its present unsuccessful and patriotic attempt to build up a completely new labor movement and rebuild labor itself and in the process give up our unsuccessful program—dual organization—and prosecute our successful program—propa- ganda and organization. When the present bright and honest group of leaders of the church from the state, as it were, dissociate the propagation of Industrial unionism from dual organi- zation and combine with the fine leadership now leaving the latter to take care of itself—as will be indicated later. We must cease trying to be the champions of the labor movement and give our organization into an effective propaganda league.

We would thus be able to adapt the tactics being used in all effective Syndicalist movements and which are taught by those who have been thoroughly trained by the Syndicalists and especially the I. W. W. It would be adopted by Syndicalists, who would have given the ques- tion serious study. They would see at once the whole scheme of the politicians, who, believing that if a new political party could be made a success, can now a new labor move- ment.

National Propaganda Organizations

The English, Italian and French movements present for- mer types of national Syndicalist propaganda organi- zations. The English Syndicalist propaganda league, of which Tom Mann is the head, and which has played such a prominent part in the recent series of great uprisings in the English labor move- ment, is a national dues paying organization. It is not trying to build up a new labor movement, but to revolutionize the old one. To which end it is turning out vast quantities of literature and every- where setting up "budding" propaganda centers for labor movement, spreading its revolutionary doctrines.

The national organization of the Italian Syndicalists is the "Committee of Direct Action," in which, like the other organizations, it is composed of many lar- ges. It is composed of many Italian unions controlled by Syndicalists—he is inde- pendent or affiliated with the conservative Confed- eration of Labor. It carries on propaganda activities similar to the English Syndicalist organization and is not a dual labor organization. It serves simply as the medium, through which the Syndicalists can secure more concerted action in propagation and realization of their doctrines in the Italian labor movement in general. It is a power in the Italian movement.

In France the Syndicalists, being in control of the national labor movement, haven’t the need for such a strongly developed national propaganda or- ganization as the weaker Italian and English Syndi- calist movements. They secure the necessary con- cerned action in their eternal fight against the Socialist politicians through their national unofficial papers and magazines owned and sustained by rebels.

Of these three types of organizations the English Outline of New National Organization for I. W. W. movement seems the most American by its conditions.

The I. W. W. naturally could easily be changed into such an organization. The greatest change needed in the I. W. W. is that it would have to cease trying to build up a new labor movement and instead devote itself to the organization of the present labor movement. This organization of the present labor movement of aim would, of course, involve the dissolving of its present constitution and the adoption of a new one.

The national headquarters would be maintained then—both by dues as the organizations in the industries would have full autonomy, as will be explained later. It would be centered in the hands of a clerical and a propagandist nature.

National Organ.

A national paper (or papers) would be indispens- able to such an organization. This paper would suffer from the same paper campaign that it would not specialize in any particular indus- try, but would occupy itself with the whole labor movement. It would be national in both medium through which the whole movement clarified itself and shaped its general policies.

The French equivalent to this paper is "La Batille Syndicaliste" a daily. It is not an organ of the C. G. T., nor any union, but may be called the official organ of the impromtu national syndicalist propaganda movement founded and supported by direct action rebels, to propagate their doctrines and fight the politicians.

A national corps of organizers would also probably be necessary. (These might be later replaced by representatives of the various unions controlled by the Syndicalists who would serve as organizers, or perhaps the officers of the various departments of the national syndicalist movement.) These organizers, in addi- tion to their other propaganda activities, would have as their special function to become familiar with all important labor wars, and asked or unasked, by the con- servative unions engaged.

They would thus readily accept revolution- ary ideas and, if given the slightest encouragement and organization, repudiate their misleaders and form, together with the labor movement, an organization into an effective propaganda league.

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The great value of this propaganda would be that it would be disinterested and taken at its face value by workers. At present the I. W. W. is ex- cluded from this rich field of work. First, it has no interest in aiding old unions to win strikes; in- deed, it would much rather see them lose, so they would go out of existence the quicker; and, second, even if it does send organizers into strike districts, it is only to make the strikers work for it and their propaganda practically neglected. As a result, while rich situations like that presented by the strike of the Harriman Steel workers throughout the country one can find able I. W. W. organizers on "soap boxes in fevered competition with the Salvation Army, warming chairs," etc.

The value of being in a position in con- junction with the organized militant minorities in the unions involved, would be a powerful force. The strikers, the organizers, the rank and file labor fakers to give up many of their demoraliz- ing practices. It would be a potent means to the revolution of the American labor movement.

Though this form of national organization would be effective—if we may judge by its results what- ever—only the I. W. W. could conduct a national propaganda organisation. The most important features would be the organizations in the various industries. These organizations will be treated in the next article of this series.

W. Z. POSTER

HERVE AND THE GERMAN VICTORY

There appeared recently in several socialist periodicals, Chicago Daily included, a translated article on "German Victory," original of which was written in La Guerre Sociale by Gustave Herve, an imprisoned syndicalist of German origin.

As an introduction to that article, the Chicago Daily says:

"Herve is the most prominent direct actionist and syndicalist in the world. Sometime ago he was senten- ced to two years imprisonment for his anti-military act- tivities, but has been released and has since been sentenced to nine more years for ar- ticles written while in prison. He was at one time a member of the Central Committee of the French Socialis- t Party, but finally resigned because, as he said, he felt that his advocacy of direct action was injuring the par- ty."

"What an exhibition of loyal constancy on Herve's part with gangling, mouthed, credulous naiveté of the Daily! From now on we, the direct actionists, had better leave the Socialist Party and start our own party altogether since it is injuring the party which must be preserved at any cost.

The Daily gleefully winds up saying: "In view of these facts the confiscation of the German election is most sig- nificant." Then follows Herve's article, from which, for want of space, I am quoting only the most vital parts.

"Without giving offence to any one, it seems to me that even if I were an anti-voter (a mania with which I have never been tainted) I still could not repress a cer- tain admiration when I remember that the German Socialists have administered to the Kaiser, and to the united Protestant and Catholic clerics.

"I classify property and political crime as then, I believe that I even said to its face, to be sure it was only for the purpose of propounding it, that it was only for the purpose of..."

"When last summer our German Comrades made their splendid manifestation against war, and when, in France as well, we had shown so little brilliance, then it was that I recognized this formidable mischief for the