



Bulletin of the
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Manifesto of the International Working Peoples' Association

The Pittsburgh Manifesto was drafted by a committee consisting of Victor Drury (a refugee from the Paris Commune,) Johann Most, Albert Parsons, Joseph Reifgraber (Editor of 'Die Parole', St. Louis) and August Spies. It was adopted by the Pittsburgh Congress of the International Working Peoples' Association in October 1883.

The Pittsburgh Manifesto to the Workingmen of America

FELLOW-WORKMEN: The Declaration of Independence says:

"...But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to reassert their declaration?

Fellow-Workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you candidly to read the following manifesto issued in your behalf, in the behalf of your wives and children, in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless classes by the propertied. This exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalists) buy the working force body and soul of the propertyless, for the price of the mere costs of existence (wages), and take for themselves, i.e. steal the amount of new values

(products) which exceeds this price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity, so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working forces, an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the supply of working forces increase constantly, while the demand therefore decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average, never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich, it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they have to speculate upon, and absorb the labor-product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth, the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle, generally, the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of

continues over

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Continued from front

production, as well as trade and inter-communication, into their hands, and develop into monopolists. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called “business” and “commercial” crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration, the last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rent, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed – i.e., stolen – more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class, being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, unable to consume their enormous “profits,” and the producers, unable to consume more than they receive – three-eighths – so-called “over-productions” must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process, annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized, and is driven to “crime,” vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is therefore necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it, and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by their inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked, which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains, as the economic condition is the same in all countries of so-called “civilization,” as the governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers, as finally the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society, so therefore the international fraternity of peoples, as expressed in

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the International Working People’s Association, presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor, the soil and other premises of production, in short, capital produced by labor, is changed into societal property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future spoliation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fullness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can every one be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can satisfy their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes – be they Monarchies or Republics – form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding of the present order of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is

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mainly directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance and servility; in short, want of sense. The Church finally seeks to make complete idiots out of the mass and to make them forego the paradise on earth by promising a fictitious heaven. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point, it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeoisie of all countries – in America as well as in Europe – constantly commits, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie must have a violent revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:

The political institutions of our times are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our masters for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one recourse – FORCE! Our forefathers have not only told us that against

despots force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. “It is, therefore, your right; it is your duty,” says Jefferson – “to arm!”

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

First:– Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, i.e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

Second:– Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third:– Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth:– Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth:– Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth:– Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this ideal let him grasp our outstretched brother hands!

Proletarians of all countries, unite! Fellow workingmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is ORGANIZATION and UNITY!

There exists now no great obstacle to that unity. The work of peaceful education and revolutionary conspiracy well can and ought to run in parallel lines.

The day has come for solidarity. Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle: “Workmen of all lands, unite! You have nothing to loose but your chains; you have a world to win!”

Tremble, oppressors of the world! Not far beyond your purblind sight there dawn the scarlet and sable lights of the JUDGMENT DAY!

Reprinted from *Free Society*

Autobiographical Notes by Raffaele Schiavina aka Max Sartin

I was born in San Carlo in the province of Ferrara on 8 April 1984 into a peasant family. When I finished school in 1912 I had the chance to satisfy my desire to go to America the following year and settled in Brockton, Massachusetts.

In those days I regarded myself as a socialist, not really out of reasoned conviction but simply lest I give the impression that I was a conservative. During summer 1914, at an Italian-American picnic, I made the acquaintance of a man considerably older than me who told me that he was an anarchist and offered me, to read, a book that he said that he had enjoyed reading. In fact it was Kropotkin's *Memoirs* which held my attention, for I discovered in it feelings and ideas that it seemed had always been a part of me. I went on reading what he lent me and took out a subscription to *Cronaca Sovversiva* which, in a very short space of time, had become essential reading for me. The war in Europe was just beginning at the time and there was widespread revulsion at the horrors being perpetrated. I had occasion to hear a few talks given by Galleani and to make the acquaintances of persons of my own age living in the Boston area. In April 1916, with all of the zeal of the convert, I accepted the post of administrator with *Cronaca Sovversiva*. Towards the end of 1915 I had even made so bold as to send an article to that weekly paper and it had been published, albeit completely revamped by the editors.

The following year the United States entered the war and I, like many another, refused to register as a potential soldier, so I was arrested for breaching the law making registration a requirement and then was sentenced to a year in prison. Having served my time, I was then sent back to Italy, arriving along with eight other comrades, including the Sanchinis with their two young babies, on 9 July 1919.

In Naples I was detained by the military police as a deserter in time of war and committed to the military prison of Sant'Elmo where I stayed until the 2 September amnesty meant that

I was taken to the district military headquarters and drafted into the King's army. Leave for my draft started on 12 September and I was allowed furlough along with them, which is how I came to turn up at my parents' home, not having seen them in six years.

At the start of 1920 *Cronaca Sovversiva* resumed publication in Turin and I returned to the post of administrator. But after twenty issues Galleani was indicted over some anti militarist articles and, being threatened with arrest, he went on the run, except that later he showed up at the trial which took place towards the end of October 1922. Publication of *Cronaca Sovversiva* ceased after twenty issues.

In August 1922 I set off on a speaking tour in the Marches. But on arriving in Fabriano, I was arrested by a carabinieri patrol; after holding me overnight they bundled me on board a train with two carabinieri who escorted me to Turin where the courts had initiated proceedings against me. After a brief stay at police headquarters, I was taken to the remand cells to await trial. I was charged with having taken part along with about ten communists upon whom I had never set eyes, in the organising of the *Arditi del Popolo*, with which I had had nothing to do. After fifteen months of inquiries we were taken to the Turin Assizes (one of the communists having died in prison in the interim) where we were all acquitted and freed because the frame-up fell apart.

In March 1923, whilst I was looking around for some way out of the situation created by fascism's arrival in power, comrade Emilio Coda, having arrived from America, suggested to me that I go to France in an effort to inject some vigour into the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti. I of course accepted and I crossed the frontier with comrade Giuseppe Mioli, striking up a friendship that has survived to this day. In Paris we published a four page newspaper called *La Difesa* (Defence), managing to bring out four or five issues thanks to the solidarity of French comrades. But during that summer Coda had to return to the United States and publication was suspended. After a short stay in London I went back to France where I found work in the textile industry and I might even have become a half-decent weaver, had not encouragement from

several comrades and my own enduring desire to be of service to the movement inspired me to return to Paris where, in 1925, we started publishing *Il Monito*, a newspaper that appeared fairly irregularly up until 1928. In the years that followed, the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign was stepped up to such an extent that when Luigia Vanzetti passed through Paris, the French comrades successfully organised a popular demonstration in which 250,000 people were said to have taken part. The tragic denouement of the campaign was a profound upset to *avant garde* groups and to the Paris proletariat generally. After that - I was to be expelled from France after a couple of years - I went to Marseilles where I lodged with the family of a comrade who had spent some time in the United States and where I was treated like one of the family. I stayed there up until the end of that year, once more contributing regularly to *L'Adunata (dei Refrattari)*. It was at this point that the idea came to me to go back to America. The first person to mention it to me was comrade Luigi Pitton, a veteran of our Italian-American movement, and with the help of some comrades on both sides of the Atlantic I was able to make the trip the following March. The rest of my life is recorded in the fifty bound annual editions of *Adunata*.

Partly out of modesty and partly out of necessity, I have used lots of pen names. Even so, I used my own name when I had to face up to my personal responsibility. In 65 years of life as a militant I contributed to the following publications, *Cronaca Sovversiva* of Lynn, Massachusetts and Turin, *La Difesa* and *Il Monito* in Paris, and the odd single edition publication from Paolo Schicchi in Marseilles, the English-language California newspaper *Man!* in the 1930s, *La Frusta* of Pesaro and finally *L'Adunata dei Refrattari* (as a contributor up until 1928 and from May 1928 to April 1970 as editor).

These have been my noms de plume:

Cesare; Nando; Michetta; Calibano (used only once in *Il Monito* in Paris); Max Sartin; Labor; Manhattanite; Bob; Juan Taro; X.Y.; R.S.; and M.S., in more recent contributions to *L'Internazionale* of Ancona.

I should also say that ever since I took over as editor of *L'Adunata* I have always

published general articles as spokesman for the editorial team and therefore without signature. Into this category fall the *Cronache Sovversive* which I would send in to the paper on a weekly basis even when, for whatever reason, I happened to be far away from the editorial offices or because I was otherwise unable to be there. I ought to add that those of my writings published in *Man!* were signed Melchior Seele. I cannot guarantee that I may not have left out one or two things in this list but this is what comes to mind right now and were in any event the pen-names I used most frequently. In one of the few issues of the review *Veglia* that Virgilia D'Andrea published in Paris there is a piece by me on Sacco and Vanzetti, signed with my own name.

* Probably written during the early 1980s: from *Bollettino Archivio G. Pinelli* (Milan). No 13, August 1999, pp. 43-45.

KSL needs

Can any comrades out there look in their cupboards for us? We need Nos 1-4 and 24 of *Kick it Over* to complete our set. Drop us a line if you need postage paid.

We would also like to hear from any comrades able to translate German - or any artistic people able to supply us with graphics.

This number of *KSL: Bulletin of the Kate Sharpley Library* brought to you by the KSL collective in May 2000.

Kate Sharpley Library
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Subscriptions to the bulletin for a year (4 issues) are £3 (inland) or £5 (overseas). Institutional rates are £6 (inland) and £10 (overseas) [unfortunately we can't take dollar cheques, but sterling ones payable to 'Kate Sharpley Library' are fine.]

We would be more than happy to hear from comrades interested in our publications (see page 7), or in donating material or money

Would any comrades with address corrections or receiving multiple copies please contact us.

How to find Your Local Wobbly History

Robert Helms

One can find the forgotten Wobbly names and faces, strike stories, union halls and martyrs' graves in any city where the IWW earned its legendary reputation. It is easy to find thorough information on the luminaries, such as Tresca, Flynn and Giovanitti, but what about those local organizers who invited these major figures to town, and then kept working after they were gone, pouring the wine of rebellion into workers' hearts? It may take some time, but in all probability you'll find syndicalist monuments and hallowed ground that you walk past every day, but never knew existed.

Start at the nearest college library, and gather a short stack of general works on the IWW or any of its famous travelling speakers. Look in the indexes for the name of your town, and start making a list of the local numbers, companies where the IWW was active, and especially the dates of strikes and public appearances by well-known Wobs. The most active years will usually be between 1911 and 1920. Be sure to include the date September 5, 1917, when IWW halls across the U.S. were raided by federal agents.

Take the list to the nearest large public library, and go to the newspaper room. They'll have all the local daily papers from those early years on microfilm. In most places, there were many more papers than there are now. Start rolling to the day after each of the events you've found, and read the mainstream news accounts. This is the point at which you'll start saying "oh my goodness..." because there will be photographs, names, addresses and stories that you've never heard of, and some that no living person knows about.

Take down the addresses of the union halls and get on your bike: is the building still standing? In Philadelphia, there are two. When I rang the doorbell at one of them, I was happy to learn that its present occupants had found some old union handbills in the building, and they had some framed and hanging on the wall. Take down the names of IWW activists and look them up in the

city directory (ancestor of the phone book) for the same year: is the home still there now?

Search every local historical facility for the names, as well as the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections. Here's where you may locate the personal papers of your long-dead comrades, and still more names, addresses, and other connections. If you find the date of someone's death you should look in the papers for an obituary, figure out where they were buried, and call up the cemetery. (Some libraries and historical societies maintain a file of local obituaries from the papers, organized by name, which can be a big help.) I got lucky and found the tombstone of the martyred Wobbly organizer Martin Petkus just a few miles from where I live. Martin was shot down by riot police during an IWW sugar refinery strike in 1917.

There will be thousands of minute details that will lead you to other details, and the thread will never end. Once you start hitting pay-dirt and getting acquainted with the labor activists who walked the same streets as you do, but long, long ago, this may become your hobby or even your obsession, as is the case with me. Now that you've been warned, sharpen your pencil and get to work. You'll benefit enormously from the help of librarians at every single step, so always be nice to them.

From Anarcho-Syndicalist review #28, Spring 2000
ASR PO Box 2824 Champaign, IL 61825 USA

New KSL publications

Two KSL publications have recently hit the streets:

Victor Garcia, **Three Japanese Anarchists: Kotoku, Osugi and Yamaga**

Stories of three of the major figures of Japanese anarchism, each shedding light on the wider social context as well as the struggles of the Japanese anarchist movement.

30pp. 1-873605-62-5 £1.50

Des Patchrider, **The Couriers are Revolting: The Despatch Industry Workers Union 1989-92**

Anarcho-syndicalism on bikes! Looking back on an inventive unionisation campaign.

26pp. 1-873605-67-6 £1.50