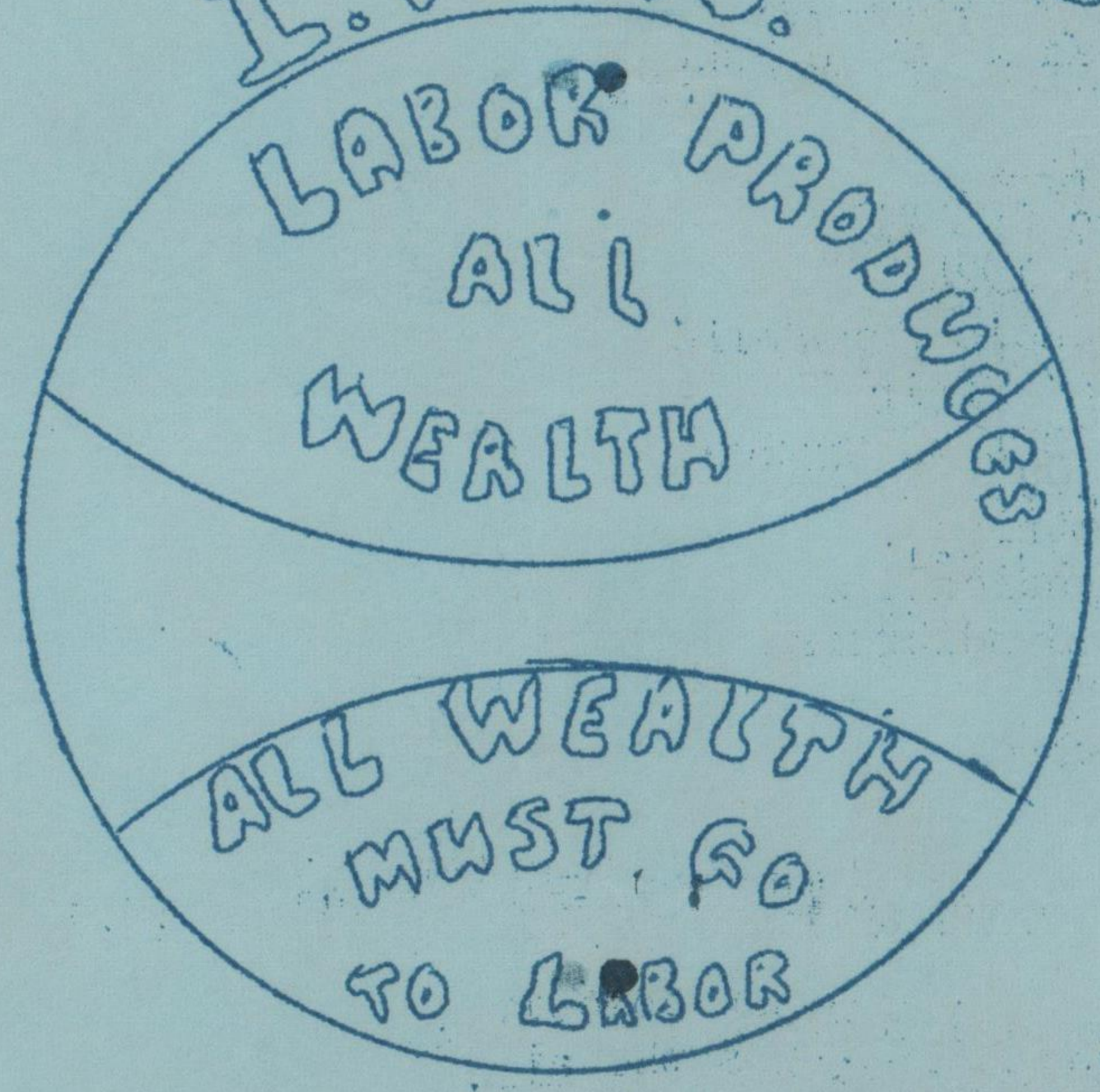


LET'S PLAY BALL I.W.W.



AN EXPANDED ISSUE
of
SWEET GHERKINS

Vol. 8
10+11

AUG. 24, 1977

SWEET GHERKINS

Sweet Gherkins, an erratic newsletter of Sweet and Sour opinion.
Some fact and a little unconscience humor.

Reader participation invited. Let's face it, I'm lazy. It is easier filling this space with other's honey and gall drippings, than to grow my own.

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SONG OF THE HARP-PLAYER (2100 B.C.)

...Men beget and women conceive,
Every nostril breathes the air.
...Put song and music before thee
Behind thee all evil things,
And remember th ou (only) joy.
...Follow thy desire wholly,
...Give bread to him who hath no field.
So shalt thou gain a good name
For the future forever.

The Dawn of Conscience -James Henry Breasted

WHAT! NO DISCIPLINE?

YUGOSLAV YOUTH RAILROAD 1947

The loud-speaker on the outside of the building made the whole valley alive with music the radio station was playing. Each barracks had a library and each brigade had its own recreation and cultural director. Most of the recreation and cultural directors were young women studying to be teachers. Among other things they edited the wall newspapers that all the brigades put out every week. Tonight the Novi Sad brigade was going by truck to a village some distant away to put on a play for the country people. Each brigade had its own chef who cooked in the manner of the area the brigade came from. This brigade had only six illiterates at the start. Already five of them had learned to read and write.

The schedule for the ordinary brigade started at 5 A.M. That's when they all got up. For fifteen minutes they did setting-up exercises. Then breakfast, a flag-raising ceremony, and by six-thirty they were on the job. There was a rest period in the middle of the morning. They were through work for the day at one-fifteen. They spent the afternoon and evening in educational, cultural, or sport activities. They went to bed at 10 P.M. There was no work on Sunday.

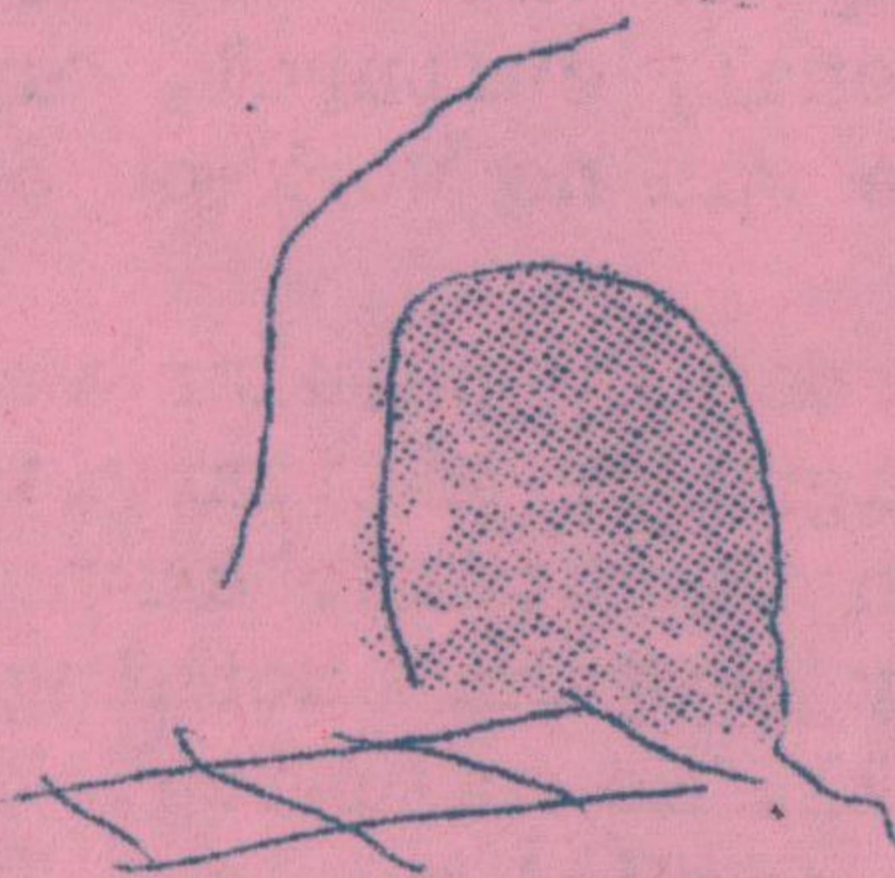
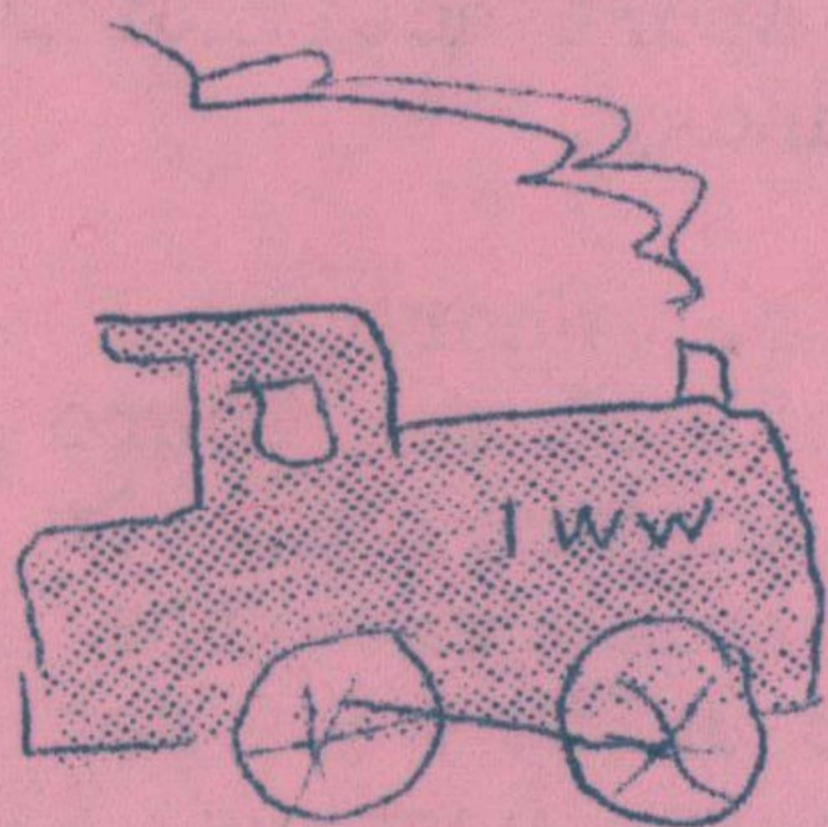
Each brigade picked its own leader by popular vote. Wherever I went I kept on the lookout for signs of military influence. There were none. Not even as much as in the C.C.C. camps in America. Or in the Boy Scouts. The Yugoslav Army had nothing to do with the Youth Railroad. No military drill. No saluting. No uniforms. No standing guard. No bugles. No martial music. The youngsters lived in barracks as soldiers do. But few armies provide barracks as pleasant as these. Zora said that for many peasant youngsters this was really luxury living. Both as to food and housing too.

In one of the camps we went to I asked the leader about discipline. He didn't seem to understand. I asked him what powers he had. Was he a gauleiter? Was his word supreme? Did he have the right of punishment? But I was talking a language he didn't seem to understand even when what I said was translated to him in Serbo-Croat. There was no discipline. Discipline in the New Yugoslavia comes from within. They held meetings every night. If someone did something wrong

the meeting might discuss it. They might even vote what to do about it. But that didn't happen very often. They lived together in harmony. They had consideration for each other. They helped one another. If someone did something wrong someone else would point it out to him. Then he'd never do it again. There was no need for discipline. That was something we foreigners couldn't seem to understand, wasn't it? He hoped that before I left I would see what he meant. That I would see how they lived together without any need for discipline from above. There was no 'above.' This was a democracy. There were no officers. There were no individual medals. Everyone worked for the common good.

24 YEARS A TUNNEL EXPERT

I spent most of that night inside the longest and most difficult tunnel on the whole road. It was being bored through a mountain of solid rock. The boss was Yovo Orlic. He'd been a tunnel expert for twenty-four years. He said he'd built 'some of the worst tunnels in Europe.' Fifty or sixty of them. This was going to be a mean one. He preferred to talk about tunnels rather than about his own life the past few years. He didn't wear a spomenica medal but it turned out that he had one at home. He'd gone into the Partisans in 1941 and moved up to the rank of captain.



After a lifetime of building tunnels he became an expert at blowing them up so the enemy couldn't use them. He said he worked and fought all over Yugoslavia on foot. From one corner of the country to the other. He'd had three sons. All of them were in the Partisans with him. Two were killed in the battle. The third came

out alive. But on a reconstruction job just last week he lost his right hand. But never mind about all that. He'd rather talk about this youth project. Of course it was a real job, boring a tunnel with girls and boys doing most of the work. Some of them came from places like the Vojvodina. They'd never even seen a mountain in their lives. But, old Yovo Orlic said, just wait until you see them at work! They all call me The Old Man. I guess maybe I am old compared with them. They say I look sixty. That's because of some things that happened the last few years. Really I'm only forty-four. So they call me The Old Man and what does it matter. But they work like mad for me. What they don't in the way of experience they make up for with strength and enthusiasm. There's no

leaning on shovels around here. They bite their way into that rock as if it were - as if it were a piece of Slovenian cheese.

The tunnel brigades were working in eight-hour shifts. Right around the clock. One brigade worked from each side. Someday they'd meet in the middle. They were using some dynamite but mostly the stone was being eaten away with compressed-air drills. The drillers worked in gangs of four. One of the four was a professional. But the other three drills were operated by boys. To meet the quota which had been set each gang had to chew its way one meter farther into the mountain every eight-hour shift. The afternoon gang had set a record of two and two-tenths meters. The night gang came from the ELAS brigade. Boys of Greek origin. They were out to do three meters tonight. That would be three times their quota. It was a ansy job. Nasty any way you looked at it.

...Some of the boys of the ELAS Brigade were loading the steel wagonettes which ran over the rails. Others pushed them through the dark tunnel into the open and then dumped them over the cliff. There were about twenty wagonettes. Each one carried several tons of chipped-off pieces of rock. I tried to push one of them. It took more strength than I had even to budge it. Yet these Greek boys were making them sail along. The wagonettes when they were heaped full came almost to the ceiling of the tunnel. The boys pushing them had to bend down so as not to bump their heads. I didn't understand why, in the dark, they didn't run into each other. Someone explained. All the time their carts were in motion they yelled. That added another eerie noise to the noise of the drills. They yelled the single word 'hoo-raw' It's a word that means more in Serbo-Croat than the similar word in English. It was a battle cry the Partisans used. The way a Yugoslav shoutsthe word it has a fierce sound. When the wagonettes were in motion the tunnel echoed with the war cry. It must have acted on them the same as music. It must have spurred them on, for tonight they were making their goal of three meters. They ...But they were grinning through their ghost make-up. Grinning and yelling hoo-raw.

The Silent People Speak -Robert St. John

...but I have found it generally true that the members of communistic societies take life easy.

Communistic Societies of the United States -Charles Nordhoff

A Funny Kind of Workshop

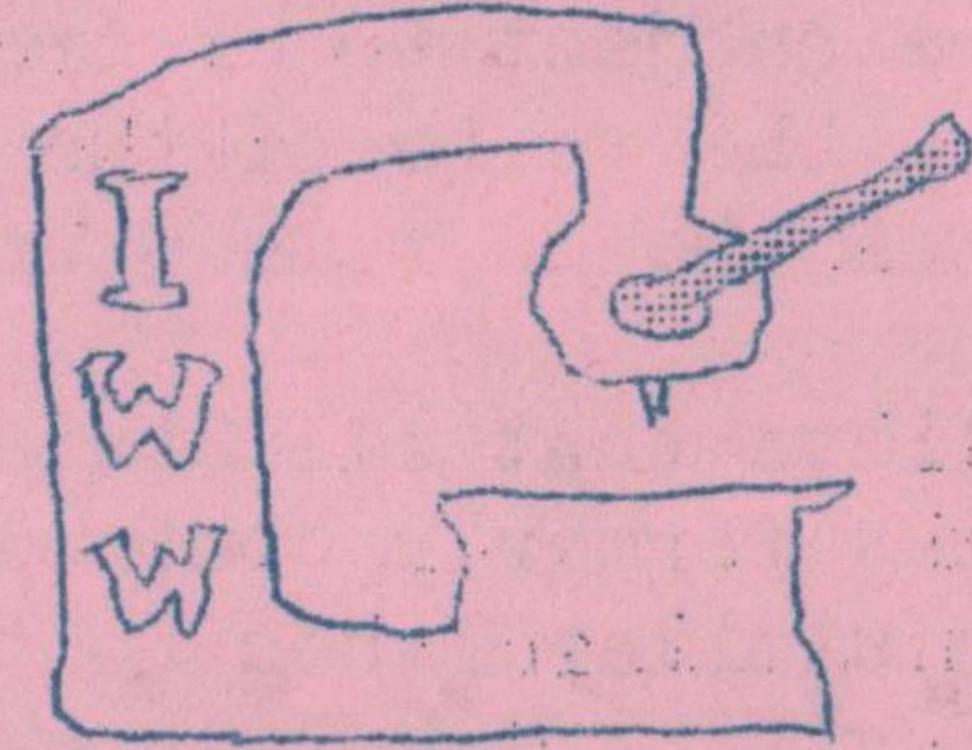
...It is not as well known as it should be, that thousands of workers in Russia today were, before the war, exiles who at the call of revolution gave up all they possessed in order to go home and assist the revolution. I met one group of such men and women in this workshop; most were anarchists, all of them skilled workers. In New York they had established a toolmaker's business and conducted it on purely co-operative lines. All through the war they had been able to secure lots of work and consequently shared considerable profits. When the revolution took place these people without a moment's hesitation wound up their business and took ship to Odessa. For a time they were able to work in a town in South Russia; the advance of Denikin's army last summer drove them to Moscow. I discovered them in a very large suite of workshops carrying on the business of toolmaking.

They conduct the workshop on strictly co-operative lines: there is a freedom and equality about the organisation which is apparent from the moment of entry. The buildings were given to this group by the Government. All the fitting up, erection of machinery and general planning has been done by the workers themselves. Many of the machines and tools, formerly used in America, were brought to Russia. Denikin's army destroyed some and as is usual other parts were lost or damaged on the journey. What could be saved is now in full use: lots more though is needed and consequently much of the work done at this factory is on jobs which would be classed under the head of capital expenditure. At this shop I received my first lesson in workers' organisation and control. The work is organised differently from what I saw elsewhere and is evidence that when conditions are more settled industry will not be organised on a one cast iron basis but that groups of workers will devise their own best methods for carrying on the work of the community.

As many of those employed here could speak English, it was possible to discuss ~~matters with one group, and I had another~~ without an interpreter. My friend Griffin Barry discussed matters with one group, and I had another group in a separate part of the workshop. The managers are elected by the workers on the principle one person one vote: all real grievances are settled by the vote of all; rules and regulations are discussed and approved. All deferred to expert opinion on matters requiring special knowledge, but each worker was expected and encouraged to make suggestions as to how to increase output and at the same time reduce exhausting

labour to a minimum. Holidays, sick pay, overtime, all these matters were discussed and settled by committees representing the workers.

As we walked round and talked, first at one machine, then at another the thought that came to my mind was, how very much alike all engineering and toolshops are, and what a very little difference there is in the lay out of one set of machines and another; and as I looked at the makers' name-plate on the various machines it was interesting to realise that German, British and American manufacturers all had a part in supplying machinery for these Russian shops, proving how dependent we all are one upon the other.



In discussing conditions, all without exception complained of lack of food and fuel. Undoubtedly these men and women accustomed to a fairly high standard of living in America are bitterly disappointed at finding themselves cold and hungry in Russia. Although they spoke bitterly of the shortage, not one of them suggested it was the fault of the Government or that a change of Government would remedy matters. Each man who discussed this question asked 'When are you British workers going to compel your Government to leave us alone.' I was obliged to hear this question again and again while in Russia, and found it very difficult to answer.

This workshop and its organisation is a sample of the kind of organisation which will very largely develop and increase so soon as peace is secured. Undoubtedly there at present very much central control: at the same time individual initiative and local organisation is being encouraged. Even now, when there is admittedly much central organisation it has been found possible to permit small groups of people such as these, to organise an industry and make it a federated part of the whole system. Whatever may be necessary today in the way of centralised organisation and control, there are too many anarchists in Russia and the Russian character is to 'anti-authority' to make it possible for any Government bearing the semblance of democracy to impose upon it a rigid system of organisation.

Melnichansky also took us round a couple of factories organised and

controlled by the State or under rules and regulations made by the State, which also includes participation of workers in the management. Aeroplanes are now being entirely manufactured in Moscow as also are motors and bicycles. The workshops through which we passed consisted of the toolmaking, engineering, woodworking and assembling shops and also the foundry. Here the organisation of actual work and output is in the hands of three persons. There was no pretence at co-operation as in the previous shop we had inspected. There were organisers and managers, but all were subject to control of the three persons, two of whom were elected by the vote of the workers and one appointed by a sectional committee of the Supreme Council of Economics.

I believe that all State factories are managed in a similar manner. Factories formerly controlled by local Soviets are now, I am told, managed on similar lines to the State factories. All the work of the factories I visited where some three to four thousand persons are employed is heavily handicapped for lack of raw material and fuel. The foundry compared with any other I have seen was very inefficient solely because proper fuel is not available. In spite of every drawback there was, however, clear, unmistakable evidence that by enthusiasm and effort production was increasing week by week. Before the war much of the machinery used in Russia was imported. French firms to a large extent controlled the manufacture of aeroplanes: it was the custom to assemble parts brought from abroad, but not actually to manufacture. Imports were stopped owing to the blockade and consequently the Russians, if they wanted aeroplanes, motors and machinery were obliged to settle down to do the work of manufacture themselves. From the outset they had been handicapped owing to lack of transport, and because of this shortage we see in Russia the extraordinary spectacle of multitudes of people cold and hungry in a country enormously rich in natural resources of every kind and with an abundance of foodstuffs. The Allied blockade in keeping out the means whereby the transport system could be dealt with has destroyed thousands of lives, but the wicked wars waged with the help of British gold, guns and munitions by Kochak, Denikin, Yudenich and others is responsible for the suffering and death of tens of thousands. Russia could have laughed at the blockade if her organisers and experts had been allowed peace to organise for the service of the nation. But as is the case everywhere else when war comes the business of killing and destruction has the first call on the energy and resources of the nation. In spite of this it is the fact that old industries have been to some extent kept going and new ones started. These works of which I am now writing prove this. ...It is something for these so called dreamers and theorists to be able to de-

monstrate their ability to manufacture such highly specialised machines as aeroplanes. Could they but get the raw material they would very soon build all the locomotives they need: but the raw material is far away so they must import some of the finished articles before they can hope to get going.

The organisation of each department of these works was orderly and efficient, the stores perfect, the methods adopted to detect bad workmanship or material were excellent. Here it was possible to see women and men working side by side together. While going round these factories we were informed that the day before the election of representatives to the Moscow Soviet had taken place. I enquired if it was true that only communists could be elected and that terrorism was used to prevent the free exercise of the vote. No one I asked had ever seen any terrorism and everyone assured me that irrespective of opinion any person qualified to vote might be elected. The vote is open, not by ballot. ...

...The Russian revolution in its inception was the least terrorist in its methods of all modern upheavals; in fact, it was a triumph for pacifism. This triumph was gained owing to the fact that common soldiers refused to kill common work people; that Cossacks refused any longer to treat Russian citizens of Petrograd or Moscow as of different flesh and blood from themselves, but instead fraternised with them and joined in overturning autocracy.

Not only was this so in regard to relationships between ordinary men in and out of uniform, but all at once, throughout the length and breadth of Russia a new thought prevailed. Officials, however highly placed, however gaudily decorated, were no longer sacrosanct - no longer to be considered as persons whose word was law. Consequently when these officials endeavoured to urge workers in uniform to fire on their own flesh and blood, they were informed that if any shooting was to be done it would be against the officers. Anarchical as this doctrine sounds in the ears of those in authority, ultimately it is the one and only law of life which will save mankind.

It is authority, man made, man supported, or rather accepted and tolerated, which holds the world in chains. There will be no more wars, no more bloody revolutions, once the workers in all countries absolutely refuse under any conditions to kill one another. I am

certain that, apart from all other economic questions, apart from all questions of terrorism or anything else, the one and only thing which has rallied the Churchills, Clemenceaus and other supporters of capitalism against Soviet Russia, is this fact, that once the workers of the world can be made to understand that, by complete unity of action, and refusal to obey the order to shoot, they can emancipate themselves, the whole business of capitalist society is at an end and the social revolution will be an accomplished fact.

What I Saw in Russia - George Lansbury

PROUDHON

The influence of Proudhon's ideas was naturally most direct and enduring in France ... All French working-class organizations were Proudhonist in 1865, and when trade unions were at last fully legalized in 1884 it was by Proudhonist workers that the new, large, peaceable industrial syndicates as well as the small, revolutionary craft unions were built up ... By the first years of the twentieth century Proudhonism had prevailed in the French trade-union movement. It had abandoned some of the master's ideas on tactics, rejecting, for example, his anti-strike views. It had been inspired by new teachers, particularly Georges Sorel whose Avenir Socialiste des Syndicats (1897) reaffirmed the anti-State, non-political principles of Proudhon. The victory of the Proudhon tradition came at Amiens Congress of the CGT in 1906, when a charter was adopted separating the trade unions from the political movement. ... Before the Second World War, French trade-unionism had turned to politics and was becoming the prey of parties and sects, but if one asks oneself in what respect trade unionism in France differs from trade unionism in other West European Countries, the answer must be in the influence of Proudhon's ideas.

Marx, Proudhon, and European Socialism

- J. Hampden Jackson

The inconveniences of one kind have caused sundry other to be devised, so that, in a word, all public regimen, of what kind soever, seemeth evidently to have risen from the deliberate advice, consultation and composition between men, judging it convenient and behavelful, there being no impossibility in Nature, considered by itself, but that man might have live without any public regimen. -Hooker

We have plenty of freedom in this country but not a great deal of independence. What This World Needs - John W. Raper

BLOCK BALANCE

In the Soviet Union stability has been achieved by making mass organizations such as trade unions, co-operatives, trust, industrial concerns, in addition to the press, the bureaucracy, and the army, the bases of the social structure. These are all placed under an equally strong organization comprising the ruling class, i.e. the Communist party.

The Russians in so doing did not invent something altogether new. Rather they pushed to its logical conclusions a development latent in all modern large-scale societies, that is, syndicalism both at the top and bottom of the social structure. Western democratic society still represents a dominant combination of innumerable small communities and groups (such as the family, the village) with a great conglomeration of voluntary associations (such as religious associations, lodges, and so on), on the one hand, and mass syndicates such as trade unions, co-operatives, etc. on the other.

The Syndicalists were the first to realize the significance of mass organization in modern society. They saw that organized groups held together not by ephemeral or multiple purposes but by some basic sectional interest are powerful social agents, alone capable of concerted action in the new medium of mass society.

The syndicate, e.g. trade union, focuses all its energies on its sectional interests and by this method achieves both intensity and continuity of action. This latent power becomes apparent when implemented by modern means of propaganda. It is greater still when the members adhere to a quasi-philosophical creed which keeps their minds oriented to a common end. At this point mass discipline can be developed which allows for the execution of consistent policies through the ups and downs of tactical contingencies.

The Syndicalists also realized that the masses per se can only form a regiment and provide momentum, but that the rank and file cannot hammer out a consistent policy or take the initiative. Leadership functions hence require an active minority, which in turn attains optimum efficiency only when welded into a fighting sect. This in-

style and method might have been borrowed from the Jesuits, who were the first order to recognize the significance of propaganda fidei and the efficiency of a disciplined fighting organization based upon the tenets of a creed.

The totalitarian one-party-state hence represents the adaptation of a ruling class to the age of mass organization where the primary source of power no longer rests on ownership and small associations but on large-scale organization in control of the means of violence, communication, and administration.

There are but two ways of checking the power of the great syndicates. First, a new type of balance may be established between them, which I suggest calling 'block balance.' Block balance represents, not an equilibrium of countless small enterprises, communities, and voluntary associations, but the mutual toleration of the large sectional organizations which are functionally interrelated and eventually come to realize their interdependence.

Secondly, a 'super-group' may be established, independent of sectional organizations but recruiting members from, and / or infiltrating, all of them. By having members in all subordinate organizations, its influence may permeate all; being a 'super-power,' it is bound to watch their cooperation according to an established plan. This is obviously the Party. The totalitarian party is the ruling class in a world of total syndicalization. The further syndicalization advances, the more nearly we approach the stage of the 'organized ruling class.'

If this holds true, the social structure of the Soviet Union obviously does not represent a classless society but is a structure with a new kind of upper class organized in a totalitarian party and with mass organizations as a base. The totalitarian party splits the people even more rigidly along class lines than is the case in traditional societies. The decision-making groups are sharply set off from the majority, who have no say in important policy issues and are free to discuss means only. As all key positions in political, economic, and military organizations are held by party members, the imposition of the party line would not necessarily appear arbitrary. In 1936 industrial management was entirely in the hands of party members, representing between 50 to 70 per cent of the total party membership. The key positions in labor unions, co-operatives, press and publishing establishments, and so on, were likewise held by party members.

Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning - Karl Mannheim

THE ANARCHIST VIEW

The anarchist view holds that there is something in human nature, a kind of self-regulating power, which, if allowed complete freedom, will lead to spontaneous self-discipline. One of the basic convictions of this school of thought is that the more we use repressive devices for enforcing discipline, the more we foster what is called 'negativism' in the individual. We pay for repression by blocking human spontaneity and readiness to co-operate under good working self-restraint. Anarchists are not simply individualists against any and all forms of discipline, but they believe 'real freedom' to result from spontaneous submission to the rules of group life. Statements like 'Der Gegenpol von Zwang ist nicht Freiheit sondern Verbundenheit' ('The opposite to coercion is not freedom, but fellowship') and 'Certain forms of freedom can only be realized in group life' may serve to make the point.

The anarchist idea of freedom contains a great deal of truth but lacks sociological qualification. Certainly, such self-regulating powers exist, but only in small groups. The larger an organization becomes, the less one can expect or wait for the self-imposed discipline of the whole to emerge out of a lengthy process of minor adjustments. The Greeks realized this and established new social units when the old ones reached the prescribed limits. Today this is impracticable, for modern economic and social techniques are efficiently geared to large-scale operations.

The anarchist idea suggests, however, to the Third Way - the mobilization of self-regulating powers of small groups whenever possible. Vital social interaction is generated primarily in small groups; real understanding of life, new ideas, originate in them; when they lose vital energy, society is apt to become anemic.

Freedom, Power And Democratic Planning - Karl Mannheim

A fig for good and evil! I am I, and I am neither good nor evil. Neither has any meaning for me. The godly is the affair of God, and the human that of humanity. My concern is neither the Godly nor the Human, is not the True, the Good, the Right, the Free, etc, but simply my own self, and it is not general, it is individual, as I myself am individual. For me there is nothing above myself.

A. F. L. in 1924

Many labor leaders began to be aware of the blessings of combination if it would include the unions. Thus Mr. Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, came out around 1924 for the repeal of the antitrust laws. Labor leaders thought they saw a condition favorable to labor in large combinations of employers on one side and large and powerful unions on the other. Getting together would be easier. There were plenty of instances of employers' associations and unions entering agreements for mutual protection, labor getting recognition and the closed shop on one side and employers getting complete control of the trade through labor's refusal to work for employers who refused to cooperate with the combination.

During the administration of President Coolidge at least two-score industries adopted what were called codes of practice. Under cover of agreements to eliminate unethical practices, prices, production, and competition were controlled. This was done under the protection and sponsorship of the Attorney General's office and the Federal Trade Commission. Herbert Hoover put an end to it when he became President.

In all this we see the development of the syndicalist idea - that the economic system must be subjected to planning and control, that this planning must be done outside the political state, that it must be committed to the hands of the producing groups. In the United States, as in Italy and Germany, employers through their trade associations and workers through their unions were approaching a common ground by different routes. They differed with increasing violence on many points - wage and working conditions - but all the time were drawing closer together on the central idea of syndicalism.

As We Go Marching - John T. Flynn

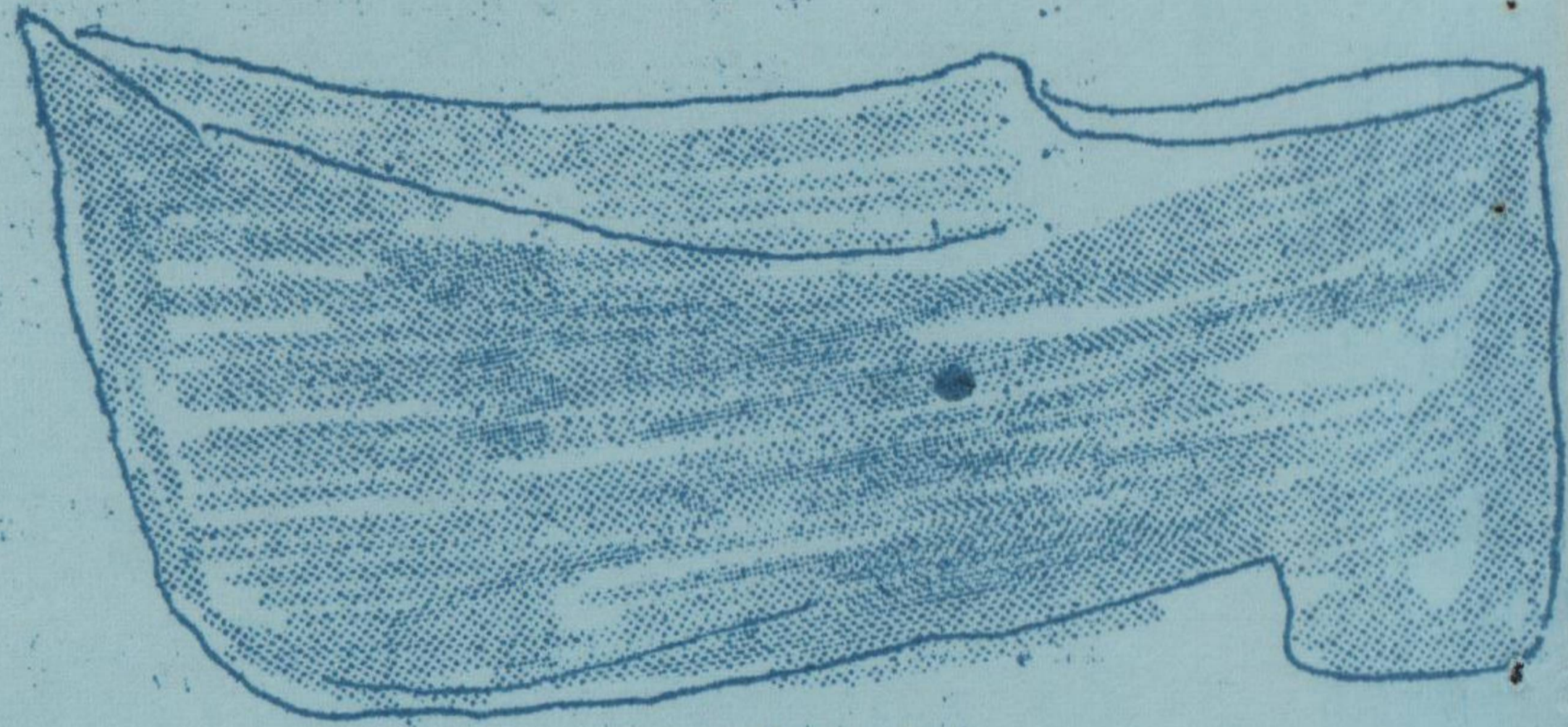
RIGHTS of MAN

...He therefore deposits his right in the common stock of society, and takes the arm of society, of which he is a part, in preference and in addition of his own. Society grants him nothing. Every man is proprietor in society, and draws on the capital as a matter of right. ... First, that every civil right grows out of a natural right; or, in other words, is a natural right exchanged. ...

Rights of Man - Thomas Paine

BRAND NAME SAUCES

1. Anarchy - 29 Grosvenor Ave., London N5, England
2. Freedom - 84B Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX England
3. Industrial Worker (\$2.50/yr) IWW, 752 West Webster Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60614
4. SRAF Bulletin - PO box 4091, Mountain View, Calif. 94040
5. Ego - 186 Gloucester Terrace, London W2 England
6. Akwesasne Notes c/o Mohawk Nation, Rooseveltown, NY 13683
7. The Match - (\$3.00/yr) Box 3488, Tucson, Arizona 85722
8. Rising Free, PO box 92 Broadway, N.S.W. 2007, Australia
9. Catholic Worker (25¢/yr) 36 E. First Street, New York, NY 10003
10. Catholic Worker House - PO box 3813, Davenport, Iowa 52808
11. Black Flag - Over-the-Water, Sanday, Orkney Islands KW17 2BL
~~England~~ Scotland
12. Catholic Agitator (50¢/yr) 605 North Cummings St., Los Angeles Calif. 90033
13. Laissez-Faire Books - 208A Mercer Street, New York NY 10012
14. New Space - 1509 North Halsted St. Chicago, Ill. 60622
15. The Peacemaker, 10208 Sylvan Ave. (Gano) Cincinnati, Ohio 45241
16. Yipster Times - 9 Bleecker Street, New York, NY 10012
17. Black Star - Box 92246, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202
18. No Governor c/o Green & Pleasant Press, Box 359, Glenco, Ill. 60022
19. Against the Wall - Box 444, Westfield, NJ 07091
20. Open Road - Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6R4G5
21. Dandelion - 1985 Selby Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55104
22. Free For All - Box 24632, Station C, Vancouver, British Columbia V6R 4G5 Canada
23. Soil of Liberty - Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407
24. Interrogations -32 Passage Du Desir, Paris 75010 France
Intelligence Abuse and Your Local Police -\$4.00
American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102



SABOTAGE

Sabotage means to push back,
Pull out or break off the
Fangs of Capitalism

— W. D. Haywood

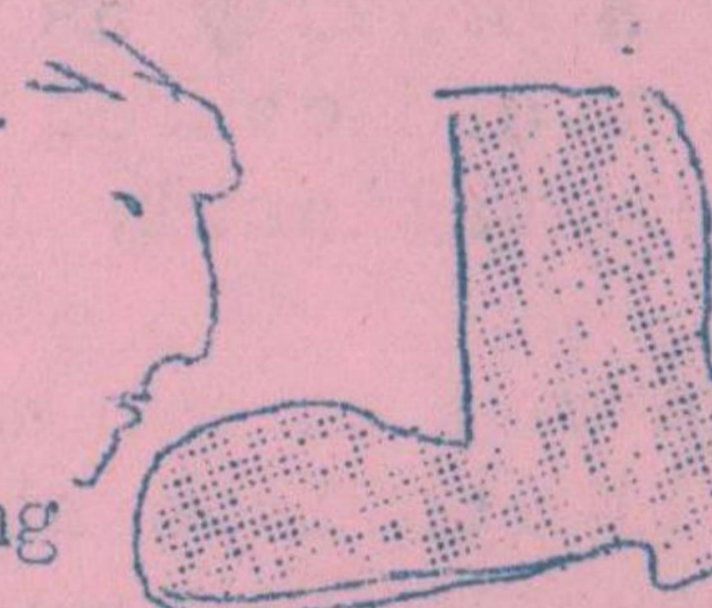
FROM GREENE'S PORTFOLIO

of Drafts and Miscellaneous Writings

Who is he, this Lenin? Yesterday a nameless, shabby refugee, hiding on the shores of Lake Geneva; today either a John the Baptist, preparing the way for the coming of Communism on earth; or a fresh Attila, an even more terrible 'scourge of God,' loosing the hordes of the slum with promise of rape, blood and plunder, to tear down present-day civilization.

He is nothing mediocre; nor is his movement. Our silly, senseless, frightened propaganda cannot explain him away nor hide the cold, ferocious strength with which he rules Russia, nor minimize the hopes he has aroused in the downtrodden of all lands. You cannot forget this Bolshevism if you have once seen it face to face; nor can you underestimate its moral or immoral force - whichever it is! It is one thing to peer at it through a blurred and distorted medium - our Press - and quite another to meet it in its stark reality. Then you realize that there is anew dream - nightmare, perhaps - abroad in men's souls; that for this dream there are men - and women! - ready to die as resolutely as the early Christian martyrs.

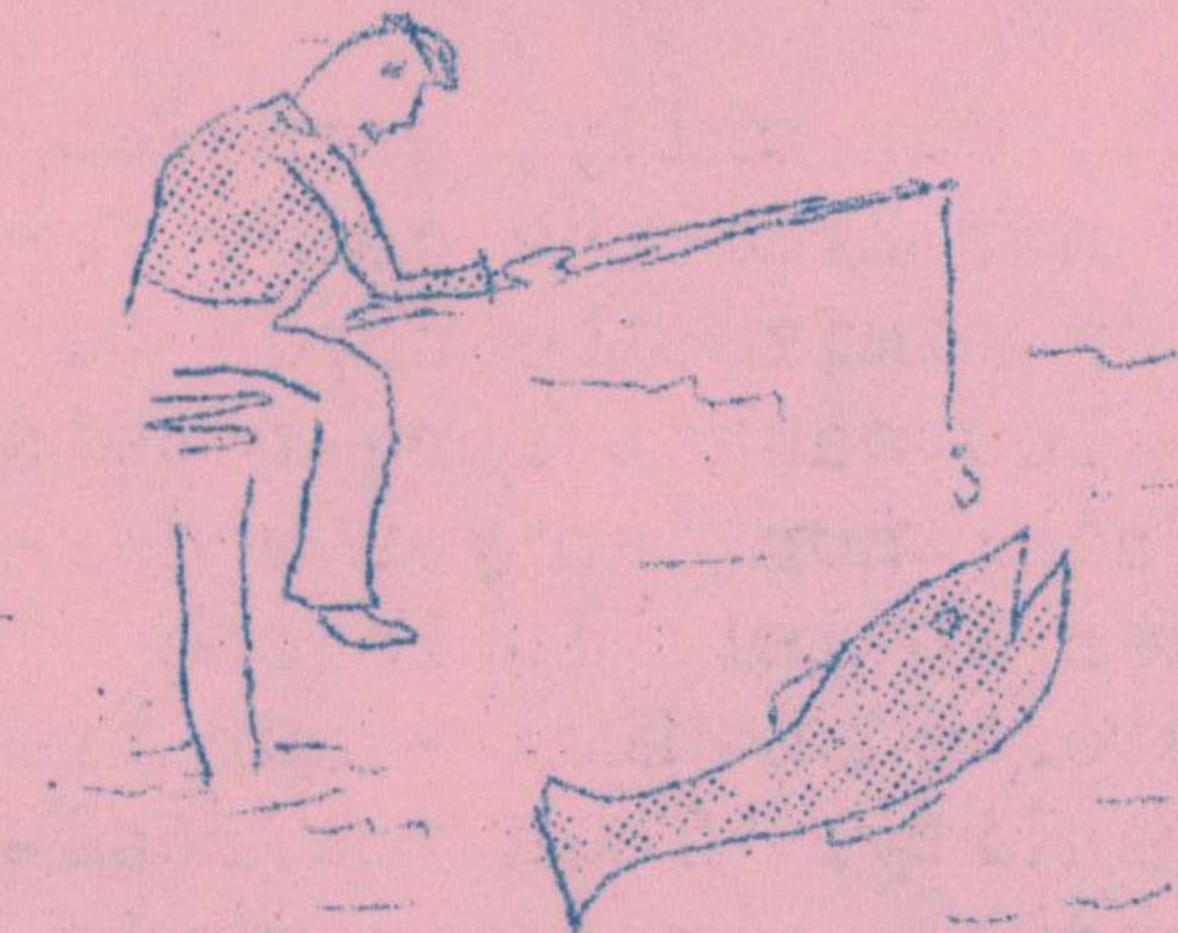
For I have seen the city rabble slaughtered by the White Guards - squealing like weasels and kissing the soldiers' boots for mercy - and I have witnessed the shooting of Communists and crack Red Guards, who faced the shooting squad unbound, unblindfolded and unflinching, taunting their executioners to the last thousandth of a second, when the murdering bullets crashed through the brains, and bloody mannequins sat down hurriedly in the ditches dug to receive them. In the first case you knew that plunderers and rapers were receiving their dues; in the second, that men were dying for their faith. As you watched those shining eyes and proud faces twinkle into something shapeless, spouting blood and brains, and saw the grotesque, jerking bodies tumble into the earth - why! you realized afresh that the sword can kill the body, but not the soul; that the bullet can extinguish the brain, but not the light and thought that were in the brain - they leap to other brains, faster far than bullets.



It a clash of emotions one had as one watched the scene! On the one hand you felt law and order; on the other, anarchy and ruin. Here all the nobler qualities of our race, all the Powers of Light given us by our Western and Christian civilization; there all the Powers of Darkness, brewed up from squalor, hate, envy and failure. These are the sons and daughters of Belial, you assured yourself, as you watched them form three by three before the firing squad. This is a righteous if bloody deed! Strength to the finger that pulls the trigger against them!

Then you reflected: so might a minor Roman official in Asia Minor have viewed the execution of early Christian martyrs. This ignorant rabble!

These filthy fishermen! These verminous Jews! These pathetic peasants! Why! They are preaching sedition against Rome and all her just Gods and her great laws, trying to drag her splendid civilization down to their own degraded level! Let them perish!



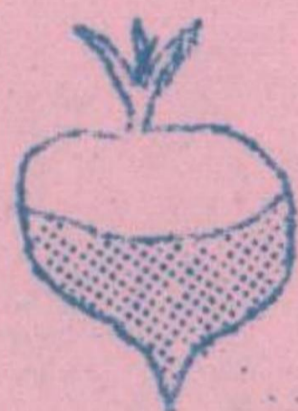
And yet - and yet! As your Roman Consul must have said, and as you say today: Why don't they die like the trash they are? Who gave

you that permission to leave his black earth and his grubby wife and children and die for an idea? Who planted something in the brain of that pale scribe which made him throw down his master's counting tables and his vulgar, petty life and go out to shake hands with death as proudly as a knight? Who whispered in the ear of this little harlot and caused her to leave her fleshpots and chuck her light soul so valiantly into this bloody ring?

Then you came home to saner, cleaner lands, and saner thoughts ensued. For all its iron strength, its ferocious grip of Russia and its terrifying repercussions throughout the world, you knew this Bolshevism for a rule of extremists and, therefore, probably doomed like the Reign of Terror in France. For months, perhaps, more likely for years, it will last; and then Lenin, Totsky, and Zinovief will follow the way of Marat, Danton, and Robespierre. If they survive, it will be because in practice they will modify their extreme doctrines, for Bolshevism's greatest danger lies in its present source of strength - its fanaticism. This made it strong yesterday, tyrannical today, and will make it intolerable tomorrow. It is too extreme for human nature; men, as comfortable, rational animals, refuse to live long on the heights or in the great depths: the

warm plains of average, comfortable living are their natural dwelling-places. They weary of MOses; they crucify their Christs; they burn their Savonarolas; they guillotine their Dantons and Robespierres as readily as they leave their Pharaohs and decapitate thie kings. Or they passively wait for their Alexanders and Napoleons to perish in their own egotism; their Attilas and their Neros to drink themselves to death. 'Good riddance,' say the pe ople, and go on with the cultivation of th eir turnips, the marrying of their wives and the eating of their dinners.

years, dazed by these the Kremlin, and then gth and brush Lenin



So the moujik may blink along for new prophets and terrorists at one day rise in his crude stren- and Totzky aside.

And yet I am certain that they have sown seeds in Russia, these Communists, whose harvest will be gathered through many coming generations. Extremists, like Lenin and Totzky, will either go or become conservative in office; but these doctrines have come to trouble the world for a long time.

In theory Communism is centuries ahead of its time, in practice Bolshevism thousands of years behind. Communism means every man working for the common good rather than private gain, and cooperation and not competition the rule of life. So it is probably still some ages ahead of us.

...Bolshevism itself will probably fail, killed by the cold, the hunger and the despair its fanaticism and incompetency have produced, but its communistic doctrines in modified form will probably survive.

Personally I hate and loathe it. Consequently, last summer I believed that the Allies should have taken strong action in Western Russia, when there was an opportunity of crushing Bolshevism if the Old Men at Paris had taken it. As they let that opportunity go by, I became opposed to all further outside meddling in the internal affairs of Russia, believing it very unlikely that thereafter any military adventurers backed by foreign Powers will ever defeat Lenin and Totzky. Their principal effect is to consolidate the power of the Bolsheviks by arousing nationalistic feeling and so bringing to the support of the Bolsheviks elements which in a pruely civil war would be opposed to them. Russia is too huge for any outside Power

to impose its will on her. She is going through her evolution in her own way and the less we meddle, the better it will be for her and for us.

The Letters of Warwick Greene 1915-1928

CENTRALIA AFFAIR

Nine Negro boys were involved in the Scottsboro case and nine white men, members of the militant labor union, the Industrial Workers of the World, were the key figures in the Centralia affair. One of the tragedies of the Red Scare following the First World War occurred in Centralia, Washington, on Armistice Day, 1919. As a result of a clash between parading American Legionnaires and frightened members of the I.W.W., four veterans lost their lives, one Wobbley was lynched, and eight others were sentenced to long terms in Walla Walla Penitentiary. In the following chapter reference will be made to the attitude of the churches at the time of the incident; here attention will be confined to Protestant interest in the fate of the imprisoned men.

Several religious journals kept the tragedy before their readers. Further, in 1929 the National Council of Congregationalism called upon its Commission on Social Relations to study the case and report its findings. Among the Methodists, the New York East Conference resolved to work for the parole of the prisoners, and the Methodist Federation for Social Service emphatically denounced the prolonged incarceration of the I.W.W.'s. Elements also among the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Disciples were concerned that justice be done.

In the Northwest, effective work was performed by several church groups. The Congregational Conference of Washington and the Puget Sound Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church initiated an inquiry into the truth while earlier a Seattle Citizens' Committee, with the Reverend James Crowther as chairman, appealed for the parole of the prisoners. The interest aroused by these inquiries and the determination of such ministers as the Reverends Theodore K. Vogler, Hubert Dukes, Fred Shorter, and E. Raymond Atteberry to see justice done, finally led to a more thorough investigation.

In cooperation with a local committee headed by the Rt. Reverend Arthur

Huston, Episcopal Bishop of Olympia, and with the support of Dr. Marvin O. Sansbury, president of the Seattle Council of Churches, the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis jointly conducted an exhaustive inquiry. The findings of this joint investigating committee pleased the extremists in neither camp. The Wobblies were found legally culpable for preparing to defend their hall with gunfire against a probable raid. On the other hand, the Legionnaires halted their parade before the I.W.W. hall and probably started their rush before the first shot was fired. Moreover, hysteria was rife in the community where the trial was held, the prison sentences were unreasonably long, and the Wobblies, after all, had been frequent victims of mob violence in the past and these outrages had gone unpunished. The report concluded: 'The six I.W.W.'s in Walla Walla Penitentiary are paying the penalty for their part in a tragedy the guilt for which is by no means theirs alone. They alone were indicted; they alone have been punished.' Armed with this report, a group of churchmen, representing a committee of thirty pastors and churchmen in Puget Sound cities, repeatedly appeared before the Washington parole board to plead for the release of the prisoners.

The Wobblies were finally pardoned, partially, at least, through the intercession of the churches. This may be an insignificant example of social action, but one suspects that at least the freed prisoners thought otherwise.

American Protestantism and Social Issues
1919-1939 -Robert Moats Miller

When urged at the stake to embrace Christianity, that his (Cuban Indian chief - Hatuey) soul might find admission into heaven, he inquired if the white men would go there. On being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed, 'Then I will not be a Christian; for I would not go again to a place where I must find men so cruel.'

Conquest of Mexico - Prescott

The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands;...

Proverbs, 30:27

21

It Crept Out of France

It is impossible to say at exactly what date the doctrine of Syndicalism crept out of France across the English Channel. But it is generally conceded that it made this journey at some time between 1905 and 1910, and James Connolly, the Irish labor leader, is suspected of being responsible for its arrival. The journey was a short one, but it was difficult. Though Syndicalism means nothing more than 'Trade Unionism' in French, it indicated a rather peculiar sort of Trade Unionism, and none the less peculiar - in the eyes of English workmen - for being French. It advocated the complete supremacy of the Trade Unions, which should federate themselves locally and centrally - a federation of local unions forming the local Authority, and a standing conference of national representatives of all the Trade Unions forming the National Authority. The producers, in other words, were to control all industries and all services; and they were to gain control through a violent succession of continuous strikes, culminating in a 'general expropriatory Strike.' Nothing, of course, could be more opposed to the collectivist theories of the Sidney Webbs, the Fabians, and the socialist members of the I.L.P., who foresaw, through a series of deliberate steps more or less divinely predestined by the Webbs themselves, the gradual evolution of the State into a great organization of consumers; and who, to be sure, are still foreseeing it.

Syndicalism had been a faith full-grown in France since 1902, and it had taken root among the immigrant population of the United States. In France the General Federation of Labor, in America the I.W.W. were in much the same position as the British Trade Unions had been in 1834 - 'a fearful engine of mischief,' Dr. Arnold had called them in that year, 'ready to riot or to assassinate.' The Syndicats and the I.W.W. did, in fact, inspire a great deal of terror, nor is it to be supposed that any doctrine they might evolve would be quite so constructive as terroristic. As for the philosophy of Syndicalism, it was rooted in the anarchism of Nietzsche, had branched out into the elan vital of the Bergsonians, and finally come to flower in the Reflexions sur la Violence of M. Sorel.

This strange philosophical growth could not -qua philosophy - have had the slightest appeal to British workmen. In the first place, they had probably never heard of Nietzsche or Bergson, and as for the Reflexions sur la Violence of M. Sorel they simply would not have understood them: in the second place, they were never very happy with a reasoned system of

revolution. And yet, between 1910 and 1914, and against the wishes of their leaders, they plunged into a series of furious strikes which, but for the declaration of War, would have culminated in September, 1914, in a General Strike of extraordinary violence. The exact prescription for a syndicalist revolution.

How could this have come about? Could native thinkers have assisted them, re-stating the propositions of M. Sorel with all the passionate common-sense of the Anglo-Saxon tongue? One glance at the journalism of the day will prove that this could not be the case. The Daily Herald was a kind of intellectual ostrich, swallowing any and every wild idea, and disgorging them all, indigested, in a very unappetizing condition. The New Age, appalled at the apparent expulsion of all non-laboring intellectuals from the syndicalist world, was attempting to bridge the gulf with Guild Socialism, a mysterious combination of consumers and producers which the editor, Mr. A. R. Orage, may possibly have understood. The Daily Citizen still called for the old opportunist tactics. The language of The Syndicalist was vehement but obscure. The New Stateman preached, with a vigor which was highly laudable under the circumstances, the complacent fatalism of the Sidney Webbs. These may well have had their effect - a far from negligible effect - upon the younger intellectuals; but the mass of the workers they could not have reached at all.

Could it perhaps have been the agitations of Mr. Tom Mann, that ardent syndicalist, who, realizing that British workmen are not very susceptible to ideas, was determined to practice the ideas first and preach them afterwards? Mr. Tom Mann was one of the most successful and intellegent agitators in British labor history, but he was an effect rather than a cause of those four and a half strike years.

...These reasons are forcible enough, but they do not answer the main question - How did these stike years come to be conducted, tactically, on purely syndicalist lines?

The majority of British workers were involved in the strikes, sympathetically if not actively; there is no doubt of that: and yet the majority of British workers, in the two elections of 1910, obediently voted either Liberal or Conservative, preserved - in their political

consciousness - an almost theological reverence for the operations of Parliament, and would have been dismayed at the very mention of the word 'revolution.' How could they express - as they did - an increasing, an unprecedented class hatred? how could they shake - as they did - the very foundations of parliamentary rule? how could they be at once syndicalist and not syndicalist, revolutionary and not revolutionary? The answer may be found in a phrase of Mr. Fabian Ware's, a Conservative writer, who in The Worker and His Country asserted that syndicalism was 'an assertion of instinct against reason' - in other words, a convenient expression for a new energy. Women's Suffrage was also a convenient expression for a new energy and so was the slogan 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right.' ...

The instinct of the British worker was very active in 1910. It warned him that he was underpaid, that Parliament - left to itself - would keep him underpaid; it told him that good behavior had ceased to have any meaning; it asserted that he must unite at all costs. The only visible symbol of unity was the Trade Unions: to the Trade Unions therefore he turned.

The Strange Death of Liberal England 1910-1914
- George Dangerfield

A NEW DOCTRINE

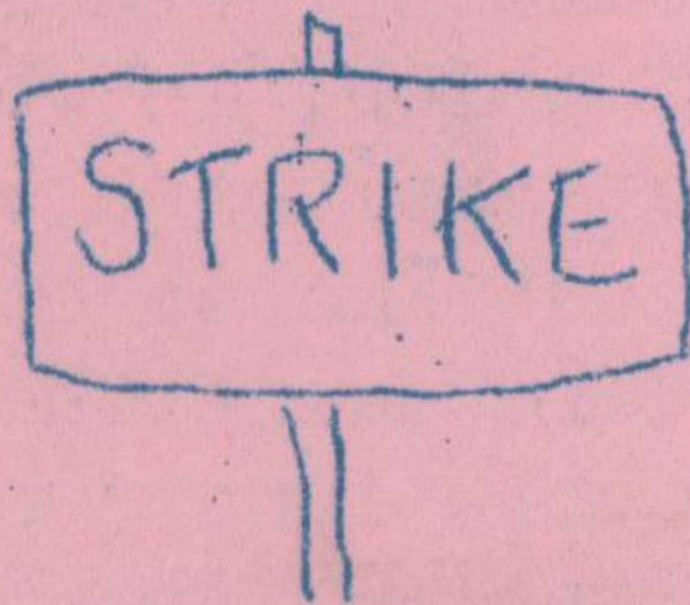
To understand the origins of this new doctrine we must go back to the time when in 1870 two opposing groups contested the control of the First International, the respective supporters of the German, Karl Marx, and of the Russian, Bakunin. To Marx's authoritarian Communism which looked to a centralized State to expropriate the capitalist class, the latter opposed a freer and, they argued, more flexible doctrine to which amongst others they gave the name of 'anarchism'. Bakunin's movement, for a time very powerful in the Latin countries, finally failed, and the 'anarchists' groups disintegrated into a number of isolated individuals who, renouncing collective action of any kind, confined themselves to individual propaganda, by book, newspaper, and also to use their own phrase - 'by deed' - that is to say, by assassination. Nevertheless, they soon became more numerous. In France they made their way into the 'Bourses de Travail' - through the Bourses into the trade unions which originally Jules Guesde

had affiliated to his orthodox Marxian party. They finally built up out of the unions an organization based on what they termed 'revolutionary syndicalism'. According to them parliamentary politics demoralized the representatives of labour, made them lose their class consciousness, and distracted their attention to religious, national, and constitutional questions which had nothing to do with the sole question in which the workers had an interest - the social question. Militant Socialists therefore should not enter the Chamber or hold official post except the post of secretary to a trade union, in which capacity they should organize in the factories direct action' against the employers, passing from dispute to dispute, from strike to strike, at every step strengthening the workers' control and reducing the profits of capital until the day when a universal revolutionary strike should complete the expropriation of the capitalists and the body of workers organized in the 'Confederation Generale du Travail' set up, by their unaided efforts and without any help from the State, the free republic of producers.

From France the doctrine spread to Spain and Italy, then crossed the frontiers of the Latin countries to reach Holland, Scandiavia, and the English-speaking world: In the United States it became the creed of the organization entitled 'The Industrial Workers of the World'. In the States the proletariat was itself divided into two classes. On the one hand, there was a class of highly-paid workers, the aristocracy of the proletariat, strongly organized in trade unions who by amicable agreements periodically concluded had concluded a species of alliance between capital and labour. On the other hand there was a class of unskilled labourers usually consisting of American citizens not of Teutonic race, which was shamelessly exploited by the employers with the connivance of the more fortunate workers. The Industrial Workers of the World incited the latter to form revolutionary organizations or rather a single organization, one big union, which could launch a frontal attack on the employers and effect the social revolution by a universal strike. The American workers were in constant touch with Ireland and an Irishman named Connolly, attracted by a doctrine calculated to appeal to a turbulent race, brought back to his native country the theories of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Meanwhile these doctrines spread in Australia where a powerful Labour party existed, which already controlled the great cities, held

office in many of the States, and hoped to gain possession of the Commonwealth Government. Owing to its very success it had ceased to be a revolutionary party, had found itself compelled to subordinate the class interests of the proletariat to the interests of Australian society as a whole, and even to repress strikes. Here therefore the soil was favourable to the growth of syndicalist ideas. Parliamentary government, State action, were shams, and the strikers betrayed by the politicians naturally came to regard the strike as the only efficacious lawful instrument



of liberation. Here the Industrial Workers of the World came into contact with some Englishmen, jetsam of abortive Socialist agitations who were stranded in Australia. There were champions of the Social Democratic Federation; there were Ben Tillett and Tom Mann, the former originally a transport worker, the later from the engineering trade, who in 1889 had taken

an active part in revolutionary strikes in London. Tillett and Mann had then been in their way important men. Forgotten now, they were attracted by the prospect of making their reappearance in England armed with the doctrine they had discovered at the antipodes. In turn they came back to Europe. An English militant, by name Guy Bowman, in close contact with the French Revolutionaries, who had translated a book by Gustave Herve and was trying to introduce the syndicalist agitation into England, sent them to Paris to receive orders from the leaders of the movement. So quickly in the twentieth century do ideas encircle the globe. On November 26, 1910, at Manchester 200 delegates representing some seventy groups, sixteen trade councils, and 60,000 workers, founded the Manchester Syndicalist Education League which immediately launched a campaign of propaganda by lectures, pamphlets, and books. The Central Labour College which Dennis Hird had founded in London in opposition to Ruskin College, which was regarded as too moderate, provided the propaganda with the necessary centre. Among the intelligentsia syndicalism gained as many converts as among the manual workers. Young men of letters, attracted to Socialism by its promise of emancipation but repelled by its bureaucracy and pedantry, thought they had found in syndicalism a way out of the impasse. They read Georges Sorel, the theorist who by adapting Bergson's philosophy gave revolutionary syndicalism a metaphysical foundation. They claimed for the workers and for themselves the right to be liberated without being civilized and made bourgeois. In their interpretation revolutionary syndicalism expressed, in opposition to democratic nationalism, a revolt of the elan vital, the obscure forces of instinct.

The Rule of Democracy: 1905-1914 - Elie Halevy

FRENCH SYNDICALISM

French syndicalism from the time of its creation was in competition with socialism. The unions, while admitting to the necessity of political action by parties, but not by themselves, regarded the socialist parties as outside of and subordinate to themselves. In turn, socialist parties regarded unions as potential auxiliary associations. Consequently, there evolved between the two a kind of coexistence marked periodically by relations that were less than peaceful. Marxism never was able to subordinate the unions fully to party. In turn, the unions never came up with a 'British solution,' domination of a labor party by them - moreover, they never wanted that kind of relationship. What resulted was a union movement ill at ease with political parties (despite the existence in earlier years of various people who were members simultaneously of the CGT (Confederation generale du travail) and the SFIO (French Socialist Party); and despite the existence of people who belong today both to the CGT and the Communist party). This barrier between unionism and socialism weakened the SFIO (which owed its birth to a workers' movement, which originally was a worker's party, and which today continues to proclaim its 'workerism,' although real workerism has been absent from it for many years), and detracted from the power of the Communist party, precluding it from getting over the CGT controls even more far-reaching than those presently held by it.

The Charter of Amiens adopted in 1906 by the CGT Congress prescribed preparation by the unions for integral emancipation of society; this was to be realized by expropriation of capitalism and the method was to be the general strike. The unions were viewed as future units of production and distribution, constituting the basis for a future form of political organization. The 'bosses' of tomorrow were to be the unions, the directors of enterprise. In each enterprise, workers were to be their own masters, forming associations somewhat analogous to cooperatives. The cooperatives then were to be federated in order to coordinate production and exchange. Overall direction was to be assumed by an assembly of cooperators headed by a responsible director, with ultimate choice over distribution of benefits. All this was calculated to secure economic democracy. This was the early version of syndicalist doctrine.

After the end of World War I another and more realistic vision of the future made its appearance in CGT ranks. Its principal component was nationalization, favored until then only by socialists and certain radicals. The Fourteenth Congress of the CGT, meeting in Lyon in September 1919, affirmed that 'The impotence of the directing class and of the political organizations' was increasing 'more and more each day,' and the Congress prescribed as the goal of the CGT nationalization of the great services of the national economy under the control of producers and consumers. That idea subsequently was reaffirmed in 1934 in le plan de la CGT, when nationalization and a directed economy were tied closely to each other. The industries constituting the bulk of economic direction were to be nationalized first, particularly credit, followed by the nationalization of key industries, those concerned with the extraction of primary elements, particularly sources of energy, methods of transportation, armaments, and so on. However, as the years went on, the CGT, although not repudiating the objective of nationalization, came to recognize that private aggregates of capital, instead of disappearing, were growing in number, and so the CGT then fell into the habit of employing nationalization less as an objective and more as a tactical device. When the CGT employs the term today, the odds are that it is doing so to push for a change in existing conditions - that is to say, for a return to greater autonomous action (usually the CGT tends to identify the latter as a fundamental precondition of economic democracy), or for the acquisition of a new tactical position.

France: The Politics of Continuity in Change
-Lowell G. Noonan

AMERICAN SYNDICALISM

Syndicalism, or more properly speaking, anarcho-syndicalism, is, as its name indicates, a fusion of anarchism and trade unionism. It has played an important role in labor's ranks in many parts of the western hemisphere, from Canada to Argentina. Where anarchism passed beyond the realms of petty bourgeois cafe romanticism and workers became interested in its doctrines, the latter invariably sought to apply these ideas through the trade unions. Thus was created the once militant type of trade unionism known as 'syndicalism.' It was characterized by major stress upon the general strike, by antiparlamentarism, by radical antichurchism, by decentralized forms of union organization, by a reliance upon spontaneous action rather than upon carefully planned, disciplined mass struggle, and

by a perspective of a new workers' society which would be controlled and operated by the labor unions.

...Besides this immigrant source, the strong syndicalist trends that developed in various parts of the western hemisphere also had distinctively American roots. Most important in this respect was the lack of large-scale modern industry in many countries and localities, particularly in Latin America, where syndicalism became a very strong factor. Under such conditions, the workers, therefore, lacking the discipline that workers get in industry, were naturally inclined toward syndicalist ideas of decentralization and spontaneity. Another major domestic cause of syndicalism was the widespread disfranchisement of millions of workers all through the Americas by literacy tests, poll taxes, residential qualifications, and the like, conditions which predisposed them to the 'direct action' ideas of syndicalism rather than to systematic political action. Still another factor producing syndicalism was the general and extreme corruption of the political life throughout the hemisphere, which tended to convince the workers that it was useless to expect any relief by working through the existing corrupt governments. Then there was the universally reactionary role of the Church, which was a prolific breeder of the syndicalist antireligious crusade. And, finally, there was the rank opportunism of the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Socialist Party (lawyers, preachers, doctors, shopkeepers, etc.), which repelled and disgusted the more militant-minded workers and, before the advent of the Communist parties, tended to drive them away from organized political action and into syndicalism.

...During the Mexican Revolution, the anarchists, and later the anarcho-syndicalists, exercised a very considerable influence. The most outstanding precursors of the revolution, in fact, were the two Magon brothers who were anarchists. Early in the Mexican Revolution, the I.W.W. of the United States became interested in its progress. Mexican immigrants to the United States who had joined the I.W.W. and then returned to Mexico were very active in the young Mexican labor movement.

...The most important syndicalist organization in the United States and Canada, however, the Industrial Workers of the World, was founded in Chicago in 1905. It was also one of the strongest syndicalist

uni. in the whole western hemisphere. ...The I.W.W. was originally founded by Socialists, chief among whom were Eugene V. Debs, Daniel De Leon, and William D. Haywood. Although in later years the claim was made by I.W.W. leaders and others that its program of revolutionary unionism dated back to the anarchist wing of the First International, in reality the I.W.W. became a syndicalist organization chiefly on the basis of specific conditions in the United States. It was only later that it became decisively affected by European anarchist influences. Especially important in shaping the syndicalism of the I.W.W. was the disfranchised condition of the homeless 'floatingworkers' of the west and of the noncitizen immigrant workers in the east. These workers, without the vote, readily turned to syndicalist conceptions of 'direct action.' The I.W.W. was also largely a revolt against the extreme corruption of the Gompers leadership in the A.F. of L. and the class opportunism of the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Socialist Party. It finally became a full-fledged syndicalist organization with a program of anti-parliamentarism, anti-clericalism, and anti-stateism.

In 1909, the I.W.W. was said to have some 10,000 members in Canada. It undoubtedly provided a powerful stimulus for the separate semisyndicalist One Big Union of Canada, which was born in the Canadian west in 1919 and was the leading force in the Trades and Labor Assembly general strike of 1919 in Winnipeg. The One Big Union reached about 50,000 members in 1920 before petering out as a labor union. The I.W.W., in line with its grandiloquent title, reached out to countries besides the United States, having branches in several Latin American countries as well as administrations in Australia and South Africa.

Outline Political History of the Americas
- William Z. Foster

In fact, the Germans make better communists than any other people - unless the Chinese should some day turn their attention to communistic attempts.

-Charles Nordhoff.

A sound Confucianism is the outward manifestation of Taoism (as Lao-tze himself taught it), just as sound socialism is the outward manifestation of a genuine individualism.

The Dance of Life - Havelock Ellis

FEDERALISM

Federalism implies that the particular elements composing the federation remain distinct, recognizable and valid in relation to the power of the federation as a whole. Federalism is a symbiosis without confusion and without the disappearance of the specific.

All Western thinkers with a respect for reality and for the conditions of life - which latter consist of antinomies, oppositions, conflict of contraries - have aimed their investigations in this direction; a tendency which begins with thinkers inspired by Christianity and notably by the great Councils from the fourth to the seventh century.

Later figures who come to mind in this connection are not only such dialectical minds as Pascal, Kierkegaard and Nietzsche and political thinkers like Rousseau, Tocqueville and Proudhon, but also the physicists and logicians of recent years.' -Pierre Duclos & Henri Brugmans (Federalisme contemporain)

Federalism', writes Denis de Rougemont, 'is autonomy (of regional groups, and of enterprises) plus computers: that is to say, respect for the infinite complexity of things as they actually are - a respect now rendered practicable modern technical possibilities.' ...The problem can be enunciated as follows: how is cohesion to be ensured in a whole which is large enough to undertake common tasks such as defence, foreign affairs and economic policy, without prejudice to the autonomy and essential rights of the fundamental units of which the whole is composed? How can the whole become big enough to be strong, yet remain small enough to be free?'

quotes from The European Challenge

-Louis Armand & Michel Drancourt

I've never known of an instance in the history of our company where an executive unloaded responsibilities and duties on one lower in the ranks, that he did not find himself immediately loaded from above with greater responsibilities. - Arthur F. Hall

Moderation, equanimity, work and love - you need no other physician.

 31 - Hubbard

An Afterword

I put together this special edition of Sweet Gherkins from material too long to insert in a regular edition. The general theme of this issue is worker control. The sources are varied and some in conflict with the philosophy of Industrial Democracy. The choices were made to provide information and some stimulation.

The subject of spontaneous organizing is interesting. I remember my teen years, before the advent of Little Leagues, when we would organize our ball games without adult supervision (see the movie *Bad News Bears Break Training*). A few friends would gather and someone suggest playing ball, then each would know someone in their neighborhood and contact them. Each knowing 2 or 3 others and thus gathering enough to play ball. After the abilities of the group became known the positions on the field were filled without a manager.

The rules were copied from observing adult leagues. But the rules were also made up as the occasion justified. For instance, if we were short some players then a hit to right field was ruled as a foul ball.

Ball playing was fun and we learned from one another without a coach. How different was all this democracy when in organized Sports or in the work place later in life. One of my clearest recollection in organized sports was on practice field when the coach was gone for a considerable length of time. The team got together with some members playing different positions than assigned by the coach. The change was spontaneous and democratic and the game was good and fun and spoiled by the reappearance of the coach.

I'm at lost to understand why the above experiences could not be applied to the workplace. Yet for some strange reason there has to be a 'Boss' in the organization of Industry. I can recall isolated times while in a work crew with the absence of the foreman and the crew would naturally organize the job according to the known abilities among them. The natural situation was usually changed by the reappearance of the foreman. -ERJ

I'd climb onto somebody's bandwagon, but I can't stand the music

- Beryl Pfizer