Will it be in the slums by guerrillas? Or by legislation in Congress? Or where?

As the Industrial Worker sees it, "symbolic revolts" on the street, programs for remedial legislation, and appeals to the state from or for the distressed have this in common: they help divert discontent from eruption in industry where the real battle against the master class will inevitably be fought.

For decades, employers have

erected barriers to keep radical thinking from flowing freely among working proletarians. Sold out business unionism helps maintain these barriers. Labor legislation reinforces them. The political LEFT, legal or outlawed, unintentionally assists by diverting militant workers from union action and making them weekend or election day rebels. Thus discontent is channelled away from a logical battle ground to areas where it can pop off, or be beaten down.

The Industrial Worker calls for a revitalized union movement. It calls on union radicals to enlist their unions in the class war; and it appeals especially to young workers to help organize the unorganized in the IWW for a One Big Union confrontation with the robber class which is making a shambles of our world.

This is our annual sustaining fund appeal. We appreciate you as a subscriber and we hope you will contribute generously. The goal this time is \$3,000.

Donations will be published unless otherwise requested.

W. H. Westman,
Business Manager
Yours for a better world
Carl, Keller, Editor

WHAT GOES ON IN CUBA

By Henry Wallace
(Special to The Industrial Worker)

Havana, Cuba — A fascination experiment in the liberation of man is reaching an advanced stage on Uncle Sam's doorstep and few Americans are seeing it first hand.

There was a time when the visitor from the land of the free faced the possibility of five years in prison and a heavy fine for setting foot on Cuban soil, unless he was a C. I. A. agent or a Bay of Pigs mercenary. Then there was a period when the only penalty that could be imposed was withdrawal of passport.

Today there is nothing to keep an inquisitive American from seeing Cuba except the big bad frown of the State Department, rendered incapable of more stringent measures by Supreme Court decisions.

The only prerequisite imposed by Cuba is that you come as a friend. "We have had enough of C. I. A. types," explained a government official. Of course there is the problem of getting a Cuban visa. You have to know someone or be known. Generally speaking you need an individual or orga-

nization in Cuba to vouch for you. But this isn't too hard to arrange as I found out this summer when I applied for a visa and received authorization within a week.

Half the difficulty is getting there. Mexico is the only point of departure in the Western Hemisphere, aside from Cuban freighter from Montreal. The U.S. has arranged with Mexico to keep this last loophole open so that it can check on those who wish to visit the Pearl of the Antilles without its permission.

State Department permission, incidentally, called validation, is obtained easily by pet reporters of big commercial publications. But few go because they know all about Cuba anyway. Others may get validation by going hat in hand to State, stating why they wish to visit Cuba and waiting until the day before scheduled departure, with tickets bought and reservations made, to know if validation has gone through.

Importance of validation is that without it the Mexicans won't give you a re-entry permit to return via Mexico to the U. S. And without a re-entry permit

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"Draftees Unite," "Four Generations of Heroes," "We Shouldn't Have Sent Him." Order from the IWW. \$1.00 each. Donated by Carlos Cortez.

So Spake Abid Ali

In faroff India, where there is much talk of defense for democracy (just as here), old Abid Ali says:

"What have they got to do with democracy? They talk of democracy just as those raiders, who came to India keeping the cow in front of their armies that the Brahmins will not use their arrows, so that the sacred cow should not be killed."

What do our rulers know or care about democracy?

WHAT GOES ON IN CUBA

your only way back is via Prague or Madrid, very expensive routes, or via Montreal by boat, a rather long trip with departure date depending on cargo.

Uncle Sam may be many things, but in the field of harassment he is no slacker. Also, it's worth noting that without validation you can't use your passport to visit Cuba. But the Cubans are sympathetic and give you a visa on a separate piece of paper. Technically speaking, your passport is not used.

Also, you aren't supposed to spend money in Cuba. It's part of the trade embargo to keep our little island neighbor from getting dollars. It was passed into law when the U. S. thought it could starve Cuba to its knees and is still on the books. I went without validation and spent some money and re-entered the U. S. without incident.

The hop from the warfare state to the welfare state is a transition from one world to another. From the country that is dedicated to destruction at home and abroad to a country devoted to construction is a poignant contrast. You note it when you head for Havana from Jose Marti International Airport. The fourlane highway is bracketed by newly-arrived farm equipment tractors, bulldozers, cane combines, hay balers and seed drills — from a half-dozen Eastern and Western European countries. Many are still crated. All will soon be in Cuba's flat black fields to produce food for self-sufficiency and export, and 10,000,000 tons of sugar in 1970, or twice the 1968 output.

Preamble

• THE WORKING CLASS and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, Abolition of the wage system."

• IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

In the vacant spaces stretching out from the roads leading into the capital thousands of volunteer workers are planting millions of trees for fruit and lumber, and hundreds of acres of beans and coffee, in a project to make the teeming city of Havana self-sufficient in those products. In the city and on its outskirts, homes, apartment houses and factories are rising.

Fidel Castro has described the Socialist government of the new Cuba as being "of the humble, by the humble and for the humble." And so it is. It is a peasant and worker society, although anyone who wants to contribute, from the former absentee landlord aristocrat to the reformed lumpen proletariat is welcome. All that is asked is that he put his shoulder to the common wheel, and never mind what he was before or at the beginning of the Revolution.

Cuba's movement toward the future, a movement as Cuban as the royal palms that dot its verdant countryside, with all the idiosyncracies of the Cuban people taken into account, is a movement with a vision. That vision is expressed by Fidel. He sees a state where money will be substituted by work, where machines will relieve man of the drudgery of heavy manual labor, and where all things will be free for the taking and all citizens will contribute according to their abilities.

Already this movement is more than a vision. Occupancy of houses and apartments is 70 percent free now and no Cuban will pay rent after 1970. Recreation, such as clubhouses with their beaches, once the domain of the rich whites, are free. Amusement parks are free. Baseball games are free. Public telephones are free. You come into the world free at well-equipped hospitals and you go out free with your choice of religious service or none, in a free casket to a free place in the ground. You are free to work at a job suitable to your capacity and taste, but not free to be idle. That is the principal freedom denied.

But of all the freedoms afforded by the Socialist Republic of Cuba, which performed a near miracle by changing from capitalism to the road to Communism under the very nose of the most anti-communist power on earth, is freedom from exploitation by foreign interests or their home-grown counter parts. And this is a freedom Cubans understand perhaps better than anyone else, for they had lived for more than three score years under the world's most exacting imperialism.

Cuba today is setting the pat-

OFFICIAL NOTICES
BRANCH MEETINGS

HOUSTON, Texas. — Robert (Blackie) Vaughan is the acting Secretary of the Houston I.U. 510 branch. All communications intended for the branch should be addressed to him at 7505 Navigation Blvd., Houston, Tex. 77011.

NEW YORK CITY: Call Bill Goring for delegate service and information. Telephone 749-6465.

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.— See Michael Mack, Branch Secretary, 425 Presidio Ave. Keep informed. Get involved in the action.

it's been done by others. eating habits among migratory

CHICAGO branch general membership meetings are now being held on the first Friday of the month at 2422 N. Halsted Street. W. H. Westman, Secretary.

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — IWW Stationary Delegate, P.O. Box 46583, Los Angeles; or call Dorice McDaniels, phone number: OR 7-8397.

YAKIMA, Wash.— For information about work and organization opportunities in fruit and farm areas of Eastern Washington, write to Stationary Delegate, P.O. Box 2205, Yakima, Wash; or telephone CH 8-3438.

VANCOUVER, B.C. — Stationary Delegates J. B. McAndrew, 1896 I Ave., basement apartment; phone 738-7864.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—For information write to Jarama Jahn, P.O. Box 17161, Zip No. 19105; or Phone MA 7-1896.

TOPEKA, Kansas — Call John Weismiller for information about the IWW. Phone 234-9043. Or write him. Address is 802 West 12th, Apt. No. 5, Topeka, Zip 66612.

SEATTLE, Wash. Office open every Saturday afternoon, 1 to 6 by Stationary Delegate. Use back door entrance to apartment at 2611 41st. St. S. W. Zip. No. is 98116. Visitors welcome.

BOSTON, Mass. IWW Branch Secretary Dan L. Tilton can be reached at 27 Stanhope St., office of the New England Resistance.

Bill Haywood's Book

The IWW has a few copies left of Bill Haywood's autobiography. Price \$4.50, postpaid.

Pill Age Note

Dr. Philip G. Ney of Champaign, Ill. announces a new pill that will make reluctant children want to go to school.

tern for the rest of Latin America. It is the prelude of things to come. Washington, bent on destroying the new Cuba, doesn't fear its arms or its aid to revolutionaries in other countries. It fears its example. And its fear is entirely justified from its imperialist point of view.

Why a New Unionism Is Needed

By Fred Thompson

This series is intended, with the help of readers, to look at the many changes in the world that require us to develop new union policies, practices and structures to face the facts of life in the 70's.

A wide range of reasons for major changes in unionism, some economic, some otherwise, will be considered, but we started out in the first article with the need for world-wide co-ordination of bargaining efforts to stop workers in the same industry from being pitted against each other in the world market. In the second we explored the connection between this world market competition and the grief on the job.

In this third article, let's continue on this world market lead and note that there is room for only two basically different views on how to cope with global competition, an inside view, and an outside view. These two views, and the courses of action based on them, are mutually exclusive. That is one reason for starting this series with a look at this world market.

The view that has been handed on down to us comes from looking at the world from inside a nation — the inside view. From that viewpoint, no matter in what nation we plant our feet, the world out there is peopled with hostile folk who speak strange words, scheming to put others at a disadvantage, and in particular to grab our market. The remedies, as seen from that viewpoint, frustrate these evil schemers by excluding them from our markets while we penetrate theirs. The other viewpoint enables us to look at the process as a whole, from the outside, like an astronaut circling the globe or a union organizer walking around the factory he plans to organize, wondering how he is to get these workers to see that they can gain more by acting jointly than each for himself.

The two viewpoints are as different as that of the drunk who kept circling the lamp post and that of the people who watched him. He kept going round and round the post, constantly feeling it with his upraised hands, moaning that he was completely surrounded by it — and from his point of view, he was. Those who watched him and laughed had the advantage that from their viewpoint they could see the process whole, from the outside.

The anthropologist Malinowski had the same advantage in describing the complex Kula ex-

change system that extends between various island groups. ("Argonauts of the Western Pacific.") He explains that the individuals were so immersed in the exchange system that they cannot see it whole as they would from the outside, and so "have no knowledge of the total outline of any of their social structures; they know their own motives, know the purpose of individual actions and rules which apply to them, but not even the most intelligent native has any idea of the Kula as a big organized social construction." Advanced people can get the same way talking about foreign trade. It isn't that they are stupid; it comes from adhering to the tradition of taking the inside view.

In recent times improved methods of shipment (packaging, processing, loading, hauling) have combined with mergers and investments, with state enterprise and capital accumulations abroad, to intensify the competition between workers in different lands. The customary reaction of unions based on the traditional inside view has been to figure how we and our employers can stop those working stiffly over there and their employers from underselling our employers and putting us out of work.

This need not involve a foreign flag: The Seafarer for June 21 reports how its affiliate the Cannery Workers asked the government to put a ceiling on how much tuna may come to the continental United States from American Samoa. But usually different flags are involved.

Of difficulties facing ILGWU, we read in Labor History this spring (p.61) "Imports of women's and children's garments rose from \$55 million in 1954 to \$284 million in 1964..... On a visit to Hong Kong, Dubinsky visited efficient garment shops in which employees worked a 70-hour week for weekly earnings of seven dollars."

From the outside viewpoint, the spaceman viewpoint, the union organizer viewpoint, it would seem that Brother Dubinsky and his Ladies Garment Workers' Union have the same sort of problem with these workers in Hong Kong as they have with the workers in some runaway shop that skipped to New Jersey. They need to organize as garment workers in a world market. That union has spent considerable funds on international efforts, but (according to the same source p. 111) with policies shaped by Mr. Lovestone and executed by Mr. Romuladi, who are more

expert at fighting communists than at building resistance to employers who pay a dime an hour and want a 70-hour week.

The Chamber of Commerce standard prescription is to work harder and cheaper, but at a 70 hour week and a dime an hour we must decline to underbid. Even at much less extreme terms, some of us may doubt whether the way to get more prosperous is to work cheaper. There are more forcible and sophisticated ways. If we can't underbid some foreigners, we might shoot them up until they sign whatever trade agreement our employers ask them to sign — but then again corpses make poor customers. Or our upper crust might lend their upper crust some dollars that they can spend only here, and then get them to spend it on things, accessories for which they would have to come here to buy. Or perhaps our employers might place a big order with theirs for something that would gear their economy to American practices, as Russia is said to be doing in placing orders in India for rolling stock that can ride only on rails spaced at the gauge used only in Russia. But most favored device is the tariff, a device already out of date a century or more ago when Bastiat commented on how we toil and dig tunnels to facilitate trade between nations, then erect tariffs to stop the trade.

One big trouble with all these devices is that the more effectively they work, the more they defeat their own purpose. We can't keep on selling to others, unless they keep on selling too. Again we may have been like Aesop's fly on the wagon wheel talking about what a dust he raised, when we said we kept them out of our employers' markets. If by merger or investment, he sets himself up to profit from the work whether it is done here or abroad, he may start making noises like a liberal and say those old tariffs are plumb unenlightened.

Even if our boss doesn't internationalize himself, a long experience indicates that these devices all tend to produce effects the opposite of what was intended. Consider a TV dinner and the cup of instant coffee likely to go with it. Half the TV dinners now come from Argentina. This is because America banned the importation of fresh meat from that country since there was so much hoof and mouth disease. So the American packing concern, Wilson, opened Frigerificos Argentinos to provide America with precooked frozen

TV dinners (Times of the Americas, June 19.)

For years Brazil has limited the supply of coffee exported by requiring the exported coffee beans come up to certain standards. The beans that could not pass these standards were sold so cheap that coffee distributors made them into instant coffee inside Brazil and export this manufactured product. Somehow, it seems that when you disturb a system that has achieved a degree of equilibrium, the reactions you produce are of a nature and direction to minimize the disturbance.

So let's take the outside look at this round ball, some 8,000 miles through with some three billion people on it. Here and there they find ways to do their work easier or better; they raise new crops and invent new materials; they build factories and drydocks and vessels and airplanes. All these can help produce what they want and help them put it where it is wanted. What trouble should befall them for doing this? Yet it takes shelf upon shelf of books devoted to the troubles this brings them to describe the half of it.

Suppose I make my living in a widget factory. Halfway around the world it is found possible to make widgets in half the time it was ever done before. Will this make life better for me, or give me a headache? If we start importing these widgets, it should now be possible to have all the widgets we want, with half of us ex-widget makers working to make something to trade for the imported ones, and the other half of us working to make some new thing to grace our standard of living with added joy or zest or ulcers.

For this happy outcome to be possible, we must be able to switch to these other lines of work, and we must be ready to live better by absorbing the additional products (if we are to have the same amount of employment rather than an increase in leisure.) Usually many rigidities lie in the way. It takes several years from the time an employer makes plans to put something new on the market before production starts. Out of the 26 million covered by private pension plans — as surely we widget makers were — three quarters would lose their pension in such a switch. Our fellow workers may be too tight up with installment commitments now to buy those new things we would have to start making. There's not a

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

Campus Revolt: Passport To Revolution? New Federation

nary potentials in America today?

We recognize several dissident elements with long-standing and self-recognized grievances. Students are barracading themselves inside administration buildings, forcing universities to rehire dismissed liberal faculty members, banishing recruiting officers and militaristic hiring firms from the campuses. True, college demonstrations, if they succeed in establishing a greater degree of student self-government throughout the country, will result in academic reform. But these reforms are, by themselves, too minor in effect, area of influence, and historic importance to be elevated to revolutionary significance.

The "quiet revolution" of yesterday's integrationists failed to spark a genuine revolt against the old order. Militants were busy demanding a stake in the white power structure. They did not propose any ultimate fundamental change involving the total society. Theirs was a nonviolent middle-class movement which championed the cause of the uppercrust underdog. They upheld the intitution of private property on a verbal level even while their sit-ins were temporarily undermining it in fact. Activists intentionally transgressed the law in a respectful (almost legal) manner and pursued sophisticated ends naively. The integration movement was a conservative, unconscious instrument of social revolt.

Nor have Rap Brown and Stokeley Carmichael promised any radical alterations in the nature of the black society they

advocate. Their militant and vociferous demand for transfer of power from one ethnic group to another by no means threatens a revolutionary shift in the power structure as such, or in the style of life of the majority of Negroes.

Some of us would like to think of the March on Washington as a revolutionary movement. But alas, here again we found a group of reformers demanding of the establishment a guaranteed wage, improvements in housing and education — within the existing economic class structure. Much ill-founded faith in the government's ability to produce these reforms was implicit in their demands.

What of pacifism as a revolutionary movement? Some peace-makers view pacifism as an end in itself, a cogent force sufficient to shatter the power structure in its direct confrontations with the **status quo**. They hold that pacifism represents a fundamental departure from the concept of power as a violent and coercive force in society, that it lays the foundation for basic change in human relationships. But here confusion arises between ends and means.

You may lay a sturdy foundation for your house, but if your blueprint fails to outline plans for walls and roof also you will never weather the winter. For the functioning of a complex economic society something beyond love and good will is required. These philosophical radicals have elaborated to perfection the means of attaining their goal — if only they had a

goal! And their refusal to recognize the class struggle as a vulgar but extremely tenacious fact only results in mollifying the adversary rather than building a new society. The folded-arms policy can be a successful technique of self-disciplined rebels who distinguish between a playboy street brawl and a basic revolution. But it is a technique, perhaps even a means to and end — never the end itself.

It is highly doubtful that any sizeable number of Americans are developing sufficient class consciousness to bring about an economic revolution of production for use such as we Wobblies have in mind. Lacking is the emotional identification among the various dissatisfied elements, the incentive to shift their allegiance from the establishment to any potential revolutionary group. Rarely in an aggressively individualistic society such as ours does this occur. Though students, intellectuals, workers, racial minorities, consumers, and the unemployed obviously play overlapping roles, they usually manage to ignore the dual parts they assume in the drama of economic exploitation.

The majority of students will soon lose their identity as footloose rebels when they take their place as professional workers in an affluent society. Steadily employed workmen have their eyes on promotion and view the unemployed with contempt. Nor are the growing number of workers, directly and indirectly dependent upon defense production, likely to render strike support to peace agitators during a crisis. And economically mobile Negroes ignore the plight of their lower-class brothers.

The effect of reform measures upon ultimate revolution is highly unpredictable. Revolution sometimes takes place after partial and unsuccessful attempts have been made by the Establishment to rectify the most glaring grievances and mollify the aggrieved. Such palliative measures as recent civil rights legislation have only tended to exaggerate the disparity between haves and have-nots against the backdrop of an affluent society, thus fanning the flames of revolt. Hopeless slaves never rebel. They know too well their lot will never improve. But throw the poor a crust of bread to feed their bellies, and you throw them a lifeline of hope upon which to feed their rebellion. — On the other hand, the reforms of the Roosevelt era certainly smothered the fires of revolt a generation ago.

Above all, a conscious, radical revolution requires a vision —

The United Auto Workers, 1,500,000 members, and the Brotherhood of Teamsters, largest U. S. union with 1,800,000 members, have joined forces in a new federation, the Alliance for Labor Action.

Announced goal of the new combine is "to advance the interests of workers and their families and to join with others in the community to promote the general welfare and to improve the Industrial Worker Gale (19) quality of life for all the American people." Other organizations are invited to join.

Walter Reuther, president of UAW says formation of the ALA marks a turning point in the history of the American labor movement.

Teamsters were expelled from the AFL-CIO in 1957. The Auto Workers disaffiliated themselves in May of this year after they were suspended for failure to pay per capita dues.

It is interesting to recall that 11 years ago Reuther led the move to expell the Teamsters from the AFL-CIO on charges of "corruption." Frank R. Fitzimmons now heads the Teamsters. Former Teamster president, James R. Hoffa, is taking time out in prison.

BOYCOTT

Who NEEDS California grapes? There's a boycott on, nationwide. Some of the most needy workers in the U.S. are on strike against table grape growers in California.

Average Pay

Average hourly pay for factory production workers in 12 years increased from \$2 to \$3, says the Labor Dept. The latter figure was reached in June this year.

though not necessarily an explicit blueprint — of where the alienated want to go. Without some plan, some notion of final destination all the campus demonstrations, marches, sit-ins will lead us nowhere.

We do not foresee any fundamental change looming in America's future. The year 1968 is filled with the chorus of the alienated. Rebellious feet are marching all over this land. But these feet are churning aronud in circles, energetic but blindly kicking over any obstruction in their way, but not clearing the path ahead. They are stirring up great cloudt of dust, not beating up a revolution.

"Thought without action is sterile, but action without thought is blind."

DORICE McDANIELS

WHY A NEW UNIONISM

widget maker in the country who would be happy to hear that halfway round the globe someone found how to make widgets twice as fast as he can.

One invention paves the way for a dozen more, and the capital with which to promote them accumulates. Economic change comes faster and faster. Production is increasingly for a world market, and the traditional inside view of world trade becomes increasingly irrational.

What do we need? communication and understanding with our fellow workers in all lands so that we can't be used against each other. Assurance we need have no great fear over the loss of a job. Independence in thought and action from our national power structures. Minds open to change, and above all a union organizer's view of this round ball and its three billion people, just as though it were a non-union shop (which it is) that

badly needs organizing (which it does). Or as it was stated so eloquently by Adlai Stevenson:

"We travel together, passengers on a little space ship, dependent on its vulnerable reserves of air and soil; all committed for our safety to its security and peace; preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, and I will say the love we give our fragile craft. We cannot maintain it — half fortunate, half miserable, half confident, half despairing, half slave — to the ancient enemies of man — half free in a liberation of resources undreamed of until this day. No craft, no crew can travel safely with such vast contradictions. On their resolution depends the survival of us all."

Meanwhile, in this rapidly changing world whose economy we must restructure, is it good sense to make contracts that run ahead into the seventies?

MORE NEXT MONTH.

LAND OF THE POOR

Upon the poor rests most heavily the burden of oppression, for they are the weakest members of any society.

In our culture, they are members in name only; they are the destitute, the have-nots, they have little to contribute to an automated society. Not only do they not pay their way; these people, the unwanted of modern civilization, are disturbers of the status quo, of our social conscience. They even threaten the very existence of the nation as a citadel of capitalism.

The American poor, the blacks, the whites, and all those colored in between, are indulging in annual practice marches on Washington these days, reminding the rich who vacation there at our expense that the poor are still with us.

And let them who govern us from their exalted places in the capital of this wealthy nation be warned that **they**, to the contrary, will not always be with us, for we have plans to move right into that great city some day and pitch them, money-laden britches and all, into the Potomac, further befouling that already murky body of water.

These are trying days for democracy in America. Negroes, distressed, desperate, and hopeless in their poverty, are rioting in the streets, burning and looting as they rage through the slum communities of our cities. It might almost be said that poor black people practice democracy with a ballot in one hand a brickbat in the other. For them,

democracy and equality have been tried and found wanting. It is, truly, a white man's society devised and administered by the most affluent members at the top.

This nation declared at its very beginning the right of a people to pursue happiness. We have established that right through the nearly two centuries of our national existence, but has the pursuit been successful? By what measuring rod can it be proclaimed that our dark-skinned citizens have run to ground and captured more than a faint glow of that will-o'-the-wisp?

I think it was all a Tory lie, told the American people by our Yankee Revolutionary forefathers on the Fourth of July, 1776. I think they sold the poor down the river on Independence Day.

Yesterday, some of them were slaves; today they march in a poor peoples' caravan on Washington' demanding an end to their destitution. Ten million of them, mark you, do not have enough to eat.

We take their young into the armed forces, give them some square meals, train them and send them to the slaughterhouse in Vietnam.

And still they keep coming, the great army of the poor, the "old folks at home," demanding food, clothing and shelter, with a chance for happiness at the end of the rainbow.

What have we here on the North American continent, Dreamland or toryland?

J. F. McDANIELS

TOOLS FOR ECONOMIC PLANNING

By ED Jhan

(Continued from Nuly Issue)

Multiply the difficulty presented by this rather simple example by the thousands of management problems faced by every large corporation, and you have some idea of the urgent need for mathematical programming. As the giant corporations spread over continent-sized markets and push into widely different lines of production, their operations are more hampered by their sheer size and complexity. Before the advent of the computer, their logistic problems could be handled only by human beings—that is, by a huge and constantly growing management bureaucracy.

This bureaucracy is, so to speak, a human computer—a machine constructed of managers, executives, and technical experts. But it is an extremely expensive machine, since its human parts absorb high salaries; and, what is worse, it is a machine which leaves serious problems unsolved or half-solved. The elec-

tronic computing machine is cheaper and more reliable. Used in conjunction with mathematical programming techniques, it permits the corporations, for the first time, to plan their overall operations in a really comprehensive and scientific way.

Yet there are rigid limits on the planning abilities of any single corporation. A corporation of any size has to deal every day with hundreds of suppliers, contractors, and competitors. The operations of all these other businesses vitally affect its own planning perspectives. Its planning effort requires information about them which they, to put it mildly, will be reluctant to give. Furthermore it has to deal with the government—which, today, is the biggest single customer for American business.

The services of Federal, state and local governments now account for between a fifth and a quarter of all economic activity. This far exceeds the go-

vernment share in such an avowedly socialist state as India, considerably exceeds that in the anciently socialist kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, and is not wholly incommensurate with the share in Poland.....

(Galbraith, *The New Industrial State*, p. 2)

The operations of the corporations, as well as those of the government depend on the overall condition of the economy. Expansion or recession, inflation or deflation, nationwide interest rates and profit rates, all feed back on the markets and profits of the individual corporation. Although individual companies, aided by the computers, can anticipate these things to some extent, they have no way to control them. The more they depend on comprehensive planning in their own operation, therefore, the more they will feel the need for outside help—for a special authority which can provide comprehensive and reliable economic information, and which can regulate the ups and downs of the national market. This authority is, of course, the government.

Rival Systems Move in Same Direction

The government has a hand in virtually every area of the US economy. It subsidizes agriculture, shipbuilding, aircraft, mining, and god-knows-how-many other industries. Our bold free-enterprise Congressmen will come out against any government program that might help poor people; but they have nothing against the "socialism" that benefits the rich. And so, by raising taxes, by manipulating interest rates, by more financial operations than anyone has bothered to count, the government throws its weight around in the economy.

The problem which this immediately poses is that it does not throw its weight around in any very logical way. The economic programs of the US government are organized like a giant tinkertoy put together by an idiot. Certain aspects of its overall policy are, indeed, governed by a fairly clear-cut plan. The "new economics" handed down from the late Lord Keynes dictates whether total government spending and the Federal Reserve rates should go up or down. But the myriad specific programs of regulating, licensing, taxing and subsidizing particular industries have been built up by years of wierd political wheeling and dealing—what is called pork-barrel politics. They are subject to no central, rational control.

The "new economics" calls for considerably less state planning than would be easily feasible with the economic tools now on hand. If the presently chaotic system of government intervention were rationalized, subjected to a single

central plan and regulated via mathematical programming America would immediately acquire a planned economy about as centralized as that of Yugoslavia.

Any such event would, of course, entail an unprecedented political upheaval. The multiple vested interests that benefit from the present scheme of things would have to be dislodged; an outcome which is not to be achieved without a bitter struggle. Nonetheless, from a purely technical point of view, the United States is not so very far from the centrally-planned economics of nations that call themselves "socialist."

Worker Control Is Labor Goal

In the meantime, the scientific tools of planning have attained a remarkable degree of sophistication. Few people are even aware of their existence. But we had better learn something about them, for two reasons. First, as long as these techniques remain the property of the corporations and the capitalist government, they will be used to exploit the working class. The labor movement will never be able to deal with the employers if it has no understanding of how they make their decisions. Second, we look forward to a time when the capitalist system will have been replaced by workers' management of industry. The working class will have inherited the planning techniques developed by capitalist management, and will have to learn to use them in organizing production. It will not be safe to leave the knowledge of the tools of planning as a monopoly of technical experts—to do so would be to invite a bureaucratic dictatorship.

In subsequent articles, therefore, I will present some of the basic ideas used in modern mathematical programming. Like many another technical field, it is based on principles which are not, in and of themselves, particularly complicated. Anyone who wanted to apply them in practice would, of course, have to get specialized training. But no specialized training is needed to learn the fundamentals.

SOUL FORCE

Sure, poor people have soul force, but if we want it to nourish us, we've got to get it organized for action.

Age of Reason

H. B. Dodd, Am. Rationalist Society, on the air from Beaumont, Tex. and Monterrey, Mexico, says: "I have noticed with amusement about the sin fighters they have an aversion toward work. They think perhaps that manual labor is a Mexican violinist."

Politics: It's All Hogwash, Blackie Says

(Continued from last month)

Sugar Pine Whitey was laying it on the line about the war in Vietnam and the sickening hypocrisy of its promoters who were trying to impress the rest of us with their great love for human freedom and our duty to be patriotic.

We had stopped at a "plaza" and a crowd quickly gathered around us. Whitey was not one to miss an opportunity like this to, as he put it, "give 'em both barrels."

We were joined by another man who had been listening to us from a near-by bench. I recognized him as an old timer whom I had met in Butte some years ago. He still had powder burns and a coal dust complexion to show for his years in coal and copper mines. A stocky man, slightly stooped, black hair turning gray, his eyes had that steady look of one who had known both fear and danger and had mastered both. He was known to all the boomers in the West. As a boy he had known Frank Little, the IWW organizer and executive board member who was lynched in Butte by company gunmen. I knew him only as "Blackie."

But I knew him as one who had taken part in the Colorado coal strike where seven unarmed pickets were murdered at the Columbine mine. Ten years before he had been at Bisbee, Arizona, in 1917, when three copper miners were killed and 1,164 were rounded up and forced at gun point into cattle cars and dumped off in the desert. Blackie had avoided that experience; but he had had many "close calls" both as a miner and a militant union man.

"Now there," I mused to myself, "is a man who can tell the newly appointed commission something about crime and violence, a long detailed history of it!"

Turning to us, the old miner pointed to a picture in newspaper he had been reading, and exclaimed:

"Here is another bright young man who was killed by nationalism! A terrible senseless tragedy, but nothing unusual. Thousands, yes, millions, of other bright young men have been killed by the same poison, that hysterical madness of homicidal violence. And this will evidently continue until the potential victims of wars and phony nationalism build an international organization that is strong enough to stop it..... Remember the crimes of murder and terror committed in the name of nationalism and false patriotism by Hitler and

Stalin, to mention only two of the many power-mad glory trails of death and sorrow behind them!"

Our audience applauded, but for once, Whitey and I kept silent, waiting for Blackie to continue.

"But to say that there are more crimes and violence now in America in proportion to the population than there was before the Depression is a damn lie; plain b. s. humbug to impress the ignorant, the gullible and the prejudiced. No, it ain't so, and it would be easy to prove it by open and well-known records.

"No children are now working in the cotton mills to keep themselves and the rest of their families from starving; but that was commonplace around the turn of this century. They're still starving a lot of them, but they ain't working them to death.

"In the gruesome past, for generations, and up to 1934, there was hardly ever a strike for better working conditions, or an attempt to organize a union, which did not result in workers being murdered by company gun thugs, scabs and employer-favoring militia.

And many who were not killed outright were beaten with clubs and pick handles, run out of towns and away from their homes, or tarred and feathered by mobs of would-be "good citizens" who were, in many instances, protected and aided by the police. This, mind you, didn't take place in Hitler's Germany but in democratic America. And they shed tears over crime and violence! **now** as if they had never heard of it before!

"Well, now, let em talk to me about violence and a sick America — I have plenty to tell em! I saw the tent camp at Ludlow, Colorado, after it was burnt to the ground and men, women and children were killed by bullets and fire..... I was only sixteen then.....

"Let em read the FRAMEUP a book about the judicial disgrace of the Mooney-Billings case in California..... The frightful conditions in the hop fields which led to the Ford and Suhr case in the same state..... case after case after case across the country from coast to coast where so-called law and order was prostituted in favor of organized employers and against the poor and against those who were trying to organize into unions for their own protection.....

"America 'sick', eh? sure she is. Sickas hell, but she is showing signs now of recovering, and I'm

betting that she is going to make it unless the politicians choke her to death with bombast and bullshit!"

"What can be done about it?" A young man shouted from the crowd. "I mean, what can we do about it? I have read about the past. But we have problems now which are not much different than what you went through. Would you also give us that old motheaten advice to 'vote right'? We have no confidence in that old hokum which seems to have no other results than to fool us again. Right now they tell me that I'm not a good American because I don't want to go and kill people I have never seen and who never harmed any of us before we started a war with them. And now even the leaders of organized labor tell us that this is **our** war and that we must fight it to a finish, no matter what the cost! Most of them who are in favor of the war are over thirty and don't have to fight; do you blame us who are under thirty, for not trusting the old bastards who have lied to us over and over again?"

Whitey started to say something, but he shut up when the old miner opened up again.

"All I'm really sure of is that we, young and old, have interests in common. And it makes no difference if you have short hair while others wear it long. What matters is that we have the moral courage to hope and the physical courage to act when something is wrong and needs to be changed. And that can only be done without violence when we are organized and have a good program and an informed rank and file who can't be led astray by leaders and would-be dictators.

"Economic conditions for some of the people in America are better than they used to be; but much needs yet to be done by both Black and White, and the struggle must continue until all forms of slavery and oppression

of men by men are abolished from the earth.

"We must reach hands across the seas, so to speak, and convince workers there that we all belong to the same human brotherhood; that there are no victors but that all are losers in a modern war, be it mis-named as conventional or nuclear; that no frightful dream or nightmare of a brutish past can compare with it as a real hell on earth. Its over-all result is one of unspeakable murderous cruelty and atrocious indecency, because it is war in itself that is bad and not the inherent nature of the majority of those who fight with lethal weapons; and those young men deserve a better fate than needless suffering and death in the prime of their lives..... Now, that's my belief, and I have no idea of being disloyal and unpatriotic for saying so. To the contrary — well, never mind...."

The old miner paused for breath. But he was not through yet. He continued with an apology for having spoken so long. Then as a closing remark:

"My heart and mind caught fire when I read about this senseless murder and violence in a foreign land caused by the poison of bogus nationalism; and about the insanity of race prejudice here.

But if you are looking for a plan and a program which stand for peace and progress without resorting to self-destructive violence, I'd suggest that you get in touch with the IWW organization and read their literature. Never mind if their membership is comparatively few in numbers. They know what's good for a sick America and a sick world. And their number is growing."

Whitey and I had become part of the audience while Blackie was talking. Neither of us had expected that the old miner had **that** much in him.

"Tap er light!" was his way of saying good bye as we parted. M. E. H.



DANGEROUS TO HUMANS

Candidates running for political pie see many things that are invisible to former candidates who have secured a place at the public feed trough.

A case in point is the plain picture of farm labor mistreatment an aspirant for the governorship in the state of Washington gets as compared to that of the men who's got the job and wants to keep it.

Seeking labor support, Atty. Gen. John J. O'Connell who would like to move into the governor's mansion, after a tour of some of the 56 labor camps in the state, says he found conditions in many of them deplorable and "dangerous to humans." He got his views into the newspapers, via Associated Press. Two brief excerpts from his remarks are interesting:

"The farm laborers pay rent for rundown decrepit shacks which have no running water or toilet facilities..... The camps are often fenced off. The fences are electrified, with warning signs on them. In some private camps there are guards at the gate and no one is allowed in during certain hours. This is one of the ways workers are controlled."

Speaking of the present governor's way of looking at

the farm workers' problems, O'Connell said:

"As late as last year during the crisis among farm workers where many of them were on the verge of starvation, he (the Governor) was quoted through the state as saying we should not overemphasize the situation for fear that we would not be able to attract farm workers from other states to harvest the crops."

No need to repeat what the candidate had to say about the lousy living conditions. It has all been told before. It's enough to say that his rhetoric is untrained and his conclusion that something should be done to bring about a change is well argued.

But this politician, like most others, is careful not to suggest direct organized union action by the workers who are most immediately concerned. On the contrary, he calls on the present governor to convene a hearing and "act immediately" to bring migrant workers under the Workmen's Compensation Law, and he advocates new legislation to protect us poor farm slaves in other ways.

You get the idea pretty plain. What the guy is saying is that the wages, hours and living con-

ditions, along with "protection" of one kind or another are things that have to be arranged by politicians, particularly of course, where supposed to be helpless farm workers are concerned. He expresses the deceit, or the error, of all today's liberals that while the poor may yell for help, they are incapable of helping themselves through direct action against belly-robbing employers.

But after all, the candidate is not a farm hand working hard, and often working his family, for a bare existence or waiting out a slack period for a chance to work. He's a politician whose loyalty is tied to the system which keeps us hungry, always hungry for something, and himself always well fed.

It's no skin off his back if we don't move into action at every opportunity for better pay and living conditions. He won't suggest that we all join the IWW, even if he knows that's what we ought to do. (Who ever heard of workers improving their economic conditions without an organized, union fight?)

It is revealing that one newspaper editor in the heart of this Northwest ranchers' empire who published the AP story about O'Connell's observations on farm labor camps, saw fit to cast some doubt on the charges

it contained by noting that the names or locations of the stinking camps mentioned were not given. As if the Yakima paper didn't know where they are at!

Jean de la Fontaine said it back in the 17th Century, "Every newspaper editor owes tribute to the devil."

Anyway, fellow workers, there's opportunity for meaningful participation in the class struggle in Yakima, and elsewhere in the fruit belt, this summer and fall. Most people in the orchards are "outsiders"; you'll feel at home and maybe you can qualify as one of those "outside agitators."—Farmhand. B. F.

Farmer Fined

Roy Flowers, plantation owner of Clarksdale, Miss. was ordered to pay \$50,000 in back pay to nearly 300 workers under the Fair Labor Standards act.

Hard on the poor farmer? Not so you, or he, could notice it. Flowers boasted that he cleared \$1,000,000 on his cotton and beans last year.

The Labor Dept. noted that rancher had been charging \$70 a month rental for shacks "when a reasonable cost would have been \$5.00."

Flowers agreed to lower the rent to \$5.

CRAB GRASS DEMOCRACY AT TACOMA

Fictionalized and dramatized, the recent Democratic State Convention held at Tacoma, Washington, could be entitled THE RAPE OF DEMOCRACY. But why make it appear sexy? It was more like a circus than a bedroom scene—noisy, colorful, but with no evidence of either love or democracy.

Around every election time, eulogized by both Democratic and Republican politicians, one hears and reads a lot about "grass-root democracy," with the Democrats claiming to have a monopoly of that mythical identity which is supposed to be the real Mc Coy. Well, if there was any grass connected with the autocratic fiasco at Tacoma, it must have been crab grass. Or poison ivy maybe, because observers became itchy, sitting there and watching the performance.

The chairman, Lieutenant Governor Cherburg, an ex football coach, must have known more about a pigskin ball than he knew about the principles of democracy or Robert's Rules of Order. In allowing contested delegates (who had been chosen by irregular, and probably even illegal, procedure) to vote on their rights to be seated, he reminded one of a judge who would allow accused "criminals" in court to vote on their guilt or innocence. Evidently not a bad system for criminals or fraudulent delegates! In short, the Convention was rigged against Eugene Mc Carthy and in favor of the Establishment, aye, in favor of those with their feet in the pork barrel and their fingers in the political pie. Yes, indeed, the steamroller tactics of the crab grass democrats worked very well inside the Convention hall! But will they work on the outside?

But then again, would it make much difference if the other "faction" of the Party had won at Tacoma or elsewhere? With the Merchants of Death firmly established as the Saviors of the World, and with the economic overlords profiting from the carnage, the war drums will be loud for war and destruction and for waste of human beings and the means of life. While such a system exists, how much can any candidate or President accomplish in promoting Peace? Even and

including clean Gene Mc Carthy!

Only the workers, properly organized, can stop wars. Not by passive turn-the-other-cheek pacifism, but by a militant pacifism which reaches across national border lines and sterilizes the putrid poison of brainwashing national sm and phony sadistic "patriotism" which are the enemies of the real patriotism of humanity and love of our beautiful world. It can be done, because it is in operation right now, and it works. But it can only be successful with more persistent education and organizing. It had better work if human life is to remain on this earth.

But no political organization, capitalistic or communistic, has a real workable program for peace. Both of them depend on military action with murder weapons to settle feuds and differences of opinions. The centralized autocrats of both are very generous with the lives of working people and the poor, but frugal with their own. All political organizations depend on lies and falsifications of critical issues in order to get people to act against their own interests. If that toes not work, they rely on the historical means of all autocratic and egocentric rulers: frightful sadistic brutality and persecution a la Hitler, or Stalin.

As far as his writer knows, only the Industrial Workers of the World has such a program for international solidarity, for stopping wars before they have a chance to start. In that program, all races have interests in common; first as human beings, and second as industrial workers, where such conditions prevail.

Present condition of warfare in a cybernetic age is a warning that time is running short. All we need to make our program successful is more members. Now, more than ever, do we need the International program of the I. W. W. to stop the suicide of the human race. No use saying that it can't be done when it **must** be done.

But it is up to you, Fellow Worker— wherever you are! — M. E. H.

JOIN
THE
ONE
BIG
UNION
OF
THE
I W W