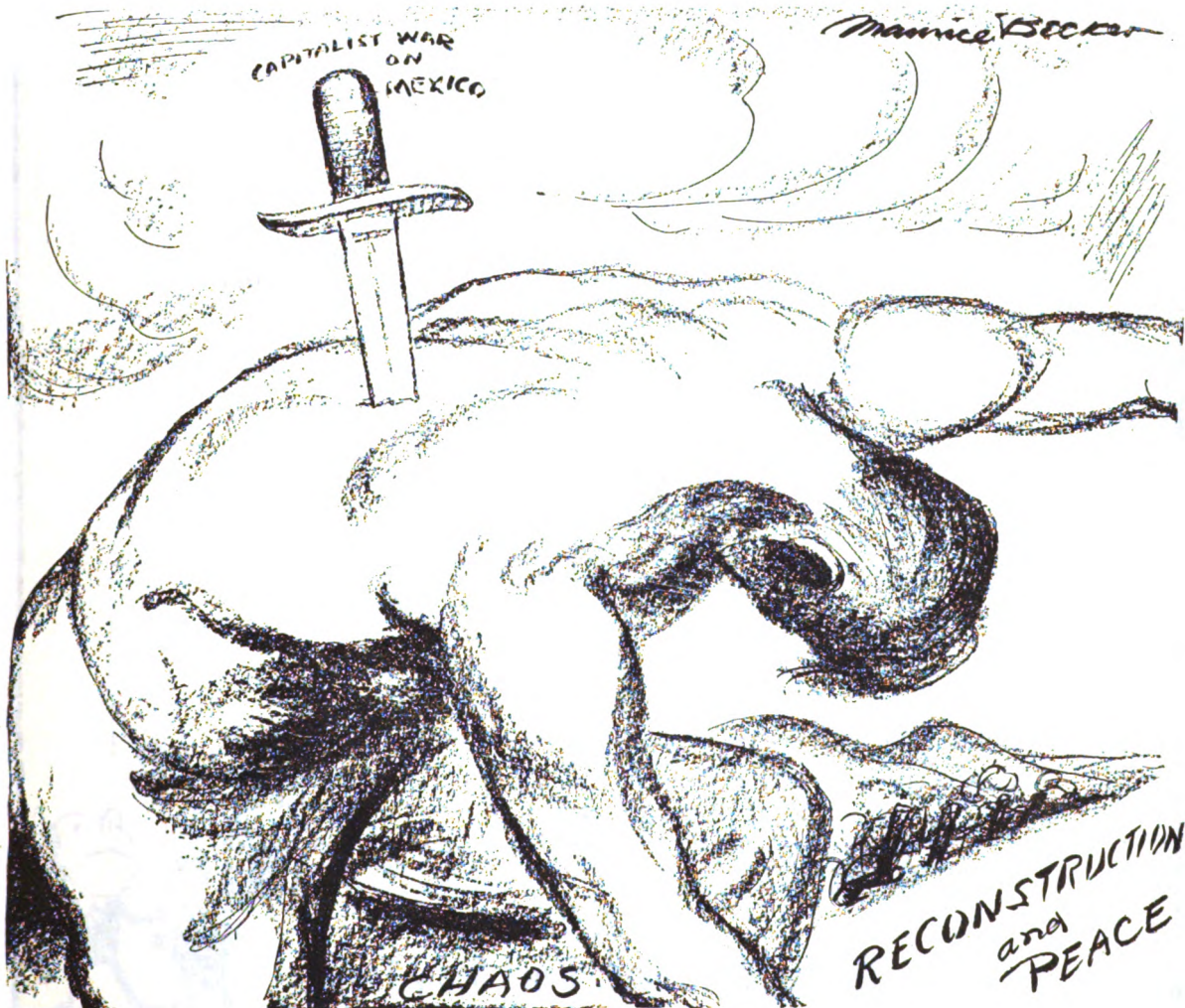


The One Big Union Monthly



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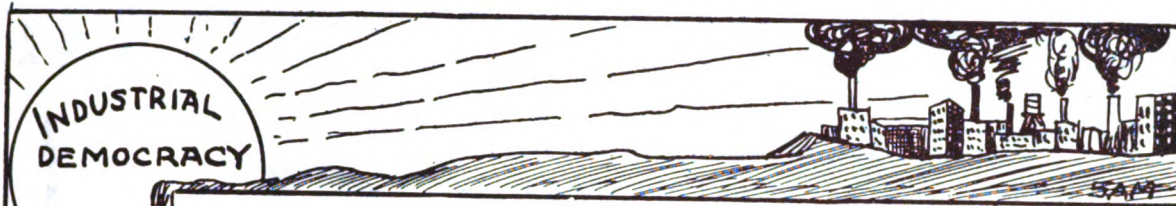
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WHERE IS YOUR HEAD?

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Published Monthly by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World,
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

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Important Notice

To All Subscribers, Agents and readers of **The One Big Union Monthly** Beginning with the February issue the price of **THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY** will be 25 cents per copy. To bundle order agents the price will be 15 cents per copy. Subscription price \$2.50 per year, \$1.25 for 6 months. Non-returnable as before.

This change has been made by the Gen'l Sec'y-Treas. and members of the G. E. B. after consultation with the Industrial Union secretaries who have hitherto been handling the One Big Union Monthly at a direct loss, also to cover the great loss sustained through raids and confiscations, as well as through sabotage by the postoffice.

This change takes effect on January 15, 1920.

At the same time the price of our weekly newspapers has been raised to the uniform rate of \$2.00 per year.

The change should furthermore not be unexpected, as prices of all materials and labor are constantly rising.

Bundle order agents should not allow this raise in price to cause any reduction in their orders.

At the same time **The One Big Union Monthly** is going to add four pages to its contents. In the future we will use a two-colored cover, which will make the volume more striking and attractive in appearance, as well as more substantial to handle.

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THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY,
1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

I. W. W. 1919

"A good soldier never looks behind him," is an old saying. However it might not be amiss to throw a glance backwards over the life of the I. W. W. in the year of 1919.

The year of 1919 has for the I. W. W. been a year of open class warfare from the beginning to the end. The life of the I. W. W. has been a continuous battle from its very inception for that matter. We have never been allowed to sit down and rest for the last 14 years, but in the year of 1919 are crowded more of startling and important events than during any previous year of its existence.

As the ability to give battle to an enemy is a sign of strong life, we are justified in concluding that the I. W. W. never was stronger than in this year.

"The I. W. W. is dead," "the I. W. W. is crushed," is the howl that our enemies have raised time and again. They are rais-

ing the same howl now, but with the knowledge we have of the foundations upon which the I. W. W. is built, we can assure our enemies, that at the end of next year we shall have a story of much fiercer struggle and of much stronger life to tell.

The concrete signs of the activities of the I. W. W. during the past year may be divided in **internal organization work, educational work, the economic struggles, the judicial defense work**, all of it carried on under the most severe persecution, official and unofficial.

The Internal Organization Work

One sure sign of vigorous life is the necessity of holding conventions and the ability to hold them. The I. W. W. has held many conventions this year. There was the **general convention** that met on May 5 in Chicago, lasting for 11 days, and resulting in an immense lot of work being done. In

addition there was a **convention of Lumber Workers** in Tacoma March 2 and in St. Regis, Mont., in the fall; a **convention of Agricultural Workers in Sioux City**, April 21; a **convention of Metal and Machinery Workers** in Cleveland, April 15-16; a **convention of Construction Workers** in Chicago April 24; a **convention of Marine Transport Workers** in Philadelphia May 24-29; a **convention of Agricultural Workers in Sioux City**, Nov. 3, and several other conferences.

The I. W. W. emerges out of the battle of 1919 with 21 Industrial Unions, three new ones having been added during the year, namely No. 1200, 1300 and 1500.

Its present structure is as follows:

Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 8.

Bakery Workers' Industrial Union No. 46.

Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 300.

Shipbuilders' Industrial Union No. 325.

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400.

Fishermens' Industrial Union No. 448.

Oil Workers' Industrial Union No. 450.

Rubber Workers' Industrial Union No. 470.

Furniture Workers' Industrial Union No. 480.

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500.

Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 573.

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 600.

Shoe Workers' Industrial Union No. 620.

Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800.

Coal Miners' Industrial Union No. 900.

The Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 1000.

Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union No. 1100.

Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200.

General Distribution Workers' Industrial Union No. 1300.

Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 1500.

Besides, there is the General Recruiting Union.

In round numbers 50,000 new membership cards have been issued, but, due to the severe persecution, the growth in membership has not been startlingly large. In this connection may be added that our organization spontaneously is spreading to other countries, making it necessary to maintain offices in foreign ports or leading

to direct co-operation with workers in foreign countries.

Our international connections during the year have assumed very promising proportions. Our ideas and our program are being to a greater or less extent endorsed and adopted by the workers of Russia, England, Italy, Spain, Scandinavia, Mexico, South America, etc., not to speak of Canada and Australia, where the One Big Union movement has got considerable headway. The I. W. W. is at present better buttressed up internationally than ever before.

One of the most important tasks of the coming year will be to further develop international co-operation and organization.

The General Executive Board of the I. W. W. has adopted a recommendation for the joining of the "Third International." This has, however, never been acted upon by the convention, and as the third international is largely a political one, more or less sincerely endorsing industrial unionism, the probabilities are that a purely industrial international will develop out of these international connections in the near future.

The I. W. W. is neither asleep nor dead. It is right now about to engulf the whole world. In fact, the world is just beginning to discover that its only salvation from economic destruction lies in the I. W. W. program, which calls for the turning over of production and distribution to the people, organized industrially. These are facts. Do not be deceived by false reports or obituary notices in the kept press.

The Educational Work

The educational work of the I. W. W. during 1919 is to a large extent depicted on the last two pages of the One Big Union Monthly, in the advertisements of its publications. From these it appears that the I. W. W. publications now number 22 as against 7 at the beginning of the year. Not the least important of these additions is The One Big Union Monthly.

Considering the rough treatment usually accorded to I. W. W. editors, which treatment tends to keep all but "rough-necks" away from us, it is undeniable that the I. W. W. has done very well in this line during 1919.

The list of books and pamphlets is long enough, but it is not what we wish it to be. For lack of financial resources we are at present holding back the publication of "The I. W. W. Handbook," by Justus Ebert, a very important book, designed as an introduction to a series of handbooks for all industries under the comprehensive name of an "Industrial Encyclopedia." The

Agricultural Workers donated \$500 for the latter work at their last convention, and as time goes on the General Office will be able to take it up.

The educational work of the I. W. W. is bearing fruit, as witness the endorsement of our principles by workers all over the world.

As for the results of this work inside the borders of the U. S. we have every reason

through the spoken word of our orators, delegates and individual members.

Has there been progress during the year? We should smile! For corroboration of this statement we refer to the "patriotic" leagues and the "American Legion."

In this connection let us call attention to another feature of our educational propaganda. We have to acknowledge the great assistance given us by the kept press.



The I. W. W. Hall in New York as it looked after a police raid. Piano, typewriters and furniture smashed.

to be gratified, considering the obstacles we meet. During the year the political socialist movement has gone to pieces, resulting in 3 factions, all of which embrace industrial unionism more or less devoutly, or rather adding it to their arsenal of weapons for capturing political power. As a result of our activities the One Big Union idea has been adopted by the advanced elements among the Negro workers of the country in the course of this year, and as for the A. F. of L., it is cracking all over as a result of the educational work carried on through our press and our books and

recent "raid" by a department of the New York shed. Damage estimated at \$2,500.

Through the most lurid misstatements about us they have called the attention of millions to our existence. It is from these deceived, and later undeceived, readers of the kept press that our ranks are recruited, and it is among them that the number of our friends and sympathizers is increasing by the millions.

The Battles of 1919

During the past year the I. W. W. has conducted several strikes and taken part in several others.

The great general strike in Seattle, which began Jan. 21, was in the capitalist press

called an I. W. W. affair, and 31 of our members were later arrested for "criminal anarchy" in connection therewith. But the strike was essentially an A. F. of L. affair with I. W. W. co-operation.

Then there was **the great strike in Butte** and other Montana cities. This strike was conducted by the I. W. W.

Both of these strikes were of sufficient size and importance to deserve a permanent place in the records of labor's struggles together with the almost contemporaneous general strikes in Belfast and Winnipeg. All of them were "lost," if it may be said that a strike is ever lost. Strikes are really the Chautauqua courses of the workers.

Next **the Textile Workers** were engaged in a big strike for the 44-hour week. The strike was a long one and a bitter one. Through A. F. of L. treason the workers lost, but what they gained in knowledge was worth much more than any concessions would have been.

The Furniture Workers next went on strike, on April 1. They wanted the 8-hour day and increased pay, and staid out for over two months, but did not get it. Still they gained some concessions. The importance of this strike is, that it has aroused a group of workers that seemed almost lost to the cause of the workers.

The I. W. W. Lumber Workers won a strike in the Fortine District in the Northwest in short order. It was a strike for 8 hours and \$5 a day. In the fall they have practiced the intermittent strike in the Northwest against an increase in charges, etc., with varying success.

The miners in Park City, in Coeur d'Alene, in Tonopah and a dozen other places have also been striking, sometimes with winning, sometimes "losing." But no matter what the outcome, the I. W. W. always is the winner, for the workers think and learn while they strike and rest. And when the worker begins to think he becomes an I. W. W.

The last strike of the year in which I. W. W. has taken part with any considerable numbers is the **strike of the Marine Transport Workers** of New York. The strike was "lost," but, as usually, the I. W. W. won, coming out with its membership trebled.

To us the strike is an educational asset, which acts as an auxiliary to our propaganda by word of mouth and writing, much as an excursion to the meadows is an auxiliary to the teacher of botany.

What with the other tremendous strikes of the year, the stockyards' strike, the railwaymen's strike, the steel strike and the

coal strike and the printers' strike, this has been a prosperous year for those who rejoice in the awakening of the masses. All these workers have learnt much themselves that they did not understand before, and all other workers have learnt an immense lot by merely observing the strikes.

All hail those strikers, whether I. W. W. or not! They are breaking ground for a complete industrial organization.

The Business Affairs of the I. W. W.

The financial condition of the I. W. W. at the end of 1919 is far from good. The general office has about half a million dollars to its credit with the industrial unions, but not a cent in the treasury. On the contrary, the general office has a deficit of nearly \$10,000. This deficit is partly due to the purchase of a new printing press for \$5,000 and of a new linotype machine for about \$4,000, as well as a large stock of printing paper; also to the printing of a large stock of literature. But this unfortunate state of affairs is mostly due to the slowness of the industrial unions in paying for supplies and stamps, the money having been used for the purposes of organization expenses instead of for payment of bills. Unless this matter is quickly attended to by the unions through immediate payment of all bills and a forced sale of the organization stamp of \$1.00, there is apt to be a real obituary notice in the kept press one of these days, stating: "I. W. W. is dead. General office is bankrupt. Doors closed. Rats are leaving the sinking ship."

As a matter of fact we know that it is enough to call the membership's attention to this matter in order to have it remedied. For the future great care should be taken that the experience is not repeated. By crippling the general office members stop the educational work of the organization and bring organization to a standstill.

We are confident that the coming year will see these shortcomings corrected. They are partly due to the numerous raids and arrests which have a tendency to upset the work as well as the inexperience of the members. In the future we are better prepared for such experiences.

So much for the positive and constructive work carried on by the I. W. W. during the year of 1919.

We now come to another chapter of our activity, which does not properly belong to the domain of an organization which proposes to organize the workers into industrial unions, but which has been forced upon us, and at the present moment is assuming tremendous proportions, namely the persecution and all that is connected with it.

The Persecution Against the I. W. W. and the Legal Defense Work

The persecution against the I. W. W. has reached enormous proportions during 1919, and is at an unprecedented height at the closing of the year.

This persecution can all be traced to a common source, i. e., the machinations of the capitalist class for a plutocratic dictatorship, but in its exterior manifestation it has a two-fold character: the "legal" persecution and the extra-legal persecution. We will take up the extra legal persecution first, the one that is not camouflaged with the insignia of law and order.

The Extra Legal Prosecution

The extra legal persecution has been in the making for years past, but it is only during the last year that it has sprung into full bloom and dared to claim for itself a semblance of moral justification.

It is manifold in its nature, but the forces participating in it are

Wall street, general director and provocateur and secret government of U. S.

The kept press.

The "high tone" clubs.

The "patriotic" societies.

The American Legion.

"Citizens'" leagues.

Chambers of commerce and other profiteers.

Priests and ministers.

Politicians.

"Detective agencies," stools, finks and gunmen.

"The under world."

Labor fakirs.

Knights of Columbus.

Ignorant and deluded people generally.

It is a tremendous apparatus of iniquity, always operating under the cover of the stars and stripes. Its chief weapon is lies and misinformation about the I. W. W. This side of the campaign of persecution is attended to by the kept press, partly through warped news items, partly through venomous and "inspired" editorials, partly by flaring advertisements, which of late are to be found in all big capitalistic sheets. This feature alone must cost the promoters millions of dollars, but it is necessary in order to turn the masses of the people against us, and besides, there is more money where these millions come from, for more wealth is constantly created by the workers. Contemporaneously the promoters carry on an "educational" campaign through the patriotic societies, who approach the people with tens of millions of letters and pamphlets and support same with the hell-slush

of blood thirsty orators or hired liars, sometimes with the additional aid of framed up films.

The moving picture theatres offer these campaigners a great possibility, that is taken advantage of to its full extent.

Ministers and politicians and thousands of other mental prostitutes repeat the slander and the lies and the provocative rantings, each one to his little crowd, out of cowardice, greed or general cussedness.

Thus the people of the country are being incited against us by these "respectables," and the fruit of it is now ripening and is being harvested. By patient work along this line they have brought it to the point where the public is about ready to condone any outrage against us, even if it is the most dastardly infraction of the law and the constitution of the country. Taking advantage of this artificial public opinion, created by the secret government, these spurious patriots don the U. S. uniform and raid our halls, wreck our pianos and typewriting machines, destroy our records and burn our literature, and finally club or murder our members and turn them over to the waiting police to be arrested for "trying to overthrow the U. S. government". Thus is being gradually built up a dictatorship of the plutocracy and a reign of terror by its servants, designed to crush forever whatever democracy has hitherto existed in this country.

We have before us a list of the I. W. W. halls raided during the year of 1919 with particulars, but it would take up too much space to enumerate them. Be it enough to state that this extra-legal persecution is country-wide, and in some parts, as in the Northwest, it embraces every important city and town, and some that are not so important.

The Centralia affair, where 4 "American Legion" men were killed while in the process of raiding the I. W. W. hall, is a typical example. Here these "patriotic" raiders, inspired by Wall street and more particularly by the lumber trust, lynched one I. W. W. member, an ex-soldier from overseas, Wesley Everest, and completely destroyed the hall, and afterwards established a complete reign of terror which still continues in full force.

Through the expenditure of millions of dollars for sinister purposes there has been created an artificial and hysteric public opinion which gives absolution in advance to brutal and rowdy elements who are being manipulated by the hired tools of the secret government for the purpose of

extinguishing liberty and making all the people willing and submissive servants to the secret government. It has gone so far that people no longer dare speak their mind on any question for fear of being black-mailed, bullied, clubbed and persecuted by the crazy or malevolent ruffians, who, like the black hundreds of Russia, drape themselves in the flag of the country, in order to disguise their foul deeds against the workers.

It will take years for the American people to free themselves spiritually and socially from this extra-legal reign of terror and regain their balance of mind and freedom of thought, speech and action.

The Legal Persecution

The legal persecution may be traced to all the three branches of the government, **the legislative, the judiciary and the executive**, which all three are under the iron heel of the secret government. As far as **the legislative branch** is concerned, it has busied itself in a great number of states with the framing of "Anti-syndicalist" laws which on the surface are directed against certain acts of violence or conspiracy against the U. S. government. These laws are framed with the secret understanding that they are to serve against the I. W. W., the courts and the police being depended upon to conspire to bring us within that law. At the present time the congress has under consideration, it is said, 52 federal bills, all aiming at our extermination. It is in order to get a semblance of justification for such laws that all the rioting is being staged, all the perjury suborned, and all the lies in the press manufactured against us.

The secret government is thus preparing to turn a dastardly trick on the American people, designed to throw them in the chains of brutal tyranny for generations.

The part of **the judiciary** in this legal persecution is to do the bidding of the secret government. The trials given our members are outrageous, scandalous and farcical, the judges in nearly every case being unreservedly partial to the prosecution, and, finally, imposing sentences which are plainly acts of oppression and not acts of justice.

The executive part of the persecution is openly in defiance of the law. Arrests, raids and seizures, are in most cases being done without a warrant, the raids generally being more like acts of warfare than peaceful acts of law and order. We call attention to the photo herewith of the raid of the I. W. W. hall in New York by a department of the police.

Another feature of this activity is the brutal treatment invariably accorded our members when they happen to come in the road of these executives of both the secret and the legal governments. Clubs and other weapons are used without provocation or cause, and thousands of our fellow workers have been seriously injured by these clubbings and large numbers have been taken to hospitals and have been seriously injured for life.

The latest instance is that of Fellow Workers Kohler, manager of our printing plant, and Cascaden, a newspaper man, who both were present at the recent trial in Kansas City, Kohler as a witness and Cascaden as our press correspondent. Both were foully dealt with. Kohler was taken by court officials to one side, right in the court house, and terribly beaten up. As for Cascaden, a city detective came up to his room and beat him up, breaking his leg, in the brutal assault. The latter assault is admitted by the police, but they falsely state in the papers that the detective "acted in self-defense." Lies are used to bolster up a deed over which they and the other tools of tyranny are openly gloating.

These two instances could be multiplied by the thousands.

As a result of the co-operation between the legal and extra-legal persecution there are now about 2,000 I. W. W. men in jail, of whom several hundreds already are sentenced to terms of up to 20 years. The rest are being held as long as possible without trial, and all our prisoners are in most cases being tormented in a fiendish manner.

One feature of this persecution is the **deportation** of hundreds of our members. But as deportation alone has little terror, the members are wantonly and illegally being held in jails for months and years before deportation, in order to inflict punishment outside the pale of the law. In fact, the secret government is not anxious to deport the workers in mass. They want to keep them here, if possible, and crush them into willing slaves.

The Defense Work of the I. W. W.

Under these circumstances it is easy to understand that **the defense work** for the organization has assumed large proportions. The General Defense Committee was about to collapse under the burden of its tremendous task, when William D. Haywood was finally released on bail and put to work as secretary and later as treasurer of the General Defense Committee in Chicago. Special defense committees have been active in the Northwest and California. It has been the task of these committees to

secure legal aid wherever possible, but we must admit that many fellow workers have been victimized by our fiendish enemies for lack of proper legal defense. However, many hundreds of thousands of dollars have been raised for bail, and a number of the imprisoned fellow workers have thus regained liberty, pending the appeal of their case. Tens of thousands of dollars have been raised for defense purposes, partly through subscription lists, partly through collections at meetings and partly through the sale of stamps to members. We have been put to the utmost to secure funds, and at the present time the means on hand are entirely inadequate, while many of our resources are being exhausted. Help is beginning to come from the workers in foreign countries, systematic agitation and collection being now carried on in Sweden and Norway and perhaps in some other countries, showing that international solidarity is something more than an empty phrase.

Protests from labor organizations are also pouring in from England and Holland and other countries.

However, in order to keep the defense work from breaking down entirely, the buying of defense stamps by members will have to be made our special order of business for a long time to come, not forgetting the organization stamp for the upkeep of the organization in these trying times.

Unless the defense funds are kept up our

fellow workers will have to resort to the dismal tactics of "silent defense" used by our 50 fellow workers in Sacramento with disastrous results.

Such is the terrible, almost incredible story of the I. W. W. in 1919. Never in the history of the labor movement have the efforts of the workers to organize been met with such sufferings.

Freedom is dead in the United States at present and raw-boned tyrants rule.

But it is easy to understand that a society that can maintain itself only through such moral degradation cannot have many days to live. Some day the sufferings of the people will have reached a limit over which they cannot go. Then comes the dissolution like a cataclysm. We foresee this day and in order to save ourselves, our class, mankind generally and whatever is worth saving of our "civilization," we are against tremendous odds going ahead with the work of organizing the workers industrially, so that we may be able to continue production and distribution and keep society going.

That responsibility now rests on the shoulders of the working class.

Watch the I. W. W. in 1920! Our principles are immortal, and no human agency can destroy them, whatever they may try to do to our organization and our members.

California, Kansas, Washington

On December 5 the McHugo case in California ended with a verdict of guilty. The charge was criminal syndicalism.

On December 18 the verdict of guilty was rendered against 27 of our fellow workers on the so-called Wichita indictment, the sentences ranging from 3½ to 9 years. The charge was conspiracy to interfere with the conduct of the war.

In Washington events cluster round the Centralia affair. Just how many hundreds of fellow workers are in jail in the Northwest we have not been able to ascertain.

It is estimated that altogether over 2,000 I. W. W. men are in jail at present.

There is not much use repeating here the details already known through our weekly papers. The detailed story of the raids and the arrests and the trials would fill several numbers of the O. B. U. Monthly.

After you have read one or two of these stories you know the rest. It is every time a story of trampling under foot of the laws and the constitution, arrests without warrants, brutal clubbings, holding of men for "investigation," formulating of trumped up

charges, packed juries and ferocious sentences.

Instead of chronicling the events we wish to call the members to such action as is suitable in every case.

Our efforts at securing legal defense for the imprisoned fellow workers should be multiplied, but still not be made the main thing. The main thing must always be the building up of an organization, for without that there would soon be neither organization nor defense.

Finance the defense by buying the \$5.00 Centralia and raids stamp. Finance the organization by taking in new members, prompt payment of dues, buying of the organization stamp of \$1.00, and by selling literature **and paying for it.**

Now that many of the halls of the country are closed by force, the activity will have to be thrown almost exclusively on the job and in such business offices as it may be necessary to maintain.

The hysteria of persecution will peter out some time, but our principles and our courage will not peter out.

The Plumb Plan

Those who read this article should not neglect to read another article in this number entitled, "The Labor Movement in Great Britain," by George Hardy.

A reader of the One Big Union Monthly wrote us the other day asking us if the I. W. W. endorses the Plumb Plan, and why we don't say anything about it. This inquiry, together with Fellow Worker Hardy's article on the Labor Movement of England, give us occasion to take the Plumb Plan into consideration. Our information about the Plumb Plan is derived from a leaflet issued by the "Plumb Plan League" and from the discussion in the press. We cannot here undertake to give a complete statement of the details of the Plumb Plan. We will content ourselves with a few of the most important points. From the leaflet mentioned we quote the following questions and answers:

"Why is it called the Plumb Plan?"

"Because it was conceived by Glenn E. Plumb, General Counsel of the Railway Employes of America."

"What is the Plumb Plan?"

"It is a plan for public ownership and democracy in the control of the railroads."

"How does it propose to buy the roads?"

"By issuing Government Bonds with which to pay for the legitimate private interests in the railroad industry."

"How does it propose to operate the roads?"

"By a board of fifteen directors, five named by the president, to represent the public, five elected by the operating officials, and five elected by the classified employes."

"What becomes of the surplus?"

"After operating expenses are paid and fixed charges are met, including the interest on outstanding Government securities, the surplus is divided equally between the Government and the men. The employes' portion is to be divided between the managerial and the classified employes, the former receiving double the rate received by the latter class"

"What does the Government do with its share of the surplus?"

"It invests it in improvements and extensions, thus adding to the value of the railroads without adding to the fixed charges. It retires the outstanding bonds, thus reducing the fixed charges. Ultimately the public will have its railroad service at cost."

"Who determines the rate of wages?"

"The Board of Directors."

These are the principal points of the Plumb plan. Summing it up we find that it means that the people should buy the railroads from the present owners, without paying for the watered stock. It further means government ownership and government control, modified by the prescription that ten of the board of directors of fifteen shall be elected by those engaged in railroad operation, five to be elected by the officials and five by the common work-

ers. As a bait or inducement it provides that the workers should divide the surplus with the government and that the bonds be retired by the use of the government share of the surplus. The reader will please compare this plan with the almost contemporaneous Nationalization plans for railroads and mines, in England, as related in the article mentioned by Fellow Worker George Hardy.

Now, in order to bluntly answer our inquirer, we will re-state his question, "**Does the I. W. W. endorse the Plumb Plan?**" Our answer is, **Most assuredly not.** Is the I. W. W. fighting the Plumb Plan? No. We have for years had our own plans for the taking over and the operation not only of the railroads but of every other industry in the country and in the whole world and we are going ahead with the work for the realization of these plans as if the Plumb plan had never been born. Our plan calls for the organizing of all railroad workers into an industrial union of railroad workers, consisting of local branches. By means of this organization we propose to establish the most far-reaching democracy and the most complete unity in the operation of the railroads. We furthermore propose at the same time that the workers of all other industries should organize in a similar manner to take over and operate their respective industries. The various industrial unions would, in conjunction with the railroad workers industrial union, solve the question of distribution. This is what we mean by industrial democracy, and the principal feature of it is that it entirely does away with wage slavery, making the workers their own masters collectively. As will be seen, our plan makes no provision for, or mentioning of buying the railroads or paying for them. In fact, we consider that part of the Plumb plan which calls for the buying of the railroads by the people a most outrageous proposition. The railroads have been built by the workers and are being operated by workers, but have been stolen from the people by unscrupulous politicians and profiteers. It is a matter of recorded history that the land grants for the trans-continental roads were largely obtained by swindling the government, and the owners of the railroads have ever since the invention of the locomotive been extorting billions of dollars from the American people in the guise of rent, interest and profit on the capitalization of this stolen wealth. To ask that we pay the full

social value to the robbers, in order to get it back, would lead to the most paradoxical consequences.

In this connection let us mention that the new Labor party has endorsed the Plumb plan without reservation. This party platform furthermore calls for the nationalization, not only of the railroads, but of the mines, forests, water-power, telegraphs, telephones, stockyards, grain elevators, natural gas and oil wells, cold storage and terminal warehouses, elevators, packing plants, flour mills and of all basic industries which require large scale production and are in reality on a non-competitive basis, these to be democratically managed.

We are justified in supposing that the reformers back of the Labor party would try to nationalize all these industries, that is, the bulk of the resources of the nation, according to the Plumb plan. That is, we suppose that the Labor party would propose to buy these industries by the issuing of government bonds. Let us consider for a moment what the result would be.

Carried out to its utmost consequences it would mean that the people would be the actual owners of all means of production, thereby precluding for all time the investment of capital in industrial enterprises. In a certain number of years, the capitalist class would be the holder of tremendous capital, the full cost price of all the industries of the nation sold to the government with no possibility of investing it. This means that their capital would be actually worthless. Does Mr. Plumb and the Labor party propose to swindle the capitalist class out of the means of production and distribution, paying them with worthless gold bricks? Of course, we have no objection to treating the capitalist class in this manner. "Go as far as you like." We consider no deal too rough for the capitalist class. But we dare not suspect Mr. Plumb, or the Plumb league, or Labor party promoters of the criminal ingenuity required to concoct a confidence scheme of such stupendous magnitude; at least, not without the secret motive leaking out. We are firmly convinced that it is nothing but a blunder in political economy, comparable to the blunder of the apple woman who was selling 3-cent apples at 2 cents, hoping to recoup her losses by doing business on a big scale at this rate. We class the Plumb plan and all other similar nationalization plans as one of the many quack nostrums which have been concocted since time immemorial by social horse doctors and witches who would evade the main question, namely, justice to the workers who have produced all wealth.

But, at the same time, the Plumb plan of buying back the industries would mean an insufferable burden to the present generation.

As far as the I. W. W. is concerned, we do not propose to come into the possession of the industries by any trick of social confidence men. We state openly and plainly that the capitalist class have stolen all their wealth from the people who produced it, that they are not entitled to the possession of it, that they should be disposed of by the people without remuneration at the earliest possible moment; and, furthermore, we advise the people to organize industrially for this specific purpose and for the purpose of running the industries. So much for the acquiring of the railroads proposed by the Plumb plan.

As far as control and operation is concerned the Plumb plan claims that it has devised a system of democracy. We maintain that it has not. The control of the railroads would remain in the hands of people that would be controlled by the capitalist class. Even the representatives of the employes on the directorate would probably not differ from the regular type of craft union leaders now elected by the workers, and we refuse to acknowledge that those leaders are an expression of democratic control by the workers.

Democratic control must begin from the bottom among the working people themselves. Every railroad shop and every railroad line and every terminal should be directly controlled by the workers there engaged. And so on, up to the top of general affairs, leaving very few functions for a directorate. Only in this manner can the liberty of the people be safe-guarded and wage slavery abolished.

If you will study the article about the English labor movement, above referred to, you will find that this is no dictatorial ukase from the One Big Union office, but that it expresses the will and sentiments among the railroad workers and miners even in England, where these ideas have developed quite independently of the I. W. W. influence.

This does not mean that we are going to go out of our road to fight the Plumb plan league or the Labor party program for nationalization. As long as we have to swallow the capitalist pill we don't care how it is sugar-coated. We would like to be able to impress our readers with the fact that the solution of the social problem propounded by the I. W. W. is world wide in its scope and, so to speak, eternal in its outlook. Through our plan we do not propose mere-

ly to help the capitalist class solve a very delicate railroad question, which is about to bring a capitalist crisis, but to place the whole human household for all time to come on such a basis that a repetition of capitalism with all its horrors will forever be an impossibility. The thoughtless reader may smile at what he may consider the stupendous conceit of a bunch of ragged hoboes, but let us remind him that while the Plumb plan can claim six million supporters over night almost—supporters who have never delved deeply into the social problem—the I. W. W. plan has tens of millions of supporters throughout the whole world and is a dynamic force which is sweeping everything before it in spite of all the combined opposition of the forces of evil and ignorance. Great things move

slowly. The elephant turns round ponderously, while the mosquito zigzags at a terrific speed and covers a large distance.

Our plan is to the Plumb plan as the elephant is to the mosquito. The Plumb plan may be adopted. The people of the different countries may resort to the folly of government ownership and buying out the capitalist class, but this will not solve the social problem. It will only aggravate its difficulties. Sooner or later mankind will, however, reluctantly have to turn to the solution worked out by the I. W. W. The human mind can conceive of no other permanent solution. Plumb plan or no Plumb plan, Labor party or no Labor party, the work of the I. W. W. for the building of industrial democracy goes on as if nothing had happened.

The Steel Strike and The Coal Strike

The whole country is now familiar with the breakdown of the steel strike and the coal strike. To repeat the details in this magazine would be unnecessary.

Were the strikes lost?

Yes, they were lost to the American Federation of Labor, but to the working class at large they were not lost. The workers in both industries may go back to work under the most unbearable conditions, but they are now a different lot of men from what they were. They have learned that the capitalist class is as perfidious as it is relentless. There may not be any recognition of the steel workers unions, but there will be recognition of the class struggle, and this is the foundation of the work of the future. The miners may not have gained their 60 per cent increase and the 30-hour week, but they have demonstrated to their own and everybody else's satisfaction that there is no community of interest between mine owners and mine workers.

Both strikes have furthermore demonstrated the absurdness of the structure and methods of the A. F. of L. as well as the treachery of their leadership, particularly in the coal strike.

The only ones to benefit directly from these two strikes were the railwaymen, who gained the basic 8-hour day on the strength of the fear of the capitalist class of their going on strike with the rest. In true A. F. of L. style they grabbed the advantage and left the steel workers and the coal workers in the lurch.

The A. F. of L. may be strong in collecting per capita for the general organization,

but when it comes to action on a large scale, as in this case, the different parts of this agglomeration stand as foreign to one another as if separated by oceans.

We suspect that the "One Big Union" is beginning to look good to the miners as they cursingly dig their picks into the coal, and also to the steel workers as they take in another hole in their belt. The same thing applies to the Packing House Workers, who recently got an "award" that stings them like an insult.

BACKNUMBERS

We are still in urgent need of backnumbers of The One Big Union Monthly for March, April and May. Anyone sending in copies of these will confer a great favor on us. We shall be glad to pay for them if desired.

Mail copies to

**ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY,
1001 West Madison st., Chicago, Ill.**

A NEW BOOK

"**Evolution of American Agriculture,**" by Abner E. Woodruff, is now out and for sale. Price 35 cents per copy. \$20.00 for 100 copies. The book has a foreword by William D. Haywood and is richly illustrated by Dust. It is what they call a "humdinger." Published by Agricultural Workers' I. U. No. 400, I. W. W. Every agricultural worker in the country should read it and every other worker as well. We believe it will be the biggest seller the I. W. W. ever had. Send all orders and remittances to MAT K. FOX, Sec'y-Treas. No. 400, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

The Secret Government

From a circular being sent out by ex-United States Senator R. F. Pettigrew of South Dakota, we learn a few interesting facts which corroborate what we have previously said about the existence of a secret government with its capital in Wall street.

Senator Pettigrew quotes from the report of Chairman William J. Graham of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington on expenditures in the War department, as follows:

"I have been asked by the committee to prepare such portions of the minutes of the Council of National Defense as seem to be pertinent to the subject matter we are inquiring about. The matter being investigated by the committee at present is the general method that was pursued in the purchase of supplies for the War department during the war.

"An examination of these minutes discloses the fact that a commission of seven men chosen by the President, seems to have devised the entire system of purchasing war supplies, planned a press censorship, designed a system of food control, and selected Herbert Hoover as its director, determined on a daylight saving scheme, and—in a word—designed practically every war measure which the congress subsequently enacted—and did all this behind closed doors, weeks and even months before the Congress of the United States declared war against Germany."

For months before the United States declared war, Wilson was planning war with a secret committee of New York representatives of Big Business that he, Wilson, had appointed for that purpose.

This report proves conclusively that the war had been decided upon in advance by the secret government in Wall street before that government placed the matter before their tools in congress who are supposed to be elected by the people.

It is this secret declaration of war by the secret government that explains how E. P. C. Harding, president of the Bank board of the United States, could, on March 22, 1917 weeks before war was declared, have had the following statement published:

"As banker and creditor, the United States would have a place at the peace conference table, and be in a much better position to resist any proposed repudiation of debts, for it might as well be remembered that we will be forced to take up the cudgels for any of our citizens owning bonds that might be repudiated."

This corroborates our statement that the United States did not go to war to make the world "safe for democracy," but in order to help collect the bad accounts of the Wall street financiers who had staked many bil-

lions on the allied powers, then about to be overpowered by Germany.

In the light of the foregoing it is nothing but natural that peace also should be concluded by the secret government and not by the subsidiary "government" in Washington. That such actually was the case we may conclude from the fact that a copy of the peace treaty was in the hands of the head of the secret government in Wall street, J. P. Morgan & Co., long before the United States senate had a copy of it—a disclosure which created quite a "scandal" at the time.

The real government of this country sits in Wall street. The one in Washington, the one elected by the people is, to a large extent, only a dummy, largely composed of corporation lawyers, which carries out the mandates of the secret government. That the dummy sometimes is balky is more to be considered as play to the gallery, to make the people believe that they are participating in the government.

We are often accused of wishing to "overthrow the United States government by force." We do not wish anything of the kind. Knowing the real status of affairs, why should we waste our time fighting a dummy or reflex government?

The only government we wish to overthrow is the real one, that is, the secret government in Wall street, and that government we do not propose to overthrow by force, but through industrial organization. We propose to put an end to this industrial autocracy and establish industrial democracy. The dummy government will then adjust itself to circumstances and reflect the industrial democracy.

In due time the people will probably find that an industrial administration, based on universal industrial suffrage, better serves the people than a purely political government, and as soon as the majority of the people have come to that conclusion they will probably make a change.

I SEE UTOPIA

Far away I see Utopia,
But clouds obstruct the view,
And a river of blood flows between.
From the clouds
Machine guns thunder out
Death! Death!
But far, far away, I see Utopia.

—C. O. G.

All Together at Once!

Get the Five Dollar Stamp!

The General Defense Committee having exhausted all other possibilities for the present of raising funds for the Defense, has recommended the issuing of a

Five Dollar Stamp

It is now for sale.

If every member buys this stamp AT ONCE, the question of Defense funds is solved for some time. This Stamp gives the members a fine chance to give a big pull in the same direction at once. It strikes everybody nearly alike. Something has got to move when we all get a hold at the same time.

The question of making it a day's wage stamp was discussed, but this method of a \$5 stamp simplifies things and was preferred. Should the \$5 hurt any member, he may feel justified in retrenching on something else until he has caught up. Should any member feel that it does not hurt him enough, he can put the balance in the hat when the hat is passed around.

The main thing is that we get a big sum at once so that we can take care of the Defense. The General Defense Committee is swamped with telegrams and letters from imprisoned members all over the country asking us to do something. It seems hard to have to answer "No funds."

With a couple of thousand members in jail all over the country, and several appeals pending, we will need a couple of hundred thousand dollars quick. Voluntary contributions and collections do not suffice any longer, BUT THE FIVE DOLLAR STAMP WILL DO IT!

Delegates and secretaries should take notice and lay in a big supply at once. Every member should make a rush for this stamp. If you are not near any delegate or secretary, send in your "V" to William D. Haywood, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill., and he will send you the Stamp. Non-members may send in their five dollars to William D. Haywood, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill., and they will get a receipt instead of a Stamp.

Let no one be a slacker this time! Two thousand members in jail are calling you! They are there for our common cause. The man that dodges his duty will have to take the responsibility if our members are railroaded to the gallows or the penitentiaries.

GET THAT FIVE DOLLAR STAMP IMMEDIATELY, EVEN IF YOU HAVE TO BEG OR BORROW THE MONEY!

Let no meeting pass without pushing the sale of it. This is no time for quibbling. If a member is absolutely broke and cannot get the five dollars, let him keep his peace until he can get it. Let no one pour cold water over this heroic effort to assist those that have fought for us and the One Big Union.

GET THAT FIVE DOLLAR STAMP IN YOUR BOOK! THERE IS NO OTHER WAY!

OUR RULERS

When Frank Munsey gave a dinner to Lord Northcliffe after the latter had bought the London "Times," he had as his guests all the biggest financiers except Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, E. H. Harriman, Westinghouse, Widener, H. H. Rogers, and a glorious collection of others.

A newspaper man present said to Northcliffe: "The interesting thing about this dinner is that the President of the United States isn't here; there is no governor of any state, no member of congress, no judge, but the government of the United States is sitting with you at this table."—(Arthur Brisbane in N. Y. American.)

General Wood, presidential candidate, tells the following story: "A parson in West Virginia was asked what he would do with the 'reds.' His answer was: 'I would ship them, and I would send them home in ships of stone, with sails of lead, with the wrath of God Almighty for a breeze, and hell for the first port.'" Some religion to these people!

Ole Hanson, the crazy clown who resigned as mayor of Seattle, is preaching revolution. He wants to summarily drive the present government out of office for its sympathy with the "reds." Some rascal put the presidential bee in his bonnet and he can't get rid of it.

EASTERN AGRICULTURE

The Farm and the Corporation

By JUSTUS EBERT

(Note—Agriculture is one thing on the prairie, another thing in the marshy lands of Louisiana, and still another thing in the orchard country of California or the Northwest. That agriculture should assume strange and hitherto unknown features around the great industrial centers of the East was to be expected. The writer here vividly portrays these novel features, illustrating them with statistical data. Always ready to adjust itself to conditions, the I. W. W. here finds a new, virgin field of activity.—Editor.)

CHAPTER I

There used to be a time when the farm was the center of manufacture in this country. Within the farm house, or in little outbuildings erected especially for the purpose, the farmer and his family pursued a variety of interrelated occupations in connection with the cultivation of the soil. Flax and hemp, wool and cotton were spun into yarn, woven into cloth and made into garments for home wear or barter. Everything, from beds and pillows to farm implements and food preserves, was made and put up on the farm from its raw products.

Today there is a marked change—a revolution—noticeable. Textile corporations spin and weave and make garments for sale for profits. And in the matter of those products still held to be typically agricultural, the farm is often an appendage to some packing, canning, preserving, or milk company. Such a company may cultivate its own lands, or else command the products of the farm communities in which its plants and operations are located. These companies are corporationizing and industrializing many functions that were once held to be a part of farm manufacture and inseparable from the cultivation of the soil. They are dominating agriculture, dictating its prices and trend. They are, also, creating a working class in farm communities, are revolutionizing agriculture in fact, in conjunction with the bankers and the controllers of the system of transportation.

The revolution in agriculture is due to the invention of machinery and the steam railroad, combined with the growth of large cities, which have made agricultural-industrial corporations both possible and necessary. This is a significant condition, as agriculture is believed to be impervious to tendencies making for large production and a working class by means of corporations.

New York ranks high as an agricultural state. Unlike the great Western states, with their far-reaching prairies and extensive cereal farming, New York, with its rolling country and varied soil, is more diversified and intensive in agricultural development. Yet, notwithstanding these presumably favorable conditions, New York is acquainted with

such widely different phenomena as the abandoned farm and great canning, preserving and dairying corporations. There may be no direct relation between the two, but the fact that they exist, often side by side, is worth notice.

Certain it is that many farmers have made attempts, for instance, to become independent of the big mill companies, whose bottling plants, creameries, condenseries, etc., determine prices in counties throughout the state, and whose corporate activities extend beyond the state into other states.

We recall, in this connection, the Six States Milk Producers' Association, formed in Orange county about 12 years ago. It died shortly after birth, while the "milk monopoly" which it was created to fight lived on and is now larger than ever before, having extended its operations to even more states and even operating its own farms, in addition to all its other phases of activity. Farm operation by corporations is the result of inefficient small farming, due to low prices. The large corporations, having squeezed the small farmer to the wall, is compelled to step in and become for itself the source of supply that the small farmer formerly was. Taken together, with all the other facts mentioned above, corporation farming indicates that farming in New York state is not the independent, self-reliant, self-sustaining pursuit that farming in general is said to be. New York state farming is very much hedged in, encroached upon, and regulated by corporations and corporate activities.

In 1913, the state of New York issued "The Industrial Directory of New York." This industrial directory has since been discontinued. It contains a factory register. One thing that strikes the student of this register is the large number of corporations and firms operating factories in more than one farming community. In New York state, the chain factory system is decidedly conspicuous in the industry where one is taught to expect it least, to wit, in the agricultural industry. This chain factory system spreads across many counties and embraces many branches of the industry.

In the most conspicuous instance, it even crosses into many other states. The Borden Condensed Milk Co., for instance, operates 51 factories, employing 1,638 persons, in 17 counties. A corporation that can operate 51 factories with an average of 32 employees each is not a small proposition even in cities. What then must it be in country places? In a variety of specialized products too! This, in itself, would be impressive enough, but the Borden Co. operates also in many other states. According to "Moody's Manuel," this \$30,000,000 corporation operated upwards of 130 factories in the states of Connecticut, Illinois, Maine, Michigan, New Jersey, New York,

Pennsylvania, Washington, Wisconsin and Vermont—or in 10 states, all told. This was in 1913. Since then, the Borden Co., in combination with other companies, has expanded still more.

The Borden Condensed Milk Co. was organized in 1899 to succeed the New York Condensed Milk Co. It has been in the "succeeding," that is, absorbing, business ever since. In 1902, it acquired the plants of the Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Co., for instance. It originally engaged in the manufacture of the Gail Borden Eagle Brand Condensed Milk. But a recent booklet issued by it, gives a list of its present products as follows: Unsweetened Condensed Milk, Route Cream, Extra Heavy Cream, Certified Milk, Selected Milk, Pasteurized, Grade A.; Grade B Milk; Buttermilk, Ice Cream, Baccilac (Metchnikoff Scientifically Soured Milk) and Fern Brand Butter. This same booklet pictures the Borden pastures, cow barns, milk cooling houses, and bottling plants, with their big buildings, automatic machinery, various departments, and specialties; the interior of a milk railroad car, and the immense trucks and route wagons used in the distribution of the company's milk and dairy products. In brief, what this booklet depicts is not the old farm supplying only its own needs, but a big agricultural undertaking, that has grown and expanded, until now it controls its own sources of raw supplies, manufacturing plants, transportation facilities and distributive outlets, just as in the oil, steel, iron and other industries, we have similar corporations, with similar histories and functions.

The present indications are that the Borden Co. will broaden its scope still more. It has recently organized a \$17,000,000 "Farm Products Co.," which will attend to the development of dairy-farming in all its phases, for the parent company. It looks as if the Borden Co. is taking a leaf from the book of the Armour Co., and is therefore intent on including all the products of the farm in its rapidly expanding growth.

There are other corporations with a chain of factories in New York state that are engaged in the manufacture and sale of dairy products. According to The Industrial Directory of New York for 1913, there are approximately 115 factories, with 3,500 employees devoted to the manufacture of butter, cheese, condensed milk, the pasteurization and bottling of milk, milk sugar, ice cream, casein, dairy products and dairy products preparations. Four companies control 65 of these 115 factories and exploit 2,500 out of the 3,500 wage slaves employed therein.

Many dairy companies exist that own neither farms nor bottling plants, but simply distribute the products of others. The wonder is, that in a city like New York, for instance, all of the dairy companies should be so few. It is doubtful if more than 50,000 persons, all told, supply New York's 5,000,000 mouths with dairy products. To such perfection has machinery and concentration attained in the manufacture,

transportation and distribution of dairy products in New York state. Consider the number that the old methods would have required, and then score another one for the modern agricultural co-operation!

If we turn to canning, preserving, grape juice, and other agricultural-industrial fields in the Empire State, we shall witness therein the same inter-city, inter-county, inter-state and interwoven chain of factories and corporations as in dairy farming and dairy products. This we shall do in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

The central-northern end of New York state is its great agricultural-industrial section. Along the Central railroad, from Utica to Niagara Falls, with Rochester as the main center, will be found its packing, canning and preserving industries. Within this territory many corporations operate, most with only a local plant, many with only two plants and quite a few with a chain of plants extending beyond their own home towns and counties; and some with even their own farms. In this article, consideration will be given to those that overflow their own original boundaries and cultivate their own soil. Let us start, in true biblical fashion, with the last first.

For instance, there is "The Fort Stanwix Canning Co." According to "Moody's Manual," this is a New York corporation, organized in 1888 and reorganized in 1912, with a capital stock of \$750,000 and assets of \$1,058,754. *Also owns entire stock of Fort Stanwix Farms Co.* Makes a specialty of packing fruits and vegetables. Owns and operate plants located at Rome, Fulton, Farnham and Irving, N. Y., Glassboro, N. J., and Hampden, Me.; or in three states.

"The Industrial Directory of New York for 1913" gives the factories of the Fort Stanwix Canning Co., together with the number of employees, as follows, Erie county, Irving, canned fruits and vegetables, 17; Farnham, ditto, 130; Oneida county, Rome, canned goods, 74; Waterville, canned vegetables, 38; Oswego county, Fulton, canned goods, 87. Three counties, 5 towns, 5 plants and 346 employees are thus represented in the New York state factory operation of the Fort Stanwix Canning Co.

Next to claim attention is the Burt Olney Canning Co. Also a New York corporation, organized in 1902; capital \$800,000. Owns and operates 700 acres of improved farm lands located, according to "Moody's Manual," contiguous to the city of Oneida. Ketchup, peanut butter, porks and beans, and canned fruits and vegetables constitute its output.

The Industrial Directory of New York for 1913 gives the following facts concerning the Burt Olney Canning Co.: Madison county, Oneida, canned goods, 190 employees; Orleans county, Albion, canned goods, 221 employees. Two counties, towns and plants, with 441 employees, are embraced in this company's factory operations.

"The Investors' Information Service" in The New York American of Nov. 24, 1919, shows that the Fort Stanwix Canning Co. and the Burt Olney Canning Co., united in Sept. 1918, with Winters and Prophet Canning Co., Cobb Preserving Co. and the W. H. Osborne Co., to form the New York Canneries Co., with a capital of \$3,250,000. The American says of the new consolidation: "It packs and distributes a complete line of canned vegetables, also condensed milk has been added to the company's list of products. It has twenty plants, seventeen of which are in New York, one in Maine, one in Maryland and one in New Jersey."

From all of which it appears that concentration in agricultural-industrial corporations is not confined to those handling dairy products only.

Out of Rochester, two big companies radiate, that are worthy of notice. The Curtice Bros. Company's main plant in Rochester, Monroe county, employs 618 persons. At Springville, in Erie county, 52 more are added to the company's force of profit makers. At Bergen, Genessee county, 57 meet the same hard fate. At Vernon, Oneida county, 40 more wage slaves complete the list. Four counties, cities, towns and plants, with 767 employes make up the total of Curtice Bros. Co's factory operations in the Empire state, according to the Industrial Directory of 1913.

The American Fruit Products Co., a \$1,125,000 corporation, has three factories in Rochester, devoted to canning, vinegar making, and apple evaporating respectively, with 312 and 24 and 46 wages slaves respectively, or a total of 400 in round numbers. Other factories are located at Hamlin, Monroe county, evaporated apples, 32 employees; Pittsford, evaporated apples, 21; Gasport, Niagara county, evaporated apples, 24; Lyndonville, Orleans county, evaporated apples, 29; Waterport, evaporated apples, 35. A total of 3 counties, 7 cities and towns, 9 factories and 550 employees.

Two more corporations are also worthy of notice. First, the Fredonia Preserving Company, with plants and employees for the canning of fruits and vegetables as follows: Chautauqua county, Forestville, 92; Silver Creek, 134; Niagara county, Modeltown, 98; Newfane, 15; Wilson, 55. Total, two counties, five towns and plants, and 394 employees. The second is the most diversified company of all, namely, the Merrill-Soule Co. It operates, in Albany county, at Little Valley, a powdered milk and butter company, with 25 employees. In Madison county, at Chittemango, it has a vegetable canning factory, operated by 29 wage slaves. In Onondago county, at Fayetteville, the same sort of plant is run by 17 more people. In Syracuse, same county, the company shows its versatility further, by making mince meat, by means of the labor of 141 wage slaves. In Wyoming county, at Arcade, milk products are turned out by 55 exploited workers. In Chautauqua county, dairy products consume the la-

hors of 29 more creators of wealth. Summed up, the Merrill-Soule Co., manufactures 6 different kinds of products in 5 counties, 6 towns and cities and 6 plants, with 296 employees. Some diversity and territory, not to mention the wage slaves.

The Industrial Directory of New York for 1913 tabulates approximately 100 fruit and vegetable canning factories with 5,558 employees. Six corporations, namely, the Fort Stanwix, Burt Olney, Curtice Bros., American Fruit Products, Fredonia, and Merrill-Soule employ 2,900 persons, or more than one-half of all fruit and vegetable canning workers.

The Industrial Directory for 1913 also tabulates 222 evaporated apple, fruit and cider factories, with 4,207 employees; 46 bean and pea sorting factories, with 1,059 employees, and 8 grape juice factories, with 300 employees. Thus there are about 16,000 persons employed in the five main divisions of New York's agricultural-industrial development treated in this and the preceding article.

This is not an imposing figure. In view of the immense population fed, it indicates an extensive use of machinery. Also, in view of former primitive methods, a complete agricultural revolution.

This revolution is likely to proceed further. In Chautauqua county, in the so-called grape belt, developments are now going on worth noting. At Westfield, the half-billion dollar Armour Co. has gone into the manufacture of grape juice, in competition with the \$1,000,000 Welch Grape Juice Co. and lesser companies. Other "outside" corporations, like Libby, McNeil and Libby, and the H. T. Heinz Co.—of "57 varieties" fame—have also entered New York state and are helping along its agricultural-industrial development.

For one thing, in New York state, they will have no union labor restrictions to contend against. The agricultural industries are notoriously anti-union. "Statistics of Trade Unions in 1914," a book dealing with unionism in New York state, gives absolutely no trace of unionism in either the cities or towns in which these industries are located.

There has been much agitation and legislation affecting hours and conditions in the canneries. In certain seasons, the canneries are large employers of labor, consisting mainly of women and children from nearby cities. They are employed in sheds, at wages and hours and amid conditions that have aroused the indignation and activity of woman and reform societies. The latter have sought to alleviate conditions through legislative enactments, but, apparently, without success. New York has its Wheatland, too. But, up-to-date, it is without its Ford and Suhr.

The dairy corporations, especially "Bordens," also vigorously combat unionism. Their urban factory employees are not known to have ever exerted themselves in their own behalf through their own organization. Only recently have their drivers and city

employees taken the bit in their teeth, with very good results to themselves. Will the city employees' success impel the urban employees to action? It ought to!

Many I. W. W. men are familiar with New York's agricultural-industrial districts. The apple-producing sections especially are not unknown to them. Why shouldn't they renew the acquaintance, and get on the job in the interest of Agricultural Workers'

Industrial Union No. 400, I. W. W.? With Rochester as the base of operations, there is a big field for 400 in upper central and northern New York state.

In conclusion, let us repeat a belief, oft expressed, viz., that New York state is leading the way in the revolution of agriculture on a medium-sized scale. There are no 150 mile Taft farms in New York, as in Texas. The development is smaller—more intensive—and more thorough and far-reaching.

The Passing of the Small Farm

At the present there are two classes of farmers; the well-to-do farmers who have large tracts of land, and the dissatisfied and restless ones, who have very little. The one thing needful to successful farming is more and more land, consequently we see the selling of large tracts of land to capitalist syndicates, and the migration westward, where whole sections can be bought for the price of an Eastern quarter. To find a farmer satisfied with a quarter, which is considered sufficient by Uncle Sam for a homestead, is very rare; in fact, it would be as difficult to find a manufacturer who would be satisfied with a hand coffee mill. So rapidly is the transition from the small farm to the big bonanza farm going on, that soon a homestead will be almost useless to a man, even if he manages to retain it.

A large number of the small farms are mortgaged, but it should be remembered that where the small man loses his quarter, usually the capitalist gets it. Land speculators go into a community and buy up large tracts of mortgaged land, or buy it up as soon as the mortgage is foreclosed. The individual who loses his land often saves enough to get himself a small truck patch or a chicken ranch. This fact has been responsible for the idea that the farms of the future are to be small farms. Far from being the pioneers of a new system in farming, these small truck patches are merely the last despairing effort of the ground-down farmer of the lessor bourgeoisie to prevent themselves from falling into the ranks of the wage-earning proletariat.

That the interests of the large farmer or landowner are capitalistic is not hard to discover, and it is easy to see that he will always work in the interests of the capitalist class, but very often the interests of the small farmer is far from being clear, even to himself. If he has little land, he desires to accumulate more; if he is in a position where he can hire but little help, thus getting but little surplus he wishes to climb to a position where he will be able to hire much labor and retain much surplus. But once he is deprived of his property altogether, once he becomes a proletarian with nothing but his labor power to sell, then it is possible to show him that his interests are the interests of the working class, to oppose the inroads of the propertied class, and overthrow property rule.

It is true that one sees as miserable conditions on the small farms as are to be seen in the cities among

the crowded proletariat. They have fresh air outside the house—the average farm house is a miserable affair and unsanitary—but their bodies are poorly nourished, for the small farmer must convert every salable article into money, and live on that which cannot be sold.

It is also true that the small farmer is being ground down to an existence as low if not lower than that of the workers; it is a mistake to think that he can set his own price on his products; he has to accept market prices.

And in the meantime the landlord squeezes him for rent, or the money lender squeezes him for interest, and one way and another he gets the worst of it all around. And this all arises out of his property relationship to society. He is small fry, and the capitalists will give him the worst of it.

Capitalist production has been carried on on the farms for some time, although it has not been recognized as such by the farmers or the bourgeois economists. The farmer's largest salable product depends upon the working class to save it. Every year tens of thousands of men are needed during harvest. Where do they all come from? Do men at the call of the farmers drop steady jobs and fly to their assistance? No! It is from the ranks of the unemployed proletariat that the farmer gets his help during the busy seasons of the year, and thus the unemployed "problem" shapes toward the farmer's advantage.

If those who try to tell us that the interests of the wage earners and the farmers are identical would go into the harvest fields and hire out to Mr. Farmer and work from daylight till dark for the lowest possible wage that John Farmer could get men to work for, and then be invited to sleep in a straw pile, he would begin to realize that there was a decided clash of interests. It is an undeniable fact that the farmer gets surplus value out of the hides of his men, just as any other employer; it is true that the commission houses and the loan sharks steal it from him, but that is not our lookout. If we are to be exploited what difference does it make who exploits us? Many will say: "If the farmer got fairer treatment himself he could pay more wages." Undoubtedly, but the question is not could he, but would he? Of course not, unless a shortage of labor power or a strong economic organization of the workers forced him to.

The thinning, weeding and marketing of beets, gathering of cantaloupes, harvesting and threshing of wheat, plowing and gathering corn, picking hops and digging potatoes, all these and many other important duties of the farm fall upon the traveling "hobo."

The farmer is very glad to see the "hobo" when he needs him, but as soon as his services are no longer required, he is very prone to drive him out of the community with a shot gun. As the farmers' machinery develops the need for hired men becomes less; but on the other hand, as the unemployed army threatens to grow larger among the harvesters, the desire for organization, shorter hours, better wages and more sanitary conditions grows also. The harvester organizes in obedience to the law of self-preservation.

But as in other industries, as the machinery develops and becomes more expensive, the small farmer is squeezed out; unable to buy modern machinery, he fails to compete with the capitalist farmer who operates a large tract of land on a machine basis. And as he loses his property he soon is forced to ride the rods in search of those jobs that he knows best how to do.

The farmer of today exploits his wife and chil-

dren, especially the latter, for in any farming district it is all too common to see children kept out of the schools to pick cotton, plow with a riding plow, mow hay, and perform various other work beyond their years or strength. In this way their bodies are dwarfed and deformed, their minds dulled from the monotonous drudgery, and very often their lives crushed out by the machinery they are incompetent to handle.

Farm life leaves a lot to be desired, even under the best of circumstances, and the chances are that when capitalism fully develops on the farm the land owner will not need to have his own home on the farm at all. The list of absentee employers will be increased.

If the smaller farmer cannot afford to pay decent wages, grant decent conditions and reasonable hours to the men who do his back-breaking work for him it is time for him to go out of business and make room for someone who can. Let him get out and make room for the man with the steam plow and the five ton motor truck. It will not be very long before he will be working for the common ownership of the land and the tools of production.—The Forge.



Underwood & Underwood Photo

DEER COMING UP TO THE HOUSE, DRIVEN BY HUNGER

Just so are the workers often driven by hunger and exposure to come up to the master, to beg for a chance to live, as long as they are not organized to take over production in order to create what they need.

The Packing House Industry

By A WORKER

The meat packing industry as carried on in the great establishments of the country is one that deserves some attention from every worker, who at one time or other must depend on such sources for his food supply.

So the writer, in conjunction with some other workers like himself, will here endeavor to give a description in a brief way, and offer some suggestions that may prove helpful to those unacquainted with such matters, and perhaps furnish some information to those already engaged in the industry in one way or another.

As all such establishments handle Cattle, Sheep and Hogs, it will be necessary to take each separately, commencing with the Killing.

We begin with the Cattle, which are driven from the Stock Yards into pens convenient to the "Killing Beds," into which they are driven as many at a time as the "Beds" will hold. When open the "Beds" look like a long narrow alley. When the required number of animals have been driven in, this alley is found to be divided up into compartments, each compartment containing two animals. Then all is ready for the "Knocker," who, armed with a long-handled hammer, walks along a platform arranged for that purpose, smashing the skulls of the animals as he does so. As the animal falls in the pen, by an ingenious arrangement another worker is able to open the doors of the pen, the floor of which rises upward, so that the carcass is dumped out on the Killing floor. Here the carcass is hoisted up by a chain attached to the hind legs, when the head is skinned by a butcher whose work this is, after which the body is allowed to drop down again, when the feet are skinned and the legs broken off at the knee and hock joints. Each function being performed by a different worker. Next the process of skinning begins, "the floorsman" taking the sides, "the backer" the back, "the felse cutter" the hind quarter, and "the rumper" the rump or butt as it is sometimes called. The carcass having been disemboweled, or "gutted," as it is usually called, is hoisted up and the "drop" or neck is skinned by the "dropper". The carcass is next put on a chain carrier, which pulls it along slowly. During its journey it is split into two parts by the "Splitters," after which, still on the chain, it is washed before being sent to the Coolers. The hide is sent to the Hide Cellar to be cured. The entrails being divided up, the Gut Shanty or casing department attends to the cleaning of the bowels and the curing of the same, preparatory to their being used in the manufacture of sausage, while in another place the fat from the same is washed before being sent to the Oleo department. Such scraps as are considered unsuitable for same are sent to the tank to be rendered into tallow. The liver, after being trimmed, is sent to the offal cooler, and the tripe or stomach having

been cleaned, is either saved to be used as a food product or sent to the tank to be rendered into tallow.

The head, after being trimmed of meat, which is saved to be used in sausage, and after the tongue is taken out, is sent to the offal cooler. The jaw bone is broken off, the remaining part of the head being thrown into a crusher and there broken up before being sent to the glue tanks. The feet, with the hoofs pinched off, are also sent to the glue tanks, where Neatsfoot Oil is obtained from them. The horns, when there are any, are sent to the Bone House.

The conditions under which men work in this department are trying. The work is continuous and the clothes become wet and dirty, while in most cases an oil apron and rubber boots are necessary, which have to be provided by the worker at his own expense. And then there is the incessant noise made by the machinery and the animals about to be slaughtered.

The beef sent to the coolers, is allowed to drain for some time in a place provided for the purpose, before being transferred to other coolers, the floors of which are covered with sawdust, and there it is allowed to remain until shipped or sent to the Cutting Room. The coolers are usually kept at a temperature of about 38 degrees Fahrenheit. In the casing room are a number of machines used in the cleaning of the casings as well as the fat from the same. Here the Bladders and Weasands are also taken care of, which are used after the same fashion as the casings. To work in this place an Oil Apron and Rubber Boots are necessary. The work in this place is disagreeable, and there is an uninviting smell about the place. Skill and experience are indispensable at the work. Here some women and girls are employed.

In the Beef Coolers, the quarters are kept in lots in the same order as they have been purchased and slaughtered; this is done by means of tags attached to the quarters when they are weighed before entering the cooler. In this way it is possible to trace each animal from the Stock Yards, where it has been purchased, down to the market where it is sold, the difference in price showing the profit or loss in the transaction.

The Offal, that is to say the food parts, comprising Livers, Kidneys, the Heart, Tripe, Cheek meat and other Trimmings, are kept in a cooler until they are shipped out or sent to the Freezer, to be held in Cold Storage for future use. Much of the Cheek meat and trimming is, however, used on the premises in manufacture of Sausage.

In the Hide Cellar, the hides are weighed up in lots after the same manner as the beef, in order to compute their value as part of the product of the animal in figuring out the gain or loss. After weighing they are salted in piles, known as "Packs,"

in building which some skill and muscular strength are required. In those "Packs," they are allowed to remain about thirty days, or longer, before being taken up for shipment to the Tannery, at least thirty days being considered necessary to allow the shrinkage to leave the hide.

The working conditions in the Hide Cellar are bad, there is an evil smell about the place, and the work is hard and continuous. As this is a part of the Packing House that is immune from Government Inspection, no attempt is made to clean the place, so dirt and stench are allowed to have full sway. Like the Fertilizer, this is one Department much avoided by men who know such places.

At the "Bone House," where the bones are only cooked long enough to take the grease out of them without softening the bone, which is sold for the manufacture of knife handles, buttons, etc., it is hot, very hot in fact, especially so in the summer time. It also is strenuously avoided by those who can do so. It is usually conducted as a part of the Tank House and Fertilizer Departments.

The fat sent to the Oleo department, after it has been washed, is dumped into a vat or tub of cold water, where it is allowed to chill before being hashed. After it has been ground up in the "Hasher," which is constructed something after the fashion of an ordinary meat grinder, it is taken to the "Kettles," where it is melted. The product so obtained is run into "Cedars," where it is allowed to chill to the point of softness necessary to allow it to be worked up in the Press Room, where the oleo oil is extracted from it. This oleo oil is used in the manufacture of "Oleomargarine," while the "Stearine" is used at the "Lard Refinery" in the manufacture of an article known as "Compound," while some of it is shipped out to be used in the manufacture of Soap.

At the "Cutting Room" the sides of beef as they left the Killing Room are made into various Cuts. The better grades being made into Ribs, Loins, Rounds and Chucks, in which shape they are shipped. The poorer grades are cut up into small pieces to be used for sausage or canning meat. However, when this is done, the beef hams are usually saved in this process, as well as the beef tenderloins. The Beef ham being divided into three parts: the Inside, Outside and Knuckle.

The working conditions in the Oleo are not agreeable or healthful. In the room where the Kettles are, in which the fat is melted, it is very hot, especially in the summer time, and often some worker is obliged to quit on account of the excessive heat. In the room where the fat is chilled, it is cool and more agreeable. The same may be said of the cellar where the Oleo oil and Stearine is stored. In the Cutting Room it is cool, the place being kept at about the same temperature as the Beef Coolers, 38 degrees Fahrenheit. In these places warm clothes and a white frock are necessary. The work though heavy and cumbersome is not continuous, except in the case of the Beef Boners, many of whom do Piece Work.

From the Beef we now will pass on to the Sheep Kill, this work being usually done on the same floor as the Beef Killing. The animals are driven into the Shackling Pen, where the shackles are attached to their hind limbs, then the shackle is attached to a large revolving wheel, which carries them up until they reach a rail, on which they drop and slide down to the sticking pen. Here they are quickly dispatched by the "Sticker," after which they are skinned, gutted and washed, before being sent to the Sheep Cooler, which is merely a part of the Beef Cooler. The casings, such as are considered worth saving, are handled in about the same way as the Beef Casings. The fat, such as is not allowed to remain on the carcass, is sent to the Oleo Department, while the Sheep Pelt is sent to the Hide Cellar, where it is salted with fine salt and not with the coarse salt used for the cattle hides. The scraps and other refuse go to the Tank, except the head and legs, which find their way to the glue house, while to the Offal Cooler are sent the cheek meat, heart, lungs, liver and kidneys.

The working conditions in the Sheep Kill are about the same as in the Beef Kill, only that the work is not quite so heavy.

In the Hog killing department the number of animals slaughtered is usually in excess of that of either Cattle or Sheep, and by many considered of greater importance. This is especially true so far as work is concerned, as only a small portion of the carcass is used in a fresh state, which leaves the greater part to be cured and sometimes smoked before being shipped out for consumption.

In the killing process the animals are driven into the pen where they are shackled with chains designed for the purpose. This shackle being attached to a revolving wheel, the hog is hoisted up until it drops on a rail, which runs into the Sticking Pen, where the sticker sticks it in the throat, running his knife clear up to the heart. Having bled to death, or nearly so, it is pushed on to the scalding tub, which is filled with hot water and in which it is kept until the hair is sufficiently loosened on the skin to pull off easily. Then it is run through the scraping machine, which takes off most of the hair, what remains being scraped off with knives. The process of gutting and splitting performed, they are carried on an endless chain carrier to the hog coolers. Here they are usually allowed to remain from 36 to 48 hours before being sent to the Cutting Room. Hog Coolers are usually kept at a temperature of 32 degrees Fahrenheit. Most of the fat from the hogs is rendered into lard. The fat being stripped from the bowels is known as Caul fat and Ruffle fat, and there is also fat from the "Bung Cut" and from the "Pizzles." The stomach of the hog is also used in the lard. The hog casings are cleaned and handled after about the same fashion as those of the cattle and sheep.

When the hogs have been the required time in the cooler, they are sent to the "Cutting Room," where they are cut up into the various cuts, which

have been established as standards by the men engaged in this business. Such cuts are named about as follows: Hams, Shoulders, and Sides, which are again subdivided into pork loins, fat backs and bellies. In the lighter grades the side, after the pork loin is taken off, is split into a fat back and a belly. When only the loin and ribs are removed, such sides are known as "Clears," or "Extra Clears." Where the rib is left in, they are known as "Extra Ribs." In some instances the heavy sides are allowed to go to cure without either the loin or ribs being removed, when they are known as "Rough Ribs," or "Hard Ribs." From the neck or jowl another small piece is saved, which is known as bean pork. All the fat from which the lean has been trimmed, that has accumulated in the cutting process, is sent to the tanks to be rendered into "Steam Lard," as distinguished from "Neutral Lard," which is obtained by rendering the leaf lard and sometimes the fat backs at a low temperature, which varies around about 120 degrees Fahrenheit.

At the Tank Room are the Tanks, which are steel cylinders about six feet in diameter and varying in depth from 14 to 30 feet. Some establishments having the larger sizes and some the smaller. The tank capacity is usually estimated at a thousand pounds to a foot, when such computation becomes necessary. At the top, which usually comes about a foot above the floor, is an oval shaped opening by means of which the tank is filled. When this is done a manhole cover is allowed to pass into the opening by means of a chain. Then it is drawn back in its place, covering the hole from the inside. This done it is firmly bolted on by means of "grabs," so as to be air-tight, after which the steam is turned on and it begins to cook. Tanks are only supposed to be filled within three feet of the top, and are cooked from six to ten hours at a steam pressure, varying from 40 to 50 lbs., the length of time varying according to the matter to be cooked, and the steam pressure varying according to the size of the tank and the steam outlet or feed.

At the bottom the tank is closed by a valve, worked by a long rod having a wheel at the end, while underneath is a vat, usually an iron box-like affair, large enough to hold the contents of the tank. This is also furnished with an outlet leading to the press room.

When the contents of the tank are cooked, and the exhaust steam blown off, the head or manhole cover is taken off, when the rendered product, be it either Lard, Tallow or Grease, is drawn off through a valve, which is placed about the middle of the tank in its side. Such products, before mentioned, are allowed to run into iron containers, known as coolers.

In the press room the tankage which remains in the vat, after the tank water is allowed to run off, is allowed to run out on cloths spread over wooden plates; in this way the press is built up in layers, until it has reached the required height, when it is placed under a hydraulic press and subjected to

pressure until most of the water and grease is forced out of it. Next the press is pulled down and the pressed tankage dumped into a carrier which carries it onto the "Dries," of which there are many different patterns. But when the tankage leave the "Drier" it is dry and ground up into a coarse powder, in which state it is sent to the "Fertilizer." The blood of the various animals, which is saved after being steam cooked for a short time, is pressed and dried in the same manner as the tankage.

The tank water, which remained after the tank had been cooked and allowed to run out of the vat before the tankage was taken out, is held in a container from which it is pumped through vacuum pans, by which process a dark, thick fluid is obtained, which is known as "Stick." This is mixed in with the tankage in the drying process. At the Fertilizer, the tankage is sorted out into Hog tankage, Cattle Tankage, Meat Meal or Stock Food, and Steam Bone, which is obtained from the Glue Tanks. Each of these products on chemical analysis must show certain ingredients, and have to be mixed accordingly. The dried blood is either sold separate, or, being rich in Ammonia, is mixed in with the lower grades of tankage to make meat meal. When the tankage shows a too high percentage of Ammonia, Fullers Earth, the waste from the Lard Refinery, is usually added to it, and in some cases coal dust.

The working conditions in both the tank room and press room are of the worst kind. The heat is oppressive and an abominable stench pervades the place. This is true in all seasons, but especially in the summer time, when the temperature in those places keeps around 130 degrees. When the men there can only work in short spells, as it impossible to remain for any length of time in the place. In the Fertilizer, while the heat is absent, the dust and stench in the place make it even worse. As all fertilizer products have to be run through the mill, before being either filled into sacks or shipped out loose, the air in the place is usually so thick with dust, as to make it impossible to see more than a short distance. This dust is injurious to both the eyes and the lungs, so that those who are obliged to go there soon leave, or are obliged to do so on account of the work being injurious to health.

At the Lard Refinery, the lard which has been pumped there from the tank room, is treated to a refining process, which consists in mixing "Fuller's Earth" in with it, after which it is pumped through a filter in which the earth remains and the lard come out cleared of such impurities as this process can remove. Then when cooled to a point where it is soft and thick, it has a fine white color. In this state it is filled into containers of various sizes, ranging from a five pound can to a tierce holding about four hundred pounds, when it is ready for shipment. At this same department is also made an article which resembles lard in appearance,

known as "Compound," which has before been referred to in connection with beef products.

In the way of curing meats there are two distinct processes known as "sweet" and "dry salt" respectively. In the sweet pickle, brown sugar, granulated, white sugar and molasses are used in the brine in which the meat is cured; hence the use of the word "sweet." In this department the smaller meat cuts are cured, such as hams, shoulders, bellies and Picnic or California Hams. During the curing process the meat is kept in large wooden containers known as "Vats," where it is kept for a period ranging from three to nine weeks. During this time it is "overhauled" three times, except in case of the lighter cuts, such as bellies, when the operation is performed only twice, as they cure in a short time. The "overhauling" process, consists in transferring the meat from one vat to another, an empty one being placed in the row for this purpose. When cured, the meat is either shipped out in this condition or sent to the smoke house to be smoked before shipment. In the "dry salt," the heavier meat cuts, namely the side cuts before alluded to, as well as some heavy shoulders and heavy bellies, are put. Here the meat is rubbed over and sprinkled with salt and is then piled on the floor, until it reaches up to a height of some six feet or more. In this condition it is allowed to remain until it is overhauled or shipped out. The overhauling process consists in pulling down the pile and transferring it to another pile in reverse order, so that the pieces that were on top come in the bottom. In the first instance this is usually done after the meat has been salted about a week or ten days, and after that at irregular intervals. In both sweet pickle and dry salt all the heavy meat cuts are usually pumped up with a strong brine prepared for this purpose. Also this is frequently done when the meat is being overhauled.

The pork cuts which are not sent to cure, such as pork loins, pork butts, skinned shoulders and spare ribs, are either shipped out in a fresh state or sent to the freezer, where they are frozen and kept in storage.

As to beef, only a small portion is sent to cure, most of which is what is known as canning meat, beef hams and plate beef. The canning meat consists of small pieces of meat which have been cut from the bones or large pieces, which cannot be used otherwise, and so are cut up for this purpose. Brown sugar is used in curing canning meat, while granulated sugar is used for beef hams. In curing plate beef, sugar is not used.

Meat that is suitable only for sausage, which has not been used in a fresh state, is put to cure. This includes hearts, livers and kidneys, such work being usually done under the supervision of the sausage department.

At the Packing House, it rarely happens that any

meat, except trimmings of one kind or another, are used in the manufacture of sausage, there usually being a sufficiency of the same for this purpose. Such meat, of course, is of much less value than regular cuts, but when worked up into sausage, it becomes much more valuable than those same cuts. This is partly owing to the fact that corn meal is mixed in with it. This, however, is shown on the labels under the name of "Cereal." Also a quantity of water is added to it. The amount of "Cereal" varies according to the kind of sausage made, and there are many kinds. The amount of water added to sausage meat in the process of manufacture varies from ten all the way to as high as forty per cent. Nothing is allowed to appear on the labels or containers to indicate its presence. There are of course some grades of sausage in which water is not used, especially in "Summer Sausage" and a few other high priced grades. But that it is one of the most profitable branches of the meat trade is fully shown by the number of outside concerns that engage exclusively in it.

In the Packing House the Dressing Room accommodation provided is simply disgraceful. The writer, from all he has seen and from what he could learn, must say that there are few if any such places that are not overcrowded, so that the men have to take turns in getting a seat to change clothes. In many places there is not even standing room for the number of persons required to use the place. But worst of all are the lockers, in which the men have to keep their clothes. They are made in sets of about six compartments in one piece, having an iron frame, the sides being composed of wire netting. The compartments, which two men are obliged to use for their clothes, measure in dimension about fourteen inches square and stand about forty inches in height. Even though the worker as a rule has not many clothes (and from the accommodation provided by his master, it is evident he thinks he should not have), it is easy to see that those miniature compartments are usually crowded. This, however, is not the only grievance, as, should a worker have some good clothes, he is obliged to put them into the same locker, where he has to keep his dirty, foul smelling clothes, and there they very soon become contaminated with the same bad smell, so that he himself and his apparel become a nuisance when he goes in a public place. Worse still is it for the unfortunate worker whose clothes become wet at this task, and this is especially true of workers in the "sweet pickle" and the "dry salt." Having to wear extra clothing in those places in which they work, their wet clothing cannot dry in the miserable lockers, even when heat is provided in the dressing room, which is not often the case.

The Labor Unions have endeavored to remedy this and some other evils, but apparently without effect, as nothing has been done so far, and at

present the prospects for any improvement are very doubtful.

What the Packing House needs at present, and needs badly, is the "One Big Union," and it is coming, because if any results are to be gained, it must come.

In so far as the running of the plants by the men is concerned, if it were to happen tomorrow, the change would hardly be noticeable, as the men to a great extent are doing it already, and for the most part are well aware of the fact, as the foremen and other supervisors placed over them have but little experience, and in some cases none at all. Of course, there are some exceptions, but those are not many. From the point of view of educating the worker, nothing could be better in order to show him his own importance, than to place in authority over him another man who does not know what he is doing. This is especially true where skill and experience are required, something which is indispensable in a great many cases.

As a direct result of such incompetency, there is much waste in the handling of the various products as well as in other material and supplies. An instance of this is the thousands of pounds of meat and meat food products annually condemned by Government Inspectors. A change in system and arrangement would easily save most of this, which can only be done by giving the workers a greater share in the management and in the profits of their labor. In doing this, more men would be employed for shorter hours and a more efficient and economical system would at once arise. The masters knowing this are at present seeking to introduce a profit sharing plan, while of course having only their own interests in mind.

Assuming that the Cattle, Sheep and Hogs would continue to be obtained from the farmers, which of course would probably be the case, as there would be no other way to dispose of them, the next important problem would be the distribution of the food products. The capitalists, however, have already provided for this in having established branch houses in all the large cities, and have records of the amount of such foods used from day to day, so as to prevent anything like a large surplus accumulating at any particular point. The same course could be followed, provided the transportation facilities would be available. On this everything would depend.

Outside of labor power, the Packing House needs coal and water in large quantities, so that their operation depends much on the coal miner. As for water, this is usually obtained from the city water supply of the cities in which the plants are located, though in some instances the plants have their own water system, which usually consists in a number of wells operated by either steam or electric power, which feed into a reservoir, from which the water supply is obtained. In the way of other supplies, a large quantity of lumber is needed for making

boxes used for packing, wrapping paper and stationery as well as cordage of various kinds are also indispensable. Also salt, both coarse and fine, is largely used. Cooperage in the way of tierces and barrels of various kinds are also much used, being brought from factories outside and refinished by the coopers of the plant. Hardware and other mechanical supplies are also much used in repair and new work by mechanics, of which every plant has a number.

It will therefore be necessary for the Packing House worker to get in touch with the various workers on the outside, with whom contact will be necessary in order to obtain such articles as may be needed to carry on the business. This ought not to present any serious difficulty, as a mutual exchange on the basis of food supplies will not meet with opposition, provided that such supplies are available. But even the dullest among the workers usually has foresight enough to look ahead in the way of getting something to eat. This he has always done, unless prevented, and will continue to do so. As a last word let us get on the job and learn all we can, no matter when it may be necessary to use our knowledge. Any person wishing further information on the subject will be answered by the writer through the magazine columns, that is if the editor is willing.

Editors Note:—A handbook covering the Packing House Industry is an urgent necessity. While the individual worker, as the writer points out, may know exactly what to do in his particular place, it is absolutely necessary that this group of workers should collectively have a complete understanding of the whole industry as well as its relations to other industries and society in general. Such knowledge is indispensable in order to enable them to take over the whole industry and run it with greatest possible efficiency through their union.

Each establishment should be organized as a branch of the Food stuffs Workers' Industrial Union, and each branch should organize in such a manner that the workers may be able to operate and run it in conjunction with the other branches when that time comes.

What these workers now are familiar with is mainly the technical side of the work. Of the administration of the industry they know little or nothing. This they must learn in order to enable themselves to take over the responsibility of feeding mankind. There are at present no books written on this subject. It remains for the I. W. W. to do it.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS

When sending in reports or news items to the I. W. W. press on matters of general interest, it would be well if the sender would mail a separate copy to each of the I. W. W. publications, English as well as foreign. Everybody connected with the I. W. W. press is loaded down with work to the limit, and the means available do not permit of the employment of a special person for the purpose of writing out a number of copies of such matter. It would greatly help us out if all correspondents would divide this burden between them by sending copy, where possible, to all the publications advertised on the back page of The O. B. U. Monthly.

Revolutionary Syndicalism in France Still Alive

By GEORGE ANDREYCHINE

The great massacre that broke out in August 1914 on the European continent swept away all pretense and hypocrisy from the revolutionary labor movement. It produced the high treason of German Social Democracy and the connivance of French Syndicalism, as represented by its officialdom, to the shameful "union sacrée," the emasculation of the working class for the benefit of its age-long enemy—the exploiters.

The war was a stunning blow to all revolutionary groups and only very few of the militants of the labor movement were immune to this scourge that raged and still rages in the ranks of the working class. The honor of revolutionary stability belongs to the Russian Bolsheviks and the Bulgarian revolutionary Socialists, "the narrow," who as bodies can claim it. In Italy a more or less anomalous situation produced the "intransigency" of the "official socialists," of whom only a small minority is revolutionary and class conscious. "The Italian Syndicalist Union," a small body of insurgents from the conservative Confederazione del Lavoro, who separated themselves from it before the war, was also demoralized by the treason of its most able and prominent militants, Rossoni, De Ambris, Corridoni, Massoti, Maia, Bacchi and their followers.

This cleavage demonstrated clearly on whom the proletariat can rely in its arduous struggle; and the war, with all its monstrous consequences, has rendered us a great service, taught us a unique lesson: **THAT WARS CANNOT BE PREVENTED UNTIL CAPITALISM IS DONE AWAY WITH** and that the old slogan—the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the workers themselves, must literally be carried out.

In the Confédération Générale du Travail confusion reigned supreme after the declaration of war. Its officials had attempted to secure a promise and definite engagement from Legien and the other leaders of the German Trade Unions for a general strike in case of war and were bitterly disappointed with the openly imperialistic attitude of those "Marxians." To recite the story of Jouhaux' speech on the grave of the assassinated Jaurès, the trip to Bordeaux in the ministerial train and the acceptance of the governmental office by him and his cohorts, will only add to the revolting memory of the past and our disillusionment.

However, there was one man, who formed a nucleus of tempered and tried militants, who held the torch of revolutionary syndicalism high above the foul breath of jingoism; who kept the red banner of the working class undefiled by the hands of Judas. And if France holds the record with Germany for having produced many Judases, it has the honor of having given birth to the first Liebknecht

of the world, Pierre MONATTE. To him, Lenin and the Zimmerwald Conference paid tribute as the true son of the working class, who remained faithful to it and its traditions.

His bi-weekly little review "*La Vie Ouvrière*," published for many years before the war, had in its folds the names, brains and hearts of the most brilliant fighters in the C. G. T. In its annals you will find the classic blow to the Taylor system, written by a powerful intellect of a simple working man, Albert MERRHEIM; the story of the life and work of the coal miners, brilliantly written, illustrated and full of statistics, by the pen of another working man, Georges DUMOULIN; the history, illustrated, of the heroic battle of the Cheminots (the railroad workers) in 1910; the famous accusation, which turned to be prophetic, against the German Social Democracy, by Andler, the thorough and scientific analysis of the "Imperialistic Tendencies in German Socialism," which brought a shower of denunciations against Monatte, from the pen of Kautsky, Bebel and the now infamous Grumbach, "Homo," who used to write for *L'Humanité* from Switzerland *); the elaborate studies of syndicalist economics by Francis DELAISI.

*) In February and March 1913, Monatte published a lengthy article written by Charles Andler, the able historian and student of Marx, author of a "Commentary on the Communist Manifesto" and a volume on German Social Democracy, an article which most astonishingly predicted the shameful betrayal of the working class by the so-called Marxians of Germany. The article bore the title "*Le Socialisme Imperialiste d'Allemagne Contemporaine*" (Imperialist Socialism in Contemporary Germany). Jean Longuet, grandson of Marx, leader of the fence-riding center of the French Socialist party, a man who voted all the credits of the bankers war, indignantly asked Monatte to publish "the crushing reply" (*la reponse ecrassante*) of comrade (?) Grumbach which appeared in *Neue Zeit*, together with some vile attack by Kautsky and Bebel.

Grumbach's "crushing reply" reads in part as follows: "German Social Democracy is done for! Bebel becomes chancellor of the Empire, Scheidemann minister of Foreign Affairs, Gerhard Hildebrand, perhaps anew received in grace by the party, to direct the administration of the Colonies, Noske in charge of the Ministry of War.

The military, colonial and naval credits shall be voted by the socialist deputies without hesitation and with glad heart; Kautsky is charged to justify the necessity of it in theory" * * * etc. All in sarcastic tone.

This remarkable prophecy, made as reproach to Monatte and Andler, is now almost pathetically true. They went so far as to call Monatte's "*Vie Ouvrière*" "a monarchist review." Albert Thomas defended the German Social Democrats in the Chamber of Deputies. They all, Grumbach, Kautsky, Longuet, Thomas, went on the other side of the barricade, Monatte remained true to the working class.

In "*La Vie Ouvrière*" appeared the story of the General Strike in Belgium and many others, with spicy editorials, by Monatte's faithful co-worker Alfred ROSMER; there the burning questions of education, carried on by syndicalist teachers, were directed by George AIRELLE, women in industry and what not. *La Vie Ouvrière* was the workshop where the very best of the syndicalist movement was extracted. It was a school for the young and old alike. And in that school Monatte was the teacher, humble, modest, a man that cannot be replaced.

When the bloody thing came, Monatte and "*La Vie Ouvrière*" remained the only oasis in the jingoistic maelstrom where the ideals and traditions of the Syndicalist movement were faithfully adhered to. At 96 Quai Jemmapes, its headquarters, gathered the remains of the once formidable organism, and now dispersed, revolutionary battalion. There

came even the Marxian Socialists Ferdinand LOR-IOT, LOUZON, Louise SAUMONEAU, and Leon TROTSKY. This group sent MERKHEIM and BOURDERON to Zimmerwald and published the now famous documents, "The Open Letters to the Subscribers of *La Vie Ouvrière*," the work of Rosmer, Rakowsky's biting pamphlet, the resolutions and proceedings of Zimmerwald, etc. They were printed by the great Metal Workers' Federation, whose secretary was Merrheim, and which as a body opposed the war and issued the famous manifesto for May Day, 1915, calling: "Let us sabotage the war."

Monatte was silenced. He was taken to the trenches, in the hope that a German bullet would put an end to such an obnoxious enemy of the capitalist regime. In the meantime, others took up the battle and the revolutionary workers were again



A GROUP OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALIST DELEGATES AT THE LYONS CONGRESS

Sitting in front row, from left to right, are: Lepetit, lately of Clairvaux prison, delegate from the excavators; Dejonkere, of the railroad workers; Sirolle, of the Left Bank Railways of Paris; Monatte, editor of "*La Vie Ouvrière*" and delegate from the Teachers of Firminy; Lorient, teachers of Paris; Monmousseau, railroad workers; Sergent.

Standing: behind Lepetit, Louis Bouet, secretary of the militant Teachers Federation; behind Sirolle, Olivier, railroad workers of Perigueux, who read the Russian Soviet's greeting to the Congress; behind Olivier, to the left is Leon Midol, "the man of the one minute strike" on the P. L. M., on Midol's right is Marie Guillot, and still further to the right Julie René and Lucie Colliard, three militant girl teachers.

the illusion of his sincerity and radicalism. He is really a nonentity, dangerous only because he is trying to bleed the movement for money, and because he is of the type that will ultimately sell out and turn spy—if he has not already achieved this profitable end, as the Soviet Bureau in New York believes.

He began his career in New York by running a Tammany Hall weekly and working on one of Glynn's newspapers upstate. Then he fled the draft and landed here. He immediately set up a "new thought school" and proposed to heal incurable cases through Jesus Christ at so much a cure. This didn't pan out and he started his magazine with Carranza money, as he himself acknowledges, and professed Socialism. It is needless to go into the history of his career here. He has run a matrimonial agency, a bill collecting bureau, an English school, a real estate office, a book reviewing syndicate, a new thought laboratory, a Church of the New Civilization, a book store for occult literature and so on, all at one and the same time. When he espoused Socialism his first announcement was to the effect that now the Bolsheviks of Mexico had a leader, which made some of the older Bolsheviks a little mad, of course. In his magazine he calls himself the future Trotzky and Lenine of North America, and so on.

Despite his insidious lying, such as telling Mexicans that some of the other foreigners were spies, and so on, and despite Monores and his open sabotage, the convention adopted a revolutionary program which affiliated Mexican labor with the Third International at Moscow, and with the I. W. W. of the United States.

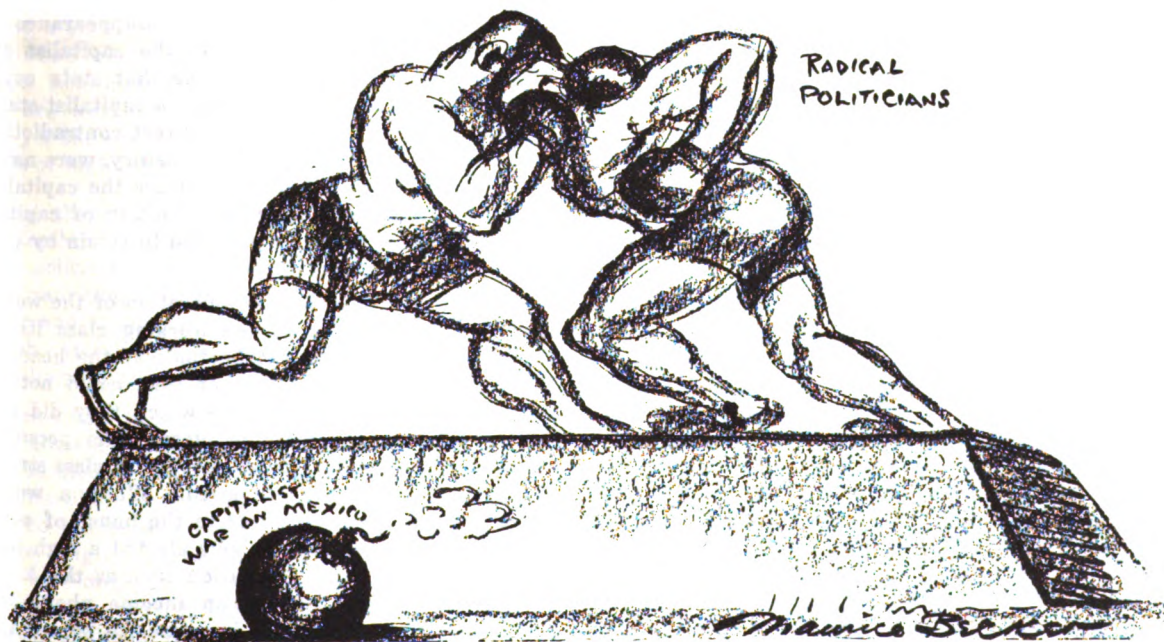
The first clause of the platform states that the unions of Mexico must organize industrially and na-

tionally and must maintain relations with the I. W. W. of the United States. Later in the platform this is elaborated in detail.

The delegates went back to their various regions and reports of the congress have been printed in all the regional labor papers, also as a pamphlet. Two new newspapers were started as a result of the congress—"El Soviet" in Mexico City, and the "Industrial Worker" in Vera Cruz. In every section of the republic now the message of the congress has been heard. The general secretary will write for I. W. W. charters when things have been whipped into some sort of shape. The I. W. W. constitution is being translated for the use of the delegates in the various regions, and already several tentative locals have been formed. The big job, however, that the delegates are concentrating on is to get the great regional unions now in existence to unite with the I. W. W. and adopt tactics and aims of this organization.

They are bringing it up at every meeting and in all the labor papers this discussion now rages. The consummation of this work is not far in the future, and when it is accomplished there will be an organization that will fear neither American nor Mexican capitalisms, but will walk steadily on the path that leads to One Big Union all over the world.

(Editor's Note)—In a previous number we published an article sent us by Linn A. E. Gale who is here so strongly condemned. Said article reported the formation of a "Communist Party" in Mexico which also is supposed to have endorsed the I. W. W. The only point upon which the two reports agree is that one Morones is an agent of the Gompers interests. It appears at this distance that the workers of Mexico are having their first experience with the political parties of Socialism. A short period of such experience will probably teach them the necessity of following the example of I. W. W. and organizing apart from all political movements purely as an industrial organization that will include only actual wage workers. Co-operation with political groups will be disastrous in the end.)



The Elements of the Socialist Movement

BY HENRY VAN DORN

Broadly speaking, the elements which today compose the Socialist movement of the world may be divided into two groups: First, the Socialist patriots, or the reformist political Socialists, who are most prominently represented by the German Majority Socialists and the Russian Mensheviks. This group went on record at the Berne Conference as being opposed to Bolshevism. Second, those Socialist and labor organizations that participated, or at least were invited to participate, in the Communist International which met at Moscow on March 2, 1919. This latter group include the Russian Bolsheviks, the Spartacans of Germany, the Italian Socialist party, the Communist parties of America, the I. W. W. of all countries, and the Syndicalist organizations and Communist parties of various European countries. Here should also be included the One Big Union movements of Canada, Spain and Australia.

In order to properly understand the importance and true status of these various elements in the Socialist movement we must first ascertain the reason for the sudden and ignominious collapse of the Second International at the outbreak of the World War. How is to be explained the appalling fact that after many arduous years of education and organization along these lines of scientific Socialism, the many millions of European Socialists, with but insignificant exceptions, forgot at the first sound of the bugle all about the universal brotherhood of the working class and were swept body and soul into the camps of nationalism and imperialism?

The answer is simple: The Second International was not at the outbreak of the war a revolutionary, militant working class movement. Instead, it had developed into a reform movement led by professional middle class journalists, politicians and theoreticians. Acting as the high priests of the movement, they had by over-subtle arguments led their followers from the highway of direct revolutionary action aimed at the quick and complete overthrow of capitalism into devious zigzag paths of petty reforms, political action and compromise with the powers that be, all of which could end in nothing but perplexity and dismay.

The Social Democracy of pre-war Germany was a gigantic institution with a large treasury, which owned hundreds of newspapers and buildings of assemblage, staged entertainments, lectures and concerts, attended to the people's educational and social wants, sent representatives to the Reichstag and embraced within its membership workmen, peasants, doctors, lawyers, small business men, actors, journalists, politicians, in fact everybody and anybody except bankers, big capitalists and big landed proprietors. Its spokesmen and theoreticians were members of the professional and middle-class who had either long ceased or had never had anything

to do with the working class, with its trials and with its misery, nor did they possess, as, for instance, the Russian Revolutionists, the advantage of having suffered for their convictions. Consider the careers of Singer, Bernstein, Kautsky, Scheidemann, Legien, David, Haase. So we see that the German Social Democracy prior to the war was not a proletarian revolutionary movement. This applies also to the reformist orthodox Socialist parties of France, the Scandinavian countries, England, Russia, etc.

Although the leaders of pre-war Socialism constantly cavilled over the interpretation of the teachings of Karl Marx, neither they nor the movements which they represented were Marxian either in theory or in tactics. For instance, they sinned against each of the following three cardinal principles of Marxism: Against the economic interpretation of history, in its practical application to the situation confronting them, against the dictum that the liberation of the working class is the work of the working class itself, and against the postulate that the transition from capitalism to Socialism can only be accomplished through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The economic interpretation of history clearly shows that the shape which the social, judicial, legislative, religious, political and other institutions of any period of society assume is determined primarily by the economic structure of that period of society, in other words, by its mode of producing and distributing the means of livelihood. The implication from this is that the political state under capitalism exists by virtue of its being of service to the capitalist system of production and that it cannot operate in any way except to the benefit of that system of production. With the disappearance of capitalism would disappear also the capitalist political state, but up to such time that state could not possibly be anything else than a capitalist state. Yet these pre-war Socialists, in direct contradiction to the economic interpretation of history, were naive enough to believe that they could use the capitalist state as an instrument for the abolition of capitalism itself, which end they intended to attain by voting and by parliamentary action.

As for the dictum that the liberation of the working class is the work of the working class itself, surely the middle class intellectuals at the head of the Socialist movement at that time could not be expected to liberate a class to which they did not belong, namely, the working class. The personal equation plays a much larger part in the class struggle than is commonly supposed. When a workman is sent to congress or to the house of commons or to the reichstag or gets elected a high official of a large labor organization such as the A. F. of L., and thereby attains an income about ten times the size of his wages, he ceases to be a wage

earner and becomes a member of the middle class, his personal struggle with the world for a livelihood has been brought to a successful end. Henceforward he lives in a state of economic security, subconsciously, at least, he works for a continuation of such a blissful state of affairs, and unless he be a man endowed with an exceptionally forceful character and keen intellect, he is bound to become more conservative day by day. The result is that instead of being a help he becomes a hindrance to a progressive working class movement. If this be the case with an official who springs from the proletariat, how much worse would it not be when the man springs from the professional or the middle class?

There are instances without end to illustrate the truth of the above contention. The rank and file of any working class movement is always more radical than its leaders. As soon as Millerand, Briant, Vandervelde, Guesde, Thomas, rose to the position of cabinet ministers they turned traitor to the working class. When it comes to being reactionary, most of the high salaried officials of the A. F. of L. some of whom receive as much as \$10,000 per year, outstrip their capitalistic brethren. It is sickening to think of the number of strikes that they have sold out. The A. F. of L. will always be an incubus on the backs of the workers of America until it gets rid of these high salaried officials. None of the American Socialist renegades were members of the proletariat: Spargo, Walling, Russell, Stokes, Bohn, Wright, Sinclair; one and all they were either clergymen, journalists, gentlemen of leisure, or what not, anything but workingmen. What could illustrate plainer than this that a non-union workingman cannot be trusted to fight the battles of the working class when the crucial moment comes? The only solution seems to be the policy of the I. W. W., which pays its officials, from the highest to the lowest, a uniform salary somewhat below the average wage of an ordinary worker. Then one may be assured of the unswerving fidelity of these officials, since they are working for an ideal and not for money. And yet the pre-war Socialist movement was in the hands of high salaried, non-working class leaders.

That there might ever arise the necessity for a dictatorship of the proletariat was considered by these political Socialists a laughable impossibility. Why, said they, we will simply vote ourselves into power and then, being the strongest party, we will abolish capitalism and establish Socialism. As easy as falling off a log, said these "Marxians."

Then came the war and the feeble-kneed bourgeois Socialist parties of the Second International went to pieces. They evaporated, faded away into the atmosphere, were simply nowhere around. There were no longer any German Socialists, French Socialists, English Socialists, Belgian Socialists; there were now only Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Belgians. A sadder, more disheartening spectacle our long-suffering earth had never witnessed.

Of course, there were factions which had not so entirely forgotten the mission of revolutionary Socialism. These minorities of the Left Wing of the Second International convened in the fall of 1915 at Zimmerwald, Switzerland. But the conference again split into two camps, the Social Pacifists, led by Kautsky, and the Communists, led by Lenine. From that time on the Communists gained rapidly in numbers and in power, the climax coming with the Russian Communists, or the Bolsheviki, seizing the reins of government in November, 1917.

The Social Pacifists developed into the Independent Socialists of Germany, who with the fall of the Kaiser, began to play quite an important role in German political life. However, being infused with characteristic middle class indecision they have vacillated between the reactionary Majority Socialists and the extremist Spartacans. In the future they are bound to identify themselves with either the one or the other of these opposing forces.

The Italian Socialist party was the one noteworthy exception to the collapse of the European Socialist parties at the outbreak of the war. Notwithstanding the treachery of Mussolini, former editor of *L'Avanti*, the party's daily organ, and of De Ambris, leader of the Syndicalists, the party officially never came out in favor of the war. To this day it has unflinchingly stood for the principles of revolutionary Socialism and for the proletarian revolution, war or no war. That is the reason why the Italian Socialists may be reckoned on doing great things once they get started in cleaning their country of capitalism.

Ever since the Bolsheviki came into power the French Socialists have been drifting more and more towards the left. Prior to the war Jean Longuet was the leader of a negligible minority, but from the 1918 party congress he emerged as the leader of a radical majority. He in turn is in danger of being overshadowed by Lorient who is an out and out Communist and will have nothing to do with the moribund Second International. The Berne conference was the occasion for forty-one social patriots, headed by Albert Thomas, breaking away from the radical majority—and a good riddance it was! So we see the Communist sentiment growing stronger in France every day, and the time may not be far off when the French Socialists will stand solid for the proletarian revolution.

The decisive role in France will be played, however, by the Federation Generale du Travail. On its policy depends the future of the revolution. With its two million members who are becoming imbued with the spirit of revolutionary industrial unionism, it will decide the fate of France.

The English worker is also steadily drifting towards Communism. The Shop Stewards' Movement is a sign that the workers are beginning to take things into their own hands. The purely political Socialist group in England is an insignificant one, and we must look to the big industrial unions for the overthrow of capitalism. This cannot be ac-

complished by political action in any country where capitalism has attained a high stage of development.

The Russian, German and Hungarian revolutions proved beyond the shadow of a doubt the utter futility of parliamentary action. The Kaiser, the King were not overthrown by the ballot, but by the bayonet. In other words, by force. And again, when the Bolsheviki superceded the feeble, blundering bourgeois Socialist government of Kerensky they did not vote themselves into power. They simply took that power. Ever since that memorable day of Nov. 7, 1917, the criterion by which to gauge the usefulness to the working class of the various Socialist and labor elements throughout the world has been their readiness to use direct, uncompromising mass and industrial action for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of industrial democracy. Let me mention here in passing that Bolshevism or Communism is nothing more nor less than dynamic Socialism, or Socialism in practice.

Even since 1903 when the Bolsheviki became a distinct party in the Russian Social Democracy they have maintained a policy of no coalition and no compromise. Everything or nothing, was the their watchword. But nevertheless they were a political not an industrial organization. Their success was due mainly to three factors: First, the incredible corruption and rottenness of the Tzarist regime, second, that they early recognized the futility of pure political action and directed their efforts toward the seizing and organizing of the industrial bodies known as Soviets. As is well known, Trotzky was the president of the first Petrograd Soviet, organized in 1905. Third, that Russia is an agricultural country with only a small percentage of the population engaged in industrial pursuits, has no middle class to speak of, but had a large, illiterate, inert peasant population which by being given land, bread and peace was won over to the side of the Communists. Under these circumstances the Bolsheviks went over the top for Socialism. However, let us not make the mistake of supposing that the tactics which succeeded in Russia will succeed in other more highly developed capitalistic countries, which present an entirely different industrial and social complexion.

Let us take, for instance, Germany. Upon the overthrow of the Kaiser the Majority Socialists

captured the political state. But since the industries continued to be owned and operated by the financiers and capitalists and the land by the junkers, the capitalist political state, which only exists by virtue of being serviceable to capitalism, could function only for the preservation of the capitalist regime. Thus, notwithstanding its Socialist office holders, it was an obstacle in the path of the progressing working class. And so we come across the sorry and paradoxical spectacle of the Socialist Noske slaughtering his fellow Socialists by the thousands upon the streets of Berlin and in every nook and corner of Germany. The Communists, under the leadership of Liebknecht, Luxembour and Mehring, put up a brave fight, but wave after wave of Spartacan uprisings was ruthlessly put down in Berlin, Hamburg, Bavaria, Dusseldorf. From the latest reports it seems that the German workers are coming to realize that by simply following the Bolshevik tactics of mass action they will not get rid of capitalism, and are now organizing in revolutionary industrial unions. When these unions will grow strong and efficient enough to take over and run industry then will the proletarian revolution in Germany become an accomplished fact.

The same cleavage which developed between the Majority Socialists and the Spartacans in Germany, between the followers of Albert Thomas and those of Longuet in France, has developed between the Socialists of every other country. The Socialist party of the United States by its St. Louis platform took a stand alongside the Italian Socialists as being wholeheartedly opposed to the capitalistic war. The social patriots, traitors of the ilk of Spargo, Russell and Bohn, were thus gotten rid of early in the game. Nevertheless, sooner or later the party had to take issue with Bolshevism, with the inevitable result that the Left Wing elements were expelled from the party by its standpat, political action high priests, who are the American counterpart of Ebert, Scheideman, Kerensky, Thomas and Henderson. Thus were born the Communist parties of America.

Slowly, but surely, Socialist workingmen are emancipating themselves from the fallacy that wage slavery can be abolished through parliamentary action. Reluctantly they part with their hope of political power, but as the final collapse of capitalism approaches they begin to discover that industrial unionism is the solution of the social problem.

EXPLOITERS OF BODY AND MIND

He who takes life's necessities
Because he is strong,
And whips into submission
With the lash of hunger,
IS NO WORSE
Than the man with the distorted mind
Who raves of hell and damnation
And seeks to bind the weak
To the fear of God.

—C. O. G.

INCENTIVE

Waiting for a street car
Dinner pail on arm,
In the greasy, smelly, smoky bottoms
Of Kansas City
Was an old, old man.
And the look on his face
Was the look of a man
Lost in a deep forest,
With a great fear of starving.

—C. O. G.

The Plight of the Clerical Workers

By JOHN SANDGREN

From Harvey's Monthly for November we quote the following:

"Are there, then, any real sufferers from the war and the war's aftermath reactions? Ask the teachers, the clergymen, the clerks, the writers, the editors, the tens and tens of thousands of professional and semi-professional men, the men and women of small incomes sufficient for their modest needs before this orgie of high prices, but now cut to half and less than half in purchasing power, and at this day spelling deprivation to the verge of want where before they spelled a modest independence. These are the real after-the-war sufferers. Their name is legion.

Compared with current living expenses, the salaries paid to clerks, to teachers, to writers, to editors, to clergymen are derisory. Likewise they are an infamy.

Where other salaries and other wages have gone up, here they have either stood still or increased by figures that are niggardly. Men and women of learning, of the highest attainments, those on whom depends the education of American children, the moral guidance of the American people, are paid salaries that a hodcarrier or bricklayer or a stevedore would scorn. It is this submerged, unorganized, inarticulate middle group, the very flower of the country's intelligence, the group on which we all depend to maintain the Republic through clear thinking and staunch fidelity to basic American principles and traditions—it is upon these that the present-day burden of living-cost falls with crushing weight. It is they who shoulder their disproportionate share of the ever-increasing load shoved upon the consumer's and the rent-payer's shoulders by the granting of extortionate labor union demands; by conscienceless profiteers; by reckless waste of Government funds wrung from the country's overburdened taxpayers.

They have been a patient lot thus far, these real sufferers from the war's inevitable consequences. Their voices are seldom heard in complaint. They are inarticulate and unorganized. But the thing cannot go on forever. Either salvation must be worked out in some way and soon for this vast group, or we shall pay the penalty by seeing them join the turbulent forces of unrest and disintegration. And when that happens, sheer ruin will not be far away. When such Americans as these cannot earn enough money to live their frugal lives and educate their children, then indeed is there danger ahead."

The fellow worker who sends us the above clipping writes underneath: "Moral: Organize or starve."

For our part we cannot suppress a vindictive "serves you right," even though we should not give

vent to any vindictiveness towards any group of wage workers.

Why this vindictiveness on our part against the high-collared gentry?

The teachers we have harsh feelings against because they have refused to organize. As a result of their disorganized state they are not only kept down to starvation wages and abject slavery, but they have also lost something much more valuable, namely their independence as teachers. For fear of losing the pittance by which they live they are helping the masters to poison and warp the minds of our children in order to make them submissive slaves also. It certainly is a crime and a disgrace to allow those who teach our children, to suffer from want and care, but that is what the teachers get for licking the boots of profiteering hucksters and the property owning class in general, with which class they have absolutely nothing in common. The masters always treat with contempt the cringing slaves who do their bidding without protest. They have done the same with us all while we were as foolish as you are. Look at us agricultural workers, lumber workers, miners and construction workers before we started to organize. We were driven to desperation and hopelessness and perished by the thousands from want and suffering and we were hunted like wild animals and a bounty was set upon our heads as vags. We were treated as criminals and outcasts. Since we started to organize this has changed for the better, and we now would "scorn" to work for your wages," as the writer in Harvey's magazine points out.

We have not accomplished much yet, but we feel that we owe you no sympathy. Do as we did. "Organize or starve." But we are particularly anxious that you teachers should organize, not merely in order that you might obtain the freedom from worry and care that a teacher absolutely should have, but principally in order that you might regain your spiritual independence in order that you may be able to teach the children the truth and nothing but the truth. If all the teachers were organized, the criminal capitalist class would not be able to pollute and poison the sources of knowledge from which the child or the young people gain their knowledge. In the interest of our children and of all mankind we have the right to demand of you that you organize and make yourselves absolutely independent of all the influences that seek to control you out of impure motives. We want you to teach our children to seek truth instead of cramming them full of vicious misinformation and crippling their intelligence and enslaving their spirit to the masters.

The clergymen!—Why should we, the workers,

care whether the clergymen starve and worry? Have they not always been the contemptible tools of a criminal master class? Have they not always been trafficking in spiritual values in order to keep the workers meek and contended? Have they not always resisted us when we sought to lift ourselves and our fellows out of the mire of poverty, ignorance and oppression? Have not they nearly always, with very few exceptions, taken the rich man's part against the poor, all the while collecting the widow's mite for their own support?

We will not consent to class the clergymen as teachers. We class them with the other "stoops" and the "finks" that the capitalist class employs in order to keep the workers down. By teaching science and honest truth-seeking we hope to shame them out of existence some day.

The clerks!—That's another story. Hundreds of thousands of clerks are entirely unnecessary, but that is not the fault of the individual clerk—it is the fault of the system. When capitalism falls, these clerks as well as their masters will be out of luck, for they will be out of a job. For the present all clerkdom is an important social factor to count with. We for our part have discovered the importance of the clerk, but he has not discovered it himself. As a rule the high-collared pen pusher feels immensely superior to the man with overalls and callouses, but that superiority is all vanished when he steps before the boss. Before his master the clerk is generally the most abject, fawning, humiliated creature on earth. He may be half starved, he may be on the verge of desperation from poverty, but he seldom dares to ask for more pay, much less assert his manhood or independence. He obliterates himself as a rule completely and does whatever the master tells him without a murmur of protest.

And still clerkdom holds it in its hands to dictate terms to the masters. All they have to do is to organize and stand together and the roles will be reversed. They will command and the master will obey.

However, we are not particularly interested in clerkdom for its own sake. We want the clerks to organize with those who work with their hands into the industrial union of their industry. Together the manual and clerical workers could as a body take over and run their respective industries without the capitalist. All alone the clerical workers amount to nothing. Together with the manual workers they could have everything their own way against the boss.

Without the clerks, we, the manual workers, sometimes make a mess of our struggles, but if it comes to the worst we can get along without them. The clerks on the other hand can do nothing without the manual workers when it comes to taking over production. The clerks are collectively in possession of the knowledge required for administering the industries. It will be a great day both for them and for us when they break with the boss, who is working them almost to death for a starva-

tion wage and join the manual workers in the same industrial union.

May that day come soon!

Of course the clerk has not the courage just yet to join the I. W. W. The very idea of it is apt to make him drop dead from fright. Still, that is what it is going to come to some day. The clerk will find no other way of salvation for himself.

The writers and the editors!—Well, "the dirtier the work the poorer the pay," is an old saying. That is why the writers and editors often are miserably paid. They do the dirty work of the capitalist class. They are the ones who dump the dirt into fountains of knowledge in order to deceive the people. What do they expect? Any low-down creature is good enough for that kind of work. Many a time we of the I. W. W. have suffered on account of the lies that these writers and editors have told about us. In fact, the tremendous persecution we are now exposed to is almost entirely the result of the lie-campaign in the kept press. This campaign waged against us by paid mental prostitutes has only one bright side for us, and that is that the vile creatures who carry it on are despised and kicked by their own masters and allowed to suffer want.

However, what we have said of the teachers also applies to the editors and writers. We have the right to demand of them that they organize, not for the purpose of getting "a fair day's pay for a fair day's lying" but for the purpose of regaining their freedom, so that they may become men and be able to speak the truth and refuse to speak anything but the truth.

As long as these wretched workers are employed in commercial enterprises they belong in the Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union. When the dissemination of knowledge has ceased to be a commercial function they will properly belong with the teachers.

The high cost of living is driving millions of people to think. It is to be hoped that it will drive the clerical workers to think and open their eyes so that they may see what miserable slaves they are. It is to be hoped that it will drive them to organize, not only for the sake of the pittance that will keep them alive as slaves but for the purpose of taking possession of the earth in common with their brothers and sisters who do manual labor.

THE BIRTH

The Gods had gathered all the blood
That for freedom had been shed,
And dipped within a cloth of white:
Thus came out a flag of red.

The gods then gave this gift to man,
Bequeathed it unto slaves,
That it should strengthen brotherhood
In every land it waves.

—C. O. G.

The Labor Party and the I. W. W.

By JOHN SANDGREN

A fellow worker dropped in on us the other day and laid his spiritual troubles before us much in the manner as a sinner goes to confession. He was under a terrible pressure when he came but he was light of heart when he left. It was all due to a misunderstanding on his part.

"I don't care a rap what the I. W. W. says," it came in a torrent, "but I am going to vote for the new Labor Party. I do not give a rap for the program of the Labor Party either. I don't want any of their government ownership, or their Plumb plan, or their initiative and referendum, but there has got to be a change in the personnel of officialdom and pretty quick, too. Look what these tools of Wall street are doing with us I. W. W. men. They are trampling the constitution under foot and openly defying it. They have now put over a thousand of us in jail. They are making a mockery of justice. They are using it to 'sandbag' us with. They are clubbing us and murdering us and are holding us for months and years without trial. Their courts are hotbeds of iniquity where we are given the rawest kind of a deal. I say, we must put this whole bunch out of office, or they will slowly but surely torment our organization to death. They are in cahoots with bogus patriots who raid our halls and club us and rob us and lynch us. Did you ever see one of those raiders punished by the officers of the law? Nary a one! We have got to drive them out soon or they will get our goat."

He paused for breath, and then continued:

"I have no use for the A. F. of L. leaders neither as unionmen nor as politicians, but they can't be worse than those now in office. Most of them have been actual workers so there is always something good in them to fall back on. Besides the A. F. of L. men have been persecuted pretty badly themselves lately, and the rank and file is pretty anxious to get the constitution of the U. S. in force again. I'd like to see them win. They can't be worse than the republican or democratic office holders but chances are they will be better. I believe they will release all class war prisoners and stop railroading more of us to jail. I believe they will sit down on the raiders of halls and restore free speech, free press and free assemblage. That is all I want of them. The rest of their program is all bunk as far as we are concerned, but this is something worth while. I am going to vote for the Labor Party even with the risk of being denounced by the I. W. W. men. That's all there is to it. We can't lose by it, but we might gain a lot if those A. F. of L. men win out with their party."

Having said this, our fellow worker seemed to be greatly relieved. He had confessed what he thought to be an illegal act or a crime according

to the I. W. W. law. After a moment's rest he went on:

"I know you are after politicians like the pound man is after stray dogs, so I thought I would come up and tell you, as I don't want to go and vote on the sly."

Now was our chance to answer.

First we read the preamble together. There it said that we must come together in industrial unions to improve our conditions and abolish wage slavery. But we did not find a word about voting for political parties.

We went through all the pages of the constitution, but still we found nothing to stop members from voting for any party they like to vote for. On the contrary, we found in By-Laws, Art. I, Sect. 1, the following: "No workingman or woman shall be excluded from membership in unions because of creed or color."

Now we went on to explain:

"While the word 'creed' probably was intended to mean religious conviction, it may readily be construed to mean also political creeds or ideas, and convictions in any other field.

"All that the I. W. W. demands of its members is that they sincerely endorse the principle of industrial unionism as the frame work of a new society, and that in their actions they act upon the principle that 'an injury to one is an injury to all.' A member should also pay his dues regularly and do his utmost to build up the organization, but for the rest he surrenders none of his freedom.

"You can vote for whatever you like, and expound your beliefs as long as you do not work against the best interests of the organization.

"Any member who thinks he can help the boys in jail by voting, or hopes to stop the persecution against us and restore the constitution into full force by voting for the Labor Party or any other party is perfectly at liberty to do so, as far as the I. W. W. is concerned.

"As an organization we cannot go into politics of any kind, for it would immediately break us up as an organization. Supposing we organize a mining camp of 1,000 men or more and make it 100 per cent I. W. W., as we have in many cases. While these 1,000 men are almost sure to sincerely endorse the industrial union they are very likely divided into several political creeds. Very likely there are those who vote republican or democratic tickets or socialist tickets. There are sure to be many anti-parliamentarians among them. If the I. W. W. were to demand of these 1,000 men that they should all vote for one certain party, we would be sure to burst the union, or we would hold it together only by terrorism.

have been established as standards by the men engaged in this business. Such cuts are named about as follows: Hams, Shoulders, and Sides, which are again subdivided into pork loins, fat backs and bellies. In the lighter grades the side, after the pork loin is taken off, is split into a fat back and a belly. When only the loin and ribs are removed, such sides are known as "Clears," or "Extra Clears." Where the rib is left in, they are known as "Extra Ribs." In some instances the heavy sides are allowed to go to cure without either the loin or ribs being removed, when they are known as "Rough Ribs," or "Hard Ribs." From the neck or jowl another small piece is saved, which is known as bean pork. All the fat from which the lean has been trimmed, that has accumulated in the cutting process, is sent to the tanks to be rendered into "Steam Lard," as distinguished from "Neutral Lard," which is obtained by rendering the leaf lard and sometimes the fat backs at a low temperature, which varies around about 120 degrees Fahrenheit.

At the Tank Room are the Tanks, which are steel cylinders about six feet in diameter and varying in depth from 14 to 30 feet. Some establishments having the larger sizes and some the smaller. The tank capacity is usually estimated at a thousand pounds to a foot, when such computation becomes necessary. At the top, which usually comes about a foot above the floor, is an oval shaped opening by means of which the tank is filled. When this is done a manhole cover is allowed to pass into the opening by means of a chain. Then it is drawn back in its place, covering the hole from the inside. This done it is firmly bolted on by means of "grabs," so as to be air-tight, after which the steam is turned on and it begins to cook. Tanks are only supposed to be filled within three feet of the top, and are cooked from six to ten hours at a steam pressure, varying from 40 to 50 lbs., the length of time varying according to the matter to be cooked, and the steam pressure varying according to the size of the tank and the steam outlet or feed.

At the bottom the tank is closed by a valve, worked by a long rod having a wheel at the end, while underneath is a vat, usually an iron box-like affair, large enough to hold the contents of the tank. This is also furnished with an outlet leading to the press room.

When the contents of the tank are cooked, and the exhaust steam blown off, the head or manhole cover is taken off, when the rendered product, be it either Lard, Tallow or Grease, is drawn off through a valve, which is placed about the middle of the tank in its side. Such products, before mentioned, are allowed to run into iron containers, known as coolers.

In the press room the tankage which remains in the vat, after the tank water is allowed to run off, is allowed to run out on cloths spread over wooden plates; in this way the press is built up in layers, until it has reached the required height, when it is placed under a hydraulic press and subjected to

pressure until most of the water and grease is forced out of it. Next the press is pulled down and the pressed tankage dumped into a carrier which carries it onto the "Dries," of which there are many different patterns. But when the tankage leave the "Drier" it is dry and ground up into a coarse powder, in which state it is sent to the "Fertilizer." The blood of the various animals, which is saved after being steam cooked for a short time, is pressed and dried in the same manner as the tankage.

The tank water, which remained after the tank had been cooked and allowed to run out of the vat before the tankage was taken out, is held in a container from which it is pumped through vacuum pans, by which process a dark, thick fluid is obtained, which is known as "Stick." This is mixed in with the tankage in the drying process. At the Fertilizer, the tankage is sorted out into Hog tankage, Cattle Tankage, Meat Meal or Stock Food, and Steam Bone, which is obtained from the Glue Tanks. Each of these products on chemical analysis must show certain ingredients, and have to be mixed accordingly. The dried blood is either sold separate, or, being rich in Ammonia, is mixed in with the lower grades of tankage to make meat meal. When the tankage shows a too high percentage of Ammonia, Fullers Earth, the waste from the Lard Refinery, is usually added to it, and in some cases coal dust.

The working conditions in both the tank room and press room are of the worst kind. The heat is oppressive and an abominable stench pervades the place. This is true in all seasons, but especially in the summer time, when the temperature in those places keeps around 130 degrees. When the men there can only work in short spells, as it impossible to remain for any length of time in the place. In the Fertilizer, while the heat is absent, the dust and stench in the place make it even worse. As all fertilizer products have to be run through the mill, before being either filled into sacks or shipped out loose, the air in the place is usually so thick with dust, as to make it impossible to see more than a short distance. This dust is injurious to both the eyes and the lungs, so that those who are obliged to go there soon leave, or are obliged to do so on account of the work being injurious to health.

At the Lard Refinery, the lard which has been pumped there from the tank room, is treated to a refining process, which consists in mixing "Fuller's Earth" in with it, after which it is pumped through a filter in which the earth remains and the lard come out cleared of such impurities as this process can remove. Then when cooled to a point where it is soft and thick, it has a fine white color. In this state it is filled into containers of various sizes, ranging from a five pound can to a tierce holding about four hundred pounds, when it is ready for shipment. At this same department is also made an article which resembles lard in appearance,

known as "Compound," which has before been referred to in connection with beef products.

In the way of curing meats there are two distinct processes known as "sweet" and "dry salt" respectively. In the sweet pickle, brown sugar, granulated, white sugar and molasses are used in the brine in which the meat is cured; hence the use of the word "sweet." In this department the smaller meat cuts are cured, such as hams, shoulders, bellies and Picnic or California Hams. During the curing process the meat is kept in large wooden containers known as "Vats," where it is kept for a period ranging from three to nine weeks. During this time it is "overhauled" three times, except in case of the lighter cuts, such as bellies, when the operation is performed only twice, as they cure in a short time. The "overhauling" process, consists in transferring the meat from one vat to another, an empty one being placed in the row for this purpose. When cured, the meat is either shipped out in this condition or sent to the smoke house to be smoked before shipment. In the "dry salt," the heavier meat cuts, namely the side cuts before alluded to, as well as some heavy shoulders and heavy bellies, are put. Here the meat is rubbed over and sprinkled with salt and is then piled on the floor, until it reaches up to a height of some six feet or more. In this condition it is allowed to remain until it is overhauled or shipped out. The overhauling process consists in pulling down the pile and transferring it to another pile in reverse order, so that the pieces that were on top come in the bottom. In the first instance this is usually done after the meat has been salted about a week or ten days, and after that at irregular intervals. In both sweet pickle and dry salt all the heavy meat cuts are usually pumped up with a strong brine prepared for this purpose. Also this is frequently done when the meat is being overhauled.

The pork cuts which are not sent to cure, such as pork loins, pork butts, skinned shoulders and spare ribs, are either shipped out in a fresh state or sent to the freezer, where they are frozen and kept in storage.

As to beef, only a small portion is sent to cure, most of which is what is known as canning meat, beef hams and plate beef. The canning meat consists of small pieces of meat which have been cut from the bones or large pieces, which cannot be used otherwise, and so are cut up for this purpose. Brown sugar is used in curing canning meat, while granulated sugar is used for beef hams. In curing plate beef, sugar is not used.

Meat that is suitable only for sausage, which has not been used in a fresh state, is put to cure. This includes hearts, livers and kidneys, such work being usually done under the supervision of the sausage department.

At the Packing House, it rarely happens that any

meat, except trimmings of one kind or another, are used in the manufacture of sausage, there usually being a sufficiency of the same for this purpose. Such meat, of course, is of much less value than regular cuts, but when worked up into sausage, it becomes much more valuable than those same cuts. This is partly owing to the fact that corn meal is mixed in with it. This, however, is shown on the labels under the name of "Cereal." Also a quantity of water is added to it. The amount of "Cereal" varies according to the kind of sausage made, and there are many kinds. The amount of water added to sausage meat in the process of manufacture varies from ten all the way to as high as forty per cent. Nothing is allowed to appear on the labels or containers to indicate its presence. There are of course some grades of sausage in which water is not used, especially in "Summer Sausage" and a few other high priced grades. But that it is one of the most profitable branches of the meat trade is fully shown by the number of outside concerns that engage exclusively in it.

In the Packing House the Dressing Room accommodation provided is simply disgraceful. The writer, from all he has seen and from what he could learn, must say that there are few if any such places that are not overcrowded, so that the men have to take turns in getting a seat to change clothes. In many places there is not even standing room for the number of persons required to use the place. But worst of all are the lockers, in which the men have to keep their clothes. They are made in sets of about six compartments in one piece, having an iron frame, the sides being composed of wire netting. The compartments, which two men are obliged to use for their clothes, measure in dimension about fourteen inches square and stand about forty inches in height. Even though the worker as a rule has not many clothes (and from the accommodation provided by his master, it is evident he thinks he should not have), it is easy to see that those miniature compartments are usually crowded. This, however, is not the only grievance, as, should a worker have some good clothes, he is obliged to put them into the same locker, where he has to keep his dirty, foul smelling clothes, and there they very soon become contaminated with the same bad smell, so that he himself and his apparel become a nuisance when he goes in a public place. Worse still is it for the unfortunate worker whose clothes become wet at this task, and this is especially true of workers in the "sweet pickle" and the "dry salt." Having to wear extra clothing in those places in which they work, their wet clothing cannot dry in the miserable lockers, even when heat is provided in the dressing room, which is not often the case.

The Labor Unions have endeavored to remedy this and some other evils, but apparently without effect, as nothing has been done so far, and at

present the prospects for any improvement are very doubtful.

What the Packing House needs at present, and needs badly, is the "One Big Union," and it is coming, because if any results are to be gained, it must come.

In so far as the running of the plants by the men is concerned, if it were to happen tomorrow, the change would hardly be noticeable, as the men to a great extent are doing it already, and for the most part are well aware of the fact, as the foremen and other supervisors placed over them have but little experience, and in some cases none at all. Of course, there are some exceptions, but those are not many. From the point of view of educating the worker, nothing could be better in order to show him his own importance, than to place in authority over him another man who does not know what he is doing. This is especially true where skill and experience are required, something which is indispensable in a great many cases.

As a direct result of such incompetency, there is much waste in the handling of the various products as well as in other material and supplies. An instance of this is the thousands of pounds of meat and meat food products annually condemned by Government Inspectors. A change in system and arrangement would easily save most of this, which can only be done by giving the workers a greater share in the management and in the profits of their labor. In doing this, more men would be employed for shorter hours and a more efficient and economical system would at once arise. The masters knowing this are at present seeking to introduce a profit sharing plan, while of course having only their own interests in mind.

Assuming that the Cattle, Sheep and Hogs would continue to be obtained from the farmers, which of course would probably be the case, as there would be no other way to dispose of them, the next important problem would be the distribution of the food products. The capitalists, however, have already provided for this in having established branch houses in all the large cities, and have records of the amount of such foods used from day to day, so as to prevent anything like a large surplus accumulating at any particular point. The same course could be followed, provided the transportation facilities would be available. On this everything would depend.

Outside of labor power, the Packing House needs coal and water in large quantities, so that their operation depends much on the coal miner. As for water, this is usually obtained from the city water supply of the cities in which the plants are located, though in some instances the plants have their own water system, which usually consists in a number of wells operated by either steam or electric power, which feed into a reservoir, from which the water supply is obtained. In the way of other supplies, a large quantity of lumber is needed for making

boxes used for packing, wrapping paper and stationery as well as cordage of various kinds are also indispensable. Also salt, both coarse and fine, is largely used. Cooperage in the way of tierces and barrels of various kinds are also much used, being brought from factories outside and refinished by the coopers of the plant. Hardware and other mechanical supplies are also much used in repair and new work by mechanics, of which every plant has a number.

It will therefore be necessary for the Packing House worker to get in touch with the various workers on the outside, with whom contact will be necessary in order to obtain such articles as may be needed to carry on the business. This ought not to present any serious difficulty, as a mutual exchange on the basis of food supplies will not meet with opposition, provided that such supplies are available. But even the dullest among the workers usually has foresight enough to look ahead in the way of getting something to eat. This he has always done, unless prevented, and will continue to do so. As a last word let us get on the job and learn all we can, no matter when it may be necessary to use our knowledge. Any person wishing further information on the subject will be answered by the writer through the magazine columns, that is if the editor is willing.

Editors Note:—A handbook covering the Packing House Industry is an urgent necessity. While the individual worker, as the writer points out, may know exactly what to do in his particular place, it is absolutely necessary that this group of workers should collectively have a complete understanding of the whole industry as well as its relations to other industries and society in general. Such knowledge is indispensable in order to enable them to take over the whole industry and run it with greatest possible efficiency through their union.

Each establishment should be organized as a branch of the Food stuffs Workers' Industrial Union, and each branch should organize in such a manner that the workers may be able to operate and run it in conjunction with the other branches when that time comes.

What these workers now are familiar with is mainly the technical side of the work. Of the administration of the industry they know little or nothing. This they must learn in order to enable themselves to take over the responsibility of feeding mankind. There are at present no books written on this subject. It remains for the I. W. W. to do it.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS

When sending in reports or news items to the I. W. W. press on matters of general interest, it would be well if the sender would mail a separate copy to each of the I. W. W. publications, English as well as foreign. Everybody connected with the I. W. W. press is loaded down with work to the limit, and the means available do not permit of the employment of a special person for the purpose of writing out a number of copies of such matter. It would greatly help us out if all correspondents would divide this burden between them by sending copy, where possible, to all the publications advertised on the back page of The O. B. U. Monthly.

Revolutionary Syndicalism in France Still Alive

By GEORGE ANDREYTCHEV

The great massacre that broke out in August 1914 on the European continent swept away all pretense and hypocrisy from the revolutionary labor movement. It produced the high treason of German Social Democracy and the connivance of French Syndicalism, as represented by its officialdom, to the shameful "union sacrée," the emasculation of the working class for the benefit of its age-long enemy—the exploiters.

The war was a stunning blow to all revolutionary groups and only very few of the militants of the labor movement were immune to this scourge that raged and still rages in the ranks of the working class. The honor of revolutionary stability belongs to the Russian Bolsheviks and the Bulgarian revolutionary Socialists, "the narrow," who as bodies can claim it. In Italy a more or less anomalous situation produced the "intransigency" of the "official socialists," of whom only a small minority is revolutionary and class conscious. "The Italian Syndicalist Union," a small body of insurgents from the conservative *Confederazione del Lavoro*, who separated themselves from it before the war, was also demoralized by the treason of its most able and prominent militants, Rossoni, De Ambris, Corridoni, Massoti, Maia, Bacchi and their followers.

This cleavage demonstrated clearly on whom the proletariat can rely in its arduous struggle; and the war, with all its monstrous consequences, has rendered us a great service, taught us a unique lesson: **THAT WARS CANNOT BE PREVENTED UNTIL CAPITALISM IS DONE AWAY WITH** and that the old slogan—the *emancipation of the working class must be the work of the workers themselves*, must literally be carried out.

In the *Confédération Générale du Travail* confusion reigned supreme after the declaration of war. Its officials had attempted to secure a promise and definite engagement from Legien and the other leaders of the German Trade Unions for a general strike in case of war and were bitterly disappointed with the openly imperialistic attitude of those "Marxians." To recite the story of Jouhaux' speech on the grave of the assassinated Jaurès, the trip to Bordeaux in the ministerial train and the acceptance of the governmental office by him and his cohorts, will only add to the revolting memory of the past and our disillusionment.

However, there was one man, who formed a nucleus of tempered and tried militants, who held the torch of revolutionary syndicalism high above the foul breath of jingoism; who kept the red banner of the working class undefiled by the hands of Judas. And if France holds the record with Germany for having produced many Judases, it has the honor of having given birth to the first Liebknecht

of the world, Pierre MONATTE. To him, Lenin and the Zimmerwald Conference paid tribute as the true son of the working class, who remained faithful to it and its traditions.

His bi-weekly little review "*La Vie Ouvrière*," published for many years before the war, had in its folds the names, brains and hearts of the most brilliant fighters in the C. G. T. In its annals you will find the classic blow to the Taylor system, written by a powerful intellect of a simple working man, Albert MERRHEIM; the story of the life and work of the coal miners, brilliantly written, illustrated and full of statistics, by the pen of another working man, Georges DUMOULIN; the history, illustrated, of the heroic battle of the Cheminots (the railroad workers) in 1910; the famous accusation, which turned to be prophetic, against the German Social Democracy, by Andler, the thorough and scientific analysis of the "Imperialistic Tendencies in German Socialism," which brought a shower of denunciations against Monatte, from the pen of Kautsky, Bebel and the now infamous Grumbach, "Homo," who used to write for *L'Humanité* from Switzerland *); the elaborate studies of syndicalist economics by Francis DELAISI.

*) In February and March 1913, Monatte published a lengthy article written by Charles Andler, the able historian and student of Marx, author of a "Commentary on the Communist Manifesto" and a volume on German Social Democracy, an article which most astonishingly predicted the shameful betrayal of the working class by the so-called Marxians of Germany. The article bore the title "*Le Socialisme Imperialiste d'Allemagne Contemporaine*" (Imperialist Socialism in Contemporary Germany). Jean Longuet, grandson of Marx, leader of the fence-riding center of the French Socialist party, a man who voted all the credits of the bankers war, indignantly asked Monatte to publish "the crushing reply" (*la reponse ecrassante*) of comrade (?) Grumbach which appeared in *Neue Zeit*, together with some vile attack by Kautsky and Bebel.

Grumbach's "crushing reply" reads in part as follows: "German Social Democracy is done for! Bebel becomes chancellor of the Empire, Scheidemann minister of Foreign Affairs, Gerhard Hildebrand, perhaps anew received in grace by the party, to direct the administration of the Colonies, Noske in charge of the Ministry of War.

The military, colonial and naval credits shall be voted by the socialist deputies without hesitation and with glad heart; Kautsky is charged to justify the necessity of it in theory" * * * etc. All in sarcastic tone.

This remarkable prophecy, made as reproach to Monatte and Andler, is now almost pathetically true. They went so far as to call Monatte's "*Vie Ouvrière*" "a monarchist review." Albert Thomas defended the German Social Democrats in the Chamber of Deputies. They all, Grumbach, Kautsky, Longuet, Thomas, went on the other side of the barricade, Monatte remained true to the working class.

In "*La Vie Ouvrière*" appeared the story of the General Strike in Belgium and many others, with spicy editorials, by Monatte's faithful co-worker Alfred ROSMER; there the burning questions of education, carried on by syndicalist teachers, were directed by George AIRELLE, women in industry and what not. *La Vie Ouvrière* was the workshop where the very best of the syndicalist movement was extracted. It was a school for the young and old alike. And in that school Monatte was the teacher, humble, modest, a man that cannot be replaced.

When the bloody thing came, Monatte and "*La Vie Ouvrière*" remained the only oasis in the jingoistic maelstrom where the ideals and traditions of the Syndicalist movement were faithfully adhered to. At 96 Quai Jemmapes, its headquarters, gathered the remains of the once formidable organism, and now dispersed, revolutionary battalion. There

came even the Marxian Socialists Ferdinand LORIOT, LOUZON, Louise SAUMONEAU, and Leon TROTSKY. This group sent MERKHEIM and BOURDERON to Zimmerwald and published the now famous documents, "The Open Letters to the Subscribers of *La Vie Ouvrière*," the work of Rosmer, Rakowsky's biting pamphlet, the resolutions and proceedings of Zimmerwald, etc. They were printed by the great Metal Workers' Federation, whose secretary was Merrheim, and which as a body opposed the war and issued the famous manifesto for May Day, 1915, calling: "Let us sabotage the war."

Monatte was silenced. He was taken to the trenches, in the hope that a German bullet would put an end to such an obnoxious enemy of the capitalist regime. In the meantime, others took up the battle and the revolutionary workers were again



A GROUP OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALIST DELEGATES AT THE LYONS CONGRESS

Sitting in front row, from left to right, are: Lepetit, lately of Clairvaux prison, delegate from the excavators; Dejonkere, of the railroad workers; Sirolle, of the Left Bank Railways of Paris; Monatte, editor of "*La Vie Ouvrière*" and delegate from the Teachers of Firminy; Loriot, teachers of Paris; Monmousseau, railroad workers; Sergent.

Standing: behind Lepetit, Louis Bouet, secretary of the militant Teachers Federation; behind Sirolle, Olivier, railroad workers of Perigueux, who read the Russian Soviet's greeting to the Congress; behind Olivier, to the left is Leon Midol, "the man of the one minute strike" on the P. L. M., on Midol's right is Marie Guillot, and still further to the right Julie René and Lucie Colliard, three militant girl teachers.

the illusion of his sincerity and radicalism. He is really a nonentity, dangerous only because he is trying to bleed the movement for money, and because he is of the type that will ultimately sell out and turn spy—if he has not already achieved this profitable end, as the Soviet Bureau in New York believes.

He began his career in New York by running a Tammany Hall weekly and working on one of Glynn's newspapers upstate. Then he fled the draft and landed here. He immediately set up a "new thought school" and proposed to heal incurable cases through Jesus Christ at so much a cure. This didn't pan out and he started his magazine with Carranza money, as he himself acknowledges, and professed Socialism. It is needless to go into the history of his career here. He has run a matrimonial agency, a bill collecting bureau, an English school, a real estate office, a book reviewing syndicate, a new thought laboratory, a Church of the New Civilization, a book store for occult literature and so on, all at one and the same time. When he espoused Socialism his first announcement was to the effect that now the Bolsheviks of Mexico had a leader, which made some of the older Bolsheviks a little mad, of course. In his magazine he calls himself the future Trotzky and Lenine of North America, and so on.

Despite his insidious lying, such as telling Mexicans that some of the other foreigners were spies, and so on, and despite Monores and his open sabotage, the convention adopted a revolutionary program which affiliated Mexican labor with the Third International at Moscow, and with the I. W. W. of the United States.

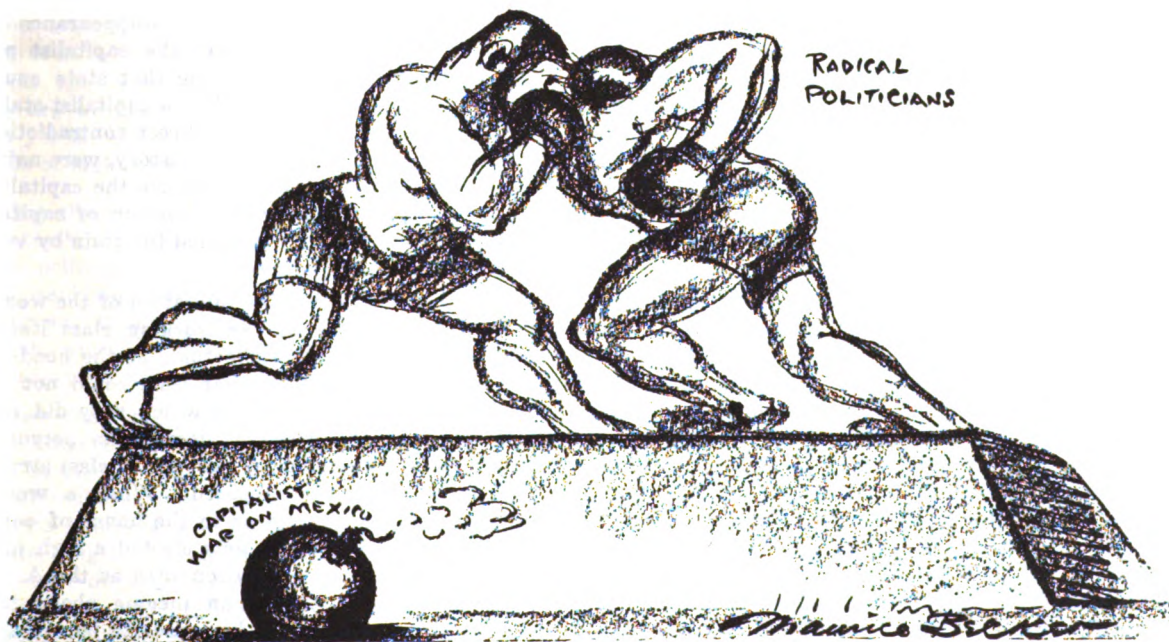
The first clause of the platform states that the unions of Mexico must organize industrially and na-

tionally and must maintain relations with the I. W. W. of the United States. Later in the platform this is elaborated in detail.

The delegates went back to their various regions and reports of the congress have been printed in all the regional labor papers, also as a pamphlet. Two new newspapers were started as a result of the congress—"El Soviet" in Mexico City, and the "Industrial Worker" in Vera Cruz. In every section of the republic now the message of the congress has been heard. The general secretary will write for I. W. W. charters when things have been whipped into some sort of shape. The I. W. W. constitution is being translated for the use of the delegates in the various regions, and already several tentative locals have been formed. The big job, however, that the delegates are concentrating on is to get the great regional unions now in existence to unite with the I. W. W. and adopt tactics and aims of this organization.

They are bringing it up at every meeting and in all the labor papers this discussion now rages. The consummation of this work is not far in the future, and when it is accomplished there will be an organization that will fear neither American nor Mexican capitalisms, but will walk steadily on the path that leads to One Big Union all over the world.

(Editor's Note)—In a previous number we published an article sent us by Linn A. E. Gale who is here so strongly condemned. Said article reported the formation of a "Communist Party" in Mexico which also is supposed to have endorsed the I. W. W. The only point upon which the two reports agree is that one Morones is an agent of the Gompers interests. It appears at this distance that the workers of Mexico are having their first experience with the political parties of Socialism. A short period of such experience will probably teach them the necessity of following the example of I. W. W. and organizing apart from all political movements purely as an industrial organization that will include only actual wage workers. Co-operation with political groups will be disastrous in the end.)



The Elements of the Socialist Movement

BY HENRY VAN DORN

Broadly speaking, the elements which today compose the Socialist movement of the world may be divided into two groups: First, the Socialist patriots, or the reformist political Socialists, who are most prominently represented by the German Majority Socialists and the Russian Mensheviks. This group went on record at the Berne Conference as being opposed to Bolshevism. Second, those Socialist and labor organizations that participated, or at least were invited to participate, in the Communist International which met at Moscow on March 2, 1919. This latter group include the Russian Bolsheviks, the Spartacists of Germany, the Italian Socialist party, the Communist parties of America, the I. W. W. of all countries, and the Syndicalist organizations and Communist parties of various European countries. Here should also be included the One Big Union movements of Canada, Spain and Australia.

In order to properly understand the importance and true status of these various elements in the Socialist movement we must first ascertain the reason for the sudden and ignominious collapse of the Second International at the outbreak of the World War. How is to be explained the appalling fact that after many arduous years of education and organization along these lines of scientific Socialism, the many millions of European Socialists, with but insignificant exceptions, forgot at the first sound of the bugle all about the universal brotherhood of the working class and were swept body and soul into the camps of nationalism and imperialism?

The answer is simple: The Second International was not at the outbreak of the war a revolutionary, militant working class movement. Instead, it had developed into a reform movement led by professional middle class journalists, politicians and theoreticians. Acting as the high priests of the movement, they had by over-subtle arguments led their followers from the highway of direct revolutionary action aimed at the quick and complete overthrow of capitalism into devious zigzag paths of petty reforms, political action and compromise with the powers that be, all of which could end in nothing but perplexity and dismay.

The Social Democracy of pre-war Germany was a gigantic institution with a large treasury, which owned hundreds of newspapers and buildings of assemblage, staged entertainments, lectures and concerts, attended to the people's educational and social wants, sent representatives to the Reichstag and embraced within its membership workmen, peasants, doctors, lawyers, small business men, actors, journalists, politicians, in fact everybody and anybody except bankers, big capitalists and big landed proprietors. Its spokesmen and theoreticians were members of the professional and middle-class who had either long ceased or had never had anything

to do with the working class, with its trials and with its misery, nor did they possess, as, for instance, the Russian Revolutionists, the advantage of having suffered for their convictions. Consider the careers of Singer, Bernstein, Kautsky, Scheidemann, Legien, David, Haase. So we see that the German Social Democracy prior to the war was not a proletarian revolutionary movement. This applies also to the reformist orthodox Socialist parties of France, the Scandinavian countries, England, Russia, etc.

Although the leaders of pre-war Socialism constantly cavilled over the interpretation of the teachings of Karl Marx, neither they nor the movements which they represented were Marxian either in theory or in tactics. For instance, they sinned against each of the following three cardinal principles of Marxism: Against the economic interpretation of history, in its practical application to the situation confronting them, against the dictum that the liberation of the working class is the work of the working class itself, and against the postulate that the transition from capitalism to Socialism can only be accomplished through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The economic interpretation of history clearly shows that the shape which the social, judicial, legislative, religious, political and other institutions of any period of society assume is determined primarily by the economic structure of that period of society, in other words, by its mode of producing and distributing the means of livelihood. The implication from this is that the political state under capitalism exists by virtue of its being of service to the capitalist system of production and that it cannot operate in any way except to the benefit of that system of production. With the disappearance of capitalism would disappear also the capitalist political state, but up to such time that state could not possibly be anything else than a capitalist state. Yet these pre-war Socialists, in direct contradiction to the economic interpretation of history, were naive enough to believe that they could use the capitalist state as an instrument for the abolition of capitalism itself, which end they intended to attain by voting and by parliamentary action.

As for the dictum that the liberation of the working class is the work of the working class itself, surely the middle class intellectuals at the head of the Socialist movement at that time could not be expected to liberate a class to which they did not belong, namely, the working class. The personal equation plays a much larger part in the class struggle than is commonly supposed. When a workman is sent to congress or to the house of commons or to the reichstag or gets elected a high official of a large labor organization such as the A. F. of L., and thereby attains an income about ten times the size of his wages, he ceases to be a wage

earner and becomes a member of the middle class, his personal struggle with the world for a livelihood has been brought to a successful end. Henceforward he lives in a state of economic security, subconsciously, at least, he works for a continuation of such a blissful state of affairs, and unless he be a man endowed with an exceptionally forceful character and keen intellect, he is bound to become more conservative day by day. The result is that instead of being a help he becomes a hindrance to a progressive working class movement. If this be the case with an official who springs from the proletariat, how much worse would it not be when the man springs from the professional or the middle class?

There are instances without end to illustrate the truth of the above contention. The rank and file of any working class movement is always more radical than its leaders. As soon as Millerand, Briant, Vandervelde, Guesde, Thomas, rose to the position of cabinet ministers they turned traitor to the working class. When it comes to being reactionary, most of the high salaried officials of the A. F. of L. some of whom receive as much as \$10,000 per year, outstrip their capitalistic brethren. It is sickening to think of the number of strikes that they have sold out. The A. F. of L. will always be an incubus on the backs of the workers of America until it gets rid of these high salaried officials. None of the American Socialist renegades were members of the proletariat: Spargo, Walling, Russell, Stokes, Bohn, Wright, Sinclair; one and all they were either clergymen, journalists, gentlemen of leisure, or what not, anything but workingmen. What could illustrate plainer than this that a non-union workingman cannot be trusted to fight the battles of the working class when the crucial moment comes? The only solution seems to be the policy of the I. W. W., which pays its officials, from the highest to the lowest, a uniform salary somewhat below the average wage of an ordinary worker. Then one may be assured of the unswerving fidelity of these officials, since they are working for an ideal and not for money. And yet the pre-war Socialist movement was in the hands of high salaried, non-working class leaders.

That there might ever arise the necessity for a dictatorship of the proletariat was considered by these political Socialists a laughable impossibility. Why, said they, we will simply vote ourselves into power and then, being the strongest party, we will abolish capitalism and establish Socialism. As easy as falling off a log, said these "Marxians."

Then came the war and the feeble-kneed bourgeois Socialist parties of the Second International went to pieces. They evaporated, faded away into the atmosphere, were simply nowhere around. There were no longer any German Socialists, French Socialists, English Socialists, Belgian Socialists; there were now only Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Belgians. A sadder, more disheartening spectacle our long-suffering earth had never witnessed.

Of course, there were factions which had not so entirely forgotten the mission of revolutionary Socialism. These minorities of the Left Wing of the Second International convened in the fall of 1915 at Zimmerwald, Switzerland. But the conference again split into two camps, the Social Pacifists, led by Kautsky, and the Communists, led by Lenine. From that time on the Communists gained rapidly in numbers and in power, the climax coming with the Russian Communists, or the Bolsheviki, seizing the reins of government in November, 1917.

The Social Pacifists developed into the Independent Socialists of Germany, who with the fall of the Kaiser, began to play quite an important role in German political life. However, being infused with characteristic middle class indecision they have vacillated between the reactionary Majority Socialists and the extremist Spartacans. In the future they are bound to identify themselves with either the one or the other of these opposing forces.

The Italian Socialist party was the one noteworthy exception to the collapse of the European Socialist parties at the outbreak of the war. Notwithstanding the treachery of Mussolini, former editor of L'Avanti, the party's daily organ, and of De Ambris, leader of the Syndicalists, the party officially never came out in favor of the war. To this day it has unflinchingly stood for the principles of revolutionary Socialism and for the proletarian revolution, war or no war. That is the reason why the Italian Socialists may be reckoned on doing great things once they get started in cleaning their country of capitalism.

Ever since the Bolsheviki came into power the French Socialists have been drifting more and more towards the left. Prior to the war Jean Longuet was the leader of a negligible minority, but from the 1918 party congress he emerged as the leader of a radical majority. He in turn is in danger of being overshadowed by Lorient who is an out and out Communist and will have nothing to do with the moribund Second International. The Berne conference was the occasion for forty-one social patriots, headed by Albert Thomas, breaking away from the radical majority—and a good riddance it was! So we see the Communist sentiment growing stronger in France every day, and the time may not be far off when the French Socialists will stand solid for the proletarian revolution.

The decisive role in France will be played, however, by the Federation Generale du Travail. On its policy depends the future of the revolution. With its two million members who are becoming imbued with the spirit of revolutionary industrial unionism, it will decide the fate of France.

The English worker is also steadily drifting towards Communism. The Shop Stewards' Movement is a sign that the workers are beginning to take things into their own hands. The purely political Socialist group in England is an insignificant one, and we must look to the big industrial unions for the overthrow of capitalism. This cannot be ac-

complished by political action in any country where capitalism has attained a high stage of development.

The Russian, German and Hungarian revolutions proved beyond the shadow of a doubt the utter futility of parliamentary action. The Kaiser, the King were not overthrown by the ballot, but by the bayonet. In other words, by force. And again, when the Bolsheviki superceded the feeble, blundering bourgeois Socialist government of Kerensky they did not vote themselves into power. They simply took that power. Ever since that memorable day of Nov. 7, 1917, the criterion by which to gauge the usefulness to the working class of the various Socialist and labor elements throughout the world has been their readiness to use direct, uncompromising mass and industrial action for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of industrial democracy. Let me mention here in passing that Bolshevism or Communism is nothing more nor less than dynamic Socialism, or Socialism in practice.

Even since 1903 when the Bolsheviki became a distinct party in the Russian Social Democracy they have maintained a policy of no coalition and no compromise. Everything or nothing, was the their watchword. But nevertheless they were a political not an industrial organization. Their success was due mainly to three factors: First, the incredible corruption and rottenness of the Tzarist regime, second, that they early recognized the futility of pure political action and directed their efforts toward the seizing and organizing of the industrial bodies known as Soviets. As is well known, Trotzky was the president of the first Petrograd Soviet, organized in 1905. Third, that Russia is an agricultural country with only a small percentage of the population engaged in industrial pursuits, has no middle class to speak of, but had a large, illiterate, inert peasant population which by being given land, bread and peace was won over to the side of the Communists. Under these circumstances the Bolsheviki went over the top for Socialism. However, let us not make the mistake of supposing that the tactics which succeeded in Russia will succeed in other more highly developed capitalistic countries, which present an entirely different industrial and social complexion.

Let us take, for instance, Germany. Upon the overthrow of the Kaiser the Majority Socialists

captured the political state. But since the industries continued to be owned and operated by the financiers and capitalists and the land by the junkers, the capitalist political state, which only exists by virtue of being serviceable to capitalism, could function only for the preservation of the capitalist regime. Thus, notwithstanding its Socialist office holders, it was an obstacle in the path of the progressing working class. And so we come across the sorry and paradoxical spectacle of the Socialist Noske slaughtering his fellow Socialists by the thousands upon the streets of Berlin and in every nook and corner of Germany. The Communists, under the leadership of Liebknecht, Luxembourg and Mehring, put up a brave fight, but wave after wave of Spartacan uprisings was ruthlessly put down in Berlin, Hamburg, Bavaria, Dusseldorf. From the latest reports it seems that the German workers are coming to realize that by simply following the Bolshevik tactics of mass action they will not get rid of capitalism, and are now organizing in revolutionary industrial unions. When these unions will grow strong and efficient enough to take over and run industry then will the proletarian revolution in Germany become an accomplished fact.

The same cleavage which developed between the Majority Socialists and the Spartacans in Germany, between the followers of Albert Thomas and those of Longuet in France, has developed between the Socialists of every other country. The Socialist party of the United States by its St. Louis platform took a stand alongside the Italian Socialists as being wholeheartedly opposed to the capitalistic war. The social patriots, traitors of the ilk of Spargo, Russell and Bohn, were thus gotten rid of early in the game. Nevertheless, sooner or later the party had to take issue with Bolshevism, with the inevitable result that the Left Wing elements were expelled from the party by its standpat, political action high priests, who are the American counterpart of Ebert, Scheideman, Kerensky, Thomas and Henderson. Thus were born the Communist parties of America.

Slowly, but surely, Socialist workingmen are emancipating themselves from the fallacy that wage slavery can be abolished through parliamentary action. Reluctantly they part with their hope of political power, but as the final collapse of capitalism approaches they begin to discover that industrial unionism is the solution of the social problem.

EXPLOITERS OF BODY AND MIND

He who takes life's necessities
Because he is strong,
And whips into submission
With the lash of hunger,
IS NO WORSE
Than the man with the distorted mind
Who raves of hell and damnation
And seeks to bind the weak
To the fear of God.

—C. O. G.

INCENTIVE

Waiting for a street car
Dinner pail on arm,
In the greasy, smelly, smoky bottoms
Of Kansas City
Was an old, old man.
And the look on his face
Was the look of a man
Lost in a deep forest,
With a great fear of starving.

—C. O. G.

The Plight of the Clerical Workers

By JOHN SANDGREN

From Harvey's Monthly for November we quote the following:

"Are there, then, any real sufferers from the war and the war's aftermath reactions? Ask the teachers, the clergymen, the clerks, the writers, the editors, the tens and tens of thousands of professional and semi-professional men, the men and women of small incomes sufficient for their modest needs before this orgie of high prices, but now cut to half and less than half in purchasing power, and at this day spelling deprivation to the verge of want where before they spelled a modest independence. These are the real after-the-war sufferers. Their name is legion.

Compared with current living expenses, the salaries paid to clerks, to teachers, to writers, to editors, to clergymen are derisory. Likewise they are an infamy.

Where other salaries and other wages have gone up, here they have either stood still or increased by figures that are niggardly. Men and women of learning, of the highest attainments, those on whom depends the education of American children, the moral guidance of the American people, are paid salaries that a hodcarrier or bricklayer or a stevedore would scorn. It is this submerged, unorganized, inarticulate middle group, the very flower of the country's intelligence, the group on which we all depend to maintain the Republic through clear thinking and staunch fidelity to basic American principles and traditions—it is upon these that the present-day burden of living-cost falls with crushing weight. It is they who shoulder their disproportionate share of the ever-increasing load shoved upon the consumer's and the rent-payer's shoulders by the granting of extortionate labor union demands; by conscienceless profiteers; by reckless waste of Government funds wrung from the country's overburdened taxpayers.

They have been a patient lot thus far, these real sufferers from the war's inevitable consequences. Their voices are seldom heard in complaint. They are inarticulate and unorganized. But the thing cannot go on forever. Either salvation must be worked out in some way and soon for this vast group, or we shall pay the penalty by seeing them join the turbulent forces of unrest and disintegration. And when that happens, sheer ruin will not be far away. When such Americans as these cannot earn enough money to live their frugal lives and educate their children, then indeed is there danger ahead."

The fellow worker who sends us the above clipping writes underneath: "Moral: Organize or starve."

For our part we cannot suppress a vindictive "serves you right," even though we should not give

vent to any vindictiveness towards any group of wage workers.

Why this vindictiveness on our part against the high-collared gentry?

The teachers we have harsh feelings against because they have refused to organize. As a result of their disorganized state they are not only kept down to starvation wages and abject slavery, but they have also lost something much more valuable, namely their independence as teachers. For fear of losing the pittance by which they live they are helping the masters to poison and warp the minds of our children in order to make them submissive slaves also. It certainly is a crime and a disgrace to allow those who teach our children, to suffer from want and care, but that is what the teachers get for licking the boots of profiteering hucksters and the property owning class in general, with which class they have absolutely nothing in common. The masters always treat with contempt the cringing slaves who do their bidding without protest. They have done the same with us all while we were as foolish as you are. Look at us agricultural workers, lumber workers, miners and construction workers before we started to organize. We were driven to desperation and hopelessness and perished by the thousands from want and suffering and we were hunted like wild animals and a bounty was set upon our heads as vags. We were treated as criminals and outcasts. Since we started to organize this has changed for the better, and we now would "scorn" to work for your wages," as the writer in Harvey's magazine points out.

We have not accomplished much yet, but we feel that we owe you no sympathy. Do as we did. "Organize or starve." But we are particularly anxious that you teachers should organize, not merely in order that you might obtain the freedom from worry and care that a teacher absolutely should have, but principally in order that you might regain your spiritual independence in order that you may be able to teach the children the truth and nothing but the truth. If all the teachers were organized, the criminal capitalist class would not be able to pollute and poison the sources of knowledge from which the child or the young people gain their knowledge. In the interest of our children and of all mankind we have the right to demand of you that you organize and make yourselves absolutely independent of all the influences that seek to control you out of impure motives. We want you to teach our children to seek truth instead of cramming them full of vicious misinformation and crippling their intelligence and enslaving their spirit to the masters.

The clergymen!—Why should we, the workers,

care whether the clergymen starve and worry? Have they not always been the contemptible tools of a criminal master class? Have they not always been trafficking in spiritual values in order to keep the workers meek and contended? Have they not always resisted us when we sought to lift ourselves and our fellows out of the mire of poverty, ignorance and oppression? Have not they nearly always, with very few exceptions, taken the rich man's part against the poor, all the while collecting the widow's mite for their own support?

We will not consent to class the clergymen as teachers. We class them with the other "stools" and the "finks" that the capitalist class employs in order to keep the workers down. By teaching science and honest truth-seeking we hope to shame them out of existence some day.

The clerks!—That's another story. Hundreds of thousands of clerks are entirely unnecessary, but that is not the fault of the individual clerk—it is the fault of the system. When capitalism falls, these clerks as well as their masters will be out of luck, for they will be out of a job. For the present all clerkdom is an important social factor to count with. We for our part have discovered the importance of the clerk, but he has not discovered it himself. As a rule the high-collared pen pusher feels immensely superior to the man with overalls and callouses, but that superiority is all vanished when he steps before the boss. Before his master the clerk is generally the most abject, fawning, humiliated creature on earth. He may be half starved, he may be on the verge of desperation from poverty, but he seldom dares to ask for more pay, much less assert his manhood or independence. He obliterates himself as a rule completely and does whatever the master tells him without a murmur of protest.

And still clerkdom holds it in its hands to dictate terms to the masters. All they have to do is to organize and stand together and the roles will be reversed. They will command and the master will obey.

However, we are not particularly interested in clerkdom for its own sake. We want the clerks to organize with those who work with their hands into the industrial union of their industry. Together the manual and clerical workers could as a body take over and run their respective industries without the capitalist. All alone the clerical workers amount to nothing. Together with the manual workers they could have everything their own way against the boss.

Without the clerks, we, the manual workers, sometimes make a mess of our struggles, but if it comes to the worst we can get along without them. The clerks on the other hand can do nothing without the manual workers when it comes to taking over production. The clerks are collectively in possession of the knowledge required for administering the industries. It will be a great day both for them and for us when they break with the boss, who is working them almost to death for a starva-

tion wage and join the manual workers in the same industrial union.

May that day come soon!

Of course the clerk has not the courage just yet to join the I. W. W. The very idea of it is apt to make him drop dead from fright. Still, that is what it is going to come to some day. The clerk will find no other way of salvation for himself.

The writers and the editors!—Well, "the dirtier the work the poorer the pay," is an old saying. That is why the writers and editors often are miserably paid. They do the dirty work of the capitalist class. They are the ones who dump the dirt into fountains of knowledge in order to deceive the people. What do they expect? Any low-down creature is good enough for that kind of work. Many a time we of the I. W. W. have suffered on account of the lies that these writers and editors have told about us. In fact, the tremendous persecution we are now exposed to is almost entirely the result of the lie-campaign in the kept press. This campaign waged against us by paid mental prostitutes has only one bright side for us, and that is that the vile creatures who carry it on are despised and kicked by their own masters and allowed to suffer want.

However, what we have said of the teachers also applies to the editors and writers. We have the right to demand of them that they organize, not for the purpose of getting "a fair day's pay for a fair day's lying" but for the purpose of regaining their freedom, so that they may become men and be able to speak the truth and refuse to speak anything but the truth.

As long as these wretched workers are employed in commercial enterprises they belong in the Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union. When the dissemination of knowledge has ceased to be a commercial function they will properly belong with the teachers.

The high cost of living is driving millions of people to think. It is to be hoped that it will drive the clerical workers to think and open their eyes so that they may see what miserable slaves they are. It is to be hoped that it will drive them to organize, not only for the sake of the pittance that will keep them alive as slaves but for the purpose of taking possession of the earth in common with their brothers and sisters who do manual labor.

THE BIRTH

The Gods had gathered all the blood
That for freedom had been shed,
And dipped within a cloth of white:
Thus came out a flag of red.

The gods then gave this gift to man,
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That it should strengthen brotherhood
In every land it waves.

—C. O. G.

The Labor Party and the I. W. W.

By JOHN SANDGREN

A fellow worker dropped in on us the other day and laid his spiritual troubles before us much in the manner as a sinner goes to confession. He was under a terrible pressure when he came but he was light of heart when he left. It was all due to a misunderstanding on his part.

"I don't care a rap what the I. W. W. says," it came in a torrent, "but I am going to vote for the new Labor Party. I do not give a rap for the program of the Labor Party either. I don't want any of their government ownership, or their Plumb plan, or their initiative and referendum, but there has got to be a change in the personnel of officialdom and pretty quick, too. Look what these tools of Wall street are doing with us I. W. W. men. They are trampling the constitution under foot and openly defying it. They have now put over a thousand of us in jail. They are making a mockery of justice. They are using it to 'sandbag' us with. They are clubbing us and murdering us and are holding us for months and years without trial. Their courts are hotbeds of iniquity where we are given the rawest kind of a deal. I say, we must put this whole bunch out of office, or they will slowly but surely torment our organization to death. They are in cahoots with bogus patriots who raid our halls and club us and rob us and lynch us. Did you ever see one of those raiders punished by the officers of the law? Nary a one! We have got to drive them out soon or they will get our goat."

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"I have no use for the A. F. of L. leaders neither as unionmen nor as politicians, but they can't be worse than those now in office. Most of them have been actual workers so there is always something good in them to fall back on. Besides the A. F. of L. men have been persecuted pretty badly themselves lately, and the rank and file is pretty anxious to get the constitution of the U. S. in force again. I'd like to see them win. They can't be worse than the republican or democratic office holders but chances are they will be better. I believe they will release all class war prisoners and stop railroading more of us to jail. I believe they will sit down on the raiders of halls and restore free speech, free press and free assemblage. That is all I want of them. The rest of their program is all bunk as far as we are concerned, but this is something worth while. I am going to vote for the Labor Party even with the risk of being denounced by the I. W. W. men. That's all there is to it. We can't lose by it, but we might gain a lot if those A. F. of L. men win out with their party."

Having said this, our fellow worker seemed to be greatly relieved. He had confessed what he thought to be an illegal act or a crime according

to the I. W. W. law. After a moment's rest he went on:

"I know you are after politicians like the pound man is after stray dogs, so I thought I would come up and tell you, as I don't want to go and vote on the sly."

Now was our chance to answer.

First we read the preamble together. There it said that we must come together in industrial unions to improve our conditions and abolish wage slavery. But we did not find a word about voting for political parties.

We went through all the pages of the constitution, but still we found nothing to stop members from voting for any party they like to vote for. On the contrary, we found in By-Laws, Art. I, Sect. 1, the following: "No workingman or woman shall be excluded from membership in unions because of creed or color."

Now we went on to explain:

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"All that the I. W. W. demands of its members is that they sincerely endorse the principle of industrial unionism as the frame work of a new society, and that in their actions they act upon the principle that 'an injury to one is an injury to all.' A member should also pay his dues regularly and do his utmost to build up the organization, but for the rest he surrenders none of his freedom.

"You can vote for whatever you like, and expound your beliefs as long as you do not work against the best interests of the organization.

"Any member who thinks he can help the boys in jail by voting, or hopes to stop the persecution against us and restore the constitution into full force by voting for the Labor Party or any other party is perfectly at liberty to do so, as far as the I. W. W. is concerned.

"As an organization we cannot go into politics of any kind, for it would immediately break us up as an organization. Supposing we organize a mining camp of 1,000 men or more and make it 100 per cent I. W. W., as we have in many cases. While these 1,000 men are almost sure to sincerely endorse the industrial union they are very likely divided into several political creeds. Very likely there are those who vote republican or democratic tickets or socialist tickets. There are sure to be many anti-parliamentarians among them. If the I. W. W. were to demand of these 1,000 men that they should all vote for one certain party, we would be sure to burst the union, or we would hold it together only by terrorism.

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"If, on the other hand, you were to come out and agitate for the Labor Party program and tell the workers that industrial unionism is no good, but that they should instead work for the realization of government ownership of public utilities as a means of solving the social problem, then you would come in conflict with our program and the proper thing for you to do would be to withdraw from the I. W. W. Should you be in a 100 per cent organized camp you would get into trouble, as your action then would be a breach of solidarity.

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"In regard to the Labor Party we wish to state that in our opinion they really have good prospects of winning out in some industrial centers, provided their votes are counted. Their program has taken up practically every demand made by liberals, reformers and socialists. It is a regular Christmas tree. They will probably get the votes of everybody who is dissatisfied with the republican or democratic party, and that is about one half of the people. For comprehensiveness there never was a program like it. They are even getting at least one I. W. W. vote, namely your own, by taking up in their program 'amnesty for political prisoners, repeal of the espionage law, free speech, free press and free assemblage.' They are apt to get several I. W. W. votes besides your own on this point. You need not apologize at headquarters for voting for them.

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"To most I. W. W. men the question of voting is of little concern. By looking through the list of our industrial unions you will see that most of our members are migratory workers. These seldom have a chance to vote, as they are unable to comply with the residence qualifications. For the rest a considerable number of our members are foreigners, who now are denied citizenship on account of their membership in the I. W. W. And, besides, the general tendency is to distrust politicians and parliamentary action. But, let us repeat it again, the I. W. W. as an organization does not try to prevent

anybody from voting according to his conviction. We simply have nothing to do with politics as an organization.

"The spirit of our preamble drives many of us to give ourselves entirely to the main thing, the building of the new society inside the old, through industrial organization, dropping everything else as non-essential. We have become a world power through this concentration upon one point, but the cost has been terrific. Many thousands of us have lost our liberty in the last 14 years through this spirit, and we have sacrificed it cheerfully, disdaining the use of the ballot to stop the persecution. The situation is now changed, however. We have millions of friends who would like to free us and to stop the persecution against us. It appears that these friends of ours have made common cause with the Labor Party in order to accomplish this and to restore freedom in general. They consider it better to capture the courts bodily than to plead in them. To ask our own members, who have a vote, to refrain from voting with these friends would be to drive our disbelief in parliamentary action in absurdum. It would be like violently resisting those who would save us from a burning house and allow the flames to consume us, just to prove our already undisputed courage.

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"The Labor Party will get the vote chiefly of the workers in industrial districts and of a large element of liberals, socialists and communists from all classes. But as a large part of the workers are disfranchised, the Labor Party vote is not apt to be overwhelming. Besides, there is in the A. F. of L. a considerable American Legion or 'patriot' element who by orders from above will denounce and resist the Labor Party as 'bolshevik' and un-American and thus split the vote in favor of the profiteers.

"The eventual success of the Labor Party may or may not mean the release of some of our fellow workers in jail, and it may mean free speech, free press and free assemblage at least, but in the final analysis we have no reason to deviate in the least from our program of industrial organization. That work must never stop, and cannot stop.

PROPHECY

**On the face of the rebel
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Could the exploiters read it
They would tremble
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Build more machine guns! —C. O. G.**

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Despite his insidious lying, such as telling Mexicans that some of the other foreigners were spies, and so on, and despite Monores and his open sabotage, the convention adopted a revolutionary program which affiliated Mexican labor with the Third International at Moscow, and with the I. W. W. of the United States.

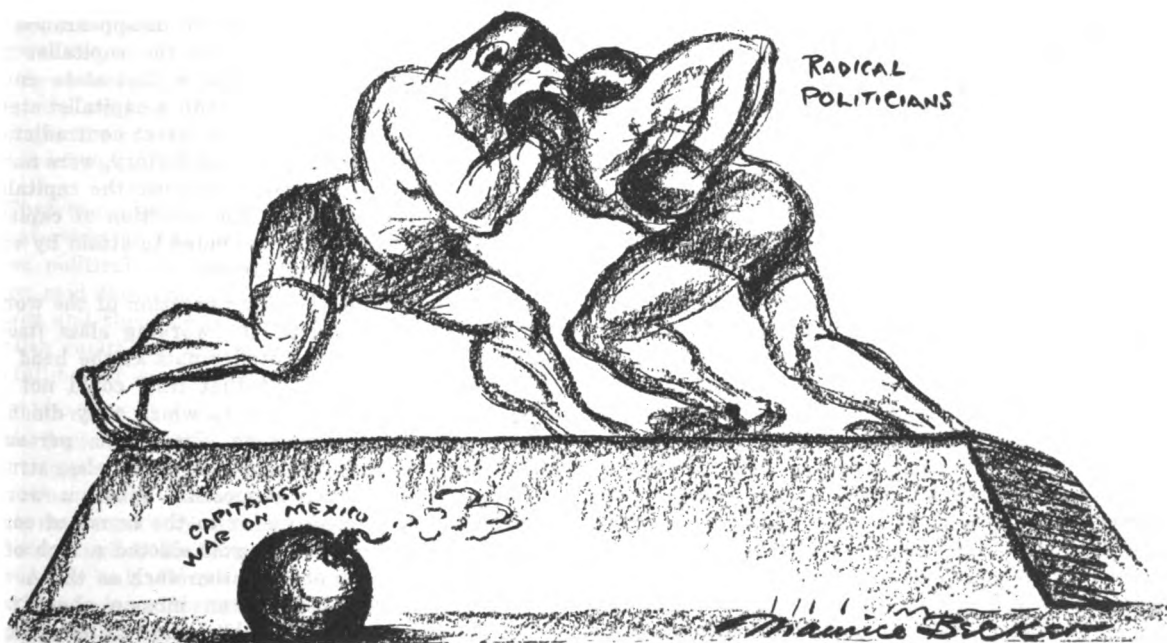
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The delegates went back to their various regions and reports of the congress have been printed in all the regional labor papers, also as a pamphlet. Two new newspapers were started as a result of the congress—"El Soviet" in Mexico City, and the "Industrial Worker" in Vera Cruz. In every section of the republic now the message of the congress has been heard. The general secretary will write for I. W. W. charters when things have been whipped into some sort of shape. The I. W. W. constitution is being translated for the use of the delegates in the various regions, and already several tentative locals have been formed. The big job, however, that the delegates are concentrating on is to get the great regional unions now in existence to unite with the I. W. W. and adopt tactics and aims of this organization.

They are bringing it up at every meeting and in all the labor papers this discussion now rages. The consummation of this work is not far in the future, and when it is accomplished there will be an organization that will fear neither American nor Mexican capitalisms, but will walk steadily on the path that leads to One Big Union all over the world.

(Editor's Note)—In a previous number we published an article sent us by Linn A. E. Gale who is here so strongly condemned. Said article reported the formation of a "Communist Party" in Mexico which also is supposed to have endorsed the I. W. W. The only point upon which the two reports agree is that one Morones is an agent of the Gompers interests. It appears at this distance that the workers of Mexico are having their first experience with the political parties of Socialism. A short period of such experience will probably teach them the necessity of following the example of I. W. W. and organizing apart from all political movements purely as an industrial organization that will include only actual wage workers. Co-operation with political groups will be disastrous in the end.)



care whether the clergymen starve and worry? Have they not always been the contemptible tools of a criminal master class? Have they not always been trafficking in spiritual values in order to keep the workers meek and contended? Have they not always resisted us when we sought to lift ourselves and our fellows out of the mire of poverty, ignorance and oppression? Have not they nearly always, with very few exceptions, taken the rich man's part against the poor, all the while collecting the widow's mite for their own support?

We will not consent to class the clergymen as teachers. We class them with the other "stools" and the "finks" that the capitalist class employs in order to keep the workers down. By teaching science and honest truth-seeking we hope to shame them out of existence some day.

The clerks!—That's another story. Hundreds of thousands of clerks are entirely unnecessary, but that is not the fault of the individual clerk—it is the fault of the system. When capitalism falls, these clerks as well as their masters will be out of luck, for they will be out of a job. For the present all clerkdom is an important social factor to count with. We for our part have discovered the importance of the clerk, but he has not discovered it himself. As a rule the high-collared pen pusher feels immensely superior to the man with overalls and callouses, but that superiority is all vanished when he steps before the boss. Before his master the clerk is generally the most abject, fawning, humiliated creature on earth. He may be half starved, he may be on the verge of desperation from poverty, but he seldom dares to ask for more pay, much less assert his manhood or independence. He obliterates himself as a rule completely and does whatever the master tells him without a murmur of protest.

And still clerkdom holds it in its hands to dictate terms to the masters. All they have to do is to organize and stand together and the roles will be reversed. They will command and the master will obey.

However, we are not particularly interested in clerkdom for its own sake. We want the clerks to organize with those who work with their hands into the industrial union of their industry. Together the manual and clerical workers could as a body take over and run their respective industries without the capitalist. All alone the clerical workers amount to nothing. Together with the manual workers they could have everything their own way against the boss.

Without the clerks, we, the manual workers, sometimes make a mess of our struggles, but if it comes to the worst we can get along without them. The clerks on the other hand can do nothing without the manual workers when it comes to taking over production. The clerks are collectively in possession of the knowledge required for administering the industries. It will be a great day both for them and for us when they break with the boss, who is working them almost to death for a starva-

tion wage and join the manual workers in the same industrial union.

May that day come soon!

Of course the clerk has not the courage just yet to join the I. W. W. The very idea of it is apt to make him drop dead from fright. Still, that is what it is going to come to some day. The clerk will find no other way of salvation for himself.

The writers and the editors!—Well, "the dirtier the work the poorer the pay," is an old saying. That is why the writers and editors often are miserably paid. They do the dirty work of the capitalist class. They are the ones who dump the dirt into fountains of knowledge in order to deceive the people. What do they expect? Any low-down creature is good enough for that kind of work. Many a time we of the I. W. W. have suffered on account of the lies that these writers and editors have told about us. In fact, the tremendous persecution we are now exposed to is almost entirely the result of the lie-campaign in the kept press. This campaign waged against us by paid mental prostitutes has only one bright side for us, and that is that the vile creatures who carry it on are despised and kicked by their own masters and allowed to suffer want.

However, what we have said of the teachers also applies to the editors and writers. We have the right to demand of them that they organize, not for the purpose of getting "a fair day's pay for a fair day's lying" but for the purpose of regaining their freedom, so that they may become men and be able to speak the truth and refuse to speak anything but the truth.

As long as these wretched workers are employed in commercial enterprises they belong in the Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union. When the dissemination of knowledge has ceased to be a commercial function they will properly belong with the teachers.

The high cost of living is driving millions of people to think. It is to be hoped that it will drive the clerical workers to think and open their eyes so that they may see what miserable slaves they are. It is to be hoped that it will drive them to organize, not only for the sake of the pittance that will keep them alive as slaves but for the purpose of taking possession of the earth in common with their brothers and sisters who do manual labor.

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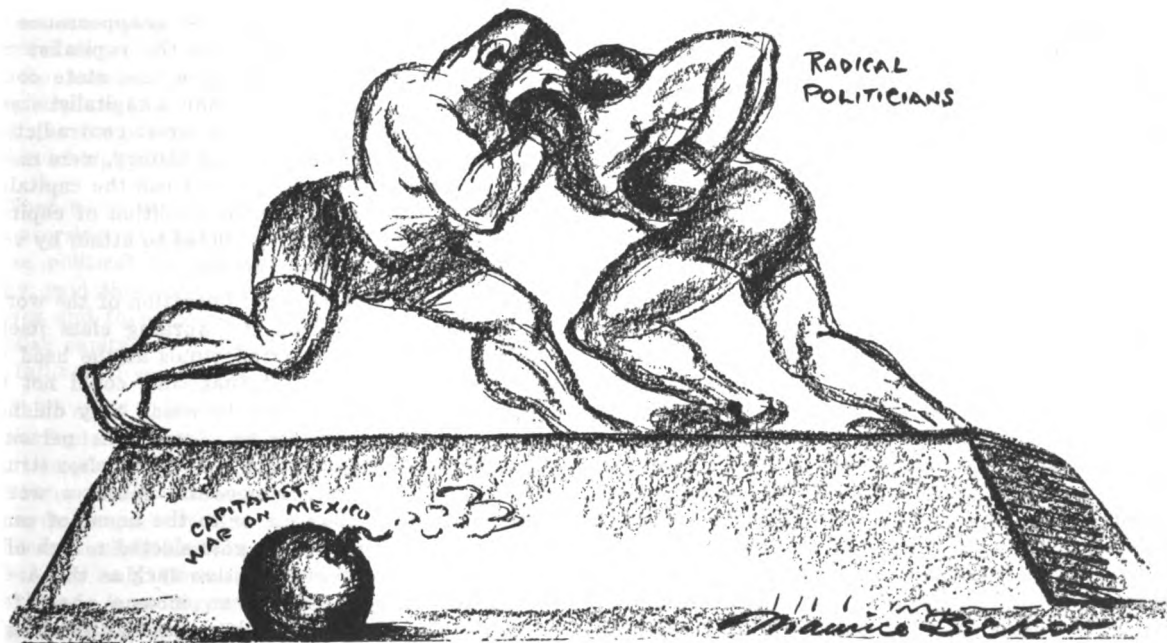
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The delegates went back to their various regions and reports of the congress have been printed in all the regional labor papers, also as a pamphlet. Two new newspapers were started as a result of the congress—"El Soviet" in Mexico City, and the "Industrial Worker" in Vera Cruz. In every section of the republic now the message of the congress has been heard. The general secretary will write for I. W. W. charters when things have been whipped into some sort of shape. The I. W. W. constitution is being translated for the use of the delegates in the various regions, and already several tentative locals have been formed. The big job, however, that the delegates are concentrating on is to get the great regional unions now in existence to unite with the I. W. W. and adopt tactics and aims of this organization.

They are bringing it up at every meeting and in all the labor papers this discussion now rages. The consummation of this work is not far in the future, and when it is accomplished there will be an organization that will fear neither American nor Mexican capitalisms, but will walk steadily on the path that leads to One Big Union all over the world.

(Editor's Note)—In a previous number we published an article sent us by Linn A. E. Gale who is here so strongly condemned. Said article reported the formation of a "Communist Party" in Mexico which also is supposed to have endorsed the I. W. W. The only point upon which the two reports agree is that one Morones is an agent of the Gompers interests. It appears at this distance that the workers of Mexico are having their first experience with the political parties of Socialism. A short period of such experience will probably teach them the necessity of following the example of I. W. W. and organizing apart from all political movements purely as an industrial organization that will include only actual wage workers. Co-operation with political groups will be disastrous in the end.)



The Elements of the Socialist Movement

BY HENRY VAN DORN

Broadly speaking, the elements which today compose the Socialist movement of the world may be divided into two groups: First, the Socialist patriots, or the reformist political Socialists, who are most prominently represented by the German Majority Socialists and the Russian Mensheviks. This group went on record at the Berne Conference as being opposed to Bolshevism. Second, those Socialist and labor organizations that participated, or at least were invited to participate, in the Communist International which met at Moscow on March 2, 1919. This latter group include the Russian Bolsheviks, the Spartacans of Germany, the Italian Socialist party, the Communist parties of America, the I. W. W. of all countries, and the Syndicalist organizations and Communist parties of various European countries. Here should also be included the One Big Union movements of Canada, Spain and Australia.

In order to properly understand the importance and true status of these various elements in the Socialist movement we must first ascertain the reason for the sudden and ignominious collapse of the Second International at the outbreak of the World War. How is to be explained the appalling fact that after many arduous years of education and organization along these lines of scientific Socialism, the many millions of European Socialists, with but insignificant exceptions, forgot at the first sound of the bugle all about the universal brotherhood of the working class and were swept body and soul into the camps of nationalism and imperialism?

The answer is simple: The Second International was not at the outbreak of the war a revolutionary, militant working class movement. Instead, it had developed into a reform movement led by professional middle class journalists, politicians and theoreticians. Acting as the high priests of the movement, they had by over-subtle arguments led their followers from the highway of direct revolutionary action aimed at the quick and complete overthrow of capitalism into devious zigzag paths of petty reforms, political action and compromise with the powers that be, all of which could end in nothing but perplexity and dismay.

The Social Democracy of pre-war Germany was a gigantic institution with a large treasury, which owned hundreds of newspapers and buildings of assemblage, staged entertainments, lectures and concerts, attended to the people's educational and social wants, sent representatives to the Reichstag and embraced within its membership workmen, peasants, doctors, lawyers, small business men, actors, journalists, politicians, in fact everybody and anybody except bankers, big capitalists and big landed proprietors. Its spokesmen and theoreticians were members of the professional and middle-class who had either long ceased or had never had anything

to do with the working class, with its trials and with its misery, nor did they possess, as, for instance, the Russian Revolutionists, the advantage of having suffered for their convictions. Consider the careers of Singer, Bernstein, Kautsky, Scheidemann, Legien, David, Haase. So we see that the German Social Democracy prior to the war was not a proletarian revolutionary movement. This applies also to the reformist orthodox Socialist parties of France, the Scandinavian countries, England, Russia, etc.

Although the leaders of pre-war Socialism constantly cavilled over the interpretation of the teachings of Karl Marx, neither they nor the movements which they represented were Marxian either in theory or in tactics. For instance, they sinned against each of the following three cardinal principles of Marxism: Against the economic interpretation of history, in its practical application to the situation confronting them, against the dictum that the liberation of the working class is the work of the working class itself, and against the postulate that the transition from capitalism to Socialism can only be accomplished through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The economic interpretation of history clearly shows that the shape which the social, judicial, legislative, religious, political and other institutions of any period of society assume is determined primarily by the economic structure of that period of society, in other words, by its mode of producing and distributing the means of livelihood. The implication from this is that the political state under capitalism exists by virtue of its being of service to the capitalist system of production and that it cannot operate in any way except to the benefit of that system of production. With the disappearance of capitalism would disappear also the capitalist political state, but up to such time that state could not possibly be anything else than a capitalist state. Yet these pre-war Socialists, in direct contradiction to the economic interpretation of history, were naive enough to believe that they could use the capitalist state as an instrument for the abolition of capitalism itself, which end they intended to attain by voting and by parliamentary action.

As for the dictum that the liberation of the working class is the work of the working class itself, surely the middle class intellectuals at the head of the Socialist movement at that time could not be expected to liberate a class to which they did not belong, namely, the working class. The personal equation plays a much larger part in the class struggle than is commonly supposed. When a workman is sent to congress or to the house of commons or to the reichstag or gets elected a high official of a large labor organization such as the A. F. of L., and thereby attains an income about ten times the size of his wages, he ceases to be a wage

earner and becomes a member of the middle class, his personal struggle with the world for a livelihood has been brought to a successful end. Henceforward he lives in a state of economic security, subconsciously, at least, he works for a continuation of such a blissful state of affairs, and unless he be a man endowed with an exceptionally forceful character and keen intellect, he is bound to become more conservative day by day. The result is that instead of being a help he becomes a hindrance to a progressive working class movement. If this be the case with an official who springs from the proletariat, how much worse would it not be when the man springs from the professional or the middle class?

There are instances without end to illustrate the truth of the above contention. The rank and file of any working class movement is always more radical than its leaders. As soon as Millerand, Briant, Vandervelde, Guesde, Thomas, rose to the position of cabinet ministers they turned traitor to the working class. When it comes to being reactionary, most of the high salaried officials of the A. F. of L. some of whom receive as much as \$10,000 per year, outstrip their capitalistic brethren. It is sickening to think of the number of strikes that they have sold out. The A. F. of L. will always be an incubus on the backs of the workers of America until it gets rid of these high salaried officials. None of the American Socialist renegades were members of the proletariat: Spargo, Walling, Russell, Stokes, Bohn, Wright, Sinclair; one and all they were either clergymen, journalists, gentlemen of leisure, or what not, anything but workingmen. What could illustrate plainer than this that a non-union workingman cannot be trusted to fight the battles of the working class when the crucial moment comes? The only solution seems to be the policy of the I. W. W., which pays its officials, from the highest to the lowest, a uniform salary somewhat below the average wage of an ordinary worker. Then one may be assured of the unswerving fidelity of these officials, since they are working for an ideal and not for money. And yet the pre-war Socialist movement was in the hands of high salaried, non-working class leaders.

That there might ever arise the necessity for a dictatorship of the proletariat was considered by these political Socialists a laughable impossibility. Why, said they, we will simply vote ourselves into power and then, being the strongest party, we will abolish capitalism and establish Socialism. As easy as falling off a log, said these "Marxians."

Then came the war and the feeble-kneed bourgeois Socialist parties of the Second International went to pieces. They evaporated, faded away into the atmosphere, were simply nowhere around. There were no longer any German Socialists, French Socialists, English Socialists, Belgian Socialists; there were now only Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Belgians. A sadder, more disheartening spectacle our long-suffering earth had never witnessed.

Of course, there were factions which had not so entirely forgotten the mission of revolutionary Socialism. These minorities of the Left Wing of the Second International convened in the fall of 1915 at Zimmerwald, Switzerland. But the conference again split into two camps, the Social Pacifists, led by Kautsky, and the Communists, led by Lenine. From that time on the Communists gained rapidly in numbers and in power, the climax coming with the Russian Communists, or the Bolsheviki, seizing the reins of government in November, 1917.

The Social Pacifists developed into the Independent Socialists of Germany, who with the fall of the Kaiser, began to play quite an important role in German political life. However, being infused with characteristic middle class indecision they have vacillated between the reactionary Majority Socialists and the extremist Spartacans. In the future they are bound to identify themselves with either the one or the other of these opposing forces.

The Italian Socialist party was the one noteworthy exception to the collapse of the European Socialist parties at the outbreak of the war. Notwithstanding the treachery of Mussolini, former editor of *L'Avanti*, the party's daily organ, and of De Ambris, leader of the Syndicalists, the party officially never came out in favor of the war. To this day it has unflinchingly stood for the principles of revolutionary Socialism and for the proletarian revolution, war or no war. That is the reason why the Italian Socialists may be reckoned on doing great things once they get started in cleaning their country of capitalism.

Ever since the Bolsheviki came into power the French Socialists have been drifting more and more towards the left. Prior to the war Jean Longuet was the leader of a negligible minority, but from the 1918 party congress he emerged as the leader of a radical majority. He in turn is in danger of being overshadowed by Loriot who is an out and out Communist and will have nothing to do with the moribund Second International. The Berne conference was the occasion for forty-one social patriots, headed by Albert Thomas, breaking away from the radical majority—and a good riddance it was! So we see the Communist sentiment growing stronger in France every day, and the time may not be far off when the French Socialists will stand solid for the proletarian revolution.

The decisive role in France will be played, however, by the Federation Generale du Travail. On its policy depends the future of the revolution. With its two million members who are becoming imbued with the spirit of revolutionary industrial unionism, it will decide the fate of France.

The English worker is also steadily drifting towards Communism. The Shop Stewards' Movement is a sign that the workers are beginning to take things into their own hands. The purely political Socialist group in England is an insignificant one, and we must look to the big industrial unions for the overthrow of capitalism. This cannot be ac-

complished by political action in any country where capitalism has attained a high stage of development.

The Russian, German and Hungarian revolutions proved beyond the shadow of a doubt the utter futility of parliamentary action. The Kaiser, the King were not overthrown by the ballot, but by the bayonet. In other words, by force. And again, when the Bolsheviki superceded the feeble, blundering bourgeois Socialist government of Kerensky they did not vote themselves into power. They simply took that power. Ever since that memorable day of Nov. 7, 1917, the criterion by which to gauge the usefulness to the working class of the various Socialist and labor elements throughout the world has been their readiness to use direct, uncompromising mass and industrial action for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of industrial democracy. Let me mention here in passing that Bolshevism or Communism is nothing more nor less than dynamic Socialism, or Socialism in practice.

Even since 1903 when the Bolsheviki became a distinct party in the Russian Social Democracy they have maintained a policy of no coalition and no compromise. Everything or nothing, was the their watchword. But nevertheless they were a political not an industrial organization. Their success was due mainly to three factors: First, the incredible corruption and rottenness of the Tzarist regime, second, that they early recognized the futility of pure political action and directed their efforts toward the seizing and organizing of the industrial bodies known as Soviets. As is well known, Trotzky was the president of the first Petrograd Soviet, organized in 1905. Third, that Russia is an agricultural country with only a small percentage of the population engaged in industrial pursuits, has no middle class to speak of, but had a large, illiterate, inert peasant population which by being given land, bread and peace was won over to the side of the Communists. Under these circumstances the Bolsheviki went over the top for Socialism. However, let us not make the mistake of supposing that the tactics which succeeded in Russia will succeed in other more highly developed capitalistic countries, which present an entirely different industrial and social complexion.

Let us take, for instance, Germany. Upon the overthrow of the Kaiser the Majority Socialists

captured the political state. But since the industries continued to be owned and operated by the financiers and capitalists and the land by the junkers, the capitalist political state, which only exists by virtue of being serviceable to capitalism, could function only for the preservation of the capitalist regime. Thus, notwithstanding its Socialist office holders, it was an obstacle in the path of the progressing working class. And so we come across the sorry and paradoxical spectacle of the Socialist Noske slaughtering his fellow Socialists by the thousands upon the streets of Berlin and in every nook and corner of Germany. The Communists, under the leadership of Liebknecht, Luxembourg and Mehring, put up a brave fight, but wave after wave of Spartacan uprisings was ruthlessly put down in Berlin, Hamburg, Bavaria, Dusseldorf. From the latest reports it seems that the German workers are coming to realize that by simply following the Bolsheviki tactics of mass action they will not get rid of capitalism, and are now organizing in revolutionary industrial unions. When these unions will grow strong and efficient enough to take over and run industry then will the proletarian revolution in Germany become an accomplished fact.

The same cleavage which developed between the Majority Socialists and the Spartacans in Germany, between the followers of Albert Thomas and those of Longuet in France, has developed between the Socialists of every other country. The Socialist party of the United States by its St. Louis platform took a stand alongside the Italian Socialists as being wholeheartedly opposed to the capitalistic war. The social patriots, traitors of the ilk of Spargo, Russell and Bohn, were thus gotten rid of early in the game. Nevertheless, sooner or later the party had to take issue with Bolshevism, with the inevitable result that the Left Wing elements were expelled from the party by its standpat, political action high priests, who are the American counterpart of Ebert, Scheideman, Kerensky, Thomas and Henderson. Thus were born the Communist parties of America.

Slowly, but surely, Socialist workingmen are emancipating themselves from the fallacy that wage slavery can be abolished through parliamentary action. Reluctantly they part with their hope of political power, but as the final collapse of capitalism approaches they begin to discover that industrial unionism is the solution of the social problem.

EXPLOITERS OF BODY AND MIND

He who takes life's necessities
Because he is strong,
And whips into submission
With the lash of hunger,
IS NO WORSE
Than the man with the distorted mind
Who raves of hell and damnation
And seeks to bind the weak
To the fear of God.

—C. O. G.

INCENTIVE

Waiting for a street car
Dinner pail on arm,
In the greasy, smelly, smoky bottoms
Of Kansas City
Was an old, old man.
And the look on his face
Was the look of a man
Lost in a deep forest,
With a great fear of starving.

—C. O. G.

The Plight of the Clerical Workers

By JOHN SANDGREN

From Harvey's Monthly for November we quote the following:

"Are there, then, any real sufferers from the war and the war's aftermath reactions? Ask the teachers, the clergymen, the clerks, the writers, the editors, the tens and tens of thousands of professional and semi-professional men, the men and women of small incomes sufficient for their modest needs before this orgie of high prices, but now cut to half and less than half in purchasing power, and at this day spelling deprivation to the verge of want where before they spelled a modest independence. These are the real after-the-war sufferers. Their name is legion.

Compared with current living expenses, the salaries paid to clerks, to teachers, to writers, to editors, to clergymen are derisory. Likewise they are an infamy.

Where other salaries and other wages have gone up, here they have either stood still or increased by figures that are niggardly. Men and women of learning, of the highest attainments, those on whom depends the education of American children, the moral guidance of the American people, are paid salaries that a hodcarrier or bricklayer or a stevedore would scorn. It is this submerged, unorganized, inarticulate middle group, the very flower of the country's intelligence, the group on which we all depend to maintain the Republic through clear thinking and staunch fidelity to basic American principles and traditions—it is upon these that the present-day burden of living-cost falls with crushing weight. It is they who shoulder their disproportionate share of the ever-increasing load shoved upon the consumer's and the rent-payer's shoulders by the granting of extortionate labor union demands; by conscienceless profiteers; by reckless waste of Government funds wrung from the country's overburdened taxpayers.

They have been a patient lot thus far, these real sufferers from the war's inevitable consequences. Their voices are seldom heard in complaint. They are inarticulate and unorganized. But the thing cannot go on forever. Either salvation must be worked out in some way and soon for this vast group, or we shall pay the penalty by seeing them join the turbulent forces of unrest and disintegration. And when that happens, sheer ruin will not be far away. When such Americans as these cannot earn enough money to live their frugal lives and educate their children, then indeed is there danger ahead."

The fellow worker who sends us the above clipping writes underneath: "Moral: Organize or starve."

For our part we cannot suppress a vindictive "serves you right," even though we should not give

vent to any vindictiveness towards any group of wage workers.

Why this vindictiveness on our part against the high-collared gentry?

The teachers we have harsh feelings against because they have refused to organize. As a result of their disorganized state they are not only kept down to starvation wages and abject slavery, but they have also lost something much more valuable, namely their independence as teachers. For fear of losing the pittance by which they live they are helping the masters to poison and warp the minds of our children in order to make them submissive slaves also. It certainly is a crime and a disgrace to allow those who teach our children, to suffer from want and care, but that is what the teachers get for licking the boots of profiteering hucksters and the property owning class in general, with which class they have absolutely nothing in common. The masters always treat with contempt the cringing slaves who do their bidding without protest. They have done the same with us all while we were as foolish as you are. Look at us agricultural workers, lumber workers, miners and construction workers before we started to organize. We were driven to desperation and hopelessness and perished by the thousands from want and suffering and we were hunted like wild animals and a bounty was set upon our heads as vags. We were treated as criminals and outcasts. Since we started to organize this has changed for the better, and we now would "scorn" to work for your wages," as the writer in Harvey's magazine points out.

We have not accomplished much yet, but we feel that we owe you no sympathy. Do as we did. "Organize or starve." But we are particularly anxious that you teachers should organize, not merely in order that you might obtain the freedom from worry and care that a teacher absolutely should have, but principally in order that you might regain your spiritual independence in order that you may be able to teach the children the truth and nothing but the truth. If all the teachers were organized, the criminal capitalist class would not be able to pollute and poison the sources of knowledge from which the child or the young people gain their knowledge. In the interest of our children and of all mankind we have the right to demand of you that you organize and make yourselves absolutely independent of all the influences that seek to control you out of impure motives. We want you to teach our children to seek truth instead of cramming them full of vicious misinformation and crippling their intelligence and enslaving their spirit to the masters.

The clergymen!—Why should we, the workers,

care whether the clergymen starve and worry? Have they not always been the contemptible tools of a criminal master class? Have they not always been trafficking in spiritual values in order to keep the workers meek and contended? Have they not always resisted us when we sought to lift ourselves and our fellows out of the mire of poverty, ignorance and oppression? Have not they nearly always, with very few exceptions, taken the rich man's part against the poor, all the while collecting the widow's mite for their own support?

We will not consent to class the clergymen as teachers. We class them with the other "stools" and the "finks" that the capitalist class employs in order to keep the workers down. By teaching science and honest truth-seeking we hope to shame them out of existence some day.

The clerks!—That's another story. Hundreds of thousands of clerks are entirely unnecessary, but that is not the fault of the individual clerk—it is the fault of the system. When capitalism falls, these clerks as well as their masters will be out of luck, for they will be out of a job. For the present all clerkdom is an important social factor to count with. We for our part have discovered the importance of the clerk, but he has not discovered it himself. As a rule the high-collared pen pusher feels immensely superior to the man with overalls and callouses, but that superiority is all vanished when he steps before the boss. Before his master the clerk is generally the most abject, fawning, humiliated creature on earth. He may be half starved, he may be on the verge of desperation from poverty, but he seldom dares to ask for more pay, much less assert his manhood or independence. He obliterates himself as a rule completely and does whatever the master tells him without a murmur of protest.

And still clerkdom holds it in its hands to dictate terms to the masters. All they have to do is to organize and stand together and the roles will be reversed. They will command and the master will obey.

However, we are not particularly interested in clerkdom for its own sake. We want the clerks to organize with those who work with their hands into the industrial union of their industry. Together the manual and clerical workers could as a body take over and run their respective industries without the capitalist. All alone the clerical workers amount to nothing. Together with the manual workers they could have everything their own way against the boss.

Without the clerks, we, the manual workers, sometimes make a mess of our struggles, but if it comes to the worst we can get along without them. The clerks on the other hand can do nothing without the manual workers when it comes to taking over production. The clerks are collectively in possession of the knowledge required for administering the industries. It will be a great day both for them and for us when they break with the boss, who is working them almost to death for a starva-

tion wage and join the manual workers in the same industrial union.

May that day come soon!

Of course the clerk has not the courage just yet to join the I. W. W. The very idea of it is apt to make him drop dead from fright. Still, that is what it is going to come to some day. The clerk will find no other way of salvation for himself.

The writers and the editors!—Well, "the dirtier the work the poorer the pay," is an old saying. That is why the writers and editors often are miserably paid. They do the dirty work of the capitalist class. They are the ones who dump the dirt into fountains of knowledge in order to deceive the people. What do they expect? Any low-down creature is good enough for that kind of work. Many a time we of the I. W. W. have suffered on account of the lies that these writers and editors have told about us. In fact, the tremendous persecution we are now exposed to is almost entirely the result of the lie-campaign in the kept press. This campaign waged against us by paid mental prostitutes has only one bright side for us, and that is that the vile creatures who carry it on are despised and kicked by their own masters and allowed to suffer want.

However, what we have said of the teachers also applies to the editors and writers. We have the right to demand of them that they organize, not for the purpose of getting "a fair day's pay for a fair day's lying" but for the purpose of regaining their freedom, so that they may become men and be able to speak the truth and refuse to speak anything but the truth.

As long as these wretched workers are employed in commercial enterprises they belong in the Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union. When the dissemination of knowledge has ceased to be a commercial function they will properly belong with the teachers.

The high cost of living is driving millions of people to think. It is to be hoped that it will drive the clerical workers to think and open their eyes so that they may see what miserable slaves they are. It is to be hoped that it will drive them to organize, not only for the sake of the pittance that will keep them alive as slaves but for the purpose of taking possession of the earth in common with their brothers and sisters who do manual labor.

THE BIRTH

The Gods had gathered all the blood
That for freedom had been shed,
And dipped within a cloth of white:
Thus came out a flag of red.

The gods then gave this gift to man,
Bequeathed it unto slaves,
That it should strengthen brotherhood
In every land it waves.

—C. O. G.

The Labor Party and the I. W. W.

By JOHN SANDGREN

A fellow worker dropped in on us the other day and laid his spiritual troubles before us much in the manner as a sinner goes to confession. He was under a terrible pressure when he came but he was light of heart when he left. It was all due to a misunderstanding on his part.

"I don't care a rap what the I. W. W. says," it came in a torrent, "but I am going to vote for the new Labor Party. I do not give a rap for the program of the Labor Party either. I don't want any of their government ownership, or their Plumb plan, or their initiative and referendum, but there has got to be a change in the personnel of officialdom and pretty quick, too. Look what these tools of Wall street are doing with us I. W. W. men. They are trampling the constitution under foot and openly defying it. They have now put over a thousand of us in jail. They are making a mockery of justice. They are using it to 'sandbag' us with. They are clubbing us and murdering us and are holding us for months and years without trial. Their courts are hotbeds of iniquity where we are given the rawest kind of a deal. I say, we must put this whole bunch out of office, or they will slowly but surely torment our organization to death. They are in cahoots with bogus patriots who raid our halls and club us and rob us and lynch us. Did you ever see one of those raiders punished by the officers of the law? Nary a one! We have got to drive them out soon or they will get our goat."

He paused for breath, and then continued:

"I have no use for the A. F. of L. leaders neither as unionmen nor as politicians, but they can't be worse than those now in office. Most of them have been actual workers so there is always something good in them to fall back on. Besides the A. F. of L. men have been persecuted pretty badly themselves lately, and the rank and file is pretty anxious to get the constitution of the U. S. in force again. I'd like to see them win. They can't be worse than the republican or democratic office holders but chances are they will be better. I believe they will release all class war prisoners and stop railroading more of us to jail. I believe they will sit down on the raiders of halls and restore free speech, free press and free assemblage. That is all I want of them. The rest of their program is all bunk as far as we are concerned, but this is something worth while. I am going to vote for the Labor Party even with the risk of being denounced by the I. W. W. men. That's all there is to it. We can't lose by it, but we might gain a lot if those A. F. of L. men win out with their party."

Having said this, our fellow worker seemed to be greatly relieved. He had confessed what he thought to be an illegal act or a crime according

to the I. W. W. law. After a moment's rest he went on:

"I know you are after politicians like the pound man is after stray dogs, so I thought I would come up and tell you, as I don't want to go and vote on the sly."

Now was our chance to answer.

First we read the preamble together. There it said that we must come together in industrial unions to improve our conditions and abolish wage slavery. But we did not find a word about voting for political parties.

We went through all the pages of the constitution, but still we found nothing to stop members from voting for any party they like to vote for. On the contrary, we found in By-Laws, Art. I, Sect. 1, the following: "No workingman or woman shall be excluded from membership in unions because of creed or color."

Now we went on to explain:

"While the word 'creed' probably was intended to mean religious conviction, it may readily be construed to mean also political creeds or ideas, and convictions in any other field.

"All that the I. W. W. demands of its members is that they sincerely endorse the principle of industrial unionism as the frame work of a new society, and that in their actions they act upon the principle that 'an injury to one is an injury to all.' A member should also pay his dues regularly and do his utmost to build up the organization, but for the rest he surrenders none of his freedom.

"You can vote for whatever you like, and expound your beliefs as long as you do not work against the best interests of the organization.

"Any member who thinks he can help the boys in jail by voting, or hopes to stop the persecution against us and restore the constitution into full force by voting for the Labor Party or any other party is perfectly at liberty to do so, as far as the I. W. W. is concerned.

"As an organization we cannot go into politics of any kind, for it would immediately break us up as an organization. Supposing we organize a mining camp of 1,000 men or more and make it 100 per cent I. W. W., as we have in many cases. While these 1,000 men are almost sure to sincerely endorse the industrial union they are very likely divided into several political creeds. Very likely there are those who vote republican or democratic tickets or socialist tickets. There are sure to be many anti-parliamentarians among them. If the I. W. W. were to demand of these 1,000 men that they should all vote for one certain party, we would be sure to burst the union, or we would hold it together only by terrorism.

"You are, consequently, perfectly at liberty to vote for the Labor Party if you see fit."

"If, on the other hand, you were to come out and agitate for the Labor Party program and tell the workers that industrial unionism is no good, but that they should instead work for the realization of government ownership of public utilities as a means of solving the social problem, then you would come in conflict with our program and the proper thing for you to do would be to withdraw from the I. W. W. Should you be in a 100 per cent organized camp you would get into trouble, as your action then would be a breach of solidarity.

But as long as you content yourself with voting merely in order to get a change of officials, we have no objection. There is a great difference between voting for certain persons and agitating for a program that ignores or combats industrial unionism.

"In regard to the Labor Party we wish to state that in our opinion they really have good prospects of winning out in some industrial centers, provided their votes are counted. Their program has taken up practically every demand made by liberals, reformers and socialists. It is a regular Christmas tree. They will probably get the votes of everybody who is dissatisfied with the republican or democratic party, and that is about one half of the people. For comprehensiveness there never was a program like it. They are even getting at least one I. W. W. vote, namely your own, by taking up in their program 'amnesty for political prisoners, repeal of the espionage law, free speech, free press and free assemblage.' They are apt to get several I. W. W. votes besides your own on this point. You need not apologize at headquarters for voting for them.

"Whether you will be disappointed or not is hard to tell. We still remember how the 'Labor Party' administration in San Francisco, in 1906, sent a large squad of police to club and disperse a labor demonstration of some 10,000 people, mostly A. F. of L. members, who were protesting in behalf of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. Australia has had labor governments for years, and still the I. W. W. and other workers are persecuted. Germany has a social democratic government that is drowning in blood the efforts of our fellow workers as well as of the left-socialists. The Labor Party is apt to be as tyrannical as any. It might go back on its program when once elected.

"To most I. W. W. men the question of voting is of little concern. By looking through the list of our industrial unions you will see that most of our members are migratory workers. These seldom have a chance to vote, as they are unable to comply with the residence qualifications. For the rest a considerable number of our members are foreigners, who now are denied citizenship on account of their membership in the I. W. W. And, besides, the general tendency is to distrust politicians and parliamentary action. But, let us repeat it again, the I. W. W. as an organization does not try to prevent

anybody from voting according to his conviction. We simply have nothing to do with politics as an organization.

"The spirit of our preamble drives many of us to give ourselves entirely to the main thing, the building of the new society inside the old, through industrial organization, dropping everything else as non-essential. We have become a world power through this concentration upon one point, but the cost has been terrific. Many thousands of us have lost our liberty in the last 14 years through this spirit, and we have sacrificed it cheerfully, disdaining the use of the ballot to stop the persecution. The situation is now changed, however. We have millions of friends who would like to free us and to stop the persecution against us. It appears that these friends of ours have made common cause with the Labor Party in order to accomplish this and to restore freedom in general. They consider it better to capture the courts bodily than to plead in them. To ask our own members, who have a vote, to refrain from voting with these friends would be to drive our disbelief in parliamentary action in absurdum. It would be like violently resisting those who would save us from a burning house and allow the flames to consume us, just to prove our already undisputed courage.

"However, the I. W. W. members should make themselves no illusions in regard to the success of the Labor Party. There is 'the solid South,' where the workers are mainly black. These cannot vote. Then there is the country population. The farmers are said to control about 40 per cent of the vote. The Labor Party will get little of that. The farmers may be opposed by 'big business,' but they prosper with the profiteers.

"The Labor Party will get the vote chiefly of the workers in industrial districts and of a large element of liberals, socialists and communists from all classes. But as a large part of the workers are disfranchised, the Labor Party vote is not apt to be overwhelming. Besides, there is in the A. F. of L. a considerable American Legion or 'patriot' element who by orders from above will denounce and resist the Labor Party as 'bolshevik' and un-American and thus split the vote in favor of the profiteers.

"The eventual success of the Labor Party may or may not mean the release of some of our fellow workers in jail, and it may mean free speech, free press and free assemblage at least, but in the final analysis we have no reason to deviate in the least from our program of industrial organization. That work must never stop, and cannot stop.

PROPHECY

**On the face of the rebel
Is writ a prophecy.
Could the exploiters read it
They would tremble
And hurriedly
Build more machine guns! —C. O. G.**

The Story of the I. W. W.

by HAROLD LORD VARNEY

CHAPTER 11.

Aftermaths of a Great Strike.

The winning of the Lawrence strike was stunning in its significance. It revealed new vistas of opportunity. Ten weeks before, the I. W. W. had been a vaguely defined social theory, emanating from the West and grappling half-heartedly for a hold in the East. In the light of the Lawrence victory, it stood transformed. The innocuousness of obscurity was shed. In less than a hundred days, it had become a household word and a national issue. An editorial writer in the Survey Magazine hailed the Lawrence strike as the greatest victory that labor had ever won.

The result, of course, was soon felt in terms of numbers. The hordes of the faint hearted who are ever on the wait to discover the winning side, began to swarm in. Before the strike, St. John estimated the entire paid-up membership of the I. W. W. as 10,000. After the strike, the membership shot up to almost 100,000. This growth was mostly felt in the East, a portion of America where the I. W. W. had never previously gained a foothold. The natural habitat of the I. W. W. is in the West and the most prodigious efforts had never before succeeded in transplanting it. But, as long as the glamor of the Lawrence victory lasted, the entire policy of the I. W. W. was reversed and turned eastward. The members believed that such victories could be duplicated in all the large unskilled industrial centers of the East. Intoxicated with optimism, they believed that Lawrence heralded a tidal wave which would sweep millions into their organization. It was nearly three years before they fully realized their mistake and its cause. Famous as it was, the I. W. W. had not even yet matured. It was to go through still another transformation.

There were several reasons why the I. W. W. of the Lawrence-Paterson period went down in failure. First, it over-estimated its strength. The Lawrence victory was no criterion of its possibilities although it was interpreted as such. The Lawrence victory was largely accidental. The hideous blunders of the mill owners, gave the I. W. W. an advantage. The fact that the organization was new and unknown, caught the employers' association off their guard. The cleverness with which Ettor and Haywood played for and won popular sympathy, was an immense factor. This favorable conjecture of advantages might win a victory once, but it would be unreasonable to expect it again.

Another reason which many members attribute, lies in the form, itself, of the organization. The I. W. W., like the W. F. of M. in its early days, never signs contracts. When a strike is won, it depends upon the individual action of its members to maintain a closed shop, rather than upon a mandatory contract with the boss. Now these tactics, like all labor union tactics, is of varied value. In the West, where it originated, it is both possible and sufficient. There, employers are small and disunited. The western worker is militant, often migratory, and trained in individual action.

Conditions just the opposite prevail in the East. Gigantic combinations of employers must be defeated. The workers are timid and often cowardly. The unskilled are largely foreigners. Such workers are only militant when they move in groups. For the individual action of the West, we must substi-

tute mass action, when we come east. It was by mass action that Lawrence had been won. Only by a mandatory mass unionism could the fruits be retained.

The mistake of the I. W. W. probably lay in its endeavor to stretch the western tactics to cover an opposite eastern condition. Only the spur of compulsion would have held that great polyglot mass of strikers in the union, once the spell of the strike was forgotten. Their individual initiative was too undeveloped to be relied on.

Perhaps unionism, without contracts, could be secured in the East by a powerful and wealthy union. It certainly could not be won by the I. W. W. as it existed in 1912.

This conflict of the practical and the ideal has arisen again and again in the struggles of the organization. It is a tribute to the sincerity of the I. W. W., to acknowledge that it never has sacrificed the ideal to adopt the practical. But, in the sense that the end justifies the means, perhaps it would have been better had they sometimes done so. The hard fought fruits of Lawrence and McKee's Rocks might have remained in their grasp. The volatile hordes of the mill towns might have been bound to the I. W. W. by chains too powerful to break. Individual initiative, on a great scale, comes after organization; it never precedes it.

As it was, the results of this period were lost by overconfidence. The phase of the I. W. W. that characterizes the years 1912-15 was the revolutionary phase. During this period, the I. W. W. presents itself as a great strike leader, rather than as a great organization. Wonderful and dramatic struggles were waged. But the close of the period finds the I. W. W. just as small as at the beginning.

But, at first, it seemed as though Lawrence was going to be the making of a big organization. Some 7,000 members were initiated in Lawrence, alone. Other textile centers fell in line. The settlement of the strike had automatically raised the scale of wages in all the other mill towns. In Lowell, the I. W. W. had called a strike in the middle of the Lawrence struggle. The bosses in Lowell had immediately granted an increase to all their 25,000 employees. Thousands of workers in Fall River, Nashua, Holyoke and other textile centers found themselves earning higher wages because of the Lawrence victory.

Naturally, these workers furnished a willing field for I. W. W. propaganda. The National Industrial Union of Textile Workers began to boom. A general office was opened in Lawrence with William Yates as general secretary. Locals sprang up in every city in New England. Probably 25,000 to 30,000 members came into this industrial union. Elsewhere, and in other industries, the same spirit of growth was felt. A number of small and successful strikes were waged during this period.

The sharpest and bitterest of these strikes broke out in Little Falls, N. Y. Although the number of men involved was not large, it is doubtful whether any struggle of the I. W. W. was ever waged with more passion and desperation than characterized this strike.

Little Falls is a little industrial city, seated between a mountain and a river in the northern part of New York state. Its sole industry is its big knitting mills. Here, a large foreign population find employment. Everything was peaceful until a reduction in pay stirred up the smouldering fires

of discontent in October, 1912. This reduction came in precisely the same manner as it had in Lawrence, by an enactment of a state law reducing the hours of labor. Learning of the reduction, the 1,500 foreign workers rushed spontaneously out of the mills. Some of the leaders immediately sent for the I. W. W. and Benjamin J. Legere was sent in to take charge. Legere, who had taken an active part in the Lawrence strike, acted as chairman of the strike committee. Associated with him were Fred Hirsch, Philip Bochino, an Italian organizer, and Ben Schragar, a Polish organizer. The strike committee and the chain picket line, the two essential tactics which had won the strike in Lawrence, were here employed again. An almost perfect discipline was instilled into the workers.

Of course, there was little sympathy for the strike among the English-speaking citizens of Little Falls. The majority of the English-speaking workers remained in the mills and scabbed. Chief of Police Long, imported 30 gunmen and commissioned them for strike duty. The old story of brutality was enacted again. But in outside support, the strikers were rich.

One of the first visitors was Mayor Lunn, of Schenectady, who came to Little Falls with a large delegation of Schenectady socialists. Standing up on a box in Clinton Park, near the mills, Lunn endeavored to address the strikers. He was pulled from the box and placed under arrest and a large group who followed him were sent to jail with him. The city officials quickly receded in their policy toward Mayor Lunn, although they continued to be consistently abusive toward all I. W. W.'s. Chief Long blatantly announced, "We have a foreign element on our hands. We have always kept them in subjection and we intend to in the future. We will allow no outsiders to butt in." Thoroughly did he keep his word. He kept away the outsiders at the point of the gun and the club. He choked the jails with his victims. And with the loyal support of the "respectable," he succeeded, once more, in thrusting the foreign workers back into their "subjection" to a \$7 a week wage.

On October 30, Chief Long precipitated a riot. One of the young girls was beaten to the ground as she passed the Phoenix mill in the long picket line. Quickly, the other strikers sprang to her defense. A terrible fight followed, in which the strikers, men and women alike, were clubbed into insensibility. Two shots were fired, one of which struck one of the gunmen in the leg.

Using this melee as a pretext, Long raided the strike meeting that night in Slovak Hall. Legere was the man whom he sought but, to his chagrin, he found that both Legere and Schragar had suddenly disappeared. The officers indulged in a regular "rough house." The audience was clubbed and huddled against the wall. Furniture was smashed. The instruments of the Slovak brass band were wantonly beaten and battered. Pictures were stripped from the wall. All the members of the strike committee were arrested and dragged to jail.

A curious incident in connection with this raid was the fact that Legere and Schragar were in the building all the time. Upon the first rumor that the police were approaching, they had rushed upstairs and concealed themselves under the eaves of the roof. The police had completely overlooked this possibility and the two organizers remained in concealment for hours, not daring to climb out for fear that the place was still guarded by police. The next morning, Joe Schmidt arrived in Little Falls and, knowing nothing about the raid of the previous night, proceeded directly to the Slovak Hall. Recognizing his voice, the two fugitives hailed him and

he released them from their hiding place. They escaped from Little Falls unobserved and Legere sent away necessary instructions to the General Office from Utica. He then returned to Little Falls, but was arrested immediately upon arrival and charged with being accessory to the shooting of the policeman. Bochino was included with him on this charge. After the conclusion of the strike, Legere and Bochino were convicted of this offense and served sentences of a year and three months in the Auburn penitentiary.

Instead of breaking up the strike machinery by their wholesale arrests, the city officials only strengthened the determination of the strikers. Many outsiders, undaunted by Legere's fate, came into the city to help. Big Bill Haywood came for a few days and helped to shake the strike committee into shape. Matilda Rabinowitz, Legere's sweetheart, came from Bridgeport and did splendid work in operating a relief station. John Macy, the well known author and educator, himself a member of the I. W. W., threw himself into the fight. Helen Keller, the blind prodigy, lent her influence in the fight by writing a beautiful letter of sympathy to the strikers.

The city officials became more and more tyrannical. All parading, all demonstrations, all picketing, was broken up. To continue the picketing, an ingenious scheme was fixed upon by the strikers. Nearly all the scabs were being imported from Utica. Picketing was, therefore, transferred to Utica and was carried on spectacularly, at the terminal.

The evening strike meetings were the only open means of keeping the strikers together. A wonderful skill was demonstrated in the conduct of these meetings. Of oratory, the strikers soon wearied. In its place, programs of amusement were given at which latent talent of the strikers was fully encouraged. All were given a part to do and so, through the twelve weary weeks of the strike, their interest never flagged.

Golden's organization, the U. T. W., reappeared in Little Falls and attempted the same disruption which they had practiced in Lawrence. Several A. F. of L. men joined Chief Long's force of sluggers and tried their utmost to defeat the strike. The outcome of Little Falls was not completely favorable to the I. W. W. In the settlement, the strikers won the wage concessions which they had sought. But in spite of all the energy which was expended, there was no permanent I. W. W. organization left in Little Falls. The active I. W. W. sympathizers were discriminated against and driven from the district.

Little Falls attained a publicity altogether disproportionate to the size of the strike. The significance of it lay, not so much in the number of men involved, but in the militancy with which the fight was waged. In Little Falls, the I. W. W. tactics were developed to an extreme degree of efficiency. Had the I. W. W. gained job control, we could characterize it as a perfectly conducted strike. At least, it helped to diffuse, still further, the fearsome reputation of the new union.

While Little Falls was still in progress, another chapter was being written in Lawrence. The settlement of the Lawrence strike had left Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso still in the clutches of the law, charged with the unbailable crime of murder. As an aftermath to the strike, the resultant defense campaign was remarkable in its immensity and success. Every resource of the entire I. W. W. organization was thrown behind the defense.

A defense committee was chosen, immediately at the close of the strike. The names of the members

of this committee will give an indication of the ability of its persons. William D. Haywood was chairman, William E. Trautmann was secretary and William Yates, afterwards Fred W. Heslewood, was treasurer of the committee. Other members were Thomas Holliday, Edmond Rossoni, Ettore Giannini, James P. Thompson, Guido Mazerrelli, Francis Miller, August Betellenaire, Ben J. Legere, Josephine Liss and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Great mass meetings were arranged all over New England. Local defense councils were formed in all the large cities. Defense fund tours were made by those members of the committee who were speakers.

A publicity department was established under the charge of Justus Ebert. So efficient did this department become that, at one time, a thousand publications were being supplied with daily copy. Much support was given the case by Italian papers and organizations, who felt a particular sympathy for the defendants because the race issue had been exploited against them.

Political pressure was also employed. Italian socialists rallied to the occasion in Italy. Giovannitti was still an Italian citizen and the Italian government was petitioned to come to his assistance. Socialist deputies brought the case up on the floor of the Italian Parliament and a clever propagandic move was made by nominating Giovannitti for parliament in his old home district. The Swedish syndicalists also co-operated by proposing a general boycott of American made goods, in case Ettore and Giovannitti were convicted. This suggestion was amplified by the transport workers of France and Australia, who voted to refuse to unload American ships. As the agitating progressed, it seemed as though it was fated to develop into an American Dreyfus case. But, through the nine long months, while agitation was raging without, Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso sat nonchalantly in the Salem jail. Ettore prepared a propaganda pamphlet while Giovannitti employed his time in developing rare abilities as a poet.

In Lawrence itself, the sentiment was all for a general strike, for the day when the trial opened. On Sept. 12, 1912, a great mass meeting in the Common was thronged by thousands who shouted for a general strike. But the I. W. W. leaders feared that a general strike would be a body blow to the future of the organization. The union was not yet organized thoroughly enough to secure the support of all the mill workers. Less than half the workers carried cards in the I. W. W. If the strike were called and proved a failure, it would mean the end of the I. W. W. in Lawrence. The splendid organization that they had worked so hard to build, might be swept away.

On September 25, a great general mass meeting of all the workers was called for a discussion of this subject. Thousands packed the streets and surrounded the big hall where the I. W. W. had its headquarters. In view of the inadequacy of the hall, the meeting was held in the street and the speakers addressed the crowd from the open windows. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Carlo Tresca, in English and Italian, urged the workers to avoid a strike.

But the infectious temperament of revolutionary unionism is unrestrainable. It broke out into a strike, even over the decision of the central committee of the union. A rumor ran amongst the workers that Ettore and Giovannitti themselves had appealed to them to strike. Although the rumor was groundless, it broke all the bonds of restraint. In a great spontaneous surge, the workers once more burst out of the mills in a three day demonstration. For the first time in the American labor movement, workers struck for an ideal. The sordidness of

economic motives was set aside. The political general strike, the famous tactics of European revolutionists, was rearing itself, for the first time, in America. In this respect, the second Lawrence strike, stands alone in its significance.

But, as a general strike, it was a failure. Two reports had gone out, one that the workers must strike, the other, that they should remain at work. In the confusion bred of this contradiction, many of the workers remained in the mills. Only about 8,000 responded. In other textile cities, similar walkouts occurred.

A great memorial parade was held on Sunday, Sept. 29, in honor of Anna La Pizza and John Rami, the two victims of the first Lawrence strike. Hundreds of workers came in from other cities on special trains in order to participate. The strikers turned out en masse. Banners and streamers carrying the words, "No God, no Master." Bands of music marched in the procession. At the head was Carlo Tresca, the famous Italian agitator. The police determined to halt the parade and break it up. A big squad of police were concealed on a side street and deployed suddenly, before the advancing parade. Forming a human wall, they blocked Essex street from sidewalk to sidewalk. The strikers advanced, not a man wavering. Tresca marched along as though the street were as clear, ahead of him, as it was behind. Through the living mass of police, the great body of paraders hurled themselves. There was a riot. Men were beaten into insensibility. Scores were packed into patrol wagons and carried away. The parade broke up in the melee.

Spurred on by their success in this affair, the politicians and mill owners commenced a campaign of terrorism. Hints of the formation of vigilante committees were noised about Lawrence. The conclusion of the three day strike did not quench this movement; it seemed to enhance it. A great so-called "patriotic" meeting was called by Mayor Scanlan, in which an orgy of abuse ended in open incitements to violence. It is a miracle that murder was not committed by the frenzied mill owners and their dupes. Father Reilly, the Catholic priest, incensed by the "No God" allusion on the banners, surpassed all others in the lawless vituperation that he hurled at the "outside agitators."

It was whispered about Lawrence that Big Bill Haywood would be lynched upon his arrival. Every precaution was taken by the I. W. W. to insure his safety. Vincent St. John had sent a message to the city marshal, serving notice that the I. W. W. would hold him personally responsible for Haywood's safety. This had its effect. A great crowd surrounded the station when Haywood arrived. His friends had an automobile waiting, engine throbbing, into which he could leap as soon as he alighted from the train. But a blunder was committed. Haywood got into the wrong car and was whisked away before his friends could reach him. Struck by consternation, the members feared that Haywood had been captured by vigilantes. It was several hours later when their suspense was relieved by learning that Haywood had been taken in hand by a body guard, detailed by the city marshal himself.

In the heat of the crisis, Scanlan and his "patriots" arranged a Flag Day celebration for Oct. 12, Columbus Day. A great parade was held in which workingmen were conspicuous by their absence. To avoid the possibilities of a riot, the I. W. W. called a counter celebration for the same day, at a park, three miles out of Lawrence. Here, in spite of a drizzling rain, 4,000 people gathered and cheered themselves hoarse as they listened to speeches by Haywood, Heslewood, Gurley Flynn, Tresca, Adamson and ex-Mayor Cahill.

Amid these tumultuous scenes, the trial at Salem proceeded. It was very difficult to secure a jury.

Many of the talesmen were obsessed of the idea that the I. W. W. would use violence upon the jury in case the verdict was unfavorable. Three weeks were spent in the examination of talesmen. An unusually favorable jury was at last empaneled. For five weeks, the taking of testimony proceeded. The I. W. W. was splendidly represented, legally. George E. Roehrer of Boston, W. Scott Peters, John P. S. Mahoney and James H. Sisk were the local counsel. Judge O. N. Hilton of Denver and Fred H. Moore of Los Angeles represented the class struggle point of view for the defendants. From first to last, it was an I. W. W. case. The organization, rather than the individuals, was on trial. Ettor and Giovannitti recognized this fact in their attitudes.

The prosecution had no case at all. By misquoting and putting incendiary interpretations into the strike speeches of the defendants, District Attorney Attwill endeavored to fasten the accountability upon them. An interesting point developed during the trial, was the fact that, at the Wood mill, a decrease in efficiency of twelve per cent had been noted, since the strike. The effect of the I. W. W. in lowering the productivity of labor has always been held to be the most reprehensible of its characteristics.

It would be mere repetition to enumerate the points brought out in the trial. The evidence was but a resume of the leading incidents of the strike. Judge Quinn revived an old, obsolete custom by permitting the defendants to speak for themselves after the attorneys had made their plans. Ettor and Giovannitti were quick to avail themselves of this privilege and the jury retired with the fervent challenge of the I. W. W. ringing in their ears. The addresses of Ettor and Giovannitti were classics of their kind. They have since been published by the I. W. W. The note of compromise was never even approached. It was vindication that they sought, vindication not only for themselves, but for the great social ideals of which they were spokesmen. And vindication came in the form of an unqualified

acquittal. On Nov. 23, 1912, the prison doors swung open and Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso stepped out, free men once more. They were greeted with an ovation by throngs of fellow workers who felt, as one of them expressed it, that "Ettor and Giovannitti belonged forever now to the working class, because the working class had bought and paid for them."

Back Ettor came to Lawrence, the scene of his great success and the beginning of his great suffering. Everywhere the grateful workers turned out to greet him. On Thanksgiving Day over 5,000 people stood for two hours in a raging snow storm and listened to his address. Ettor followed up his Lawrence reception by a great tour of agitation from coast to coast. Everywhere the significance of the victory in Salem was hailed and celebrated. The I. W. W. had won its second Lawrence battle.

The organization in Lawrence remained intact only a short time longer. The three-day sympathetic strike had drawn the line openly between the militants and the conservatives in the mills. Upon this basis the bosses began a clever discrimination. Group by group the leading spirits of the I. W. W. were let out. A rigid blacklist drove many of these men out of Lawrence. In order to scatter the men still further the Lawrence mills were shut down for a long period of time and the orders filled in other plants. When the mills reopened again there was no semblance of I. W. W. control. Powerless to defeat the I. W. W. in open combat, the bosses had accomplished their end with infinite ease by the astuteness of diplomacy.

The National Industrial Union of Textile Workers was moved to Boston and held its nuclei together in every textile center. But it was finding it increasingly difficult to collect dues from its members when once the glamour of achievement was subdued. Another great textile strike came in the very nick of time and revived the flagging interest. But before we describe the Paterson strike, we will pause to recount the progress of the other branches of the I. W. W.

Alcatraz

Rock o' hell of Frisco Bay,
 Rock of the burning light,
 Breaking the souls of men by day,
 Crushing their souls by night.
 Robbing the joy out of the hour,
 Wasting good lives away
 Deep in the dungeon under the tower,
 Rock o' hell of Frisco Bay!

Rock o' hell of Frisco Bay,
 Place of the living dead,
 With every morning breaking gray
 To another day of dread;
 Sink far down into the deep
 And hide beneath the spray,
 You cause so many hearts to weep—
 Rock o' hell of Frisco Bay.

—C. O. G.

The Planer Slave

He fed the planer,
 This man;
 All day long he stood
 Cramming frantically,
 Feeding the iron beast
 With flat pieces of wood.
 The iron beast roared:
 Faster! Faster!
 The man hurried
 And breathed lumber dust.
 He made lots of money—FOR HIS MASTER,
 But one day the iron beast was silent,
 And the man never came back
 To feed the thing that roared:
 Faster! Faster!
 He was a good slave,
 This man,
 And the good die young!

—C. O. G.

The Conscience of A Dum-Dum Bullet

BY QUASIMODO VON BELVEDERE

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Chapter II

In Which the Author Ventures to Feel the Pulse of the Proletariat's Temper and Scorches His Hand

I realized that if I was to become a great leader of the Reds and was to conduct their revolutionary scheme to a successful abortion, I must mingle with them; that I, to gain readily their confidence, in my external appearance, must resemble one of them. All this necessitated a comprehensive preparation; not only have I ceased to shave, but also to wash and to change my laundry; and I slept with my clothes on. Thus by the first of July, after I practiced proletarian habits for full six weeks, I acquired so wretched an appearance that I resembled the ideal of a Bolshevik even more closely than Nicolai Lenin himself, and I feel that I was in a sufficiently propitious shape to go to Chicago and shake hands with my unwashed "brothers." Everything was prepared for our journey and we entrained for Chicago on July 2. We traveled in an ordinary Pullman car with the common people and arrived in Chicago in due time.

Having ceased socially to exist as one of the great lords of industry I could not have resumed residence in my mansion on Sheridan Road; hence, I assumed a funny Russian name (which I cannot disclose here) and established myself in a regular hobo bunkhouse in North Clark street. In addition to securing these quarters, I had Matys to rent in his own name a respectable apartment nearby in which to conduct my business affairs, and to which I had Matys to transport secretly all my mail, such as required my personal attention.

During three weeks I associated with all sorts of rebelliously inclined working men, attended several of their meetings, but was unable to get a definite conception of their political aspirations. However, at the decline of the month of July, as I was perambulating up Clark street and meditating upon my future glory as the political Moses of the proletariat, and at the same time the saviour of my own patrician caste, my attention became attracted to a soap box orator and a group of men assembled around him at the miniature park in front of Newbery library. The man must have been preaching for a long time already because he showed symptoms of exhaustion. I only caught a few of his words about capital and labor having nothing in common. Then he announced that Miss Leshetitzky was released from the Federal penitentiary several days ago, that she was in Chicago and was scheduled that night to address this audience. "I am tired," he admitted. "I prolonged my speech only to hold the crowd here until she arrived; her time is past due, and it seems that something is delaying her, so if there is a speaker in the audience

he is welcome to the soap box until she arrives." In a flash I got an inspiration that this was an opportunity to make my debut as a Bolshevik orator, and I threw up my hand involuntarily and exclaimed that I would like to take the rostrum for a few minutes.

My offer was accepted, but when I mounted the box I realized that I really did not know what to say. I was facing a serious embarrassment when I recollected the concluding words of the professional orator, so I annexed them as a nucleus for my speech. "Comrades and fellow citizens," I cried, "I come from Minnesota. I am a hunter and a trapper. The former speaker was right when he said that we have nothing in common with capital. Strabo and Aristophanes have said the very same thing, only in Grecian language—I won't repeat the exact words because you would not understand them. And when St. Paul commanded the slaves to obey their masters he did not mean to say that their interest was common. He simply was solicitous about the skin of the slaves, anxious to keep it from the harsh contact of the master's whip. If we obey our masters we simply do so to keep out of jail." I noticed signs of impatience in the crowd, so I thought I had better become more radical. "It is like this:" I continued. "When I am attending to my profession in the woods my interest is conflicting with that of the foxes and minks and the beavers—my interest is to get their skins and theirs is to keep them, don't you see?" The audience exploded into a tremendous applause and shrieks of bravo. When the applause subsided, I resumed my speech. "There is a similar discrepancy between yours and your bosses' interest. You ought to be careful how to vote. If I was to be elected to an important public office I would honestly look after the interest of the working man. I would boost your wages; I would fight for your personal liberties, see to it that beer and schnaps is restored to you, so that you could resume your pursuit of happiness. I thank you for your kind attention." I stepped off the box. There was only a feeble applause for the second part of my speech, which I deemed the best and the most important.

A big, black Negro mounted the box immediately after I stepped off. "I want to say a few words to the trapper from Minnesota," he cried, unceremoniously emphasizing his words with both of his fists, "as long as working men will continue to repose their hope of redemption from the hell of wage slavery into the fickle and treacherous hands of the politicians they shall remain wage slaves. Parliamentarism is obsolete. The proletariat has recently discovered a better remedy for its political and economic emancipation. We, the Industrial Workers

of the World, are already applying this new paregoric to all our social abrasions—and I will say to you, brother trapper, that it is as effective as a dum-dum bullet. So magically effective are our politics that the 'captains of industry', who always were after our skin, are trembling with mortal apprehension about their own. Before the props upon which the profit system rests are completely broken, the most effective way of exacting from our industrial vampires a greater fraction of the fruit of our toil is by keeping a brake upon production. On the other hand, we know that the surest way of inviting our enemies to step upon our neck is by creating over-production. I thank everybody who can understand me and who can read the signs of the times."

His speech was applauded with as spontaneous a fury as the first part of mine. I became dumb-founded to hear such anarchistic utterances, and from a Negro. This must have caused George Washington to turn over in his grave.

When the applause subsided the regular pulpiteer announced the arrival of Miss Leshetitzky and introduced her to the audience.

The woman was about 30 years of age. Her pale, haggard face was rendered prominently characteristic by a pair of lustrous eyes blazing forth penetratingly like the eyes of a wolf. Resting upon me, her sight eclipsed mine and made me feel strangely uncomfortable, causing my entire body to shiver. I wondered who could this woman be whose mere look causes me to tremble like a goat confronting a tiger. Were I no longer one of the most formidable sharks in the great ocean of this, Uncle Sam's democracy? "Dear fellow workers," the woman serenely addressed the audience. "Were it not for the black plague of capitalism the world would be a happy place in which to live, because the whole of Nature is a work of sublime ingenuity; likewise the mind of man is treblant with germs of romance and adventure. Naturally, I would like to talk to you about music, poetry or other noble arts; however, I am constrained to propound the old distasteful subject about the epidemic of profits and its, in recent years, increased virulence. I beg you to believe me that I can engage in such dissertation only with a supreme repugnance. The foremost point of my mission is to arouse in you abhorrence for work under the present system, because it is upon your toil that the dragon of capitalism is feeding; should you cease pampering it, that is to say, should you stop all production, the monster would die in a short time and you would be permitted to rise to the full dignity of man, to which you were intended by your creator. All the nefarious acts of capitalism are disguised by some attractive mask; liquor has not been taken away from you to enhance your morality but to make you more efficient. Cannot we summon enough courage to fling the gauntlet into the insolent face of the apostles of efficiency and profit? One by one your scant liberties and the traits of your manhood and dignity are being fed

up to the moloch of profit. You can no longer make pretense to social superiority over domestic animals; to make hog or cattle husbandry a profitable business necessitates the unsexing of most of the male members of their breed. A similar efficiency scheme is now being experimented with upon man. I understand that some states have already adopted it, and are even now rendering your brothers into eunuchs. Your masters respect neither human nor Divine laws. They would not hesitate for a moment to extirpate your brains if their profits could thereby be benefited. In fact, hundreds of your brothers have already had their brains clubbed out of their head because they dared to interfere with their masters' profits." The woman paused for breath and immediately a deafening applause and savage shrieks exploded in the audience. I never witnessed such a spectacle before. The whole scene revealed to me the immense scope of human passion. I realized that when the temper in the mob becomes as grouchy as that, only machine guns can quiet it.

The soul of the entire proletariat was so completely possessed with the evil spirit of revolt that I also realized that my ambition of becoming their political pope was a fallacy; only a fool would attempt to pat a mad dog. I elbowed my way out from among the frenzied mob and went to my bunk house.

When I reached the hotel office I telephoned to Matys and ordered him to bring me a decent suit of clothes from my wardrobe at my mansion, and to have my chauffeur appear with one of my closed cars at the eastern entrance of Medinah Temple. (The reader can make a fair guess at my reasons for not having ordered the car to appear at the entrance of my "hotel"). The two hours, which were requisite for the proper execution of my orders given to Matys, I spent at a nearby barber shop. So when Matys came with my clothes he found my personal appearance again resembling a human being. Thus terminated my ambitious Bolshevik career.

(To be continued)

In the next chapter of the great Von Belvedere's autobiography will be disclosed the amazing secret of how his prodigious intellect was enlisted to combat the impending revolt of the steel slaves, and how he advised Judge Albert Garcia to have constructed in advance and stored in readiness a portable wooden bastille with a capacity for 10,000 agitators.

MODERN SHYLOCKS

I saw an Ad in the paper
 For a man
 Who was strong
 And willing to work.
 I knew (and nothing was said of it)
 That what was wanted
 Was not one pound of my flesh,
 But all of it.

—C. O. G.

Has the I. W. W. a Monopoly of Industrial Organization?

A Letter From An Hotel and Restaurant Worker and the Answer Thereto

Fellow Worker:—

Your letter has been unanswered all this time, due to the pressure of routine work, which seldom leaves us any time at these headquarters for incidental correspondence, however important.

You take exception to a sentence in the report of Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union No. 1100, I. W. W., in the August number of the "One Big Union Monthly," stating that "the hotel and restaurant workers are deceived into believing that 'The International Federation of Workers in the hotel, restaurant, club and catering industry' is an industrial union."

To disprove this statement of ours, you quote from your own preamble: "The Workers must organize and combine industrially on the economic field on the principle of the class struggle." Further, you state that "the immediate aim of the federation is shorter hours, increasing wages, better working conditions, abolition of tips and 'to co-operate with all other workers who struggle for the abolishment of the wage system for the complete emancipation of labor.'"

You further ask some questions:

(1) Are you depending upon co-operation with us, or do you regard us as an enemy, the same as the A. F. of L.?

(2) What is your official attitude toward our organization? Do you mean to capture us by means of propaganda, education and leaflets, just as "left" tries to capture "right" in the Socialist Party?

(3) Is the I. W. W. holding monopoly in industrial union organization?

In answer, allow us to state the following:

The wording of your preamble, as quoted by yourself, is all right as far as it goes. But it does not go very far. It leaves out the most essential function of an industrial union. It advises the workers to "co-operate with all other workers who struggle for the abolishment of the wage system for the complete emancipation of labor."

We of the I. W. W. hold that there is no way of completely emancipating the workers and abolishing the wage system except by organizing industrially in such manner that these unions will be capable of serving as the productive and distributive organs of the new society, as organs by means of which the workers will be able to dispossess the present owners and take their place in the social system.

The wording of your preamble gives the impression that it was written by and voted for by political socialists or revolutionists without any real appreciation of the possibilities of an industrial union as the productive organ of the future. It leaves the impression that your federation pledges itself to support mainly the attempts of some groups of workers to achieve emancipation via the road of socialist or communist politics. Had it meant that

the union was to be built as the productive or distributive organ of the future, it would probably have said so, just as the I. W. W. preamble states. It is in this important matter that we consider that your federation falls short of being a real industrial union.

We still have the impression that it is merely a trades union that is waving the red flag, presumably of political socialism, in its preamble, without taking any practical steps for the organizing of a new social order.

Furthermore we hold that no union can justly claim to be an industrial union in the proper sense of the term as long as it aspires to be a separate or independent body. A real industrial union must be part of a greater organization comprising the whole society. It must be in the ONE BIG UNION, as No. 1100 of the I. W. W. is.

Now to your questions. We will answer Question No. 3 first.

Is the I. W. W. holding monopoly in industrial union organization?

Answer: Certainly not. On the contrary, we realize that our resources and possibilities are quite limited, while at the same time we have raised such a storm of resistance against ourselves that we frequently are unable to get a footing in many industries. Not only do we not claim a monopoly of industrial union organization, but we are anxious that the workers everywhere help us to carry the terrible burden which we have taken upon ourselves. We fervently hope and wish that the workers in every industry will of their own accord and through their own efforts re-align themselves along industrial lines in real industrial unions. We positively rejoice in seeing such efforts. We know that when they have perfected their organization to real industrial unions, they will automatically and voluntarily join the twenty-one industrial unions which are now gathered under the battle-worn banner of the I. W. W. But such junction will and cannot take place before such unions have clearly understood that our purpose is to organize the unions as the framework of the new society. Unless and until they are so built and with that purpose, they do not properly belong with us.

Next we will answer question No. 2.

"What is the official attitude of the I. W. W. to our federation?"

"Do you mean to capture us by means of propaganda, education and leaflets, just as 'left' tries to capture 'right' in the Socialist Party?"

Our official attitude toward your federation is that we consider you as an imperfect industrial union somewhat imbued with class consciousness in contradistinction to the regular A. F. of L. trade unions. In fact, we consider it industrial practically in name only, but are happy to note that in your preamble

you give a partial endorsement to the industrial form of organization.

We are not particularly in a hurry to capture your organization. In fact, we never capture organizations. We sow the seed of our propaganda broadcast. In this manner we are making converts to our cause without number, converts who in most cases do not carry an I. W. W. card. You have hundreds of them within your organization. To the limit of their ability these cardless I. W. W. men work upon their surroundings, tirelessly, without end, until they have gained enough converts to either swing the whole body or start a new I. W. W. organization. The campaign of the I. W. W. union most nearly corresponding to yours is countrywide. New locals are being formed everywhere, even without organizers, simply under the pressure of economic conditions and guided by our agitation and education. Thus we foresee the day when your federation will come into the I. W. W., not as a captive of union warfare, but as a triumphant convert to our ideas and principles.

Finally, let us answer your question No. 1:

"Are you depending upon co-operation with us, or do you regard us an enemy, the same as the A. F. of L.?"

First, we want to correct your misconception, that we are the enemy of the A. F. of L. That is only partially true. We are the enemy of the craft union principle and of the principle that capitalism and wage slavery shall continue permanently. We reject absolutely such A. F. of L. principles, as you will understand from a study of our own principles. We are also enemies of such A. F. of L. leaders as have proven themselves traitors to the cause of labor, but as far as the membership of the A. F. of L. is concerned, we are very good friends with them, as a rule. With most of them there is nothing the matter, except that they are deplorably ignorant on the questions that workers above all, ought to know. In numberless strikes we have co-operated with them, sharing the victory or defeat. In numberless battles they have betrayed us and scabbed on us, but we still do not consider them as our enemies. They are just ignorant and therefore, sometimes, vicious. So we try to educate them, and we are making a great success. Craft unionism is breaking up under the incessant blows of our agitation and education. We look forward to the day when the mass of the A. F. of L. will stand on our own platform. It is slowly but surely going that way.

Do we regard your federation as an enemy? Indeed not. Will we co-operate with you? We will not co-operate with you in building up a trade union with leaning toward socialist politics. We will not co-operate with you either in parliamentary action or so-called mass action. But we will as individual members, co-operate with you in your struggles with the master class for the highest demands that you will make. The I. W. W. members and friends always fight to the finish in such

cases. But we will not co-operate with you in building up your federation, seeing that it is not built on what we consider the correct principles.

Unquestionably you would all be with us, if we only had succeeded in making your members acquainted with the principles of the I. W. W. But that we have not done yet. As time goes on, your members will learn all about our principles and knowing them is accepting them.

For this reason we shall go ahead with our work as if your federation did not exist. Some day in the near future, we feel certain that you will understand us and you will then voluntarily range yourselves in the lines of Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union No. 1100, I. W. W., joining with us in preparing the workers of this industry for the taking over and running of this most important branch of human activity, as a part of the department of Public Service.

There are other so-called "industrial unions" and federations similar to yours, and we take the same stand towards them.

With greetings of fellowship to the members of your federation, I am

Yours for Industrial Communism,
ERNEST HOLMEN,

Sec'y-Treas. H., R. and D. W. I. U. No. 1100,
I. W. W.

HAIL TO THE FREE

O but his strength is mighty now
And his voice is a thundering blast!
No master-knave can hold him slave
As in the nightmare of the past.

The terror of that shattered power
That once he fought in vain,
And the falling whip in the master's grip
Shall never rise again!

For now he's running free and wild,
With head no longer bowed.
Great is his wrath and broad his path,
Woe to the rich and proud.

—C. O. G.

GIVE TO ME

Give me the fire of the rebel's heart,
And I'll cleanse the world from shame,
And burn like weeds the filthy deeds
Of those who battle with the flame!

Give me the dream of the rebel's brain,
And I'll laugh to scorn the fools
Who dare not rise from the bed of lies
That the tyrant makes and rules!

Give me the strength of the rebel's arm,
And I'll have the strength to mold
A perfect place for the human race,
And freedom for the bold!

—C. O. G.

The Story of the I. W. W.

by HAROLD LORD VARNEY

CHAPTER 11.

Aftermaths of a Great Strike.

The winning of the Lawrence strike was stunning in its significance. It revealed new vistas of opportunity. Ten weeks before, the I. W. W. had been a vaguely defined social theory, emanating from the West and grappling half-heartedly for a hold in the East. In the light of the Lawrence victory, it stood transformed. The innocuousness of obscurity was shed. In less than a hundred days, it had become a household word and a national issue. An editorial writer in the Survey Magazine hailed the Lawrence strike as the greatest victory that labor had ever won.

The result, of course, was soon felt in terms of numbers. The hordes of the faint hearted who are ever on the wait to discover the winning side, began to swarm in. Before the strike, St. John estimated the entire paid-up membership of the I. W. W. as 10,000. After the strike, the membership shot up to almost 100,000. This growth was mostly felt in the East, a portion of America where the I. W. W. had never previously gained a foothold. The natural habitat of the I. W. W. is in the West and the most prodigious efforts had never before succeeded in transplanting it. But, as long as the glamor of the Lawrence victory lasted, the entire policy of the I. W. W. was reversed and turned eastward. The members believed that such victories could be duplicated in all the large unskilled industrial centers of the East. Intoxicated with optimism, they believed that Lawrence heralded a tidal wave which would sweep millions into their organization. It was nearly three years before they fully realized their mistake and its cause. Famous as it was, the I. W. W. had not even yet matured. It was to go through still another transformation.

There were several reasons why the I. W. W. of the Lawrence-Paterson period went down in failure. First, it over-estimated its strength. The Lawrence victory was no criterion of its possibilities although it was interpreted as such. The Lawrence victory was largely accidental. The hideous blunders of the mill owners, gave the I. W. W. an advantage. The fact that the organization was new and unknown, caught the employers' association off their guard. The cleverness with which Ettor and Haywood played for and won popular sympathy, was an immense factor. This favorable conjecture of advantages might win a victory once, but it would be unreasonable to expect it again.

Another reason which many members attribute, lies in the form, itself, of the organization. The I. W. W., like the W. F. of M. in its early days, never signs contracts. When a strike is won, it depends upon the individual action of its members to maintain a closed shop, rather than upon a mandatory contract with the boss. Now these tactics, like all labor union tactics, is of varied value. In the West, where it originated, it is both possible and sufficient. There, employers are small and disunited. The western worker is militant, often migratory, and trained in individual action.

Conditions just the opposite prevail in the East. Gigantic combinations of employers must be defeated. The workers are timid and often cowardly. The unskilled are largely foreigners. Such workers are only militant when they move in groups. For the individual action of the West, we must substi-

tute mass action, when we come east. It was by mass action that Lawrence had been won. Only by a mandatory mass unionism could the fruits be retained.

The mistake of the I. W. W. probably lay in its endeavor to stretch the western tactics to cover an opposite eastern condition. Only the spur of compulsion would have held that great polyglot mass of strikers in the union, once the spell of the strike was forgotten. Their individual initiative was too undeveloped to be relied on.

Perhaps unionism, without contracts, could be secured in the East by a powerful and wealthy union. It certainly could not be won by the I. W. W. as it existed in 1912.

This conflict of the practical and the ideal has arisen again and again in the struggles of the organization. It is a tribute to the sincerity of the I. W. W., to acknowledge that it never has sacrificed the ideal to adopt the practical. But, in the sense that the end justifies the means, perhaps it would have been better had they sometimes done so. The hard fought fruits of Lawrence and McKee's Rocks might have remained in their grasp. The volatile hordes of the mill towns might have been bound to the I. W. W. by chains too powerful to break. Individual initiative, on a great scale, comes after organization; it never precedes it.

As it was, the results of this period were lost by overconfidence. The phase of the I. W. W. that characterizes the years 1912-15 was the revolutionary phase. During this period, the I. W. W. presents itself as a great strike leader, rather than as a great organization. Wonderful and dramatic struggles were waged. But the close of the period finds the I. W. W. just as small as at the beginning.

But, at first, it seemed as though Lawrence was going to be the making of a big organization. Some 7,000 members were initiated in Lawrence, alone. Other textile centers fell in line. The settlement of the strike had automatically raised the scale of wages in all the other mill towns. In Lowell, the I. W. W. had called a strike in the middle of the Lawrence struggle. The bosses in Lowell had immediately granted an increase to all their 25,000 employees. Thousands of workers in Fall River, Nashua, Holyoke and other textile centers found themselves earning higher wages because of the Lawrence victory.

Naturally, these workers furnished a willing field for I. W. W. propaganda. The National Industrial Union of Textile Workers began to boom. A general office was opened in Lawrence with William Yates as general secretary. Locals sprang up in every city in New England. Probably 25,000 to 30,000 members came into this industrial union. Elsewhere, and in other industries, the same spirit of growth was felt. A number of small and successful strikes were waged during this period.

The sharpest and bitterest of these strikes broke out in Little Falls, N. Y. Although the number of men involved was not large, it is doubtful whether any struggle of the I. W. W. was ever waged with more passion and desperation than characterized this strike.

Little Falls is a little industrial city, seated between a mountain and a river in the northern part of New York state. Its sole industry is its big knitting mills. Here, a large foreign population find employment. Everything was peaceful until a reduction in pay stirred up the smouldering fires

of discontent in October, 1912. This reduction came in precisely the same manner as it had in Lawrence, by an enactment of a state law reducing the hours of labor. Learning of the reduction, the 1,500 foreign workers rushed spontaneously out of the mills. Some of the leaders immediately sent for the I. W. W. and Benjamin J. Legere was sent in to take charge. Legere, who had taken an active part in the Lawrence strike, acted as chairman of the strike committee. Associated with him were Fred Hirsch, Philip Bochino, an Italian organizer, and Ben Schragger, a Polish organizer. The strike committee and the chain picket line, the two essential tactics which had won the strike in Lawrence, were here employed again. An almost perfect discipline was instilled into the workers.

Of course, there was little sympathy for the strike among the English-speaking citizens of Little Falls. The majority of the English-speaking workers remained in the mills and scabbed. Chief of Police Long, imported 30 gunmen and commissioned them for strike duty. The old story of brutality was enacted again. But in outside support, the strikers were rich.

One of the first visitors was Mayor Lunn, of Schenectady, who came to Little Falls with a large delegation of Schenectady socialists. Standing up on a box in Clinton Park, near the mills, Lunn endeavored to address the strikers. He was pulled from the box and placed under arrest and a large group who followed him were sent to jail with him. The city officials quickly receded in their policy toward Mayor Lunn, although they continued to be consistently abusive toward all I. W. W.'s. Chief Long blatantly announced, "We have a foreign element on our hands. We have always kept them in subjection and we intend to in the future. We will allow no outsiders to butt in." Thoroughly did he keep his word. He kept away the outsiders at the point of the gun and the club. He choked the jails with his victims. And with the loyal support of the "respectable," he succeeded, once more, in thrusting the foreign workers back into their "subjection" to a \$7 a week wage.

On October 30, Chief Long precipitated a riot. One of the young girls was beaten to the ground as she passed the Phoenix mill in the long picket line. Quickly, the other strikers sprang to her defense. A terrible fight followed, in which the strikers, men and women alike, were clubbed into insensibility. Two shots were fired, one of which struck one of the gunmen in the leg.

Using this melee as a pretext, Long raided the strike meeting that night in Slovak Hall. Legere was the man whom he sought but, to his chagrin, he found that both Legere and Schragger had suddenly disappeared. The officers indulged in a regular "rough house." The audience was clubbed and huddled against the wall. Furniture was smashed. The instruments of the Slovak brass band were wantonly beaten and battered. Pictures were stripped from the wall. All the members of the strike committee were arrested and dragged to jail.

A curious incident in connection with this raid was the fact that Legere and Schragger were in the building all the time. Upon the first rumor that the police were approaching, they had rushed upstairs and concealed themselves under the eaves of the roof. The police had completely overlooked this possibility and the two organizers remained in concealment for hours, not daring to climb out for fear that the place was still guarded by police. The next morning, Joe Schmidt arrived in Little Falls and, knowing nothing about the raid of the previous night, proceeded directly to the Slovak Hall. Recognizing his voice, the two fugitives hailed him and

he released them from their hiding place. They escaped from Little Falls unobserved and Legere sent away necessary instructions to the General Office from Utica. He then returned to Little Falls, but was arrested immediately upon arrival and charged with being accessory to the shooting of the policeman. Bochino was included with him on this charge. After the conclusion of the strike, Legere and Bochino were convicted of this offense and served sentences of a year and three months in the Auburn penitentiary.

Instead of breaking up the strike machinery by their wholesale arrests, the city officials only strengthened the determination of the strikers. Many outsiders, undaunted by Legere's fate, came into the city to help. Big Bill Haywood came for a few days and helped to shake the strike committee into shape. Matilda Rabinowitz, Legere's sweetheart, came from Bridgeport and did splendid work in operating a relief station. John Macy, the well known author and educator, himself a member of the I. W. W., threw himself into the fight. Helen Keller, the blind prodigy, lent her influence in the fight by writing a beautiful letter of sympathy to the strikers.

The city officials became more and more tyrannical. All parading, all demonstrations, all picketing, was broken up. To continue the picketing, an ingenious scheme was fixed upon by the strikers. Nearly all the scabs were being imported from Utica. Picketing was, therefore, transferred to Utica and was carried on spectacularly, at the terminal.

The evening strike meetings were the only open means of keeping the strikers together. A wonderful skill was demonstrated in the conduct of these meetings. Of oratory, the strikers soon wearied. In its place, programs of amusement were given at which latent talent of the strikers was fully encouraged. All were given a part to do and so, through the twelve weary weeks of the strike, their interest never flagged.

Golden's organization, the U. T. W., reappeared in Little Falls and attempted the same disruption which they had practiced in Lawrence. Several A. F. of L. men joined Chief Long's force of sluggers and tried their utmost to defeat the strike. The outcome of Little Falls was not completely favorable to the I. W. W. In the settlement, the strikers won the wage concessions which they had sought. But in spite of all the energy which was expended, there was no permanent I. W. W. organization left in Little Falls. The active I. W. W. sympathizers were discriminated against and driven from the district.

Little Falls attained a publicity altogether disproportionate to the size of the strike. The significance of it lay, not so much in the number of men involved, but in the militancy with which the fight was waged. In Little Falls, the I. W. W. tactics were developed to an extreme degree of efficiency. Had the I. W. W. gained job control, we could characterize it as a perfectly conducted strike. At least, it helped to diffuse, still further, the fearsome reputation of the new union.

While Little Falls was still in progress, another chapter was being written in Lawrence. The settlement of the Lawrence strike had left Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso still in the clutches of the law, charged with the unbailable crime of murder. As an aftermath to the strike, the resultant defense campaign was remarkable in its immensity and success. Every resource of the entire I. W. W. organization was thrown behind the defense.

A defense committee was chosen, immediately at the close of the strike. The names of the members

of this committee will give an indication of the ability of its persons. William D. Haywood was chairman, William E. Trautmann was secretary and William Yates, afterwards Fred W. Heslewood, was treasurer of the committee. Other members were Thomas Holliday, Edmond Rossoni, Ettore Giannini, James P. Thompson, Guido Mazerreli, Francis Miller, August Betellenaire, Ben J. Legere, Josephine Liss and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Great mass meetings were arranged all over New England. Local defense councils were formed in all the large cities. Defense fund tours were made by those members of the committee who were speakers.

A publicity department was established under the charge of Justus Ebert. So efficient did this department become that, at one time, a thousand publications were being supplied with daily copy. Much support was given the case by Italian papers and organizations, who felt a particular sympathy for the defendants because the race issue had been exploited against them.

Political pressure was also employed. Italian socialists rallied to the occasion in Italy. Giovannitti was still an Italian citizen and the Italian government was petitioned to come to his assistance. Socialist deputies brought the case up on the floor of the Italian Parliament and a clever propagandic move was made by nominating Giovannitti for parliament in his old home district. The Swedish syndicalists also co-operated by proposing a general boycott of American made goods, in case Ettore and Giovannitti were convicted. This suggestion was amplified by the transport workers of France and Australia, who voted to refuse to unload American ships. As the agitating progressed, it seemed as though it was fated to develop into an American Dreyfus case. But, through the nine long months, while agitation was raging without, Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso sat nonchalantly in the Salem jail. Ettore prepared a propaganda pamphlet while Giovannitti employed his time in developing rare abilities as a poet.

In Lawrence itself, the sentiment was all for a general strike, for the day when the trial opened. On Sept. 12, 1912, a great mass meeting in the Common was thronged by thousands who shouted for a general strike. But the I. W. W. leaders feared that a general strike would be a body blow to the future of the organization. The union was not yet organized thoroughly enough to secure the support of all the mill workers. Less than half the workers carried cards in the I. W. W. If the strike were called and proved a failure, it would mean the end of the I. W. W. in Lawrence. The splendid organization that they had worked so hard to build, might be swept away.

On September 25, a great general mass meeting of all the workers was called for a discussion of this subject. Thousands packed the streets and surrounded the big hall where the I. W. W. had its headquarters. In view of the inadequacy of the hall, the meeting was held in the street and the speakers addressed the crowd from the open windows. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Carlo Tresca, in English and Italian, urged the workers to avoid a strike.

But the infectious temperament of revolutionary unionism is unrestrainable. It broke out into a strike, even over the decision of the central committee of the union. A rumor ran amongst the workers that Ettore and Giovannitti themselves had appealed to them to strike. Although the rumor was groundless, it broke all the bonds of restraint. In a great spontaneous surge, the workers once more burst out of the mills in a three day demonstration. For the first time in the American labor movement, workers struck for an ideal. The sordidness of

economic motives was set aside. The political general strike, the famous tactics of European revolutionists, was rearing itself, for the first time, in America. In this respect, the second Lawrence strike, stands alone in its significance.

But, as a general strike, it was a failure. Two reports had gone out, one that the workers must strike, the other, that they should remain at work. In the confusion bred of this contradiction, many of the workers remained in the mills. Only about 8,000 responded. In other textile cities, similar walkouts occurred.

A great memorial parade was held on Sunday, Sept. 29, in honor of Anna La Pizza and John Ramo, the two victims of the first Lawrence strike. Hundreds of workers came in from other cities on special trains in order to participate. The strikers turned out en masse. Banners and streamers carrying the words, "No God, no Master." Bands of music marched in the procession. At the head was Carlo Tresca, the famous Italian agitator. The police determined to halt the parade and break it up. A big squad of police were concealed on a side street and deployed suddenly, before the advancing parade. Forming a human wall, they blocked Essex street from sidewalk to sidewalk. The strikers advanced, not a man wavering. Tresca marched along as though the street were as clear, ahead of him, as it was behind. Through the living mass of police, the great body of paraders hurled themselves. There was a riot. Men were beaten into insensibility. Scores were packed into patrol wagons and carried away. The parade broke up in the melee.

Spurred on by their success in this affair, the politicians and mill owners commenced a campaign of terrorism. Hints of the formation of vigilante committees were noised about Lawrence. The conclusion of the three day strike did not quench this movement; it seemed to enhance it. A great so-called "patriotic" meeting was called by Mayor Scanlan, in which an orgy of abuse ended in open incitements to violence. It is a miracle that murder was not committed by the frenzied mill owners and their dupes. Father Reilly, the Catholic priest, incensed by the "No God" allusion on the banners, surpassed all others in the lawless vituperation that he hurled at the "outside agitators."

It was whispered about Lawrence that Big Bill Haywood would be lynched upon his arrival. Every precaution was taken by the I. W. W. to insure his safety. Vincent St. John had sent a message to the city marshal, serving notice that the I. W. W. would hold him personally responsible for Haywood's safety. This had its effect. A great crowd surrounded the station when Haywood arrived. His friends had an automobile waiting, engine throbbing, into which he could leap as soon as he alighted from the train. But a blunder was committed. Haywood got into the wrong car and was whisked away before his friends could reach him. Struck by consternation, the members feared that Haywood had been captured by vigilantes. It was several hours later when their suspense was relieved by learning that Haywood had been taken in hand by a body guard, detailed by the city marshal himself.

In the heat of the crisis, Scanlan and his "patriots" arranged a Flag Day celebration for Oct. 12, Columbus Day. A great parade was held in which workingmen were conspicuous by their absence. To avoid the possibilities of a riot, the I. W. W. called a counter celebration for the same day, at a park, three miles out of Lawrence. Here, in spite of a drizzling rain, 4,000 people gathered and cheered themselves hoarse as they listened to speeches by Haywood, Heslewood, Gurley Flynn, Tresca, Adamson and ex-Mayor Cahill.

Amid these tumultuous scenes, the trial at Salem proceeded. It was very difficult to secure a jury.

Many of the talesmen were obsessed of the idea that the I. W. W. would use violence upon the jury in case the verdict was unfavorable. Three weeks were spent in the examination of talesmen. An unusually favorable jury was at last empaneled. For five weeks, the taking of testimony proceeded. The I. W. W. was splendidly represented, legally. George E. Roeher of Boston, W. Scott Peters, John P. S. Mahoney and James H. Sisk were the local counsel. Judge O. N. Hilton of Denver and Fred H. Moore of Los Angeles represented the class struggle point of view for the defendants. From first to last, it was an I. W. W. case. The organization, rather than the individuals, was on trial. Ettor and Giovannitti recognized this fact in their attitudes.

The prosecution had no case at all. By misquoting and putting incendiary interpretations into the strike speeches of the defendants, District Attorney Attwill endeavored to fasten the accountability upon them. An interesting point developed during the trial, was the fact that, at the Wood mill, a decrease in efficiency of twelve per cent had been noted, since the strike. The effect of the I. W. W. in lowering the productivity of labor has always been held to be the most reprehensible of its characteristics.

It would be mere repetition to enumerate the points brought out in the trial. The evidence was but a resume of the leading incidents of the strike. Judge Quinn revived an old, obsolete custom by permitting the defendants to speak for themselves after the attorneys had made their plans. Ettor and Giovannitti were quick to avail themselves of this privilege and the jury retired with the fervent challenge of the I. W. W. ringing in their ears. The addresses of Ettor and Giovannitti were classics of their kind. They have since been published by the I. W. W. The note of compromise was never even approached. It was vindication that they sought, vindication not only for themselves, but for the great social ideals of which they were spokesmen. And vindication came in the form of an unqualified

acquittal. On Nov. 23, 1912, the prison doors swung open and Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso stepped out, free men once more. They were greeted with an ovation by throngs of fellow workers who felt, as one of them expressed it, that "Ettor and Giovannitti belonged forever now to the working class, because the working class had bought and paid for them."

Back Ettor came to Lawrence, the scene of his great success and the beginning of his great suffering. Everywhere the grateful workers turned out to greet him. On Thanksgiving Day over 5,000 people stood for two hours in a raging snow storm and listened to his address. Ettor followed up his Lawrence reception by a great tour of agitation from coast to coast. Everywhere the significance of the victory in Salem was hailed and celebrated. The I. W. W. had won its second Lawrence battle.

The organization in Lawrence remained intact only a short time longer. The three-day sympathetic strike had drawn the line openly between the militants and the conservatives in the mills. Upon this basis the bosses began a clever discrimination. Group by group the leading spirits of the I. W. W. were let out. A rigid blacklist drove many of these men out of Lawrence. In order to scatter the men still further the Lawrence mills were shut down for a long period of time and the orders filled in other plants. When the mills reopened again there was no semblance of I. W. W. control. Powerless to defeat the I. W. W. in open combat, the bosses had accomplished their end with infinite ease by the astuteness of diplomacy.

The National Industrial Union of Textile Workers was moved to Boston and held its nuclei together in every textile center. But it was finding it increasingly difficult to collect dues from its members when once the glamour of achievement was subdued. Another great textile strike came in the very nick of time and revived the flagging interest. But before we describe the Paterson strike, we will pause to recount the progress of the other branches of the I. W. W.

Alcatraz

Rock o' hell of Frisco Bay,
 Rock of the burning light,
 Breaking the souls of men by day,
 Crushing their souls by night.
 Robbing the joy out of the hour,
 Wasting good lives away
 Deep in the dungeon under the tower,
 Rock o' hell of Frisco Bay!

Rock o' hell of Frisco Bay,
 Place of the living dead,
 With every morning breaking gray
 To another day of dread;
 Sink far down into the deep
 And hide beneath the spray,
 You cause so many hearts to weep—
 Rock o' hell of Frisco Bay.

—C. O. G.

The Planer Slave

He fed the planer,
 This man;
 All day long he stood
 Cramming frantically,
 Feeding the iron beast
 With flat pieces of wood.
 The iron beast roared:
 Faster! Faster!
 The man hurried
 And breathed lumber dust.
 He made lots of money—FOR HIS MASTER,
 But one day the iron beast was silent,
 And the man never came back
 To feed the thing that roared:
 Faster! Faster!
 He was a good slave,
 This man,
 And the good die young!

—C. O. G.

The Conscience of A Dum-Dum Bullet

BY QUASIMODO VON BELVEDERE

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Chapter II

In Which the Author Ventures to Feel the Pulse of the Proletariat's Temper and Scorches His Hand

I realized that if I was to become a great leader of the Reds and was to conduct their revolutionary scheme to a successful abortion, I must mingle with them; that I, to gain readily their confidence, in my external appearance, must resemble one of them. All this necessitated a comprehensive preparation; not only have I ceased to shave, but also to wash and to change my laundry; and I slept with my clothes on. Thus by the first of July, after I practiced proletarian habits for full six weeks, I acquired so wretched an appearance that I resembled the ideal of a Bolshevik even more closely than Nicolai Lenin himself, and I feel that I was in a sufficiently propitious shape to go to Chicago and shake hands with my unwashed "brothers." Everything was prepared for our journey and we entrained for Chicago on July 2. We traveled in an ordinary Pullman car with the common people and arrived in Chicago in due time.

Having ceased socially to exist as one of the great lords of industry I could not have resumed residence in my mansion on Sheridan Road; hence, I assumed a funny Russian name (which I cannot disclose here) and established myself in a regular hobo bunkhouse in North Clark street. In addition to securing these quarters, I had Matys to rent in his own name a respectable apartment nearby in which to conduct my business affairs, and to which I had Matys to transport secretly all my mail, such as required my personal attention.

During three weeks I associated with all sorts of rebelliously inclined working men, attended several of their meetings, but was unable to get a definite conception of their political aspirations. However, at the decline of the month of July, as I was perambulating up Clark street and meditating upon my future glory as the political Moses of the proletariat, and at the same time the saviour of my own patrician caste, my attention became attracted to a soap box orator and a group of men assembled around him at the miniature park in front of Newbery library. The man must have been preaching for a long time already because he showed symptoms of exhaustion. I only caught a few of his words about capital and labor having nothing in common. Then he announced that Miss Leshetitzky was released from the Federal penitentiary several days ago, that she was in Chicago and was scheduled that night to address this audience. "I am tired," he admitted. "I prolonged my speech only to hold the crowd here until she arrived; her time is past due, and it seems that something is delaying her, so if there is a speaker in the audience

he is welcome to the soap box until she arrives." In a flash I got an inspiration that this was an opportunity to make my debut as a Bolshevik orator, and I threw up my hand involuntarily and exclaimed that I would like to take the rostrum for a few minutes.

My offer was accepted, but when I mounted the box I realized that I really did not know what to say. I was facing a serious embarrassment when I recollected the concluding words of the professional orator, so I annexed them as a nucleus for my speech. "Comrades and fellow citizens," I cried, "I come from Minnesota. I am a hunter and a trapper. The former speaker was right when he said that we have nothing in common with capital. Strabo and Aristophanes have said the very same thing, only in Grecian language—I won't repeat the exact words because you would not understand them. And when St. Paul commanded the slaves to obey their masters he did not mean to say that their interest was common. He simply was solicitous about the skin of the slaves, anxious to keep it from the harsh contact of the master's whip. If we obey our masters we simply do so to keep out of jail." I noticed signs of impatience in the crowd, so I thought I had better become more radical. "It is like this:" I continued. "When I am attending to my profession in the woods my interest is conflicting with that of the foxes and minks and the beavers—my interest is to get their skins and theirs is to keep them, don't you see?" The audience exploded into a tremendous applause and shrieks of bravo. When the applause subsided, I resumed my speech. "There is a similar discrepancy between yours and your bosses' interest. You ought to be careful how to vote. If I was to be elected to an important public office I would honestly look after the interest of the working man. I would boost your wages; I would fight for your personal liberties, see to it that beer and schnaps is restored to you, so that you could resume your pursuit of happiness. I thank you for your kind attention." I stepped off the box. There was only a feeble applause for the second part of my speech, which I deemed the best and the most important.

A big, black Negro mounted the box immediately after I stepped off. "I want to say a few words to the trapper from Minnesota," he cried, unceremoniously emphasizing his words with both of his fists, "as long as working men will continue to repose their hope of redemption from the hell of wage slavery into the fickle and treacherous hands of the politicians they shall remain wage slaves. Parliamentarism is obsolete. The proletariat has recently discovered a better remedy for its political and economic emancipation. We, the Industrial Workers

of the World, are already applying this new paregoric to all our social abrasions—and I will say to you, brother trapper, that it is as effective as a dum-dum bullet. So magically effective are our politics that the ‘captains of industry’, who always were after our skin, are trembling with mortal apprehension about their own. Before the props upon which the profit system rests are completely broken, the most effective way of exacting from our industrial vampires a greater fraction of the fruit of our toil is by keeping a brake upon production. On the other hand, we know that the surest way of inviting our enemies to step upon our neck is by creating over-production. I thank everybody who can understand me and who can read the signs of the times.”

His speech was applauded with as spontaneous a fury as the first part of mine. I became dumb-founded to hear such anarchistic utterances, and from a Negro. This must have caused George Washington to turn over in his grave.

When the applause subsided the regular pulpiteer announced the arrival of Miss Leshetitzky and introduced her to the audience.

The woman was about 30 years of age. Her pale, haggard face was rendered prominently characteristic by a pair of lustrous eyes blazing forth penetratingly like the eyes of a wolf. Resting upon me, her sight eclipsed mine and made me feel strangely uncomfortable, causing my entire body to shiver. I wondered who could this woman be whose mere look causes me to tremble like a goat confronting a tiger. Were I no longer one of the most formidable sharks in the great ocean of this, Uncle Sam’s democracy? “Dear fellow workers,” the woman serenely addressed the audience. “Were it not for the black plague of capitalism the world would be a happy place in which to live, because the whole of Nature is a work of sublime ingenuity; likewise the mind of man is treblant with germs of romance and adventure. Naturally, I would like to talk to you about music, poetry or other noble arts; however, I am constrained to propound the old distasteful subject about the epidemic of profits and its, in recent years, increased virulence. I beg you to believe me that I can engage in such dissertation only with a supreme repugnance. The foremost point of my mission is to arouse in you abhorrence for work under the present system, because it is upon your toil that the dragon of capitalism is feeding; should you cease pampering it, that is to say, should you stop all production, the monster would die in a short time and you would be permitted to rise to the full dignity of man, to which you were intended by your creator. All the nefarious acts of capitalism are disguised by some attractive mask; liquor has not been taken away from you to enhance your morality but to make you more efficient. Cannot we summon enough courage to fling the gauntlet into the insolent face of the apostles of efficiency and profit? One by one your scant liberties and the traits of your manhood and dignity are being fed

up to the moloch of profit. You can no longer make pretense to social superiority over domestic animals; to make hog or cattle husbandry a profitable business necessitates the unsexing of most of the male members of their breed. A similar efficiency scheme is now being experimented with upon man. I understand that some states have already adopted it, and are even now rendering your brothers into eunuchs. Your masters respect neither human nor Divine laws. They would not hesitate for a moment to extirpate your brains if their profits could thereby be benefited. In fact, hundreds of your brothers have already had their brains clubbed out of their head because they dared to interfere with their masters’ profits.” The woman paused for breath and immediately a deafening applause and savage shrieks exploded in the audience. I never witnessed such a spectacle before. The whole scene revealed to me the immense scope of human passion. I realized that when the temper in the mob becomes as grouchy as that, only machine guns can quiet it.

The soul of the entire proletariat was so completely possessed with the evil spirit of revolt that I also realized that my ambition of becoming their political pope was a fallacy; only a fool would attempt to pat a mad dog. I elbowed my way out from among the frenzied mob and went to my bunk house.

When I reached the hotel office I telephoned to Matys and ordered him to bring me a decent suit of clothes from my wardrobe at my mansion, and to have my chauffeur appear with one of my closed cars at the eastern entrance of Medinah Temple. (The reader can make a fair guess at my reasons for not having ordered the car to appear at the entrance of my “hotel”). The two hours, which were requisite for the proper execution of my orders given to Matys, I spent at a nearby barber shop. So when Matys came with my clothes he found my personal appearance again resembling a human being. Thus terminated my ambitious Bolshevik career.

(To be continued)

In the next chapter of the great Von Belvedere’s autobiography will be disclosed the amazing secret of how his prodigious intellect was enlisted to combat the impending revolt of the steel slaves, and how he advised Judge Albert Garcia to have constructed in advance and stored in readiness a portable wooden bastille with a capacity for 10,000 agitators.

· MODERN SHYLOCKS

I saw an Ad in the paper
 For a man
 Who was strong
 And willing to work.
 I knew (and nothing was said of it)
 That what was wanted
 Was not one pound of my flesh,
 But all of it.

—C. O. G.

Has the I. W. W. a Monopoly of Industrial Organization?

A Letter From An Hotel and Restaurant Worker and the Answer Thereto

Fellow Worker:—

Your letter has been unanswered all this time, due to the pressure of routine work, which seldom leaves us any time at these headquarters for incidental correspondence, however important.

You take exception to a sentence in the report of Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union No. 1100, I. W. W., in the August number of the "One Big Union Monthly," stating that "the hotel and restaurant workers are deceived into believing that 'The International Federation of Workers in the hotel, restaurant, club and catering industry' is an industrial union."

To disprove this statement of ours, you quote from your own preamble: "The Workers must organize and combine industrially on the economic field on the principle of the class struggle." Further, you state that "the immediate aim of the federation is shorter hours, increasing wages, better working conditions, abolition of tips and 'to co-operate with all other workers who struggle for the abolishment of the wage system for the complete emancipation of labor.'"

You further ask some questions:

(1) Are you depending upon co-operation with us, or do you regard us as an enemy, the same as the A. F. of L.?

(2) What is your official attitude toward our organization? Do you mean to capture us by means of propaganda, education and leaflets, just as "left" tries to capture "right" in the Socialist Party?

(3) Is the I. W. W. holding monopoly in industrial union organization?

In answer, allow us to state the following:

The wording of your preamble, as quoted by yourself, is all right as far as it goes. But it does not go very far. It leaves out the most essential function of an industrial union. It advises the workers to "co-operate with all other workers who struggle for the abolishment of the wage system for the complete emancipation of labor."

We of the I. W. W. hold that there is no way of completely emancipating the workers and abolishing the wage system except by organizing industrially in such manner that these unions will be capable of serving as the productive and distributive organs of the new society, as organs by means of which the workers will be able to dispossess the present owners and take their place in the social system.

The wording of your preamble gives the impression that it was written by and voted for by political socialists or revolutionists without any real appreciation of the possibilities of an industrial union as the productive organ of the future. It leaves the impression that your federation pledges itself to support mainly the attempts of some groups of workers to achieve emancipation via the road of socialist or communist politics. Had it meant that

the union was to be built as the productive or distributive organ of the future, it would probably have said so, just as the I. W. W. preamble states. It is in this important matter that we consider that your federation falls short of being a real industrial union.

We still have the impression that it is merely a trades union that is waving the red flag, presumably of political socialism, in its preamble, without taking any practical steps for the organizing of a new social order.

Furthermore we hold that no union can justly claim to be an industrial union in the proper sense of the term as long as it aspires to be a separate or independent body. A real industrial union must be part of a greater organization comprising the whole society. It must be in the ONE BIG UNION, as No. 1100 of the I. W. W. is.

Now to your questions. We will answer Question No. 3 first.

Is the I. W. W. holding monopoly in industrial union organization?

Answer: Certainly not. On the contrary, we realize that our resources and possibilities are quite limited, while at the same time we have raised such a storm of resistance against ourselves that we frequently are unable to get a footing in many industries. Not only do we not claim a monopoly of industrial union organization, but we are anxious that the workers everywhere help us to carry the terrible burden which we have taken upon ourselves. We fervently hope and wish that the workers in every industry will of their own accord and through their own efforts re-align themselves along industrial lines in real industrial unions. We positively rejoice in seeing such efforts. We know that when they have perfected their organization to real industrial unions, they will automatically and voluntarily join the twenty-one industrial unions which are now gathered under the battle-worn banner of the I. W. W. But such junction will and cannot take place before such unions have clearly understood that our purpose is to organize the unions as the framework of the new society. Unless and until they are so built and with that purpose, they do not properly belong with us.

Next we will answer question No. 2.

"What is the official attitude of the I. W. W. to our federation?"

"Do you mean to capture us by means of propaganda, education and leaflets, just as 'left' tries to capture 'right' in the Socialist Party?"

Our official attitude toward your federation is that we consider you as an imperfect industrial union somewhat imbued with class consciousness in contradistinction to the regular A. F. of L. trade unions. In fact, we consider it industrial practically in name only, but are happy to note that in your preamble

you give a partial endorsement to the industrial form of organization.

We are not particularly in a hurry to capture your organization. In fact, we never capture organizations. We sow the seed of our propaganda broadcast. In this manner we are making converts to our cause without number, converts who in most cases do not carry an I. W. W. card. You have hundreds of them within your organization. To the limit of their ability these cardless I. W. W. men work upon their surroundings, tirelessly, without end, until they have gained enough converts to either swing the whole body or start a new I. W. W. organization. The campaign of the I. W. W. union most nearly corresponding to yours is countrywide. New locals are being formed everywhere, even without organizers, simply under the pressure of economic conditions and guided by our agitation and education. Thus we foresee the day when your federation will come into the I. W. W., not as a captive of union warfare, but as a triumphant convert to our ideas and principles.

Finally, let us answer your question No. 1:

"Are you depending upon co-operation with us, or do you regard us an enemy, the same as the A. F. of L.?"

First, we want to correct your misconception, that we are the enemy of the A. F. of L. That is only partially true. We are the enemy of the craft union principle and of the principle that capitalism and wage slavery shall continue permanently. We reject absolutely such A. F. of L. principles, as you will understand from a study of our own principles. We are also enemies of such A. F. of L. leaders as have proven themselves traitors to the cause of labor, but as far as the membership of the A. F. of L. is concerned, we are very good friends with them, as a rule. With most of them there is nothing the matter, except that they are deplorably ignorant on the questions that workers above all, ought to know. In numberless strikes we have co-operated with them, sharing the victory or defeat. In numberless battles they have betrayed us and scabbed on us, but we still do not consider them as our enemies. They are just ignorant and therefore, sometimes, vicious. So we try to educate them, and we are making a great success. Craft unionism is breaking up under the incessant blows of our agitation and education. We look forward to the day when the mass of the A. F. of L. will stand on our own platform. It is slowly but surely going that way.

Do we regard your federation as an enemy? Indeed not. Will we co-operate with you? We will not co-operate with you in building up a trade union with leaning toward socialist politics. We will not co-operate with you either in parliamentary action or so-called mass action. But we will as individual members, co-operate with you in your struggles with the master class for the highest demands that you will make. The I. W. W. members and friends always fight to the finish in such

cases. But we will not co-operate with you in building up your federation, seeing that it is not built on what we consider the correct principles.

Unquestionably you would all be with us, if we only had succeeded in making your members acquainted with the principles of the I. W. W. But that we have not done yet. As time goes on, your members will learn all about our principles and knowing them is accepting them.

For this reason we shall go ahead with our work as if your federation did not exist. Some day in the near future, we feel certain that you will understand us and you will then voluntarily range yourselves in the lines of Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union No. 1100, I. W. W., joining with us in preparing the workers of this industry for the taking over and running of this most important branch of human activity, as a part of the department of Public Service.

There are other so-called "industrial unions" and federations similar to yours, and we take the same stand towards them.

With greetings of fellowship to the members of your federation, I am

Yours for Industrial Communism,
ERNEST HOLMEN,

Sec'y-Treas. H., R. and D. W. I. U. No. 1100,
I. W. W.

HAIL TO THE FREE

O but his strength is mighty now
And his voice is a thundering blast!
No master-knave can hold him slave
As in the nightmare of the past.

The terror of that shattered power
That once he fought in vain,
And the falling whip in the master's grip
Shall never rise again!

For now he's running free and wild,
With head no longer bowed.
Great is his wrath and broad his path,
Woe to the rich and proud.

—C. O. G.

GIVE TO ME

Give me the fire of the rebel's heart,
And I'll cleanse the world from shame,
And burn like weeds the filthy deeds
Of those who battle with the flame!

Give me the dream of the rebel's brain,
And I'll laugh to scorn the fools
Who dare not rise from the bed of lies
That the tyrant makes and rules!

Give me the strength of the rebel's arm,
And I'll have the strength to mold
A perfect place for the human race,
And freedom for the bold!

—C. O. G.

Another Letter to the Editor

BY COVINGTON AMI

Dear Editor:

I received the Monthly for November today, also Ford's Weekly for Nov. 8. In the last I find this extremely interesting statement: "Less than one-fourth of the soldiers of George Washington's army were native Americans; Scotch, Irish and English born soldiers made up the majority." Query: Suppose the "German King of England" had had a Secretary of Labor Wilson to deport them, where-in-hell would we be?

Ford's also gives the reason why the salaried slaves are so hostile to unionization, viz., "Tight collars hinder the normal supply of blood to the head and thus affect the action of the brain," which bears out a Louisiana lumberjack's observation on the same class. He said: "It looks like just as soon as a man begins to wear white collars he loses all his backbone and brain," and now comes Ford with the scientific explanation.

However that may be, I do not wish anyone to get the idea that I am opposing ideas because they originated outside the land of the U. S. A., as some might infer from the publication of my letter, in the compilation of which I would have been more careful had I been writing it for that purpose. My only idea was to insist that we use terms our people were used to wherever possible, and I stand corrected as to your distinction between the terms Industrial Communism and Industrial Democracy. I fell into the error out of the habit we Southerners have of defining Democracy to mean "equal rights to all, special privileges to none," from which, just as soon as we really begin to think economics, we arrive at the conclusion that the only hope of saving Democracy in this country is to make the land, natural resources and socialized machinery of production, distribution and exchange the inheritance of ALL the people. In this connection, I want to say I agree fully with your fine article, "The Importation of Ideas in the Labor Movement," for I have always insisted that the native-born American movement had its roots sunk deep in industrial unionism which, to me, is our great contribution to the world movement.

Varney's article on the steel strike is simply splendid, and it bears out what I've been hunching from the beginning. But I hope Varney is wrong in this statement: "The tendency of the I. W. W. is toward higher and higher centralization. In this respect of form the I. W. W. is more closely akin to the German than to the French labor movement," for the main curse of the world today is too damn much centralization, as I see it, and too little local initiative and control, a thing Varney sees and correctly denounces in the conduct of the steel strike. And, what is the alleged German labor movement but a sublimated offshoot of that British-born in-

sanity—craft unionism? If there's anything the I. W. W. wants to steer clear for good and all it's anything and everything savoring of German unionism, for the present woeful condition of that country is a total condemnation of its "labor movement." The "printer's devil" made me say, in reference to the "race war" over in Arkansas: "These gentlemen (the 'committee of seven prominent business men') are themselves nowise to blame; they never are, for the Proletariat can do no wrong," when what I said was: "For the PROPERTARIAT CAN DO NO WRONG," a thing later reports bear out, since dispatches in the local press state that forty-eight members of the Progressive Farmers' and Household Union had been "tried and convicted in THREE DAYS." Going some for Blind Justice!

Papers down here have been full of wild headlines and articles on the arrest of members of the "Russian Workers' Union" all over the middle west and east and of a "conspiracy" on the part of the I. W. W. to organize "German branches," which last is something new to me, as I always understood that the main "crime" of the I. W. W. was its attempt to organize ALL the workers INDUSTRIALLY, regardless of race, creed or color, into One Big Union, but maybe I have been only dreaming for the last fifteen years. This and the coal strike is taking up all scare space in local papers the last few days and I've got a notion into my head that I cannot get rid of—that the pyrotechnics in both cases indicate that the politicians of both the unions and the states are drawing red herrings across several trails; that it is all mainly a hurrah to hide their futility and failure to better social and economic conditions, a thing they were self-pledged to "after the war." Your article, "The Collapse of Capitalism," is also good, but I've about come to the conclusion that about all we can do is to point out the road out of chaos so that as many workers as possible will have some idea of what to do when the collapse does come, for recent history seems to prove that the declaration of independence is correct where it states that the mass of men never move out of an old order and toward a new one until necessity compels them to do so. Even Russia lost TEN MILLION MEN, dead and totally disabled for life, and her entire political and economic system collapsed before she finally moved out from under and flashed her epoch-making message around the earth. But however all this may be, one thing is certain: The chicken of industrial democracy has at last kicked several holes through the iron shell of capitalism and, however the mother hen may squall and scold, the youngster is destined to soon rule the roost!

POLITICS DECLINING

Gradually Giving Way to Economic Administration

A recent newspaper dispatch to The Chicago Daily News from Paris, France, states:

Paris, France, Aug. 1.—On the initiative of the ministry of commerce and industry twenty-one employer's associations, including practically all French industries, have grouped themselves into a big central organization under the name of the General Production Confederation. The first duty of this new organization will be to appoint employers' delegates and technical advisers to the international labor conference of the league of nations to be held in Washington, D. C., this coming fall. It will further appoint delegates to the enemy property commission attached to the ministry of justice, and delegates to visit the United States on the invitation of 1,700 American chambers of commerce.

The correspondent, Paul Scott Mowrer, makes the following observations in connection with this announcement:

Thus another important step is taken in the movement generally known as "syndicalism" and which tends to replace purely political by economic representation. Henceforth both the General Production Confederation and the General Labor Confederation may be expected to participate more and more directly in the administration of the nation's affairs. In the face of these great combinations of labor and capital the farmers have also begun to organize and may soon be expected to have their own big representative syndicate. Some observers believe that henceforth the government will find it impossible to take any important step without the approval of the nation's various great economic organizations.

Distrust of the Parliament

Concurrently with the development of the syndicalist idea the public seems gradually to be losing confidence in the parliament, which is regarded as a purely political body swayed by "false" political rather than by "sound" economic conditions.

SPIRITUAL RAPE AGAINST CHILDREN

"Murder will out." Capitalism is trying to clamp the lid down tight, that truth may not be known. One of the latest instances is a plan proposed by the superintendents of the New York high schools, to deny a diploma to anyone who does not sign the following pledge:

"I will reverence my country's flag and defend it against enemies at home and abroad.

"I will respect and obey the President of the United States and the law of the land.

"I will support, in school and out, American ideals of justice and fair play, including the rights of unhampered opportunity under the law for all.

"I will hold the ideal of national patriotism above loyalty to any individual, political party, social class or previous national connection.

"I will actively oppose all revolutionary movements such as bolshevism, anarchism, I. W. W.'ism or any movement antagonistic to the laws of the United States or tending to subvert the Constitution of the United States."

Thus the Juggernaut of profiteerdom tries to crush the spirit of the child and enslave it. "Take the oath or starve" is the brutal dictum of these morally castrated servants in the temple of Mammon. They cannot hear the steady tramp, tramp of the advancing proletariat, having punctured their ear drums so they might not hear the truth. Onward with the work to save our children from physical and mental enslavement!



"WHY DON'T YE BE A MAN AND TALK UNITED STATES?"

PREAMBLE

of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



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