the East and the West. One hears such attements as this: "The East is being gleeted; all the organizers and active peakers are on the Pacific coast." On the other hand the toury goe: "It is a name the way the West is being treated; il the money for organizing, etc., seems ob expent in the East, and with no aparent results for the organization." Then there are differences of opinion etween the two sections, as to methods or propagands and organization and the nee of tactics that goes with them. The Vest goes to the extreme on "direct accide." At the Sixth convention nearly il proposed constitutional changes—such as to abolish conventions, by which alone a general understanding is possible as a sais for legislation; to do away with the D.E. B., whose function it is to preserve the balance between all parts of the organization—and other similar proposals ame from the West.

anisation—and other similar proposals ame from the West.

There are of course several reasons for his, all ceatering around the symmon one—differences in environment of the wes sections. The West is still an 'open-ountry.' Localities are far spart. Industries, though trustified, are undeveloped. Workers are comparatively few in numbers, and are constantly shifting from one section to another. As a consequence, the individual becomes more readily distinguished from the mass, and a tendency to individualism develops among a comparatively large number of workers. Carried a little fatther along this line, 'the local union' becomes more important in the eyes of many than the general organization,' which some have come to lock upon as outside of 'their' organization, and as a bindrance to their development, and therefore something that ought perhaps to be done away with. What the 'local' wants, the organization as a whole should and must have. If the 'general organization' doesn't accept our dietum let us 'abolish parts of it' or 'take away its power,' in the interests of our local or group of locals. This point of cigw is not due to a desire to disrupt; but rather, to the individual and local spirit which is a logical outcome of the Western environment. The Sixth convention did more than, anything else to dispet these 'local'' illusions, as far as the delegates were concerned.

On the other hand, the East is a veri-

On the other hand, the East is a veritable beebive of industry highly developed and centralized. The individual worker is lost in the mass moves, does the individual for the mass moves, does the individual find his courage. The Easterit worker sees his employer as a gignatic trust, with centralized administration; be demands a similar organisation among the slaves. He sees no chance for quick and effective action through the unwieldy method of "legislating by referendum." Without the individualistic spirit himself, the Jastern worker recognises the value-of individual initiative in executing the mandates and requirements of the organisation.

The Sixth convention tended toward harmonizing these two points of view, both of which contain elements of truth of vital importance to the future of the revolutionimportance to the future of the revolution-ary union. While recogniting the need of local initiative and freedom of action, at the same time the convention recognized the equal necessity of preserving the INTEGRAL organization, through a proper understanding and adjustment of the relations of one part to another—of the individual to the local, of the local to the individual to the local, of the local to the general administration; and vice versa. The balance in its leg-islative with the list convention showed conclusively that the L. W. W. understands the problem it is aiming to solve.

"The East is the East, and the West is est." But the twain have met in ground; and the I. W. W. me d toward its goal!

THE SOCIALIST LABOR MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

By W. Z. Foster.

(Continued from No. 93)

Conservatism of the Unions.

Ceaservation of the Unions.

Exocisist unions are not revolutionexcept as all labor unions are revonary by bearing in themselves the
try of the future society and their
ers make no claims that they are
Their avowed objects, according to
preambles, are essentially the same
one of conservative unions the world
they look after the "fuoral and usal welfare" of their members, strive

nigh a standard of living for them, etc. As Carl ent Generalkomission, says President Generalkonnssion, a not the task of the unions to goal of socialism.³ This ta-cially recognized to be that o Democratic party. In Germany the labor union recognized as excellent votin The "Processive Party" has

In Germany the labor unions were early recognized as excellent votting machines. The 'Progressive Party: Mad such good success in organizing and so utilizing them that the S. D., party in self defense was forced to do likewise. The 'scientific' leaders of the 'latter party, however, openly despised the labor unions. They considered the workers organized in them to be the most reactionary part of the working class, because their organizations were but ruindents of—the old anticidated guids. In 1893 Carl Legien at a S. D. party convention proposed that all memorations are considered that all memorations are considered to the control of the contr bers of the party be recommended to join the unions. He was laughed at, insulted, and convicted of being "young." Bebel told him that the end of unionism was near, as the unions were powerless before such combinations as the Krupp Co. Liebknecht said an over-valuation of labor the capitalists couldn't be whipped on their own ground. The young president of the new "Generalkomission" quit the of the new "Generalkomission" que convention disgraced for his presun in asking that the unions as trackools for the S. D. party be given

the assistance.

The original contempt of the politicians for the unions has gradually developed into a fear of them. The thought that they may awaken to a sense of their economic newer and slip from the grasp of their

healthy is their fear of the gener al strike idea, that at the union con-vention in Cologne 1905 they railroad-ed a motion through which prohibits even the discussion of this "anarchis-tic" idea in all the affiliated unions.

tic" idea in all the affiliated unions.

In order that the unions may preserve the necessary quiet while they are being silked for the advantage of the political movement, they are constantly told that the sphere of their activity is naturally very limited, that against underen expital-ist, combinations they are powerless, that the bourgeoise is a sleeping tiger that needs only to be awakened, for it to deviour all the labor unions, etc. It is one of the regular functions of the German socialist-politicians to tell the workers what they can't do by direct action. **
The union movement thus cowed is robbed of the necessary revolutionary aggressiveness and thrown on a conservative defensive basis. It has no self confidences, and falls an easy victim to the mutual benefit street and the street of the control of the street of the abor movement.
This campaign so

(* This campaign sometimes goes too far. In his recent pamphlet "Der Wegzus Macht" Kautsky stated in effect that the Macht: 'Kautsky stated in effect that the unions had outlived their usefulness. In response Legien, who delodes the workers into believing that their 'sick and death benefit electoral machines' are successful labor unions, unmercifally sepred and in-sulted Kautsky in his pamphlet 'Sitypbus-arbeit oder Positive Erfolg.' Kautsky crawled into his hole and drew it in after

"As Strong as Gibraltar."

The "benefit" schemes run the gamut from the "near necessary" to the ridiculous. Some of them are strike, siek, death, invalid, seedent, unemployed, blacklist, traveling and shipwreck, funds for prospective marriage candidates, etc. Their variety of these benefit funds, the height of the benefits and the towness of the properties of the strike of the

strike benefits. The unous measure their sighting capacities by the size of their strike funds.

The gathering and "guarding" of these funds aided by the German workers' insance conception of "discipline," which to them means blind obedience to the order of their leaders'—has built up a centralised bureaucratic system, that has effectually paralyzed the movement as far as vigorous lighting is concerned, and which is unparalleled in the world's lation movement. Each national union collects its own the national trision collects its own the national trision collects its own the national trision collects it to own the national trision collects and the national union collects it to own the national trision collects it to own the national union collects it to own the national union collects it to own the national union collects it to own the national trision collects and the collection of the national trision collection of the national trision collection collections and the national trision collection of the collecti

and FIGHT for b