CLEVELAND, OHIO SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27 1913.

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Entered as second-class matter April 19, 1913, at the post office at Cleveland. Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

A CRITICAL PERIOD

The Eighth Convention of the Industrial Workers of the

tical vision, of the First Convention, had to determine the question of whether the I. W. W. SHOULD PROCEED TO DE-VELOP AS AN ORGANIC GROWTH FROM THE BOTTOM VELOP AS AN ORGANIC GROWN THE WHITE PROPERTY OF A STATE and determining thereby the formations below. For instance, the Western Federation of Miners was introduced to the I. W. W. by the First Convention, as the Department of the Mining Industry, with full "departmental autonomy" and only a nominal, dues-paying affiliation with its new "step-mother." The W. F. M. only included in its jurisdiction ONE SECTION of the F. M. only included in its jurisdiction ONE SECTION of the mining industry—and therefore could only properly have been a National Industrial Union of Metal Miners. The First Convention made no provision for National unions. As a consequence of this impossible form of industrial organization, there was no vital connection between the different garts, and the slightest disturbance was sufficient to cause a split. The split occurred in the Second Convention over apparently unrelated matters, and the W. F. M. shortly afterward separated from the I. W. W. The Second Convention provided for the National Industrial Lines throat the department into the background and dustrial Union, thrust the department into the background, and thereby reorganized the I. W. W. on a sound industrial basis, with one exception, that will appear later. The lineup that followed left the organization under complete control of the revolu-tionary workers—eliminating the conservative labor leaders and stage strutters who had sought to fasten themselves upon it dur ing the first year of its existence.

But the Second Convention was unable to deal with another "disease" injected into the I. W. W. at its birth. That was the disease of "political" as well as industrial "unity" proclaimed in disease of "political" as well as industrial "unity" proclaimed in its original Preamble or declaration of principles, and inherited from a long period of purely "political" socialistic agitation. This disease of "politics" very quickly assumed a virulent form within the I. W. W., and resulted in thrusting industrial organization to the background. Somehow, at that period, we had to be assured first of all that the working class would "unite on the poistical field" before we could allow them to come together in unions of their respective industries, combined into ONE BIG UNION of the working class. But the workers didn't see the point, and internal strife over this debatable question absorbed the atten-tion and sapped the vitality of the I. W. W. The disease came to a head in the Fourth Convention, and resulted in the elimination of the political sectarians, and in the I. W. W.'s taking a clear cut stand in accord with the psychology of the wage slave. The Preamble was amended, cutting out all reference to "politi-cal-unity," thereby leaving that debatable question to be settled through the experience of the economic organization in the course The Preamble was amended, cutting out all reference to "point-cal-unity," thereby leaving that debatable question to be settled through the experience of the economic organization in the course of its development. The amended Preamble has never been refuted at any point by the numerous opponents of the I. W. W., roposes to do to the employing tawarning of what the I. W. W. proposes to do to the employing class. Following the Fourth Convention, political sectarianists took a back seat, and the organization has been in a position to appeal successfully to the working class on the basis of their economic interests.

The above-mentioned two crises passed, did not, however, assure the unruffled growth of our organization. "The way of the transgressor is hard," and the I. W. W. finds itself afflicted with a still more insidious malady than the ones afore-mentioned, That malady has developed through a peculiar formation provided in the structural form of the economic organization. The way of the firm that malady was also fastened upon the organization by the First Convention. That malady has developed through a peculiar formation provided in the structural form of the economic organization. The way of the stilled many the better the provided in the structural form of the economic organization. The way of the stilled many the better the provided in the structural form of the economic organization. The many of the stilled many the better that the account of the provided in the structural form of the economic organization. The many of the stilled many the better than the averages, the still the stilled many the better than the averages, the still the stilled many the better than the averages, the still the still the still the still the stilled many the better than the average of the still the still the still the stilled many the better than the average of the still the still the still the stilled many the better than the average of the still the stille

to the I. W. W. a tendency to loose mass formation, without regard to the nature and composite parts of modern industry itself. On the theory that the mixed local is intended to recruit numbers for genuine industrial unions, we find many sections severtheless falling into the easy habit of forming mixed bodies, and contenting themselves simply with establishing headquar-ters, and carrying on a propaganda of literature. In most cases no attempt has been made to study out the structure of a given industry and apply that knowledge towards the organization of that industry according to its requirements. In the West, for example, we find so-called "industrial" unions of lumber workers, which are really "mixed" locals of members of that industry without the necessary BRANCH formations to enable the mem bership to function ON THE JOB. Similar mistakes have bee made in the East, by ignoring the proper formation and function-ing of the local union's branches. The first result has been a lack of vital relation of our organization to industry, which has resulted in failing to attract sufficient workers for any effective ontrol of industry. We talk much about "functioning on the result, related vitally to the first, of the "mixed local habit" is the generation of numerous "philosophies" and theories, which cannot be conclusively tested apart from industrial organization proper, and which therefore, have been allowed to grow as rank weeds to choke out the pure wheat of industrial unionism.

An attempt was made in the Fourth Convention to correct this tendency, by the abolition of mixed locals and the substitution of PROPAGANDA LEAGUES, which should have no voice of vote in the administrative affairs of the industrial unions. The attempt was only successful to the extent of permitting the formation of propaganda leagues, with the retention of the mixed local. So the malady has continued within the I. W. W. until now at the Eighth Convention we find it assuming the form of a conflict supposedly between "centralization" and "decentraliza-tion." In reality, this is a conflict between INDUSTRIAL OR-GANIZATION according to the present requirements of capital-World has brought to light and to a head, a crisis in the evolu- ist development; and a REACTIONARY LOCALISM, which ig-tion of our organization. It is the third critical period so far lores capitalist development, and would therefore result in the noted in the development of the I. W. W. These "crises" have complete disintegration of the I. W. W. This fact was clearly World has brought to light and to a head, a crisis in the evolution of our organization. It is the third critical period so far noted in the development of the I. W. W. These "crises" have noted in the development of the I. W. W. These "crises" have come to a head in geometrical progression: Second, Fourth, and brought out in the debate at the Eighth Convention, on the progression time, pessimists within the I. W. W. posal to abolish the General Eventure Board. Those delegates and enemies on the outside, have insisted that the end of the from the mixed locals, for the most part were found to have very unfoint improvement was at hand. But each time crude concentions of the structure of industrial consideration. and enemies on the outside, have insisted that the end of the from the mixed locals, for the most part were found to have very revolutionary unionist movement was at hand. But each time the conventions in question have taken a resolute hold of the situation, and left the L W. W. with a clearer understanding of its outside the proper of the proper of organization, from the branch to the G. E. B. purpose and more definite and practical plans for the promotion of its immediate and final aims.

Briefly, the Second Convention, following the want of practical vision, of the First Convention, had to determine the question of whether the L. W. W. SHOULD PROCEED TO DEPOSSIBLE to rid the organization of it completely at this time. But already the Eighth convention, at the date of writing, has taken decisive stand for industrial organization, against "decentral-zed localism," and we have hopes that it may go to the root of the matter. The separation of purely propaganda bodies from the administrative affairs of the industrial union proper is now the administrative situates of the industrial many proper as even to be necessary, if our organization is to move forward in its development. The disease of the "mixed" local must be eradicated, in order that the I. W. W. may take a vital hold of the industrial problem, and organize definitely for the overthrow of capitalism and the substitution of the Industrial Comm

WHERE THE LINEUP IS CLEAR

An Associated Press despatch from Dublin, Ireland, referring to the great transport workers' strike and lockout, contains his significant statem ent:

this significant statement:
"The old rallying cries incident to the question of home rule
were forgotten when the strike trouble actually began. Nation-alists, Catholies, and the anti-home rule Orangemen found themselves allied on one side against a similar alignment on the other."

The same thing has been noted time and time again, in various parts of the world. THE ONLY CLEAR LINEUP OF OPPOSING CLASSES IS ON THE BASIS OF ECONOMIC INTERENTS. As long, for instance, as any considerable portion of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working class remains submissive to the will and discipline of the working compact of the workers where the thought and action and political chain anaps to pieces. But one the theory of revolutionary industrial unionism—a theory which has rung alare, and vice versa. All of which is in accord with the theory of revolutionary industrial unionism—a theory which has rung a speeding up of the workers and adequate the worker when considered t

"The Sleep of the Gael" has un-ergone a rude awakening, to judge rom events in Dublin, Ireland.

GOMPERS' HOWL - -OF MURDER specification sideral price

bulletin prepared by experts of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. When specific articles are taken into con-sideration, some of the increases in price are startling. For example, comparing retail

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Despatches

Despatches

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From Washington, D. C., there has recently come a series of official despatches on labor, wages, prices and conditions that make interesting reading because of the contrasts which they afford and the thoughts which they suggest. First we are impressed with the following in the daily newspapers:

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the first water, and sees Labor ever rising to Alpine heights, and the some:

Washington. Sept. 11.—Samuel Gompers, president of the American Pederation of Labor, before the Compers, president of the American Pederation of Labor, before the Compers, president of the American Pederation of Labor, before the Compers, president of the American Pederation of Labor, before the Compers, president of the American Pederation of Labor, before the Compensation of the Co

Ernest Riebs

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instance, a drunken union man is dis-charged, and that is used as an ex-cuse for his fellows to strike."—N. Y.

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The secretary of Local 439, I. W. W., Brawley, Calif., writes: "Fellow Worker J. W. West was drowned four miles east of Brawley, on the night of Sept. 6, 1918. He was a member of Local 439, I. W. W., blackmith by trade. Was a man about 55 wars of age, about 6 feet 2 inches tall." I. W. W. Publishing Bureau



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