

The One Big Union Monthly



HIS HANDS ARE STAINED WITH WORKERS' BLOOD



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.

The 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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MUDDYING UP THE STREAM OF KNOWLEDGE.

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

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Important Notice

To All Subscribers, Agents and Readers of THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY:

It was announced last month that the price of the ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY would be increased with this issue, but the recent raids and arrests have interfered with our plans for enlarging the magazine and making it more attractive in appearance. Until further notice the price will be 15 cents per single copy, 10 cents per copy when ordered in bundles, and the subscription price \$1.50 a year.

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY,

1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

Call For Proletarian International

"The Central All-Russian Council of Industrial Unions invites all economic organizations based on the real and revolutionary class struggle for the liberation of labor through the proletarian dictatorship to solidify anew their ranks against the international league of brigands, to break with the international of conciliators, and to proceed in unison with the Central All-Russian Council of Industrial Unions toward the organization of a truly international conference of all socialist labor unions and veritable revolutionary workers' syndicates.

"We beg all economic labor organizations that accept the program of the revolutionary class struggle to respond to our call and enter in a direct touch with us."
The Bureau of the Central All-Russian Council of Industrial Unions: Glebov, Koselev, Lozovski (Dridzo), Loutovinov, Osol, Storozhenko, Tomski, Shakhnovski, Schmidt.

The above was sent to Fellow Worker Pierre Monatte in Paris and he printed it in his paper, "La Vie Ouvriere." We are sure that all revolutionary labor organizations will immediately rally to the above call and in the near future hold the first genuine international labor conference.

The Italian Syndicalist Union, counting 300,000 members, has officially endorsed the Third International. The Spanish Syndicalist Confederation of Labor has also joined unanimously the Third International. The Scandinavians have signified their desire to do so and the French revolutionary syndicalists are eager to join. The only objection there was that political parties, as well as economic organizations, were represented in it. Now this objection, or, rather, pretense, is removed, and we hope there will be no obstacle to the reaching of an agreement in the name of international solidarity of labor.

We are sure that our organization will be there.—George Andreytchine.

Appeal of the Russian Industrial Unions to the Workers of the Allied Countries

Comrades! Brothers!

Two years will soon have passed since the Russian proletariat, relying on the mass of soldiers and peasantry, broke off all relations with the financial-industrial trust that was called in the diplomatic language of the international brigands, the "Allies." The Russian proletariat declared to the whole world that it did not desire to participate in the League of Nations, a limited company for exploiting the weak and small nations, and desired to go out of the monstrous fratricidal war that flooded the fields and cottages of Europe with blood, and the palaces and mansions with gold.

Ever since the Russian proletariat dared to throw off the chains by which it had been shackled by the czar and the international stock exchanges, it has earned the merciless and deadly enmity of the bourgeoisie of your countries. In fear of the great potential forces of the Russian revolution, the Allies commenced their counter-revolutionary activities immediately after the February revolution. General Korniloff, as you know, was regarded with special favor and sympathy by the Allied missions and embassies. With the outbreak of the October revolution, this sympathy toward counter-revolutionary generals changed into an ardent affection for the Russian monarchy and the Black Hundreds.

Korniloff, Kaledin, Krasnoff, Denikin and Kolchak, leaders of the Russian Vandee, have become the favored heroes of your bourgeoisie and your governments. From the October revolution there was not one counter-revolutionary revolt in which representatives of your governments did not take an active part. The Russian revolution struggled successfully against internal counter-revolutions and their alien supporters. Manfully and steadfastly the proletariat repulsed the attacks of bandits hired with Allied money. But your governments decided to take a step further forward. They decided to send soldiers to Russia to interfere in our internal affairs and to establish "order." Since then the Allies have defeated Germany. Greed and rapacity, so long held in check, has broken from all restraint. "The champions of right and justice" entered the international arena like common freebooters, and strive to enslave the ancient German people.

The masks have fallen from the hideous faces of these "knights of the road," and you are able to convince yourselves now how insolently and shamelessly your pol-

iticians and those socialists and trade union leaders lied to you when they assured you that the war was for the maintenance of right and justice, a war against barbarism, and so on. This mask of words and phrases was needed no longer, once the aim of the war—the plunder of small and weak nations — was attained. With indescribable cynicism and incredible brutality the butchers of your League of Nations start now to lay down the law with regard to peoples, countries and territories. The whole world and its millions of populations have become objects of barter, mere booty, to be divided among thieves. Whilst the bacchanalia of rapacity, greed and passion goes on, the hired hacks are raising the cry against the Russian proletariat, "Crucify him, crucify him"

In mad fear of the rising elements of the social revolution, the Allies direct their diplomatic combinations and fraudulent stratagems to the purpose of strangling Soviet Russia. It is your governments that stand at the back of the Polish nationalists and reactionaries who are stirring up the deluded people of Poland to military undertakings against Russia. It is your Allied diplomats who turn the Rumanian feudal-bойers against us, those "classic" reactionaries who have flooded every acre of Rumanian and Russian territory which they have occupied with workers' and peasants' blood. The Esthonian, Livonian, German, Lithuanian and Lettish White Guards are organized by your governments, who urge this gang of capitalists and landlords against the workers and peasantry of Russia. Paris directs the policy of the Finnish bourgeoisie which, now that German imperialism has been crushed, looks for support to Allied imperialism. Archangel was frankly and cynically occupied by your governments. Kolchak, Denikin and other czarist generals who are flooding the fields and plains of Great Russia with the blood of the Russian proletariat are blessed in Paris. The League of Nations, created by your governments, has recognized the Kolchak-Hangman as a worthy member of its aeropagus. It is your politicians who, disappointed at the failure of their protege, have placed their sympathies and capital with the new pretender, Denikin, and finally, it is they, the "champions of right and justice," as your yellow, bribed press calls them, who are the instigators of all the conspiracies of officers and White Guards which are being hatched in Russia at the

present time. The Allies are not only strangling us, but they are occupied with the "noble" task of strangling Soviet Hungary. In a word, they are taking the place left vacant by the overthrow of tsarism as the international gendarmes and stiflers of freedom.

You see now that the center of the world reaction is Paris, that same Paris whose streets are still wet with torrents of proletarian blood. Versailles, the city of the infamous Thiers and the bestial French bourgeoisie is the place of freedom's execution. The old fetishes have all been burned in the fire of war and revolution. The "champions of right" have converted themselves in our eyes in Versailles into worthy descendants of those "heroes," who, under the leadership of Thiers, shot in the streets of Paris more than 30,000 men, women and children during the "bloody week" of 1871. We brand your politicians and bourgeoisie as Versailles because they have enforced a monstrous peace which dooms the German people to serfdom and extinction; with the aid of all the refuse of tsarism and landlordism, they are killing and mutilating hundreds and thousands of Russian workers and peasants, and all this in order to murder the Russian commune. They are Versailles because, with maddened fury and spite, they hurl themselves against the slightest advance made by the proletariat, in order that the proletariat may nowhere break through the chains which they have destined for it. They hastily despatch troops and ammunition to aid the bourgeoisie of Russia and Hungary who have been checkmated by their proletariats.

Comrades! Brothers!

We address ourselves to you as representatives of the organized trade unionists of the proletariat of Russia, for assistance! The Russian industrial unions have always fought in the front ranks of the proletarian

struggle, and now painfully feel the blows struck at Soviet Russia by your governments, politicians and bandits of the League of Nations. Can it be true, that you, the workers of England, France, Italy and the United States, will much longer support your governments and permit your blood to quench the spreading conflagration of the social revolution? Can it be that the international bandits of the League of Nations and the thrice-branded Versailles shall be allowed unhampered to weave their nets for the strangling of the world proletarian revolution?

The sufferings and the trials of the Russian proletariat are tremendous. We are weak from famine, hemmed in by the iron ring of hirelings of your bourgeoisie; but while the rapacious tentacles of international counter-revolution wind themselves about us, our strength, courage and energy are supported by a burning faith in the justice of the proletarian cause. We know that the social revolution has long ago extended itself beyond the limits of the Russian frontiers, and its spirit hovers over the whole world. With firm faith and hope we wait in the advance lines of the world socialist front for your help. We believe in you, have hope in you, for we know that your proletarian hearts beat in unison with ours.

Comrades! The Russian proletariat and Soviet Russia require aid!

Down with the bandits of imperialism!
Down with intervention!

Long live the World Proletarian Revolution!

Long live the International Soviet Republic!

THE BUREAU OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN
COUNCIL OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONS:
M. Tomsky, U. Loutovinov, N. Glebov, A.
Lozovski, V. Schmidt, F. Osol, E. Roudzou-
tak.

Plutocracy Gone Made

"U. S. Revolution Blocked by Raids," "Revolution's Back Is Broken," read the scareheadlines of the plutes' press. These sensational poison drops were given out by Mr. Palmer's dope shop, the publicity bureau of his department in order to justify the stupid and shameless invasion of the workers' homes and meeting places on New Year's day and January 2.

Thousands of revolutionary workers were arrested throughout the land and some were most savagely beaten. The foreign born toilers will be deported for daring to think that America is ruled by a band of plunderers whose den is in Wall street and for daring to organize for self-protection

against the usury and terror of those invisible Nervos, Calligulas and Czars of industry.

Here in Chicago we have a special situation. The packers', bankers', merchants' and other soviets of despots have for months conspired to crush the radical labor movement. They have collected a slush fund of \$40,000, as the Examiner boasted, and have bought State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne and his "night riders" to make raids and frame up indictments against the organizations that annoyed their profits. First he raided the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, then the Cigar Makers and the Stock Yard workers, and now the Industrial Workers of the World, Communist and Communist La-

by parties, locals, branches and headquarters. With Hoyne were co-operating the plug uglies of the Thiel Detective Agency which had installed some of its stool pigeons in the workers' ranks. The department of justice, another willing tool of the above mentioned rulers of Chicago, had also assisted in this snooping business. The Examiner says:

"For more than a year agents of the department of justice have taken part as radicals in the meetings, and some of them have become officials of the various locals and organizations. Men of all nationalities were used, and it was stated that many of the Chicago meetings have been organized by department of justice men through orders from Washington."

This plot of the department of justice was also uncovered and denounced by Comrade Martens, the representative of the Russian Soviet republic. Now we all know that most of the plots for revolution were cooked up in the criminal and diseased minds of the agent provocateurs of the department of justice and private detective agencies overzealous in their blind passion for servile devotion to the ones who feed them.

The agent provocateur was the last resort of Russia's Palmers—Stolypin, Pobiedonostsev and von Plehve. We all remember Azev's double crossing and participation in the murders of Grand Duke Sergius and other high officials of Czar Nicholas' plunderbund. In France we saw the repetition of the Russian Okhrana in the agent provocateurs of Lepine, the prefect of the police in Paris. They planted them in the formidable revolutionary Confédération Générale du Travail and soon we

saw many of its militants imprisoned on trumped up charges.

America is headed for the same destination and its agent provocateurs have been working overtime in their ignoble work of discrediting the workers' organizations. We do not doubt that what Comrade Martens and the Herald say is true. But have we forgotten where the agent provocateur led Russia to? Have we forgotten that the French C. G. T. was cleansed from that vermin very quickly and that our syndicalist fellow workers are getting ready for the BIG JOB, going towards the same direction where the Russian workers found their freedom?

Surely the capitalists of America are blind to the ever growing wave of discontent and revolutionary aspirations of the American (yes, American!) working class and deaf to the cries of the dethroned plunderers of Russia. By deporting a few foreign workers they think to put an end to the revolutionary ferment that is sapping the foundations of its tottering system.

It is incapable of fulfilling any of its functions; it has committed the greatest crime of the ages—the murder of over twenty millions of human beings and starving the majority of the ones that have been spared by the pestilence of war, and is condemned to perdition, even as the bestial rule of Czar Nicholas was condemned almost three years ago.

But the raids and savage persecutions of militant workers are aiding the dissolution of the last vestige of ignorance and fear or respect for capitalism in America.

Capitalism is gone mad and the sooner we get ready to replace it with our own industrial administration, the better.

Woe to the Vanquished!

The pirates' nests in Paris, London, Wall street Tokyo are much perturbed over the glad tidings coming to the international working class from Mother Russia. The political lickspittles of the plunderers, Lloyd George, the "Tiger" (and now mangy dog) Clemenceau, and Wilson called a conclave a few days ago and decided to start a new set of political tricks and manoeuvres in order to defeat the victorious Workers' Commonwealth of Russia, victorious on the field of battle and in the internal class struggle. This time they made a clever move—they "lifted" the murderous blockade, and with this "humanitarian" gesture hoped to allay the rebellious working class at home which is getting too impatient on account of it and the military intervention.

The reptile press heralded this camouflaged news as a peace feeler on the part of the International of the Parasites to the International of the Toilers. We, who have tried to see through all the capitalist and presbyterian smoke-screens the last few years, are much worried over this evidently successful stab-

bing in the back while giving a rose to smell in front. The workers the world over are too gullible and credulous; they are not allowed to know that the Supreme Economic Council of the world's combined brigands has decided to send 200,000 soldiers to southern Russian and the Caucasus in order to attack the Bolsheviki in the weakest spot.

The British navy has been ordered already to proceed for the Black Sea to stem the Red army's conquering advance. Especially is the British government interested in saving the Caucasus where there is an inexhaustible supply of oil, copper, iron and other metals, and ignoble, traitorous "socialists" of Scheidemann's ilk, Gheghetchkori, Djughiasvilli, Tseretelli and tutti quanti, who fear the rise of the betrayed and pawned to the imperialists' proletariat.

But we have faith in the invincibility of the Proletarian Red Army, the invincibility of the spirit that animates it and the vision that guides it to winged victory. We know the steady push and

(Continued on Page 17)

The One Big Union

By S. G. JOHANSON

The I. W. W. has declared its purpose to be to organize the working class, if not of the world, at least, in the first place, the United States. How this work of organizing is going to succeed is a matter of different opinions and desires among the members. Some hope that independent and A. F. of L. unions will join the I. W. W. in a body. Others hold that this would not be healthy for the organization. They say that those old unions would be trained in the craft union schools and would not be able to adapt themselves quickly enough to the principles of industrial unionism. These latter fellow workers believe that it is better to gather up the members one by one, in order to have a membership with full understanding of the problems confronting the organization. However, nothing has ever been decided on this question, and, therefore, one opinion may be as right as the other. If the working class is going to be organized along industrial lines it must happen in one way or another. Rejoicing seems to be prevalent in our papers when it is reported that some union is to join in a body.

Whatever we believe individually, it can be said that our way of organizing will be determined not by us, but by the capitalist class. Yes, because the capitalists have the power to decide in which way a social change will take place. They can allow the workers to organize and make peaceful progress, or they can begin to break all labor unions up and head for civil war. The Industrial Workers of the World do not desire civil war, or any other kind of war. On the other hand, some capitalist agents have admitted that their masters desire civil war, the sooner the better. This being the case, we should always watch the moves of the capitalist class and adopt our tactics accordingly.

The I. W. W. is not made an illegal organization by the law making bodies and not declared to be unlawful by the higher courts; only the master class has here such an excellent freedom that a two by four sheriff or a petty judge can get away with declaring the organization illegal. It is said that the lawmakers now have bills in preparation to make the I. W. W. and other revolutionary unions unlawful, and those laws may be passed before this is printed. (Bismarck, the right hand of the German kaiser, also made socialism unlawful in Germany, and still some kind of socialists rule that country today.) But the big question before the law makers is not whether to make the I. W. W. and the Communist party and other smaller organizations illegal; that would, to them, seem to be an easy matter. All the working class organizations struggling with the boss to obtain more of the product of labor have to be taken into consideration and to be made illegal as a consequence. The laws are supposed to be equal for all members of society, and to make a law solely against the workers' organizations is a serious proposition. That

is why they are hesitating. If such a law should be passed the writer of this will predict that what he is going to propose here is exactly what would happen.

But, you say, the A. F. of L. would never be made illegal. Well, look at the coal miners. Was not an injunction served on them, and their strike declared illegal? Were not their leaders arrested and set free on \$10,000 bonds? And were they not forced back to work by the government? And is not a bill now before the House that strikes on railroads be made unlawful?

The I. W. W. being not as yet declared illegal, what has the policy of the capitalist class been toward this organization? We all know only too well that members of the I. W. W. have been tarred and feathered, beaten up, thrown in jails, and mobbed to the limit. The main purpose of the capitalist persecution of the I. W. W. is apparently to make a scarecrow out of the organization. Their intentions are to make the letters I. W. W. such a bad name that people will refrain from joining our ranks. Some raid is made on an I. W. W. hall. Members are arrested and literature burned. Then the newspapers will make a picture of the I. W. W., hold it up, and say to the workers: This is what you get for joining this union.

The arresting of members and holding them in jails without charges against them, and without trial; the sentencing of members to up to twenty years for no criminal acts; the illegal seizure and destruction of property belonging to the organization; the confiscation of mail by the postal department all are nothing but efforts to disrupt and discredit the I. W. W.

To take only one example, let us see what happened in the city of New York. In the fall of 1919 a meeting was held in New York in which thirteen branches of the I. W. W. and eight independent organizations participated, for the purpose of discussing whether these independent unions should join the I. W. W. The meeting of the delegates was in favor of the I. W. W., and the question of joining was to be finally decided by a referendum of the unions in question. Now, close upon the heels of this meeting came raids of the "Rebel Worker" and I. W. W. halls in that city. Furnishings were smashed, literature confiscated and members arrested. These raids were utterly unprovoked by any other happenings in New York, and can be interpreted only as an effort to scare those unions away from joining the I. W. W. And the same thing has happened time and again in the past few years.

The capitalists and their hirelings also figure that by throwing the members in jail, the organization will be so taken up by defense work that it will have no time to organize and initiate strikes.

Anyone can judge for himself whether the master class will succeed with those tactics. As a matter of fact most of the workers accept the I. W. W.

as being right in theory. The bosses themselves show by their persecution that they also believe us to be right. But if the workers accept us to be right in theory, why do they not join? They do not because the masters have succeeded in giving the I.-W. W. a bad name. There are lots of working people who think the Industrial Workers of the World are all right, but whom the capitalist papers have made believe the I. W. W. is a terrible thing. These workers, therefore, think there is only a lot of hardships and jail sentences involved in joining the I. W. W. And still the same workers would join if they could see the I. W. W. big and strong enough to successfully withstand the assaults of the bosses.

The significance of the opposing forces in the class struggle is that capitalism is united in purpose and tactics, while the working class is divided and scattered to the four winds. On the bosses' side there are no democrats and no republicans; there is only one—the capitalist class. Whether the individual belonging to that class at election time vote the democratic or republican ticket, he will always do everything he can toward keeping the workers in subjection. All the institutions of capitalist society, whether the democrats or republicans be in or out, will always defend the right of the masters to exploit the workers. Therefore, capitalism is truly united—united to preserve what is.

The forces of the working class are divided, as much in purpose as in tactics. The workers go into the fight and get licked one unit at a time. Under a terrible assault the I. W. W. is battling for its life. The steel workers went into the fight under the leadership of the A. F. of L. and are still fighting. Their leaders say they will fight for four years—to the last man. The coal miners went into battle and were licked to a frazzle. Longshoremen were in the fray and scattered. And so it goes on. We all know this. And we all know that the only remedy is a united working class.

But we cannot unite on the A. F. of L. basis because it is in itself divided and does not work for unification. Neither does it have any purpose. Like a windmill it will start tearing around in the storm and when it stops it will be in the same place. We should note, however, that a great part of the A. F. of L. membership is not satisfied with this order of things. The progressive element wants a change.

The Industrial Workers of the World still offers in theory to the workers the only solution to make sure and peaceful progress—the organizing in industrial unions, a solution which is hardly disputed by any thinking worker.

The purpose of the I. W. W. is to organize and unite the workers in the struggle against capitalism. But to realize this, it seems to be necessary that the I. W. W. change tactics. At present the bosses seem to have the best of the situation—not only of the I. W. W., but also of the A. F. of L., socialists and all. Defeated all around, it is up to

the workers to decide if this is going to continue in the same old haphazard manner. Or shall an effort be made to improve our position? The I. W. W., being foremost in the ranks of labor, should be one of the first to find and accept a way out of the present difficulties. As a matter of fact, the first virtue of the I. W. W. should be its ability to adapt itself in an intelligent way to all arising problems. What, then, could the I. W. W. do in order to strike a great blow in favor of progress?

I believe the I. W. W. has a chance to render a great service to the working class. **THE I. W. W. SHOULD DECLARE ITSELF WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ORGANIZATION OF ONE BIG UNION MOVEMENT.**

The time is now ripe. The workers are now impatient. The miners are disgusted. The steel workers are wavering and seeking a foothold. Longshoremen are dissatisfied with the old leadership. In New York the unions are already breaking away from the A. F. of L. Textile clothing workers have not much confidence in the old unions. From the length and breadth of the land come reports of rebellious workers. All that is needed is an organization around which this unrest and discontent could be united.

Take for example the Mooney congress in Chicago a year ago. This congress, in which only members of the A. F. of L. participated, showed every approval of the theory of industrial unionism. Most of the delegates were eager to start a discussion on unionism, and particularly new unionism, and, according to the story, only the cleverness of the chairman in adjourning the meeting prevented them from so doing. In the state of Washington the trades unions of the A. F. of L. have already taken a vote on the ONE BIG UNION idea and most of the bigger unions voted in favor. A representative from the Trades and Labor Council of Seattle also carried a motion to the A. F. of L. convention in favor of industrial unionism and the ONE BIG UNION. All this ought to prove that many of the old unions are anxious to improve their unionism.

All right, you say, let them join the I. W. W. That is, true enough, a simple and logical conclusion. But we have to take human nature into consideration. We can understand that many of the old unions which accept the theory of industrial unionism are not willing to join the Wobblies on account of all the criticism they have had to withstand from the I. W. W. Another thing is that a single union does not want to take such a vital step unless it were sure that many unions would go together with it. Neither would it be good if a new union movement was started on the side of the I. W. W.; only still more confusion would result from such a step. The rank and file of the A. F. of L. respect the I. W. W., but what they expect, in regard to an industrial union movement, is that the I. W. W. should be willing to meet them on some other ground.

Therefore the I. W. W. should take the first step to unify the workers in the ONE BIG UNION.

Syndicalism As The Will To Power

By GIOVANNI BALDAZZI

INTRODUCTORY NOTE—The following article was written by Fellow Worker Baldazzi during the summer of 1917 in "Il Proletario." It has been translated by Fellow Worker Guscetti to be used during the Chicago trial. We believe that the thoughts and observations expressed in it are of paramount importance and although we may be reluctant in accepting the metaphysical terminology, especially about morality (the writer having failed to mention that the proletariat creates his own moral standards and values), are sound and deserve a thorough examination.

The greatest moral principle in human and civil life is that of conservation and order. From the viewpoint of morality, absolute or abstract, the conservative would be the embodiment of the ideal type of human morality. The moral superiority of the elements of order is given by nature itself and by the characteristic peculiarities of social life. We, in fact, live in society, and the ideal moral attitude of social human beings is that perfect adaptation to the exterior conditions of existence which permits the expanding of commerce and of social relations in a serene and harmonious rhythm. Thus the social virtues represent the most evident sign of morality in so far as they actuate the happiness of the individual and the collectivity.

The conservative attitude becomes a principle of reaction and degradation when the men or the classes who preside over the social regime, by the disorder and the immorality of their administration case to be worthy of general respect. And here it is opportune to add that the position of the men and of the governing classes include some grave responsibilities as well as extraordinary duties. The elements of government in human society must possess a very high sense of morality and honor. Weak-

ness, ignorance and irresponsibility cannot be tolerated. It is when the ruling classes or castes have lost the primitive lymph; when they proceed toward physical and intellectual decadence, and no longer constitute a factor of rectitude, that the revolution finds its psychological and material conditions to assert or reaffirm itself and triumph.

Human history has repeated and will repeat incessantly in the course of the centuries the process above indicated. The fall of feudalism in England and the democratization of customs and of the constitution of the state through the reforms of Cromwell, coincide with that period of decadence of the nobility and of the monarchy of the United Kingdom, when the latter became incapable of keeping up the traditions and discipline of loyalty, of gentleness, of culture, military and civil valor which originally secured them supreme control over the state and the church. The advent of bourgeois democracy in France and its spreading over the rest of Europe through the wars of the Great Revolution and the first Napoleonic Empire, are the confirmation of the same historic process. The bourgeoisie arose to power only when after a terrible secular effort it attained the development of the ethical, intellectual political and industrial values which characterize its present civilization.

"Revolution" is one of those words which involve a vast and profound significance, both judicial and political. Far from aiming at a subversion or destructive overthrow of the social system, the revolution—and by that word I do not mean that which is whirring within the heads of many of today's

Not only would a landslide occur in the A. F. of L. toward this government, but when the new unorganized workers saw this union gaining in strength, they would rally around its banner in millions.

The ONE BIG UNION would naturally be organized on the principles of industrial unionism. No one would ever suggest anything else. The form of organization as at present advocated by the I. W. W. would without doubt be accepted. The one difference for the I. W. W. would be a different name. And the name ONE BIG UNION is so much used by the I. W. W. that the change of name would be just as easy as the change of coats is for an individual.

But another difference to the workers of this country would be that we would have a strong industrial union organization which, even if many members were not very clear on theories, nevertheless would have an excellent fighting spirit. The industrialist, who now has to fight a desperate defensive battle, would once more be in a position to attack the profiteers. The I. W. W. could have absolutely nothing to lose from this experiment.

To the bosses, on the other hand, it would be a great difference. They would have to start all over

again to discredit the ONE BIG UNION. And they would have to make their assaults on an organization strong in numbers, which already had several industries organized. Under the favorable circumstances that now exist one can imagine the possibility of the ONE BIG UNION inside of a few years taking the place both of the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. In such a case the capitalists would be confronted by a united working class, and it would not be so easy for them to tar and feather, throw in jail, and serve injunctions on union men.

The aggressive tactics of the capitalists toward all unions, and the persecution of all radical working men should tend to bring the workers together. It is every day becoming more clear to the average working man that there are two classes in society; the profiteers on the one side and the workers on the other. Let us, therefore, make a grand move to line up the workers, not one by one, but by the millions.

If this proposition meets with any response among the members of the I. W. W. the matter should be threshed out immediately. The summer of 1920 should see the workers ready to get together.

"rebels," but that which is the incarnation of great ideals and of a great historical movement—aims at the realization of order through a readjustment of the social relations on the basis of right and justice. There is nothing, to speak properly and with logic, that turns out more antithetic to the word "revolution" than the terms "subversive" and "rebel." Rebel, in its etymological sense, and also in the common usage of the word, indicates a hare-brained or half-witted, light being; one who is dissatisfied with the existing social conditions, without possessing such ethics, and intellectual as well as social and industrial constructive powers, which would be influential enough in bringing about a real revolutionary movement.

Darwin, the greatest scientist of the nineteenth century, by discovering and illustrating the biological laws of the struggle for existence, and of the struggle for selection, or perfection, which gives us an explanation of the evolution of the organic world, and the origin and reciprocal relations of the various species, succeeded in opening new horizons to modern thought, most especially in the fields of sociological and philosophical sciences. Out of Darwinian culture and Darwinian conceptions of the laws of life is born the new philosophy of the "will to power," which is one of the most audacious ventures of modern speculative thought, and which has raised in bold relief under a new light, the most complex phenomena and sociological and historic processes. The "will to power" is a means of perfection for the human race inasmuch as it is through the struggle for domination or power that the race has developed the greatest amount of physical differentiations or attitudes, together with the spiritual virtues which form the reasons for its nobility and greatness. The "will to power" has impelled man to emancipate himself from the brute and it has stimulated within him the vital spark of intellectual effort, and it has brought to him the genial inspiration in the arts, thought and quest for scientific truths.

The laws of evolution, as they determine biological and physical phenomena, are controlling also the fields of sociological and historic processes. One of these laws, the struggle for existence, with its direct and indirect consequences, is worthy of a special consideration from the general point of view of the problem of revolution, and especially of syndicalism. Revolutions are but an aspect or phenomenon of the struggle for existence, which, as it unfolds from race to race in the biological field, is also thus developed from class to class upon the social field. Syndicalism, and the socialist movement in general, are not in contradiction with these immortal laws of nature. The law of natural selection and survival of the fittest finds its sanction in the revolutionary facts of the class struggle. It may be translated thus: "The directive offices in the general administration of society appertain to the selected minorities; that is, the most intellectually, civilly and industrially developed."

One may generalize this formula also in applying

it to the interpretation of the whole historic process of mankind; although as it sometimes happens injustice, ignorance, brutality reign over the world, it is doubtless that the human groups that represent the heroic and perseverant effort toward gentleness and civility, will unfailingly succeed sooner or later, in the conquest of prestige and power.

Today the bourgeoisie rules over the world with its states and with its formidable industrial organization, nor will it decline or fall from this function until the militant working class that is contending with it for supremacy, does succeed in opposing to it and in affirming or asserting its superiority in the new moral, intellectual and civil values of its own.

If we, and here I refer to the militant minority of the working class today, are the men who aspire to carry out the fulfillment of a great historic revolution, and if we want to take by assault institutions consolidated and consecrated by secular veneration of men and demolish them, we must cultivate in our own selves the proper virtues of men competent to support and control civil life. These virtues are principally seriousness and political education in responsibility. In this regard the French Revolution offers us some precious examples. The great ascendancy which the Jacobins gained and the power they exercised upon the revolution, one must especially attribute to their strong qualities of seriousness and political responsibility. The Jacobins had borrowed from the Puritans of England a high sense of personal integrity and from their political doctrines those habits of discipline which conferred so much greatness and efficiency to their manifestations and to their public acts.

It is painful to note the spiritual aridity and inefficiency of the present day subversive world. It has produced but the fewest dominant personalities, really illustrious in revolutionary thought and action. The "rebels" still belong to a too common type of men; they are too much steeped in the common vices and ignorance of the people; nor could they be legitimately considered as pioneers of a revolution. It is not the parades in the street and the marketplaces nor with the subversive chatter that the qualities of education and of political, social and industrial responsibility of the proletariat are developed. These qualities of government spring from discipline and out of the practical assiduity of revolutionary syndicalist life. The overthrow of the capitalist world, which counts enormous abilities and a scientific system of organization, can only come through the efforts of the working masses, guided by an ardent and enlightened minority.

We must, therefore, cultivate the "will to power": That is to say, the passion for perfecting and elevating ourselves; we must ourselves evolve an aristocracy of culture, of civil energy and of heroism, and above all, to ennoble and refine our customs in an air of ideal severity, in the light of a clearer conscience of our revolutionary mission.

It is out of such refined impulses that a working class spirit can be generated, which will prove powerful enough to transform the world.

The Immediate Aims of the Lumber Workers Industrial Union

By C. DEVLIN

What are the immediate aims of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500? What can we expect to gain in the immediate future by joining the L. W. I. U. No. 500 of the I. W. W.? These are questions which most workers will ask before they take out a cord. They are good questions, sensible questions, and every member of the union should do his best to give the most satisfactory answer. Many workers know in a general way that the I. W. W. aims at complete control of industry by the workers; but they regard this as something in the far distant future which they may never live to see. Those unacquainted with the science of economics and ignorant of the true nature of the wage system, doubt whether it is possible or practicable to carry out this program. But all workers of ordinary intelligence are interested in what they can gain at once in the shape of shorter hours, higher wages, better food and cleaner camps. One of the immediate aims of the union is to bring about a radical improvement in hours, wages and conditions.

Shorter Hours

Most important is shortening hours. This benefits the worker in many ways. Every man should have some leisure, some time for rest and recreation, to cultivate his mind and to learn what is going on in the world around him. If a man passes his whole time in working, eating and sleeping he gets little pleasure out of life. He exists in much the same way as a horse or mule, and it is not to be wondered at if he is not much in advance of those animals in intelligence. He has little chance to acquire knowledge, so he remains ignorant. Knowledge is power and ignorance is weakness. Weakness is a crime. Nature exterminates or enslaves the weak. The man who willingly remains ignorant and weak commits the greatest possible crime against himself, and will surely pay the penalty. He will be enslaved, exploited and robbed by those who possess more knowledge and power. He will pass his life in an endless round of toil, hardship and drudgery, producing wealth for the benefit of his masters, receiving in return a small percentage of the product of his labor, just enough to keep him in working condition, the same as a four-legged beast of burden receives enough hay and grain to furnish motive power for his owner's wagon. Long hours of labor not only rob a man of the pleasures of life, but they deprive him of a great part of life itself. Statistics show that those who work the longest hours live a much shorter time than those who have a reasonable amount of leisure. Long hours of hard work prematurely break down the human machinery. Rest and leisure are necessary to enable nature to rebuild the used up tissue of nerve and muscle.

Not only are long hours injurious to the individual, but they are most detrimental to the working class as a whole. Whoever works long hours scabs on the unemployed. By working long hours you force other workers into the army of the unem-

ployed. You increase the supply of labor while decreasing the demand. This automatically lowers wages. The only thing to be said in favor of long hours is that they are profitable to the boss. When you allow yourself to be used by the boss to increase his profits by working long hours, you put your fellow workers on the tramp, cut your own wages, deprive yourself of the pleasures of life, and become a prematurely old man.

Increased Wages

In the last five years the cost of living has doubled. Wages have not increased in anything like the same proportion. When the cost of living goes up and wages do not go up in the same proportion, only one thing can happen. The standard of living comes down. The American capitalists want to force down the standard of living of the American workers so they can successfully compete in the world's markets with the capitalists of other countries where the workers' standard of living is exceedingly low. Slowly but surely we, the American workers, are being forced down to the Chinese standard of living. Shall we tamely submit like a bunch of sheep being driven to the slaughter, or shall we stand up for our rights like men, and take effective action to advance our interests? Only organized action can be effective. As individuals we are helpless.

Camp Conditions

Conditions in the lumber camps of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan are a disgrace to civilization. The food is of the poorest and cheapest variety. The bunkhouses are dirty, unsanitary, overcrowded and nearly all infested with vermin. There is no place to dry clothes except around the stove in the bunkhouse. There is no means of taking a bath. The blankets are rarely if ever washed; a better medium for spreading disease could scarcely be found.

Wake up and think a little over these conditions. Are you satisfied with them? Is there any reason a man should be forced to live like a pig just because he is a lumberjack? The organized lumber workers are not satisfied. That's why they are organized. They intend to change these conditions and change them quickly. What are you going to do? You will benefit by the change. Are you going to act the coward or act the man?

Another immediate aim of the organized lumber workers is to build up the union on the job so we will have protection at all times, and will be able to hold what we gain. When men are unorganized the boss is the one supreme power on the job. You cannot buck him as an individual because he has the power of the company behind him. Unorganized you have no power and the companies and their tools treat you worse than cattle. Organized, each man has the power of the union behind him and you can force them to treat you like a man.

It is the aim of the union to have an educated

membership—not only to put a card in a man's pocket, but to put ideas in his head. Each member must be brought to a realization of his true position in society. He must understand that the workers produce all the wealth and are entitled to the full product of their labor; that they are robbed of the greater part of what they produce; how the robbery takes place and how it can be stopped. Then once a union man always a union man.

To Finish Up With

These are the immediate aims of the organized lumber workers. To accomplish these ends your cooperation is required. Do you expect to sit idly by and see a few active members do all the fighting for your benefit? Do you expect to enjoy advantages other men have fought for? If you have one spark of manhood in you, you will not only be willing but eager to do your share. Then, join the union. Act like a man if you expect to live like a man. Line up with your fellow workers with the firm resolve that for the few short years you are topside of this earth you will be nobody's dog; that you will have conditions which will make life worth living or die fighting for them. You have nothing to lose and everything to gain.

Death ended all for every man
For every son of Thunder;
Then be a lion, not a lamb,
And don't be trampled under.

THE LUMBERJACK

It was the early spring of 1917. I had just alighted from a box car as the freight train pulled onto a siding in northern Idaho near Marble Creek. Seeing the depot a short distance away, which was but the box of an old freight car placed adjacent to the main line, I proceeded in its direction. Arriving I noticed the lumberjack pensively gazing at a family which was grouped together close by, consisting of a father, mother and three girls; the girls, apparently, were of the ages of ten, twelve and fourteen years.

Not having met Jack for several years, I hailed him. He came forward extending his hand gladly and remarked:

"I bet you're a Wobbly, Tim."

"You bet I am, Jack," I hastened to assure him.

"Say, Tim," he earnestly began, "see that family over there. They've just lost their homestead. Only got enough money for tickets to Spokane. The lumber trust beat them out of their claim after they had held it down for fourteen years. The trust's been lawing them six years. The trust won by a script, claim and a technicality, whatever that is. It may be legal, but it is damned dirty. His claim has \$15,000 worth of timber on it. He was figuring how he would send the girls to school when he sold his timber. In the old days Paul Bunion could log some, but today the trust can log \$15,000 worth with one stroke of the pen and make hoboes of little girls. That's the lumber trust direct action. Left alone the trust will create a condition here where we will all be compelled to lick its foot for

the price of eats. I tell you it's about time us lumberjacks woke up."

At that moment the passenger train pulled in. One "timber beast" with its bed on its back got off. The family got aboard. I hurriedly inquired of Jack: "What's the show of getting a job out in these hills?"

"You can find a master most anywhere up the creek. They each have one or two gunmen and stools as aids-de-rot; but you can tell the stools on sight. They are so narrow between the eyes there is no room for a nose. And their heads look like a peanut chucked down between their shoulders," he answered, while getting aboard the smoker.

BACK TO FREEDOM

William Marion Reedy, one of the ablest journalists in America, has expressed his feelings about immediate general amnesty to labor and political prisoners in the following editorial from his weekly magazine, "Reedy's Mirror":

Once again let me remark the time has come for wholesale amnesty to political prisoners in this country. The longer it is delayed the more there will be of resentment against the punishment of people for unpopular opinions. And it is time too that a stop should be put to the deportation of men and women for advocating methods of political, social and economic reconstruction at variance with the ideals of the administration. These deported persons are being sent back to starvation in stagnant Europe, while we are trying to mitigate the sufferings of the people already there. We are driving people out of this land for voicing their thoughts about their grievances. Those we do not exile for the crime of independent thinking we throw into jails and penitentiaries. We are strait-jacketing minorities in a land of liberty, while another minority is strait-jacketing us in the matter of prohibition. Prussianism has fled from Prussia and made its home here. Let us get back to freedom. If we don't do it soon we may have the knout, the lettre de cachet and even the pogrom established as governmental institutions among us. Europe is a prison today. No one can come or go anywhere save under surveillance. This country is going in the same evil way toward the destruction of individualism. We punish anybody and everybody but the profiteers. We stamp out discontent with evils rather than the evils. And congress cuts off all expenditures adequate to the restoration of liveable conditions for the multitude. We are making rather than fending off revolution. And rights are negligible as against power, and the only duty is to endure the insolence of office and the smothering of thought and the strangulation of speech. **Release the radicals from their prisons. Stop the deportation for newly invented crimes. Smash the censorship. Let us have peace and the old liberty once more and forever!**

LEAGUE FOR AMNESTY OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, M. E. Fitzgerald, Secretary.

857 Broadway, New York City.

The Golden Cradle or the Curse of Ill Gotten Wealth

By COLOROW

Some years ago, in the early "Nineties," there lived, in that section of Colorado known as the San Juan Country, a Swedish prospector. He had had but meager luck in his struggle with the powers of Chance who rule in the search for gold; but, with his winters crowded with hard wage-earning, he was able to spend his summers in prospecting.

He did at last find a mine. But, strange to say, it being merely one more of the ludicrously bitter vagaries of that which men call Fate, he did not know it was a mine. He classed his find as a prospect that might sell; and for years he did the work necessary to retain his legal hold upon the group of claims. One hundred dollars a year must be expended on each claim, says the law; and often times our old Scandinavian pioneer found difficulty in performing the requisite amount of work.

One spring, when the prospects for a successful summer looked rather gloomy, he was approached by a prosperous, but to him unknown, gentleman who easily drifted into a conversation with him upon the ever-engrossing subject of mines and mining.

"By-the-bye," said his new acquaintance, "You own the Camp Bird group, do you not?"

"Yes," said the old prospector, "And I should like to transfer the ownership, provided I could find a buyer willing to pay my price."

"What price do you put upon the group?" asked Mr. Walsh, for the enquirer was none other than the late Senator Thomas Walsh, of Colorado.

The Swede, in his anxiety to unload hurriedly, blurted out:

"For three thousand dollars, I will quit claim to you at a moment's notice!"

Walsh, having a far greater supply of the diplomacy of business, did not show his anxiety as manifestly as did the prospector, but suggested that he might be able to find a buyer if he were given a little time.

An agreement was thereupon entered into which to all intents and purposes was an option without the usual monetary consideration; and the prospector felt fairly good—and the Senator, exceedingly so!

For, be it known, Mr. Walsh had also done some prospecting and, among other places, he had sampled the Camp Bird group to the extent of hundreds of specimens. As a result of this sampling, he knew well that he was not purchasing a prospect, but was getting a paying property for a song.

It was but a short time until Mr. Walsh was widely recognized as one of Colorado's most successful and efficient mining men. In fact, he was considered a genius in the field of mining operation. The truth is, however, that the Camp Bird mine would have paid big, even had they worked it upside down.

The mine produced many millions for Mr. Walsh. And, when the property began to show signs of exhaustion, he managed to unload to the Venture Company (England,) for many millions more! Thus did he become one of the wealthiest men of the West, if not of the nation.

In the meantime, Mr. Walsh adopted two children, a boy and a girl; brother and sister. These children, he decreed, would, in the event of his death, share

equally his formidable fortune. But Destiny was against the boy. He was killed in an automobile accident; and so Evelyn, the girl, became heiress to all the Walsh millions.

In time she married one Mr. McLean; and in the course of natural events, unto them was born a baby boy: Vinson Walsh McLean.

The glad tidings of this auspicious birth were trumpeted throughout this and other lands; the event being impressed upon us because of the important fact that Vinson Walsh McLean, with his first breath, became the owner of two hundred million dollars. In the lengthy and vivid press accounts of the birth of this young Croesus and the wealth which was his, we were also treated to a description of the presents rich and rare that were showered upon him. The most noticeable of these was a gift from King Leopold of the Belgians, consisting of a cradle made of gold, and valued at twenty five thousand dollars.

A twenty five thousand dollar cradle, wherein to lay a sleepy, gurgling, two hundred million dollar baby! Just think of it! Twenty-five thousand dollars' worth of gold melted into a cradle! Think well on this!

And, having thought, dwell for a moment on the fact that in one city alone in these United States, not less than forty thousand children are unable to attend the public schools because they are hungry and have no food to eat. Having considered these, let your attention be diverted to those two million of our little ones, ranging in age from four to fourteen, who are daily fed to Mammon's maw, by way of the cotton mills, the silk mills, the glass factories, the coal breakers of Pennsylvania, the cranberry bogs of New Jersey and the oyster and clam sheds of the Southern states, where they receive a pittance of from 3 to 7 cents an hour and often are forced by brutal overseers to work as many as eighteen hours for a paltry two dollars a week.

Do you think this statement is overdrawn, Then, read "Children in Bondage," by Lindsay, Markham and Creel.

But—don't try to ascertain in figures the years these little ones will have to toil to earn for THEIR babies to come, the price of even a silver cradle! For the sum of your calculations would stagger you!

It might not be amiss, however, for you to read and learn whence came the material for Baby McLean's cradle.

Leopold, late king of the Belgians, owned vast rubber estates in East Congo, Africa.

His control of the rubber of that section gave him control over the lives of the people as well (even as the control of industry by a handful of men in the United States, gives them control over the lives of a great majority of the people of this country), East Congo was placed under the "protection" of Belgium, and administered by Belgian officers.

The natives of East Congo were enslaved and a task set for them. So many pounds of rubber, so many grains of meal, was the rate of exchange and the slogan of the task-masters. And, regardless of the age, sex or condition of the worker, the set num-

ber of pounds of rubber must be forthcoming. Failure, in the first instance, resulted in the withdrawal of all meal; and the victim was warned that on the following day he or she must make up the shortage or a greater punishment would be meted out. A second failure on the part of a delinquent one; and he was tied to a stake and flogged. A third failure oftentimes resulted in death. This was to provide a salutary encouragement to industry for the survivors.

In no case did the alleged offender escape the wrath of the brute in charge of the plantation. Sometimes he only chopped off a hand or a foot; sometimes both hands and feet. On rare occasions his leniency would only allow of his cutting off an ear or gouging out an eye, as a warning to others, that slacking would not be tolerated.

For, Leopold had to have his rubber, the monetary return from which were needed by Madame Cleo de Merode, that brilliant and voluptuous dancer, that she might appear dressed in keeping with her exalted position as Leopold's mistress.

Well, Baby McLean must have a cradle. And what more fitting than that the babies of the Congo supply it? A touching manifestation of international goodwill! What matter to them the loss of an ear, an eye, a hand or a foot, so long as their baby brother have his cradle of gold in which to sleep and dream his baby dreams?

I have heard men tell that a smile on a sleeping babe's face indicates approaching mental disturbance; and I am inclined to believe that some occult power was sometimes advising his infant brain of the horrible cost of the yellow bed.

A few days ago this two hundred million dollar baby was called to that bourne from whence no traveler returns being run over and killed by an automobile. Perhaps the fates were more kind to him, even in his early death, than they are to the little children of the Congo; for had he lived and learned the story of the luxury that was his, the knowledge could but bring him misery in a degree even greater than that of the slaves of the rubber plantations. Or, am I perhaps erring in crediting him and his ilk with more sensitiveness than they really possess?

And, what pleasures are in store for some two million working-class babies of the United States? If pleasure can be found in monotonous toil for long, weary hours, in unsanitary housing, in tyrant taskmasters and a crust of black bread? If so, then happy indeed are the enslaved children in the mills and factories, the coal breakers, glass works and shucking sheds.

But happiness, and the making of a robust manhood, are not found there; and there must be a change.

"The time is ripe, from coast to coast. Industrial and economic problems are claiming the attention of the people. Never before was the heart of the world so soft. Never before was there such splendid insistence that injustices must be righted, equalities restored and the obligations of the strong to the weak both recognized and fulfilled."

You and I, fellow worker, owe the child a duty. We owe the manhood and motherhood of this land and of all lands a duty; and we owe ourselves a duty. Our duty is to change the present day system of money worship, to change the "Democracy" (1) of

master and servant into an Industrial Democracy, wherein the wage-slaves shall be unknown, where each worker shall receive the full social product of his labor, where the scab will be recognized as he who does no work.

Workers of the world, get together in One Big Union, such as the Industrial Workers of the World! When united, we can effect the needed changes almost instantly; and the children of tomorrow may dream in cradles far more precious than gold; a mother's loving care.

CHICAGO—THE MODERN BABYLON

"By their fruits ye shall know them," says the Bible. Capitalism is known by its fruits.

Here follow some statements recently made by Col. Henry Barrett Chamberlin, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission, and W. Sims, president of the same commission:

Crime a Steady Business

Crime in Chicago does not come in waves, according to Col. Chamberlin, but is ceaselessly high. Only the publicity comes in waves.

"Crime here is just as steady as any of your businesses," he said. "It doesn't come because of poverty or hard times or cold weather—it's just the plain choice of business by criminals. The murder record has continued on almost a straight line since the first of the year, while robberies and burglaries attained their zenith along about the first of July. In eight months we have had 3,709 burglaries, 1,838 robberies and 167 deliberate murders.

"The laxity of law enforcement is indicated by the fact that seventy-nine murders remain unsolved, thirteen have been sentenced in connection with the 167 murders, only two hanged, and a few waiting trial. These do not include the riot or strike murders. There are about 10,000 criminals in Chicago, or one out of every 300 persons."

Such facts as these are sure signs of the rapidly advancing decay of capitalist civilization and its impending collapse.

It is to be noted that the I. W. W. is not represented among the criminals. The I. W. W. tries to abolish the society that makes criminals. For this reason we are frequently put in jail and called "criminal" syndicalists. Nobody would know that we were criminals except by putting that label on us.

Two hundred and forty-nine Russians were deported Dec. 21 on a special steamer leaving port with sealed orders for parts unknown. Among the deportees on this steamer are Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and the secretary of the Russian Workers' Union. It is hoped by the capitalists that this will help to quiet the unrest in this country, but it will not. The causes of the unrest are at the same time aggravated for every day that goes. Deportation is tampering with effects instead of dealing with causes.

As we go to press reports are coming from the lumber districts that the persecution is resulting in an unprecedented increase in membership. This is as it should be. Now is the time to join!

Capitalism is collapsing, and there is only one thing for us to do, and that is to organize industrially in order to be able to prevent a terrible calamity. There is no other way of continuing production and distribution, when the capitalist class throws up its hands.

The International Arena of the Class Struggle

Before going to press we received news of a general railway strike in Italy which has completely tied up Northern and Central Italy. The troops are used, as usual, to break the strike, being assisted by the catholic railroad workers. We do not know the nature of the strikers' demands, but the correspondents of the American press tell us that the railroad workers, in spite of having been allowed three places of management of the railway system of sunny Italy, in spite of the fact that the government has distributed 100,000,000 francs as a gift to the railroaders in order to break their determination to strike, they are out.

The papers say that it has assumed a revolutionary character and that violence and sabotage has been resorted to by the strikers.

A special dispatch to the Chicago Daily News from its Bulgarian correspondent Stephanov, says that the country is in the grip of a REAL general strike, railroad workers, telephone, telegraph, postal, miners, government clerks and functionaries, etc., in one word, all the organized wage slaves (and we assure you that they are the best organized workers in Europe) of the little Balkan country, are on strike like one man.

The Communists, who are the strongest revolutionary contingent, are leading the strike, and there is much scare headlines appearing every day in the press of their heroic struggle against the combined forces of capitalism, brutally ignorant and savagely opposed to them prosperous peasantry, the army, police and the troops of Mr. Wilson's League of Nations, Senegalese and other African slaves, under the command of Gen. Frenchet D'Esperey, the chief gendarme of the Near East.

The last news reaching us, Jan. 21, was that the Bulgarian Communists have established direct communication with the Russian Bolsheviki. That means that in certain important places they are complete masters of the situation.

* * *

In Germany again we saw the massacre of innocent workers by the machine guns of Comrade Noske, who has become quite a hero in the capitalist world. Even in France "Le Petit Parisien," dissatisfied with the laxity and leniency with the Bolsheviki on the part of the now dethroned "Tiger," says pathetically, "Oh, give us a Noske!" This time the Independent Socialists and Spartacans have again called the workers to street demonstrations against the passing of the infamous "exploitation law" which is aimed at the emasculation of the Workers' Councils.

We most emphatically express our contempt for Noske and his hired mercenaries, but we cannot forgive the German politicians of both camps for inciting the working class to such a suicidal folly, after having experienced the most awful losses in the face of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg only a year ago. We are mentioning this in order to remind our fellow workers that our position has been attacked by a prominent member of the Executive Committee of the German Communist party, in the otherwise clever and honest "Workers' Dreadnought," attacked because his party's executive was split on the One Big Union question, twenty-five voting against it and eighteen for it, with six absentions. And he insolently states that the political socialists in France, England and America will

WOE TO THE VANQUISHED!

(Continued from Page 8)

then a storm it wreaked upon the heads of Yudenich, Kolchak and now Denikin. We know that the Red Army has conquered all opposition in the Transcaspian region and it has entered the rich provinces of Boukhara and Turkestan and is at the gate of England's slave colony—India. On the Siberian front the Bolsheviki have completely conquered Kolchak and have captured him alive, according to the proclamation of the Russian Soviet Government and Comrade Zorin, who met the reported revolutionists on the Finnish border on January 19.

On the south, the Red Army had captured anew the richest coal region in the world—Donetz and the Russian Pittsburgh and Youngstown—Yekaterinoslav and Kharkov. Odessa and other Black Sea ports are in the hands of the Soviet forces and in Ukraine they have succeeded in making peace with the people's form of government after having vanquished the landlords and exploiters of the poor.

This army, composed of workers and poor peas-

ants, ill clad, under-nourished, and supplied with ancient weapons of warfare, was able not only to withstand the onslaught of the mercenary Allied henchmen and the counter-revolutionary cutthroats, but heroically and stoically defended the revolutionary fatherland and finally swept the remnants of the enemies of the working class off the sacred soil of Mother Russia.

That valiant Red Army and the organized (INDUSTRIALLY, we are proud to say) working class of Russia will not fall in the meshes of political charlatans like the sterile four old foggies of the Supreme Council of Wall street, Credit Lyonnais and the London Exchange. They will not rest until the working class the world over come into its own—abolish capitalism and organize the Communist regime, where there shall be no exploitation, misery, wars, starvation, but all shall enjoy the good things of life and contribute each according to his ability to the general culture and welfare of the collectivity.

soon have to square their accounts with the I. W. W. and their industrial program.

We can assure our German friend who has learned nothing of the sore past, when his party lead the proletarian revolution to Calvary, that his friends in France, England and America will have no problem to deal with because in all of those lands OUR KIND OF TACTICS AND METHOD OF ORGANIZATION will carry on the WHOLE revolutionary task, and that he is crying in vain for war on the One Big Union which is too big to be drowned in the mouthings of a street corner spiller.

We shall remind him also that the German working class has already rallied around the Preamble of the I. W. W. and soon there will be nothing for him to lead to the parliaments and street fights. And we say that only through revolutionary economic organization like the I. W. W. in America can the German workers do away with Noske and his masters.

Only after organizing the workers for CONTROL OF INDUSTRY and not the empty street or bour-

geois "talk shop"—the parliament, as Lenin calls it—can you call for the expropriation of the robbers.

This is also in reply to Carl Radek's hasty insinuations against us that appeared in the Chicago American only a few days ago, accusing us of being saboteurs and all around fools, while praising "our Communist party which has 75,000 members." We shall only add that the whole party can and will be shipped in a few boat loads to some foreign shore, without being so outspoken as Comrade Martens to say that "its program was drawn by agents of the Department of Justice."

* * *

The above are instead of editorials, for our worthy fellow worker, Sandgren, is sick abed, after having received "a gentle treatment" at the hands of His Majesty Capital's Pretorian Guards Jan. 1, and for two whole weeks after that day.

They are written by his humble friend

Geo. Andreytchine.

Are You Satisfied Yet?

By DONALD M. CROCKER

Well, gentlemen of the Department of Justice, of the Congress and the legislatures of the several states, and you divers other official and unofficial vigilantes, you have performed your patriotic duties pretty thoroughly. Let us pause and take stock of your achievements to date.

You have made this the most intolerant and illiberal nation in the white man's world, so that even the monarchy of Sweden is driven to protest against the mistreatment of its nationals in the Great Republic.

You have made this the only nation which deports aliens (with scarce even a mock trial) on the bare ground of belief and opinion.

You have made this the only nation where the display of the immemorial symbol of international fraternity, the red flag, is forbidden.

You have made this the only nation where use of the mails by any publication is dependent upon the whim of a single bureaucrat.

You have made this the only nation where Anarchist, Communist or Syndicalist may not freely discuss his doctrines for fear of savage prosecution.

You have made this the only nation where teachers in order to hold their posts and students in order to receive their diplomas must forswear the right to do original thinking on economic questions.

You have made this the only nation which continues to impose ferocious sentences upon prisoners of conscience, when every other has long ago set free its wartime political offenders; and the

only nation capable of treating a Debs like a common malefactor.

You have made this the only nation where militia and regular troops are obediently supplied to large employers to break strikes, and where even conservative labor organizers are outlawed when the industrial oligarchs so will it.

You have made this the only nation where organized plug-uglies are not only tolerated but applauded when they set up a strong-arm censorship of what political and labor organizations shall be permitted to meet, and even of what music the public shall be permitted to hear. (While the American mob silences the violin of Fritz Kreisler, the theatres in Berlin are producing Shakespeare — oh, the unspeakable Hun!)

You have made this the only nation where the beating up and torture of prisoners to extort confession — prisoners who have not been charged, let alone convicted, of any offense — is an unchallenged police prerogative.

You have made this nation a by-word and a hissing among all lovers of liberty in the four corners of the globe.

Are you satisfied? Or is there more to follow?

"The League of Nations! Why that is a League of Robbers to strangle the Nations."

Nicolai Lenin.

The Future of Peace and War

IS WAR POSSIBLE IN THE FUTURE? IS NOT WAR INEVITABLE?

By LEON TROTSKY

Quasi-erudite and profound bourgeois babblers put the question: Is war possible in the future? Is not war INEVITABLE? And they come to the conclusion that war is inevitable.

As we already know, there exists on this subject a considerable literature. In our time the question has left the domain of literature and has been transferred to the domain of intense struggle which everywhere has assumed the character of open civil war. In Russia, power has been taken over by a political party whose programme definitely and accurately describes the social-historical nature of the past and present wars, whilst those conditions under which war becomes not only necessary, but impossible, are also definitely and accurately established.

Old-fashioned people, however, always like to start from the beginning, however far back that may be, and in this instance preference is given to Professor Lehr, by selecting from him, as a basis of learned reference, the commonplace banality that "struggle is the basis of life."

This aphorism, based on an infinitely wide conception of the word "struggle," simply cancels the whole of human history and merges it wholly with biology. When we speak of WAR and are not playing with words, we have in view the systematic collision of state organized groups of human beings, using those technical means which lie within their reach and fighting for aims or ideals which the state powers of those groups fix for themselves. It is perfectly clear that nothing of the kind exists anywhere outside of human society, historically understood as such. If STRUGGLE is the fate of all life, then WAR, at any rate, is purely historical, human phenomenon. Without first taking note of this fact, one cannot be said to have arrived even at the threshold of the question.

Once upon a time people devoured each other. Even to this very day cannibalism is preserved in some places. It is true that the Ashantees do not publish journals; however, if they did, is it not probable that their theoreticians would write "Hopes of the human race renouncing cannibalism are unfounded, as struggle is the basis of life." On this basis one might reply to the learned cannibal that with us the question was not exactly one of struggle in general, but of that particular form of it which consists in the hunting of people for their flesh.

It is quite an indisputable fact that cannibalism ceased, not owing to the influence of preaching, but owing to the change of the economic conditions of life; when it became profitable to convert prisoners into slaves, cannibalism disappeared. But the "struggle," did not that remain? Unquestion-

ably it did. The question with us, however, is not of the struggle in general, but of—cannibalism.

Once upon a time male fought with male for the sake of the female. Ancient bridegrooms "enticed the maidens to the river." At the present time this practice is not continued, notwithstanding that struggle is the fate of every living thing. Mutual skull-cracking in wood and cave gave way later on to tournaments of knights in the presence of ladies, and to dueling. Now both tournaments and dueling belong to the past, or have been converted into masquerades, echoes of olden bloody encounters of the past. In order to understand this process it is necessary to investigate the development of things, the economic relations between man and woman, the change in the clan and family, the rise and development of society, the historical limitations of the views and prejudices of knights and courtiers, the role of duels, as an element in the ideology of society, the disappearance of the social standing of privileged castes, the conversion of duels into a nonsensical relic of the past, and so on.

With the bare aphorism that "struggle is the basis of life," one will not go far in this question, as in most others.

Slav races and tribes fought against each other. The ancient Russian princes fought against each other. The same is true of various German races, and of the feudal principedoms of France that later on were to be united. The bloody civil wars of the barons, the wars of one province against another, the towns against the troops of knights, all this was the order of the day not because "struggle is the basis of life," but because of the definite economic relations of the period, and disappear together with them. The causes which led to the battles of the people of Moscow with the people of Kiev, of the Prussians with the Saxons, of the Normans against Bourgundy, were at their respective historical epochs not less profound and binding than the causes which led to the last war of the Germans with the English. It would appear that the matter is not one of general law of nature, as such, but of those specific laws which define the development of human society. Even if one does not go beyond the sphere of the most generalized historical reasoning, one may ask: "If mankind survived the wars of Bourgundy with the Normans, of the Saxons with the Prussians, of the Kiev and Moscow principalities, then why should mankind not survive war of England with Germany, of Russia with Japan?" "Struggle" in the widest sense of the word, of course, still remains, but war is a particular form of struggle which has existed only from the time since mankind started to build society and use arms. War, as one particular phe-

nomenon of struggle, changed in accordance with the changes that took place in the forms of human culture; and given certain historical conditions, is capable of disappearing entirely.

The feudal wars, owing to their divided and scattered character, brought about a certain disconnectedness in medieval life. One province regarded the neighboring province as a world shut up in itself, from which much gain might be secured. Knights gazed with rapacious eye at flourishing and wealthy towns. Later on, all this changed, separate districts and provinces developed unto a united whole. On this new economic basis, a united France, a united Italy, a united Germany arose, but as a result of awful internal and external struggle. Thus economic unity, by converting vast lands into one economic organism, has made wars impossible within the framework of the new, vast historical formation of the nation—the state.

But the development of economic relations does not stop here. Industry long since penetrated beyond the national framework and connected the whole world by a chain of mutual dependence. Not only Moscow or Kief, but France and Germany and Russia have long ceased to be self-contained worlds; they have become dependent parts of a world-wide economy. Indeed, we feel this very distinctly at present, during a time of military blockade, when we are not receiving the products of German and English industries which we are in need of. But the German and English workers feel this mechanical rupture of the economic unit not less sensibly, by not receiving bread from the Don and Siberian butter.

Production has become universal. But the appropriation, that is, the right to extract the cream from universal production, remains yet in the hands of the bourgeois classes of separate nations. Therefore, if it is necessary to seek for the roots of the present war in "nature," it is not in biological nature, nor even in human nature that one must seek; but social "nature" of the bourgeoisie, which has grown into a class of exploiters, of profit-makers, of robbers and despots, who compel the working classes to fight for it. Universal production, united into one whole, creates unimaginable sources of wealth and power. The bourgeoisie of every nation grasps at these sources, thereby disorganizing universal production in exactly the same manner as the feudal barons, during a period transitory to the new stage, interfered with national production.

The class which is doomed to interfere and destroy production cannot long maintain itself in power. It is just for this reason that the bourgeoisie feel themselves obliged to search for a way out by creating the League of Nations. Wilson's idea consists of a united universal production, which one may regard as partnership of thieves, in which profits are to be divided amongst the capitalists of all lands without war. Naturally, Wilson is inclined to keep the biggest share for his New York and Chicago stock brokers, while the thieves in Lon-

don, Paris, Tokio and elsewhere are not agreed on this.

The difficulty of the bourgeois governments in deciding the matter of the League of Nations consists in the conflict of bourgeois appetites. Nevertheless, one may say with certainty after the experiences of the present war, that the capitalist classes of the most important countries will create conditions for a more or less united, centralized exploitation of the two hemispheres without war, similar to the manner in which the bourgeoisie liquidated the feudal wars within the bound of national territory. The bourgeoisie, however, will be able to decide this question only in the event that the working classes do not rise against her, in the same way as in former times the working classes came to rise against feudalism. The significance of the civil war which in Russia has ended with the victory of the proletariat, and which is nearing the same end in all countries, comes to this: That the working class takes into its own hands the solution of the problem which now stands before the whole of mankind, a matter of life and death, namely, converting the whole surface of the earth, the mines and everything produced by the labor of man into one, systematized universal production, where the distribution of products will be regulated as by one big general bank.

Learned bourgeois base the inevitability of war until doomsday upon the rickety conclusions of the old state jurists. They point out that legitimism, the "principles of nationalities," and the political equilibrium cannot save the world from war.

Legitimism is based on the belief in the immutability of all class, castes and monarchial refuse that was ever collected together on the face of the earth. To occupy oneself in proving that recognition of the divine rights of the Romanoffs or of the Hohenzollerns or the powers of the Paris money lenders, will not safeguard us from war is in reality only wasting one's time with profound prattle. The same applies, of course, also to the theory of the so-called "political equilibrium." Marxism (Communism) has revealed better than anything else the delusive and spacious character of this theory. Diplomatic trickery about "political equilibrium" was merely a screen with which to conceal the diabolical competition in the development of the military machine on the one hand, and on the other the endeavors of England to counter balance France by Germany and Germany by France.

The theory of an armed peace by means of "European equilibrium" can be likened to two engines on the same rails rushing toward each other—a theory which Marxists laid bare in all its falsehood long before it collapsed covered with blood and mud.

Only petty bourgeois dreamers, or bourgeois charlatans are capable of taking the principle of nationality as a basis for permanent peace. Wars were conducted under the banner of nationalism at a time when industrial development needed a transition from provincial to a wider national state basis.

Modern wars have nothing to do with the national principles. We will say nothing whatever about civil war. Kolchak sells Siberia to America, Denikin is ready to enslave three-fourths of the Russian people to England and France only in order to reserve for himself the possibility of exploiting the remaining fourth. International wars also have nothing to do with the national principle. England and France share German colonies between each other and despoil Asia. America thrusts its paw into European affairs. Italy takes possession of neighboring Slavs. Even the semi-strangled Serbia starts to throttle the Bulgarians. The national principle here, even in the best of cases, is no more than a pretext. The matter is one of universal power, of the domination of industry of the whole world. Having subjected legitimism, the theory of political equilibrium, the principle of nationalities and so on to certain cheap criticism, Graf Hischelmann does not even touch upon the question of the real fate of war. And meanwhile the fate of war is being decided in a very practical manner. By thrusting the bourgeoisie away from the helm of

state, by taking power into its own hands, the working class is preparing for the creation of Federation of Soviet Republics of Europe and the whole world on the basis of UNITED WORLD ECONOMY.

War was and will remain a form of armed exploitation or armed struggle against exploitation. The federal domination of the proletariat, as a transition to universal communism, stands for the abolition of exploitation of one man by another, and, consequently of armed conflict between man and man. War will disappear in the same way as cannibalism disappeared. Struggle will remain, but it will be the collective struggle of humanity against the hostile forces of nature.

NOTE—The above article and the APPEAL OF THE RUSSIAN INDUSTRIAL UNIONS TO THE WORKERS OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES are taken from documents on Russia of the working class, written by members of the Soviet Government, prominent militants in the labor movement, biographical sketches, etc.

These materials were sent to Fellow Worker Wm. D. Haywood by Comrade Leon Trotsky, the valiant Commissary for War of the victorious Workers' Commonwealth. We are happy to announce that the I. W. W. will be the first to publish these latest documents on peasant and industrial life in Bolshevikland.

Better Standard of Living

By WM. CLARK

With the price of commodities rising and with the profiteers asking the working men to be contented with the low wages which are offered at the present time, it is only another way to ask them to eat less food.

The profiteers in their mad lust for gold are driving even the most conservative to rebel against the eating of adulterated food, diminishing in nutritive quality and in quantity, while the overlords are on good terms with all the good things to eat.

It is impossible for the working class to live on less food, and this being the case the Industrial Workers of the World are trying their utmost to raise wages and better conditions and in other ways make blind, unintelligent hunger revolts impossible.

While committees are spending their time investigating the high cost of living the working class must wake up to the realization that more direct methods must be used if they are going to get something else out of life besides the crumbs that drop from the masters' tables.

The most constructive program is that presented by the Industrial Workers of the World. The members of the I. W. W. are capable of deciding on how much food they need to sustain their strength, and they also know how to regulate the wages they shall receive in return for the sale of their labor power.

Industrial unionism advocated by the I. W. W. is the salvation of the working class. Organized industrially instead of by crafts, the workers will be in a position to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class.

Industrial unionism imbues a spirit of solidarity

among the ranks of the workers that cannot be broken down by the assaults of the master class. The time is here—now—when every worker should demand an industrial form of organization with a view to abolishing the wage system and thereby bringing about the emancipation of the working class.

The power behind the worker, industrial unionism, can bring pressure to bear on the master class when it uses its economic power to liberate all those who have been jailed for their activity in behalf of labor—all wage-earners—regardless of creed, color or sex.

All those who do not already belong to this fighting organization should get into the ranks of the O. B. U. and help bring about the new era, for nothing can stop the onward sweep of the advancing proletariat.

Remember, we are in this struggle for you, and you should put your shoulder to the wheel to help give it a turn to establish the new society within the shell of the old.

SAYINGS OF GREAT (?) MEN

"The public be damned. I'm not running the roads for the benefit of the public. I am running the roads for MY OWN BENEFIT."—Cornelius Vanderbilt, of the N. Y. C. R. R.

"To hell with the Constitution."—Major McClelland, commanding State militia during the Colorado miners' strike, July, 1903.

"The damned fools don't know what is good for them."—J. Piermont Morgan, speaking of striking steel workers, 1901.

The New Majority.

Union Strikebreakers

By W. J. LEMON

Organized labor as it is generally constituted today, is the most powerful strike-breaking institution in existence. Anyone who will follow the history of the industrial struggle of recent years can come to no other conclusion than that the real cause of the innumerable defeats and few victories cannot be attributed entirely to the superior force and tactics of our enemy, but to treachery and the absence of class solidarity within our own ranks.

The workers as a whole, i. e., those who constitute the A. F. of L. and the railway brother-

hoods, cope with our highly developed system of capitalist organizations than a pack mule is able to compete with our modern system of railway transportation. With few exceptions, the crafts and brotherhoods have developed into nothing more or less than organizations boosting for a large membership, a full treasury, carrying death and accident policies, and last but not least, huge salaries to a swarm of labor parasites, better known as "business agents," "salaried chairmen," "international officers" and "big chiefs," whose principal function



Striking Longshoremen—How the Job Looks When the Workers Quit.

hoods, and who claim to be the only pure, unadulterated, legitimate labor movement on the American continent, still cling with that ferocious tenacity to the craft form of unionism, a system that had outlived its usefulness over a quarter of a century ago. In these days it is no more fitted to

seems to be to keep the treasury full and perpetuate themselves in office. In fact, they have built up an oligarchy so strong and impregnable that they now dominate the rank and file instead of serving them, as they should do. However, we must not censure these false leaders too severely. A

large portion of the responsibility for these unfortunate conditions rests upon our own shoulders for permitting them to build up a machine that has enabled them to become autocrats instead of executives, which they should be, and always amenable to the will of the membership. If it were not for the lethargy and spirit of indifference that exist among the members such a state of affairs would be impossible, for the members are in the great majority and can control their organizations whenever they come out of their hypnotic sleep and act intelligently.

With a few exceptions the crafts and brotherhoods have no educational program or magazines worthy of the name, and such as they are their columns are closed tight against the radical and real progressive ones within the ranks. Only such matter as meets the approval of those in power is permitted therein. Hence it has been an easy matter for the ambitious office seekers within the ranks, by the use of their glib tongues and parliamentary tactics, to climb over the backs of their fellow workers into the coveted seats of the high and mighty.

Before going any further in picking out the flaws and the faults of these organizations, let us review the labor situation for the past year in order to see if there is any basis for the above arguments. First came the Seattle strike, then the great Canadian strike which had its inception in Winnipeg, later spreading to twenty-three cities in Western Canada and to some portions of Eastern Canada. While there were splendid examples of class solidarity in both instances, it never came from those at the top, but from the mass beneath—the rank and file. Not only did the men have the governments of both nations to fight, but also their international officers of the A. F. of L. and the big chiefs of the railway brotherhoods. Hundreds of train and enginemen in Canada gave their economic support to their fellow crafts, with the result that they were expelled by their unions, blacklisted by their employers and in some instances, union officials offered to put union strike-breakers in their places. Another instance was the strike of the railway men of Los Angeles in support of their fellow employes of the Pacific Electric Railway who were on strike at the time. In this case the U. S. government railway administration had the support of the big chiefs to whip the men back in line. In the proclamation issued by one of the "Big Four" chiefs he referred to it as "mob action," that would not be tolerated by those in authority, and unless the men returned to work by a specified time the organizations would do all in their power to assist the railway administration in restoring normal conditions.

A few months ago the longshoremen of Seattle refused to load a forty-five car shipment of munitions destined for Siberia for the brute Kolchak and his allies to slaughter Siberian peasants and workers, but, according to press reports,

the government furnished soldiers to do the work. The I. L. A. sent a committee to interview the trainmen and asked them to refuse to switch the cars onto the docks, but the only reply they received was, "We have not broken a contract in thirty years, and we never will." They thought more of their sacred contract than they did of the lives and happiness of their fellow workers across the Pacific.

One of the big chiefs of the brotherhood in addressing an audience in San Francisco a few years ago was quoted by the press as saying, "Gentlemen, you should appreciate the valuable services of such an organization as I represent, for it is just such organizations as these that keep the lid down and act as a brake on the anarchistic and radical elements within the ranks of labor, for if it were not for us it would be almost impossible for you to control your workers."

On another occasion a member of one of the brotherhoods used the columns of the "Official Journal" to condone the acts of the mob that lynched Frank Little in Butte in 1917, to which the writer of this article replied, but was politely refused space by the editor in the following language: "I have no desire to discuss local labor conditions in the mining district of Montana further than to say that there has been for some time a bad condition there. As to the I. W. W. methods, there is but little to say in their favor, and that organization has been of no help to organized labor in general. And now the federal authorities have got on their trail for alleged acts of treason; they have taken charge of their headquarters, and I have it from apparently good authority (very likely from his chamber of commerce associates) that damaging and damnable evidence has been brought to light that will put a quietus on all of their future transactions."

Just think of a man holding the position as editor of a labor magazine saying that he is not interested in "labor conditions in the mining district of Montana," and this man is of about the same calibre as many others.

Is it any wonder that organized labor is in such a wretched, helpless condition when such publications exist to fill the members' brains with such reactionary trash and create a hatred for their fellow workers?

Then who are the real strike-breakers, the organizations themselves, with their reactionary leaders, a censored press, and all absence of solidarity, or organized capital? I am not writing this article in a spirit of hatred toward my fellow workers of any particular craft or brotherhood, for these same conditions exist in every union where autocracy exists. I am pointing out the defects of these organizations, and the facts as they actually are, in order that the rank and file will arouse from their slumbers and revolt against their oppressors, whether within or without the labor movement. No reform or revolution in the system and principles of our unions is going to come from those at the

top; it must come from the mass beneath whose economic interest it is to make a change. Our leaders are no longer in touch with the membership. With their almost perpetual tenure of office and high salaries they have moved into a different atmosphere to that of the workers. By their continual contact with politicians and other capitalistic representatives they have become unconscious of the workers' class struggle; in fact, I am inclined to believe that the majority of them have become strongly tainted with the psychology of the ruling class.

The many revolts of the workers against their leaders throughout the past year are encouraging for the future; for instance, the printers and longshoremen of New York City, the railway workers of Winnipeg, Los Angeles and Kansas City, and other places, while labor leaders were deeply sympathizing and at the same time threatening their membership with drastic discipline if they continued to support their fellow workers. What a glorious victory it would have been for labor, not only in the nation, but throughout the world, if the railway brotherhoods had given their assistance to the steel workers and coal miners! Thousands of railway workers were anxious and willing to join hands with their fellow workers in the mills and the mines—but! the system of organization and the sacred contract again stood in the way and sent their fellow workers down to defeat.

These events are now past history and cannot be recalled; they can only teach us lessons, show us our mistakes and shortcomings, and be our guide posts for our future organization and program of plan and action.

For our future program it is folly for the workers to waste time expecting capitalist politicians to do anything for us. Never in the history of this nation have the class lines between organized wealth and organized labor been so distinctly visible as during the past year. The government, whether federal, state or municipal, has thrown all its power to the side of the American plutocracy. The troops have invaded the steel mills and the coal mines. Workers have been ridden down by mounted Cossacks, women and children slaughtered by corporation thugs deputized by the constituted authorities. Peaceful meetings have been broken up with clubs. Halls have been raided and destroyed. Divine injunctions have been issued by judges controlled by the money power. But bayonets and injunctions have failed to make steel, mine coal, operate railway trains and mills and factories wherever solidarity existed; and always will if the workers are properly organized on the industrial field.

To claim that the present unions have never accomplished any benefits to the workers would be absurd, but why maintain them in their present form after they have fulfilled their mission and outlived their usefulness? It would be just as reasonable and consistent to expect the same service

from the old ox cart as from the modern railway. The crafts and the brotherhoods have for their motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," whatever that is; so far it is an unsolved problem. The Steel Trust is trying to explain it to its workers by clubs, bayonets and guns. But the workers must conceive of a higher ideal in life than to be merely contented with this so-called fair day's pay, which means nothing but a mere existence, and to create surplus wealth for the benefit of a class that produces nothing but misery and wars.

To criticize and condemn the present labor movement for its inefficiency and apathy in the class struggle, without offering a program or plan for something better, would be wasted energy. The new movement must be revolutionary industrial unionism—the workers of all colors, sexes, creeds and crafts must be organized in the One Big Union with the one constitution and one banner, having the same principles and the same aim, the emancipation of the workers from the wages system, the establishment of the industrial republic where classes will be abolished and the workers shall control all production and distribution, not for profit, but for the use of the human race. Whether we want the new unionism or not, its coming is inevitable. Organized capital is driving the workers into the new movement. The financial and industrial powers of this nation, with their deep laid plan for the extermination of all unionism, whether conservative or radical, is the very thing that is going to force the workers into the One Big Union. To all workers the vital and important move today is either to change their present crafts and brotherhoods into revolutionary industrial unions or else join the Industrial Workers of the World and be real, true union men and women instead of organized strike-breakers.

TO KARL MARX.

By Covington Ami.

Hail, mightiest mind our age has known,
That served the truth, and truth alone!
Hail, Seer of far, unclouded sight!
Hail, Son of Science and of Light!
Let Plutocrats and Priesthoods scowl,
And all the base Apostates how,—
With the clear, crystal globe of facts,
How true you showed their coming acts!
How deep your sight—how full you saw
This great collapse of lawless law;
This system plunging to its fall,
With Death and Hunger lords of all!
Hail, strong, clean hand! Hail, loving heart
That ripped the web of lies apart!
Hail, rebel bearer of the light!
Hail, faithful soldier of the right!

Delusion of War

By JACOB MARGOLIS

Among revolutionists the idea prevails that the Russian Revolution and the other revolutions of Europe are in a great measure the outcome of the war; those, who do not hold such extreme views, hold that the war at least accelerated the momentum and increased the volume of revolutionary ideas and action. Were these views held by an insignificant minority of the revolutionary movement the matter could be dismissed as a negligible error, but the fact is that large numbers of capable men have accepted this notion, which makes it a menace and demanding discussion. The fallacious arguments underlying the whole structure require exposition.

The World in 1914.

Let us go back to 1914 just prior to Sarajevo and the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia which ostensibly precipitated the great war and examine the economic situation in Europe and America with special reference to the condition of (1) unemployment, (2) strikes, (3) disillusionment of the workers, (4) bankruptcy of capitalism, (5) labor organization, (6) political freedom, (7) the State of the Industrial Arts.

In Russia a general strike had been declared on the railroads. In England the same strike condition prevailed to which was added the most acute unemployment problem while in America the unemployment and strike situation was the most desperate experienced since 1892. Germany, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary were involved in similar situations.

The revolutionary movement the world over had become aggressive and articulate. The Syndicalist movements of Italy, France and England and the Industrial Workers of the World in America together with the whole world Socialist movement and the labor movements were emerging with clearly defined plans and programs, and seemed to envisage the whole revolutionary process. The political state was falling into merited disrepute, and one could speak freely and write even more freely against the existing order with little or no danger of prosecution or imprisonment. The promises of capitalists and politicians were ridiculed and flouted by the enlightened workers everywhere, and the process of disillusionment among the proletariat was progressing rapidly.

Capitalism the world over had reached a point in 1914 where the productive capacity of the worker far outstripped the available markets, and no amount of sabotage, of studied inefficiency, of retardation of industry on the part of capitalism could keep the concern going.

What most concerns us in this discussion is the state of the industrial arts in all of the belligerents, and the joint stock of technical skill and ability in 1914 and at subsequent periods up to the present.

The Industrial Revolution had made tremendous and profound changes in the methods of warfare as

remarkable as those in peace industry. Science and machine technology were the important weapons, while the numbers of men the countries were able to mobilize might be an advantage or disadvantage, depending mainly upon the development of the industrial technology of the country, and the industry efficiency of the underlying population, and it is therefore highly important to examine the industrial strength of the countries engaged in the conflict, and the potential capacity for industrial development possessed by them, not forgetting, however, the sources of raw materials available, and their geographic position.

Germany had in 1914 developed the industrial arts to a higher degree than any other European nation. In addition she possessed a well trained military army, supported by an equally efficient, disciplined army of production, whose joint stock of technical skill and ability, and knowledge of the industrial arts was of the highest order.

Her weakness was an insufficient supply of raw materials, and her geographic position cut her off from foreign sources of raw materials needed to supplement her own.

Great Britain had been the first country in Europe to develop the industrial arts and machine technology and consequently had an underlying population in 1914 whose stock of technical knowledge and ability was very considerable: However, the English capitalist had permitted the industrial establishment to lag considerably behind Germany. These same capitalists preferred the development of foreign enterprise to domestic, with a consequent loss to the underlying population of Great Britain.

England had extensive supplies of raw materials, but a small supply of food, but by reason of her geographic position was able to get the needed war materials, pending the development of her industries, to match those of Germany. Food in large quantities was also available from foreign sources, chiefly from the United States. Her army was small, but her naval force was the largest in the world. The underlying population was able to meet the demands of the fighting force.

France in 1914 had an excellent fighting army supported by an underlying population with a large stock of technical skill and ability. Her industrial establishment was kept up to as high a standard as was possible with the limited natural resources and raw materials she was able to command. France has experienced the Industrial Revolution and the industrial arts were part of the common stock of her underlying population. However, as in the case of England, her raw materials and food supply were limited but by reason of strategic geographic position France was able to import supplies and raw materials from foreign sources, and in this case the United States supplied their needs.

Russia had a land stocked with raw materials, a

massive army of men whose courage and strength were magnificent, but the common stock of skill and ability was comparatively small. The Industrial Revolution had not yet been completed in Russia and the industrial arts were known to but a small portion of the population. The underlying population had not the skill and ability to turn out the enormous quantities of munitions of war to support the vast army at the front, and the population in the rear. The railroads were not adequate to carry the supplies needed to supply her monster army, and her geographic position was such that her allies were unable to send the supplies which her own underlying population could not create.

Austria-Hungary and Italy, two of the other important belligerents, were not self-sufficient, and suffered either from an underlying population whose technical skill and knowledge was limited, or from insufficient raw materials. Both were in strategic geographic positions and were able to supplement their needs from the stores of their allies.

The United States of America in 1914 had an inexhaustible supply of raw materials, and an underlying population whose common stock of technical skill and knowledge, and whole knowledge of the industrial arts equalled if it did not surpass that of Germany.

The Industrial Revolution had been an accomplished fact for some time and the industrial establishment was in excellent working condition. Her geographic position was excellent, and although a negligible fighting force in 1914, this seemed to be of small importance as the events of the war proved. The United States had really been in the war before April 6, 1917, for she had supplied Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia with munitions and raw materials so needful in modern warfare.

With this state of affairs in the world in 1914, the Great War broke out. The great blessing of capitalism was upon us. Every condition hereinbefore described was immediately changed. All strikes came to a sudden end and the national emergency came before class differences. With the mobilization of the armies, the unemployed workers disappeared in the army of the factories, munition plants, ship building yards, and offices. Millions who had never done any useful work were compelled either to work or fight. Even women and children were commandeered and were compelled to work long hours at most irksome and laborious tasks. Emergency laws were immediately passed in all countries. Defense of the Realm Acts and Espionage Laws which gave to the state a power and importance never enjoyed by it in the history of the world. Bond issues and taxes gave these states funds never before imagined by the greediest office holder. All criticism of capitalism and the state ceased either from choice or the coercion of mobs or laws. The disillusionment of the workers came to an abrupt end and once more was the capitalist order functioning and once again did capitalism and the state emerge triumphant and dominant.

All the tremendous gains made by the worker in the decades preceding 1914 were temporarily wiped out in the welter of blood, profits, hates and fears. The spokesmen of labor seemed to have gone stark mad. They promised what practically amounted to a strikeless war and agreed that the advantages gained were not to be followed up. The socialists, anarchists, syndicalists seemed to have forgotten all about the class conflicts and thousands became social patriots. No longer existed freedom of speech or press, no longer organization of the worker in militant economic unions, no more education of the worker to distrust the State and the politician.

The world was surely going through an unusual experience, and for a time it seemed as though the natural condition was war, not peace. The most curious phase of the whole thing then was the gratification and contentment with the state of affairs.

The War from August 1914, to America's Official Entry Into the War in 1917.

The armies of Germany, France, Austria-Hungary and Russia were mobilized with incredible speed. It seemed that Belgium was invaded before the last ultimatum was read. There is now no doubt that preparations were made long in advance by all the belligerents. For proof of this the treaties published by the Bolsheviki after the overthrow of Kerensky are sufficiently convincing to any reasonable mind.

Germany threw her armies against France, and it appeared that her promise to end the war in three months would be fulfilled. Her fighting force, as well as her underlying productive population, was so excellent that her expectation was not at all unreasonable. But as events proved, there was some mistake in her calculations.

I am not much concerned with the fortunes of the fighting armies. We shall pass over the battles, raids, submarining, ship-making and all the incidents of every war.

The underlying populations of Germany, France, Great Britain, Russia and the other nations were performing wonderful feats of production in accordance with their industrial equipment and common stock of technical skill and ability. German scientists were creating new foods and materials for clothing; they seemed to be making something out of nothing. However, in modern warfare aeroplanes, ships, large calibre cannon, poison gas, grenades, liquid fire, submarines are of especial importance and as these were products of the late development of the industrial revolution, the country having the largest number of men and having the largest joint stock of technical skill and ability or potential skill and ability was found to have the advantage.

Of all the nations engaged in the Great War, Russia had the smallest common stock of technical skill and ability in proportion to the whole popula-

tion and it was quite natural to expect that she would be the first to succumb. The process of disintegration had been going on for a long time prior to March, 1917. Her collapse was due merely to the fact that her underlying population could not produce the necessary munitions of war. It was not due to cowardice or treason, as some super-patriot would have us believe. Russia was completely exhausted in this conflict against superior force. When the end came in Russia in 1917, she had, according to one report, not a single operating aeroplane, her troops were without rifles, clothing or food, and large calibre cannon were curios. The transportation system had broken down completely. The picture of misery and degradation of the Russian Army and the underlying population in March 1917, can never be adequately described.

With Russia out America entered the war on April 6, 1917, as an associate power. History may probably reveal this coincidence. Some day when the European foreign offices become public property, we may read some startling treaties, perhaps more illuminating and ghastly than those exposed to public view by the Russian Bolsheviks. Be that as it may, America entered the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary. America threw all her industry into the fight, she added her underlying population with their tremendous stock of technical knowledge against Germany and her allies, with the known results.

Germany and Austria-Hungary and the powers associated with them outdid themselves in the production of munitions. It seemed that the stock of skill and ability of the underlying population was inexhaustible and the resourcefulness of her scientists was boundless. They were performing prodigious tasks and miracles, but raw materials finally gave out.

Great Britain and France were doing just as marvelous things with the co-operation of their underlying populations. Britain, although she had permitted her industrial establishment to suffer from disuse, discovered an amazing stock of skill and ability in her industrial population. The workers not only produced under direction but undertook in co-operation with the technical staffs the solution of many production problems. The submarines took on a new and unusual significance in British production.

The United States added her quota to that of the Associated powers and the inevitable happened. Germany, Austria, Hungary and the other enemy countries were compelled to surrender to superior force and to exhaustion of raw materials and of the underlying population. In addition to those forces the discontent and disillusionment of the armies of fighting and production was accentuated by Russian revolutionists who were now practically out of the war since March 1917, the date of their successful revolution.

Russia had surrendered in 1917, from sheer exhaustion, Austria-Hungary surrendered in 1918 in about the same state of collapse as Russia, but

although Germany was compelled to surrender it was not as abject a surrender as that of Russia, for she was not nearly so exhausted and her underlying population had not lost such an amount of technical skill and ability as the underlying population as her allies.

And once more God favored the stronger army, but this time it was not numbers of men, but the largest aggregate stock of technical skill and ability, the possessor of the highest developed industrial art that triumphed.

The Russian Revolution and After

And now we come to the crux of the whole matter. An examination of the causes of revolution and what the war has contributed to revolution.

In 1914, before the Great War broke out, the generally accepted method by which negative revolution could be brought about was as follows:

In all capitalistic countries that had gone through the industrial revolution the industrial arts had attained a high degree of development. Their national groups were capable of producing much more than they were able to consume, and therefore, markets must be found to dispose of the surplus product and when no outlets are available, unemployment, strikes, sabotage of the industrial establishment followed. As the numbers of countries that passed through the industrial revolution increased and became economically autonomous to a greater degree, the markets became narrower. A further restriction of markets became still further pronounced, through the greater perfection of the industrial arts, increasing the productivity of the underlying population. It became increasingly more difficult for the capitalist financiers to allay discontent and avoid disillusionment. With the period of unemployment becoming longer, and the periods between prosperous eras shorter, the situation would become very serious and uncomfortable for the owning classes. The revolutionist held that as this process continued, capitalism would find it more difficult to function and its position would therefore become untenable. Its breakdown would follow from a too great productivity. Insufficient markets for capitalism will only produce when there is a profitable market in which to dispose of the commodities produced by the underlying population. When this reached an acute state the whole scheme of capitalist exploitation comes to an end. With the break-down of capitalism following the above described scheme, there is no diminution of the joint stock of technical skill and knowledge of the underlying population, nor destruction of the industrial arts.

The foregoing may be properly described as the normal death of capitalism or negative phase of the revolution, but there is a much more important phase of revolution and that is the positive phase of the building of the new social order, the construction of a new society, and it is with this phase of revolution I am most concerned and propose to show what a terrific loss accrued to the positive revolution by reason of the war.

The Russian Revolution and Other Revolutionary Efforts

At this point a discussion of the Russian revolution is pertinent, and I propose to show that if the world revolution depends upon the forces which brought about the Russian revolution, we would be compelled to lay waste the world and destroy the larger portion of the world's population.

As indicated in the foregoing, Russia in 1914, and thereafter, possessed a smaller joint stock of technical skill and ability, than any of the belligerents. The Industrial Revolution had made but slight headway there, and the industrial arts were little developed. As a net result of all these facts the Russian military machine was the first to break from sheer exhaustion and inability, on the part of the underlying population. When the old order ceased to function, we find the ruling class of Russia in 1917 powerless and discredited, and a working class disillusioned, hungry and broken. The groups which could appeal to the population, fire their imagination, bring peace, and fulfill some of the promises of a better day, would be the triumphant group. The group which was able to do this was the group entirely opposed to the old order. They were the group of Revolution, the Bolsheviks, and after the failure of the Cadets and Moderate Socialists, the Bolsheviks gained the place of control.

The Russian experience has exploded one age-old fallacy current among Socialists, and that is that it is necessary for each state to go through the various stages of capitalist development before capitalists may be dispensed with and the revolution ushered in.

Russia did not proceed along the lines prescribed for revolution because of a most unusual combination of circumstances. Capitalism did not come to its end there from overproduction and restricted markets, but came to its end through exhaustion, inasmuch as it had not attained its full strength and maturity.

But now in all candor, let us face the situation in 1917. The best part of the underlying population, that portion of the underlying population which possessed the largest portion of the common fund of technical skill and ability, had been either killed or exhausted. The technical staffs, which had remained over from the capitalist era, were sabotaging the new concern. The pressing and desperate problem was production, and the underlying population had neither the energy nor the skill and ability to produce the things needed. The war had worked havoc and wreaked a terrible vengeance upon poor Russia. The war as a last hideous gesture of an immature capitalism had surely played Russia a mean trick. It is amazing that the Russian worker does not despise capitalism more bitterly than he does. The revolution has been the miracle and has helped him to forget his pain and misery, and has been the alchemy which transmuted ill will into good will.

The other countries which had revolutionary experiences were Hungary and Bavaria and certain portions of Germany. We find that they, too, did not go through the normal peace time revolutionary process caused by capitalist overproduction, unemployment, disillusionment, and restricted markets, but rather from sheer exhaustion of immature capitalism and because the underlying population had not a joint stock of skill and knowledge to meet the exigencies of the situation.

This method of revolution by war through exhaustion if carried out logically and applied to all countries, and especially in those countries possessing the largest industrial equipment and the highest developed industrial establishment with the largest underlying population possessing the largest common stock of skill and ability, will find the world at the end of the experiment a wilderness, peopled with inefficient. So much for the negative phase of the Russian revolution, carried to its logical conclusion. If such a conclusion does not appeal to one and make one abandon the idea of revolution through war, then nothing in my opinion could dissuade him. If the normal process of negative revolution had continued since 1914, the same degree of disintegration would have taken place in all the capitalistic countries in the world. As a result of the simultaneous disintegration we would not find one country or countries highly capitalistic and other countries revolutionary as we find them today. To illustrate: We would not find capitalistic United States and Japan and revolutionary Russia so widely apart. No revolutionary country would find itself menaced by a capitalistic country. For if any one country would have succeeded in accomplishing the revolution prior to the others, the revolutionary movement would be so far developed in the other countries that the capitalists of the countries in which the revolution had failed to occur would not dare to interfere with the revolution in the country where it had occurred. With this condition prevailing the world over the country accomplishing its negative revolution under normal conditions would have no difficulty in accomplishing the constructive phase of the revolution.

War in Its Relation to the World Negative Revolution

All revolutionists are agreed that the ultimate aim of revolutionary action is the destruction of Class Society the world over, and the creation of a classless society in its stead. Russia has accomplished the negative revolution and the consequence of such method for the rest of the world is indicated in the foregoing. What was the revolutionary condition of the world during the war, and what has the war done for the revolutionary aspirations of the world?

During the four years of the war the natural process of capitalist disintegration, which was going on during peace time, ceased. The discontent and disillusionment disappeared. The revolutionary

movements under the banners of the different social theories had all but vanished. Instead of acceleration of revolution there was an actual retardation. Capitalism was functioning again. With the sudden termination of the war the European countries were very close to collapse, and as a consequence tidal waves of discontent and disillusionment swept over them. An epidemic of strikes broke forth causing much consternation among the property owning classes and capitalists. Had they been able to make a rapid re-adjustment and employ those who were engaged in war industries in peace time industries and had they been able to supply them with sufficient food and demobilize the armies, they might have been able to stay the unrest. This, however, seemed a task beyond an impoverished people with a greedy profit-mongering capitalist class, which had learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

There is a bare possibility that the present unrest will pass away, for the destruction occasioned by the war will have to be repaired, and if capitalism survives it will adjust its financial and credit relations. Work will be undertaken to repair the damage done. The United States today is the one reactionary bulwark on the Atlantic Coast which stands opposed to all the European revolutionary movements. It can withhold food from the impoverished populations of Europe, and this threat enables it to hold the whip of starvation over the heads of the peoples of those countries. Were Russia industrially as powerful as America, and could it give assistance in the way of food and raw materials, then no difficulty of any consequence would be experienced by the revolutionary movements of Europe in accomplishing their revolutionary program. The fate of Hungary is held up as the terrible example.

The countries of Europe may hardly see a revival of capitalism, for the disillusionment caused by exhaustion and starvation have brought them very close to the condition of Russia and negative revolution is imminent.

In the United States, however, the disillusionment of exhaustion, the discontent, the strikes through failure of rapid adjustment, from war to peace basis, seem to be but temporary, and we may expect capitalism to continue to function for some time. However, the normal disintegration of capitalism is already discernable, for we are again at peace, and such a manifestation is to be expected. Admitting all this negative revolutionary process in Europe it is my opinion that five years of peace would have caused such disintegration of capitalism, that we would be as near negative revolution as we are today with all the travail of positive revolution which Europe will have to endure obviated.

The War and Positive Revolution in Russia and the Rest of the World

As previously indicated the positive revolution means the building of the new society without capitalists, wage workers, governments, and with sufficient technical skill and ability on the part of the

workers to manage and conduct industry, and solve all technical problems of industry without any super-imposed authority.

During the capitalistic era the proletariat had developed organization through which they resisted the attempts of capital to enslave them entirely. These organizations up to the present were fighting movements, trade and industrial in character which fought the every day struggle of the proletariat against capitalism. They reduced working hours, increased wages, improved sanitary conditions in the workshop and in general ameliorated the shop and working conditions.

Although some of these organizations had a comprehensive program and had visions of the new society, yet their actual work up to 1914 was confined chiefly in the circle of hours and wages and their function was that chiefly of protection, resistance and fighting against the hard conditions which capitalism attempted to impose. During the war the activities of these organizations were suspended, either from lack of understanding of the real character of war, or from discretion, as they realized that the power of the State and capitalism would crush them in any struggle they might precipitate.

The members of Trade or Industrial Unions who would continue the fight against capitalism during the period of the war were sent to prison for long terms of years. The stronger the capitalism the longer the term of imprisonment. In this respect the United States imposed the most outrageous sentences upon their opponents and malcontents and showed no spirit of forgiveness. Amnesty for industrial offenders is very far off in the country. The movements of education and propaganda under the general head of Socialism and Anarchism were unable to function during this period, and their work of arousing class consciousness among the proletariat had to be suspended for the period of the war.

The most important movement of all, that of organization of the workers for the purpose of production, management and control, received some apparent impetus in England, for the capitalists of England found it necessary because of the backward state of the industrial establishment in that country to call upon the British worker to co-operate with the technical staffs in the solution of shops and technical problems arising in the industry.

But this fact must be borne in mind that the underlying population of Great Britain had this vast common stock of technical skill and ability when the war broke out, and it was only because of the backward state of the industrial establishment that they were called upon to employ their skill and ability, but we shall see later in the discussion that Great Britain as well as the other nations suffered great loss in the constructive phase of the revolution.

Now let us return to Russia, the country which through exhaustion had accomplished the negative phase of the revolution.

Under the immature capitalism of the Czar, capitalist society had not much difficulty in conducting the industrial establishment, especially as regards the propertied classes. What her own underlying population was unable to produce, she could import from other countries, where underlying populations over-produced. But the conditions of peace time Russia prior to 1914 cannot be used as the measure for Russia in 1917 or later.

In the first place, Russia is isolated from the rest of the world by a tight blockade. She must support a large army to meet the aggressive acts of untold enemies who would destroy the revolution and restore czarism. While under the old capitalist order the condition of the worker was of no consequence, under revolutionary Russia the worker receives first consideration. He must be fed, clothed and housed before all others, and he makes up the largest portion of the population. Under the Czar he who did not work but exploited others had of all things in abundance; under the revolution he who does not work shall not eat.

And what do we find in Russia to meet these extraordinary demands of the constructive revolution. We find the greater portion of the common stock of skill and ability destroyed, we find the industrial establishment in a terrible state of decay, the wear and tear of the railroads have made them practically useless. The millions who were killed were for the most part those who had some knowledge of the industrial arts, the remainder of the population were starved, shell-shocked or exhausted. No wonder Lenine cries aloud for production, for indeed production is the all-absorbing and paramount question in Russia, and to produce with such a depleted stock of technical skill and ability is taxing the minds and hands of the underlying Russian population to the utmost.

Russia is now going through the first constructive phase of the revolution and what wonders her underlying population is performing! Tens of thousands of Russian workers who had no knowledge of the existence of machine technology and the industrial arts are going to schools to learn how to become efficient, skilled workers while millions of illiterates are going to new schools to get the rudiments of an education.

She started out in 1914 with the smallest stock of technical skill and ability, that small stock was almost completely destroyed or exhausted, and from this fact alone without any first hand knowledge of Russia, one must realize the desperation of her position, and must come to the conclusion that men who will make such heroic resistance to all opposition must hold the revolution very dear.

If they would give up the revolution the underlying population under capitalist control would furnish them with the things which their own populations are unable to produce.

The war has been a tremendous loss to Russia in terms of the constructive positive revolution. How simple would be the problems of reconstruction in Russia if her common stock or technical skill and

ability were not buried in the battle field, or exhausted from hunger and fear. But such is the case and nothing can now alter it, but the lesson we learn is that the war was certainly never of the proletariat's making, and the revolution in Russia was a terribly costly affair for the survivors in discomfort, hunger and danger.

Had Russia a large stock of technical skill and ability, together with well organized production groups the constructive phase of the revolution would have been attended with comparative ease and in practically no time. But it was to be otherwise.

Austria-Hungary and Italy, next to Russia, suffered the greatest loss in their common stock of technical skill and ability, and both would be in the same position as Russia today were they able to overcome external enemies.

Germany had such a large stock of technical skill and ability and although frightfully depleted there still remains a large fund. Her external enemies will not permit the revolution and her own capitalists still retain some power and control. The people were not wholly disillusioned and the old order functions once more. But had the negative revolution occurred in Germany from sheer exhaustion it is doubtful whether they could carry out the constructive revolution with their limited supply of skill and ability, with their starved and exhausted population, and particularly with the external capitalists opposed to it.

Great Britain improved her industrial establishment and gave her underlying population an opportunity to demonstrate their technical skill and ability, and they more than met all expectations, but Great Britain suffered a tremendous loss in her stock of technical skill and ability and more than once during the war it looked as if the collapse was inevitable. The United States came at the critical moment and prevented the negative revolution. Had the negative phase of the revolution been accomplished, the underlying population would have experienced much misery and starvation during the first days of the constructive revolutionary phase, and a long time would be consumed before it were an accomplished fact.

France was very much in the same predicament as England, and at one time France would have welcomed a German victory if only the war would end. Her common stock of technical knowledge, and her industrial arts are buried in Flanders' Fields and Verdun. The rest of her underlying population is exhausted. Constructive revolution would tax her to the utmost, and it would take little external pressure to overthrow it.

One country emerged from the conflict with hardly any diminution of her stock of technical skill and ability, and that is the United States of America. Not actively engaged in the war for more than one year and a small fraction of her population in the army, and actually removed from the scene of warfare, the underlying population has not been diminished, to any appreciable extent. Her work-

ers are suffering from exhaustion but that is only temporary. Should the American proletariat reach the stage of constructive revolution the matter would entail comparatively no suffering or inconvenience on the part of the underlying populations.

The United States has such a large stock of technical skill and ability, such large supplies of raw materials and foods that all of Europe outside of Russia are compelled to do what she dictates. The United States can probably make or break any positive revolution in Europe by withholding food, machinery, raw materials. This is particularly true for Austria-Hungary and Italy, where the initial stock of technical skill and ability were lowest, and when the consequent exhaustion was the most complete.

The millions killed and wounded, the millions of insane and exhausted among the underlying population of the world were the possessors of a large share of the common stock of technical skill and ability of the world. The war has removed them, and the revolution cannot use their services to build up the new social order.

Now with the return of peace the remaining populations must acquire the technical skill which their brothers that they must learn the industrial arts and machine technology, they must go to schools as their Russian brothers. Once more must the trade and industrial organization renew the fight where they left off, and continue it with increasing vigor. Once more we must undertake the spread of education and the arousing of class consciousness.

Above all there must be built up and perfected the production organization, which is to control and manage industry for the benefit of all society.

In this discussion my aim has been to exclude human values and consider only the mechanical value of population in terms of the tangible accomplishments of those populations for the purpose of revolutionary action.

Since the armistice was signed November 11, 1918, the disillusionment of the working classes has been very rapid. The promises made by the capitalists and their diplomats have not been fulfilled. The rank hollowness and hypocrisy of the whole ruling class has been exposed to full view. The war went too far, the secrecy maintained during the war for military reasons gave no adequate idea as to the actual exhaustion of Europe and the weakness of the ruling classes. The example of Russia has given a tremendous impetus to the revolutionary movement of Europe and it will not be at all surprising if capitalism fails to survive and negative revolution in England, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and for that matter of all Europe may come from the utter exhaustion of these countries.

The United States and Japan among the countries that had gone through the industrial revolution have a well entrenched capitalism which bids fair to continue for some time, and perhaps these two, together with the counter revolutionaries of Europe may enable capitalism to survive the present storm in Europe.

Since the war is an accomplished fact and the state of exhaustion does exist it is to be hoped that all of Europe will accomplish the revolution and will set about with their limited technical equipment to rebuild a Europe where wars will be impossible and where human values based upon achievement will supplant money values based upon robbery and exploitation.

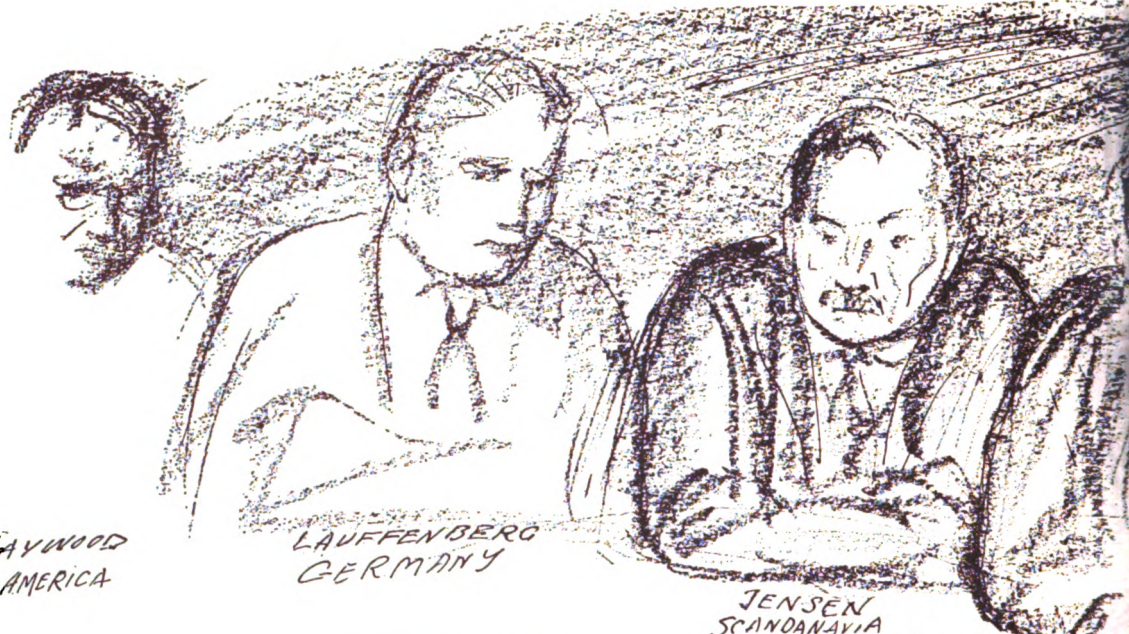
Revolutions in Europe really at this time are the only thing which can mitigate the extreme misery and exhaustion there, for the workers will have an interest in rebuilding the country, now absent, their will be released the creative ability of the underlying population, and reconstruction will be undertaken in earnest, for how can one expect the broken exhausted population of Europe to work when they are sure it is not for themselves, but for the parasites and murderers who brought on this unspeakable calamity? As Robert Smillie is reported as saying when the question of insufficient coal production on a six-hour day arose, "If we were producing for ourselves and not for millionaires, we could produce an oversupply in a six-hour day."

This explains the whole matter. If they produce for themselves and not for profit takers they will be able to rehabilitate a shattered world. But the stubborn fact still remains in this day of reconstruction, if the common stock had not been depleted, nobody could tell the workers of Europe that indescribable suffering to the underlying population would result from experiments in revolution.

However, as the matter stands, much less suffering will be borne by the underlying population of Europe if they succeed in their revolution, than is now their lot under exhausted capitalism.

Capitalism did not want the war to go to the point of complete exhaustion, but once in it, the ugly passions of the parasite gambler would not let them withdraw. Capitalism reasoned in this fashion. If we cannot own and control the world, we will so mutilate and ruin it, that nobody will be able to enjoy it, and in all fairness to capitalism they made a splendid job of it. Like the jealous husband who sees death near, he would disfigure his wife, even kill her so that no one else should have her and enjoy her.

Capitalism really expected the war to end with the world very much in the same condition as the present United States, only better for them; that is neither exhausted nor revolutionary, and with broad markets for goods. In the United States the notion generally prevails that capitalism is in no danger of destruction, and revolution has but little prospect of success. Capitalism is powerful, protected and secure here, and so they hoped it would be the world over. But the affair got out of hand; they lost. It is inconceivable that man could gamble for such stakes. The whole human family may have perished as far as these monsters were concerned. May this be the last time that millions of human lives are the stakes.



HAYWOOD
AMERICA

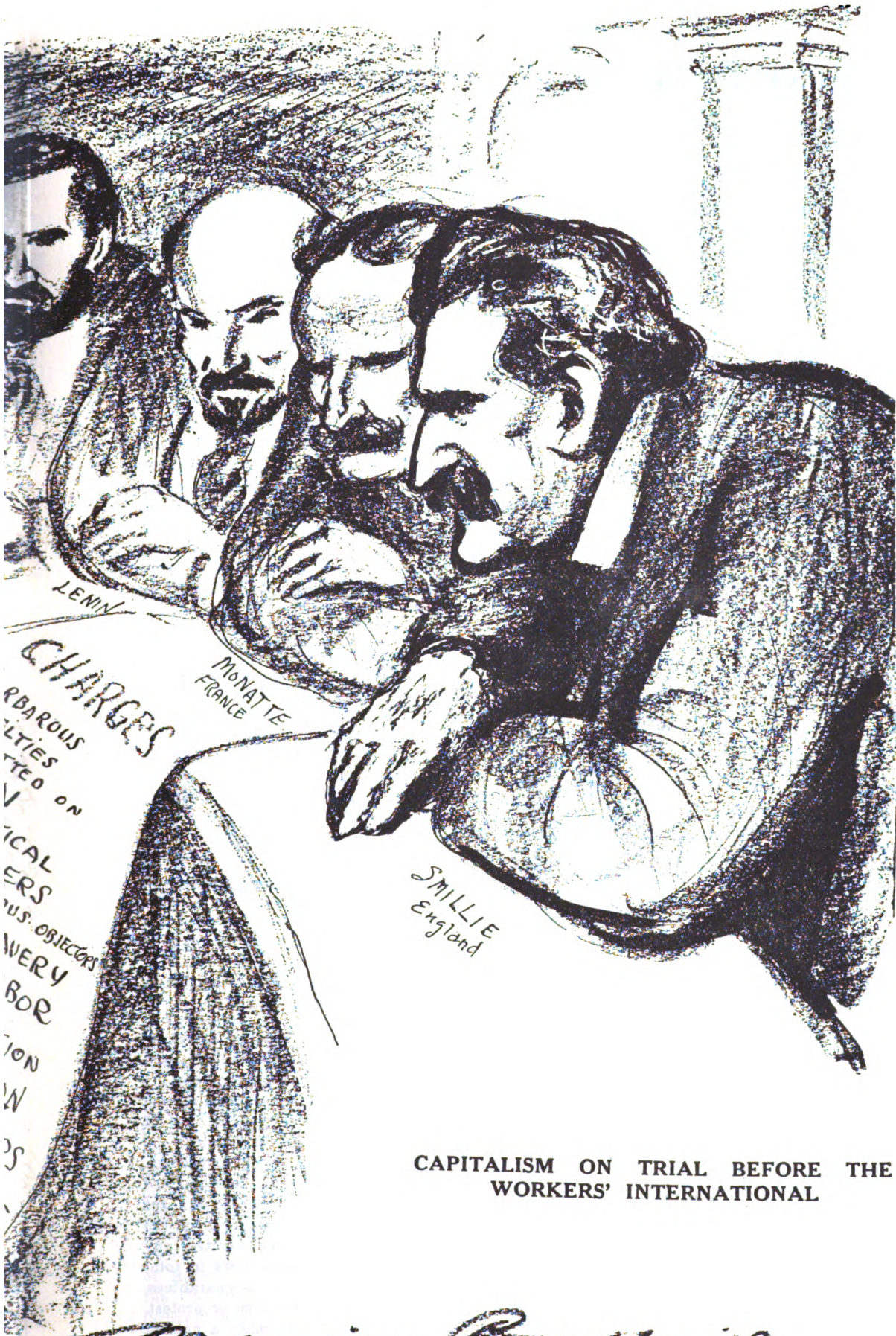
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CAPITALISM ON TRIAL BEFORE THE
WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL

Maurice Becker '19

A New Declaration of Independence

by JOHN L. METZEN

Ever since our Revolutionary forefathers ordained that freedom should live forever on the American continent; that a new form of government should take the place of an autocracy overthrown; that a constitution should be given to the world that would forever stand as a guaranty to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that a Bill of Rights and a Declaration of Independence of defying the tyrants of the world should be the inspiration and hope of liberty-loving people; the American Nation has meant this much and more to the down-trodden, the oppressed, of all Nations.

These People, foreign born, and foreign bred, have come to us in continually increasing numbers. They have given us of their life, of their strength, of their endurance, of their culture, and in return we have offered them the shelter and protection of our shores. Yet, withal, when our Revolutionary forefathers rebelled against government by tyranny they laid down

for us, and all mankind, the law for all time, that true government can exist only by the consent of the governed, and that the object of such government is to increase the welfare, add to the happiness, and further secure to its subjects those liberties which they, through revolution, had gained for mankind.

In this day of unrest, of discontent, we stand face to face with the problem of retaining to ourselves those inalienable rights which our Revolutionary forefathers stated it was the purpose of government to protect, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The world at large has been lead to believe that this Nation was established on those principles, that the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, belonged to each and every one coming under the protection, and shelter, of our government. Yet, if this be true, why is it that whenever any part of the working class seeks to



Abraham Lincoln

Lincoln said, in his first inaugural address, March 4, 1861, "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

The right of revolution is in the Declaration of Independence. "All men are created free and equal and endowed by nature with certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and to attain these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that when government becomes destructive of these ends, it is

the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and institute a new government in such form as shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

The present administration and the Supreme Court have demonstrated and established that in time of war the Constitution with all its amendments is but a scrap of paper and of no force and effect. Hereafter all that the people who do the work and produce the wealth have to do is to unite and get control of the Congress and other branches of the government and declare war on some country, any country, and at once proceed to enact laws in total disregard of the Constitution, and all its guarantees, and arrest and imprison all who disagree or protest. It is well for the people who toil to made a note of this fact.

secure to itself the recognition of these inalienable rights, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness they are immediately met with force, with police, with soldiers, machine-guns, bayonets, with bullets? Does this mean that our form of government has been changed without the consent of the governed? Does it mean that the institution of government guaranteed to us by the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States of America, has been silently overthrown by the sinister influences whose sole right of existence is derived through the right of property as opposed to the rights of man?

When the Bill of Rights, and Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States of America, were adopted as the supreme law of this country it at once imposed a burden upon every one seeking its shelter, and protection. That burden, was a duty which demanded of every man, every woman, and every child, to do all that lay in their power to increase the welfare, add to the happiness, and further secure the liberty, guaranteed by the supreme law so that every man, woman and child, might know the true benefits of good government. Why, then, it may well be asked, do those in power of government, oppose force, police, soldiers, machine guns, bayonets, and bullets, to the members of the working class who are seeking to secure for themselves, and others, the right to life liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? Why oppose force, police, soldiers, machine guns, bayonets, bullets, to those who are striving to secure for themselves, and for others, the blessings of good government, and a share in the good things of life, the plenty that labor produces?

Abraham Lincoln further enlarged on the ideas of true government given us through revolution by our liberty-loving forefathers, when he said, "The noblest object of any government is to secure to the worker, insofar as possible, the full product of his labor.

Yes, this ought to be the object of our government. But labor receives less than twenty per cent of what it produces, and it is met, on all hands, with police, soldiers, machine guns, bayonets, and bullets, whenever it seeks to secure for itself "the noblest object of any government - the full product of its labor", the good things of life, the blessings intended for all.

People of America: Awake! Oppression, slavery, through profiteers seeking to deprive us of our right to life, to liberty, to the pursuit of happiness, by the control of the necessities of life, has already reached the unbearable state. They are forcing unrest and discontent upon us so that they may use the power of the police, of the soldier, of the machine gun, of the bayonet, of the bullet, to accomplish this in a legal manner. Already we are deprived of those rights which our Revolutionary forefathers, in the Bill of Rights, in the Declaration of Independence, in the Constitution of the United States of America, declared were sacred, and inalienable, the right to

life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, without paying tribute therefor.

People of America: *Arise in your might. Support your Bill of Rights, your Declaration of Independence, your Constitution, and demand that your government secure to each and every one the right of security in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.* Demand that your government recognize these rights as the rights of man, superior to the rights of property, which are opposed to man. Demand that your government assist those who seek to improve and better the condition of the people of this country. Demand that your government protect such people against profiteers, robbers and pirates in business, against grafters in politics. Demand that your government raise its standard out of bloodshed into a civilization worthy of free men. Demand that your government recognize the right of men to be free, to oppose slavery, of all kinds, in a free country.

People of America, and people of the World: Labor of America greets you with great promises. The only liberty-loving power in this great country, it cries out to you with the spirit of our Revolutionary forefathers, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new form of government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Workers of the World: Awake to your might. Throw off your chains. The hour of freedom is at hand. In the midst of destruction and despair, we have found hope. Revolutionary voices out of the silent past cry to you, "Arise, for yours is the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is guaranteed to you by the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States of America. It is the law of the land; the supreme command of your servants. Demand your rights, the right to life, to liberty, to the pursuit of happiness. Yours is the power that makes all things possible, for you have produced all the good things of life, you have produced in plenty, and you are entitled to all that you produce. Awake, then, you slaves of the past and be free men in a free country.

People of America: Let tyrants beware. The hour of man has struck. There is no power to withstand him. The Sleeping Giant is awake. Labor has come into its own, and by the power of the Bill of Rights, of the Declaration of Independence, of the Constitution of the United States, intends to take possession of its own. Arise, then, and demand that the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, be again secured to us, and to our children, forever.

"MR. SPARGO"

(By Irwin Granich.)

Several years ago, before Mr. Wilson had inaugurated his well-known war for democracy, I was present at a meeting of the Fabian Club in Boston. Some big I. W. W. strike was on in the East, and a Mr. John Spargo was present to enlighten the Fabians on the "inwardness" of this particular strike.

It was long before this gentlemen had made his debut into the higher circles at Washington. He was considered at the time quite a Socialist; the old ladies adored his bushy, prophet-like head of hair, so careless and proletarian in cut; he was regarded as a most spiritual and lofty-minded person, one whose heart bled for the workers; all his lectures were well attended at that time.

Well, in the course of his talk to the Fabians, Mr. Spargo said some harsh things about the I. W. W. They were really too crude; they were romantic, shouting, singing, unscientific rough-necks; they didn't understand Marx, nor George Washington, nor John Spargo, he said.

The present writer arose before that well-bred gathering and offered a few kind words anent the I. W. W. Mr. Spargo, in rebuttal, turned on the humble writer later, and withered him with a most splendid and theatrical burst of righteous scorn. He summed his tirade up, if I remember correctly, by asservating hotly that the present author and the I. W. W. were just a pack of "young lunatics."

Let me describe my emotion at the moment. It was this: I simply sat there and felt rather contemptuous of the old man.

I thought to myself: "You poor old word-slinging, psalm-singing, kid-gloved, Jesuitical faker! You're not a man, really; you're just a parson! When did you ever do anything but talk? When did you ever miss a meal for the glory of an idea? You talk so much about the working-class; why you wouldn't know a worker if you saw him! You would refuse to speak to him; You'd take him for a bum who was trying to panhandle you! You, you dare to run down the wobblies! Why, man, there is more honesty and integrity and loyal-to-the-death solidarity in the tiny roughened finger of a wob than there is in all of your pale, languid, hot-air inflated form! You can talk and write beautifully about all these high things, but the wobblies are them, you royalty-collecting parasite!" And so on, and so on. I thought quite a lot on the subject of John Spargo as I sat there that intellectual evening.

I bring this up here because to me Spargo is the true representative of purely political movements of any sort. There is something in the nature of politics that attracts the word-mongers of every discription. Let us analyze such a phenomenon as Spargo.

He generally comes from middle-class stock; though sometimes he is bred of the working-class. Early in life he discovers that within his bosom are confined all manners of surging, passionate, real-sounding words. They are nice words; they thrill.

inspire and inflame; and there are many of them. The container of these words, if he is a thrifty and intelligent soul, with an eye for the main chance, feels that they should not be wasted in minor things, and casts about for ways of utilizing them to the full.

Sometimes he become a minister, sometimes a gold-brick man, a salesman, an advertising expert, a bally-cho artist, a poet, and editor, or a successful bar-tender. There are many careers open to him in our America, but mostly he goes in for politics. That is really his most fertile field.

Hating hard work like the devil, lusting for power over fellowmen simpler and less wordy than himself instinctively fond of swindling and graft, this type finds every opportunity open in politics. By skilful talking and writing, by careful poses and assiduous attention to the mass galley, this type soon finds that many honors await the bull-con specialist everywhere. He goes far, hoisted on the shoulders of mobs who never went to college, and failed to learn from Aristotle that words can never really be substituted for facts.

This type climbs and climbs on his ladder of words, sometimes he gets into the Senate, sometimes you will even find him snugly fitting into the Presidential chair.

But how does he get into radical politics, you will ask? Here at least there are not so many opportunities, it would seem; Socialism, even political Socialism, is not yet as popular in America, and as productive of cabinet jobs, as in Europe. Well, I put it all on youth; that strong wine that turns the head of the mightiest, youth and inexperience. The con-artist is too young to understand how he is handicapping himself by such affiliations; sometimes, too, he has lots of romanticism and likes to figure himself as a sort of young Jesus born again, sadly and splendidly sacrificing himself for the saving of humanity.

Of course he soon finds out his mistake; and then he turns, as did Spargo, and is joyfully received back in the bourgeois fold. It is an old, old story that need not be elaborated on in a working-class magazine.

Contrast this type with the average I. W. W. worker, the "wobbly."

I know hundreds of them. I have seen them on docks, in factories, on farms, in mining camps, and oil fields. They work. They know the reality of labor. It is not a theory to them—their hands are rough from years of it, their bodies strong and active, their minds clear and simple. They never mistake a word for an object. You can't run a threshing machine with words; and you can't pipe a well, or run a lathe or stand off a cop with them.

These wobblies get their ideas of economics right on the job. They are born into a proletarian environment; they are forced into wage slavery at an early age; they are exploited, starved, beaten-up and educated right on the field of industrial battle. Their sentiment of revolt is born in them as the result of oppression; it isn't something that they learn out of a book, or out of a factory inspection tour, or from

The Whirlwind

By M. C. K.

I WAS sitting on a log in front of the bunk house smoking an after-supper cigarette and listening to the frogs singing in the swamp.

"Ah! You don't know what yer talking about. If you'd quit believing all you read in the 'Star' and the 'P. I.' about Russia and—"

Shorty Morrison came out of the bunk house and asked me to take a walk down to the landing with him. "I left my shirt there," he confided, as we started away.

I didn't hear the rest of the talk in the bunk-house, but I asked Shorty what it was about.

"O! that big faller, he's howling about Russia or the I. W. W. or something all the time. Reads P. I. or the Star and believes all they say."

"They tell me he scabbed during the strike in the woods," I said.

"I don't know, I'm sure," stated Shorty, "but if he didn't it's 'cause we had her tied up so tight, there was no chance for him to scab," he explained.

"Did you hear that rumor about bucking and falling by the thousand in camp?" I inquired, as we approached the landing.

"First I heard of it," he said, stretching on the ground. "Here's one who won't work by the thousand," he continued, "if they start that, you'll see

me dangling for the harvest; only hoosiers log that way."

"The lumbermen want to get rid of the Wobs, that's the idea, probably," I said.

"They got some job," laughed Shorty, as he took his shirt, rolled it up and placed it under his head.

"When you talk about cutting by the thousand," began Shorty, after he had made himself comfortable, "reminds me of one at Highrock before the strike. They gave the rigging crew a bonus on every thousand feet taken out above a certain amount, and it was some highball job."

"Highrock? They call the 'Bull' of the woods—Jinnie the Bear, don't they?" I quieried.

"Yes, that's where the Bear resides," answered Shorty. "He used to be a bad Bear, especially during the strike on the job, but he's very quiet and gentle now, at least them's worked there say so," he chuckled.

"I hit him for a job setting chokers one day at noon and he hired me alright, but the train pulled out before I got a chance to change my shoes and I didn't get to work until morning. When the gang had gone to work I took a look through the bunk-houses to see if there were any 'Reds' on the job. I found a song book or two and everything was covered with stickers. The bunkhouses were about

living in a settlement house in the slums. It actually hurts them every day of their lives, the capitalist system; it whips them on by day, and it haunts them in their sleep at night. They get to hate it; and when they decide to change it, it is a real decision they make, one made with the very blood and fibre of their beings. They cant waver and flop around like the intellectuals, the capitalist system is always there on their backs.

They try to find a way out of it all; and gradually the idea of the one big union and the proletarian society grows on them; just about the way the idea of living in communities was forced on primitive man by the shortcomings and necessity of his individualistic life. They see as he did, that only through union can they live.

So that the I. W. W. propaganda is born right out of conditions, and there is no philosphizing about it necessary or possible. It simply is.

When a worker becomes an I. W. W. it is not merely that someone has convinced him with a lot of words. His whole life has convinced him.

He gets the idea, and ever after no one is going to shake him loose from it. Because he has seen it is entirely a working-class issue, the wobbly doesn't strain and strive to wriggle out of his class. He stays there and tries to educate and open the eyes of the other workers. And how does he do it? Not by mounting into a pulpit or an editorial sanctum,

but by talking day and night to the fellow right next to him on the job. That is the only way.

And that is the only kind of labor-state we want to have in the future—one built by men such as these—who know the reality of toil, and have no time for nonsense. They will not be Spargoes, gluttonous for personal glory and careers, but workers coming right from their jobs, and solving the necessary economic problems of society in the simplest and most efficient way. That is all—and it is everything.

Contrast the average wobbly personally with a Spargo. Who is the more honest? Who is the braver? Who is more loyal and hard-working? Who is the more unselfish? The I.W.W. boys rotting away in American jails because they dared to say what they believed, or Spargo conferring with Judge Gary at Washington—isn't this the difference?

Leaving theories aside, and speaking simply of men—men in the old-fashioned sense of the word can political Socialism breed such big-hearted, true soldiers of the ideal as an industrial movement like the I. W. W.? I have known hundreds of them, and have never known a mean one. They give up everything for what they believe—they are near to earth, they are unfailing friends and fellow-fighters, if God sends wobblies to hell, I want to go with them. They are the stuff out of which the true working class society is to be made; if it uses any other materials it will be built on sand.

as dirty as any I had ever seen: double bunks and lots of bed bugs; they found me that night. After I had sized the place up I comes back to the bunkhouse I had located in, and, when I came in, I noticed a pile of books on a shelf in an upper bunk, so I went over to investigate. There were I. W. W. books, Socialist books, and books in Russian; the Bible, too, was there, and, I found among them, that book: 'The Crimes of Jehovah.' I lay down in my bunk to read about Jehovah's crimes, and, the next thing I knew, the gang is coming in.

"I didn't know any of them, but I sees the Russian climb up to where the books were,—I found out after he was a Russian—and take down his towel and soap. After he goes out to wash, I put Jehovah back in his place and prepares for supper. When the big feed was over some of the bunch started a poker game, but the Russian rolled into his bunk and began to read.

"About nine o'clock the Russian got up and went out, and as soon as he got outside, one fellow says: 'I wonder how much the Whirlwind made today?'

"'Nobody knows that,' answers another fellow, 'but I do know he's on good ground and in nice timber.'

"'He didn't stop to eat his lunch at noon today,' remarked the first one, 'he finished it waiting for the train to come in tonight.'

"'He's some buckler alright. Never seems to slow up at all,' he added, when no one answered him, but about that time the Russian came in and no more was said, so I decided he was the Whirlwind they had been talking about."

"How's Highrock now? Did they clean up the camp any yet?" I interrupted him.

"Oh, she's pretty fair, I heard; new bunkhouses and blankets," he informed me.

"Let's head for the camp," he says, getting up, but I told him that it was a nice evening and he might as well tell me what happened, so, taking the cigarette I offered, he lay down again and continued the tale:

"Next day I goes to work, and rain, it never ceased. Well, you ought to have seen those scissers rushing around. Why logs? They were crazy after logs. Chokers going in with logs, and chokers without logs, and always a choker to set. Well, I just let's them go to it."

"Bet you didn't stay long," I says, with a smile.

"Made fifty," answered Shorty proudly, "I knew there would be a strike, so I decided to stay a while if the Bear didn't get too rough."

"One day something went wrong at the donkey and we were sitting down—the first time since I'd been on the job—when I saw a fellow bucking just across from where we were logging, and that fellow was going some, believe me. I says to the hooker, who was gazing down at the landing and worrying about no logs going in: 'He's some buckler.' 'You bet you,' he answered, with a drawl.

"'He's nuts! He's bugs! Crazy!' snapped another chokerman we called Blackie. 'What good

will the money do him, anyway?' he asks, looking at the hooker.

"The hooker didn't say more but hikes for the landing to see what was the trouble. Well, the line starts coming back about this time and I heard Blackie saying something to himself about scissorbills.

"Well, anyway, to make a long story short, I gets talking to the Russian one night after supper. He spoke pretty good English. You know what I mean: I could understand him. When you looked at him you could see he was different to lots of Russians you meet and he was well posted, too. We talked about the job and the war and the possibility of a strike and at last about Russia. He was a quiet sort of character and didn't seem to care to talk much.

"Anyway, I asked him, if he wouldn't like to be over there now, and he just nods and kept looking at the floor, so I inquired how long he had been in America.

"'Since the—since 1906,' he says, just like that.

"'That was about the time of the revolution, wasn't it?' I asked him, and he says, without looking up, 'I left there after the revolution was put down.'

"I told him I had read about it—the mutiny of the Baltic fleet, Bloody Sunday, and the murderous revenge the Cossacks took on the peasants. When I mentioned Cossacks he seemed to wake up, and, looking at me with a strange gaze, he says: 'They murdered my father and two of my brothers.'

"I couldn't answer, and he kept staring at me for a moment without talking and then he says: 'I'm lucky they didn't get me, for, God knows, they tried hard enough.'

"'How did you make your get-a-way?' I asked him.

"'Oh, it'd take a week to tell you all about that,' he answered, a faint smile coming on his face.

"'You're what they call an exile, then,' I says.

"'We're all exiles, living in a dump like this,' he retorted.

"'Wonder you don't try and get back now?' I suggested. 'Wouldn't it be safe there now?'

"He didn't say yes or no, but whispered that he was making a stake for that purpose now.

"'I'm making eight and nine dollars a day,' he confided, 'but it's too hard work. I don't believe in bucking by the thousand, but I thought I'd try it here, and I saw, if I stayed with it, I could make a piece of money quick.'

"He lit a cigarette and inhaled a few mouthfuls, then you ought to see that fellow's smile when he told me he'd have enough in a week to go home."

"I hope he was lucky enough to get there," I says, getting up.

"Get there nothing!" snapped Shorty. "I saw him in Seattle the other day."

"What happened?" I asked. "Got into town and got broke?"

"No. He didn't get time to get broke," replied Shorty, sarcastically. "He told me all about it,

The Movement Toward Industrial Union In Great Britain

By J. R. CAMPBELL, of the Scottish Workers' Committee, Glasgow.

The British trade union movement is the oldest industrial movement in the world. Long before capitalism in its factory phase had spread outside Britain the skilled workers in the textile industries and in the mines were organizing to curb the despotic power of the capitalist class. The treatment meted out to those early trade unionists beggars description. It is only parallel in working class history is now being enacted in America in the measures of repression being inflicted on the I. W. W. In the early days of trade unionism in Britain the organizations were declared illegal. The ranks of the workers were honeycombed with spies and agent provocateurs, the military was freely used against the workers and force was resorted to on both sides. It may be worth mentioning that the idea of One Big Union originated in the ranks of the British movement during the years 1830-1840.

Its sponsors were idealists like Robert Owen and practical union organizers like Dockerty of the cotton spinners. The idea was translated into reality by the formation of the Grand National Consolidated Union about this period. This union created a terrific furor amongst the bosses. For a time it met with fair success, but as the bosses combined to meet the menace of its power it was defeated after a bitter struggle. The failure of the Grand National was due not to weakness of the ideal of industrial unity that it embodied, but to the immaturity of the working class, the difficulty of communication between districts, and the prevalence of a selfish craft spirit over large areas of industry. The collapse of the Grand National ended for the time being any attempt to unite the working class in Britain for common action against the employers on the industrial field. It seemed to most of the men who survived the wreck that the utmost that could possibly be done was to organize the skilled workers to make entrance to a trade difficult by limiting the number of apprentices and to create a monopoly of their labor which would enable them to get comparatively high wages for their labor. As British capitalism was expanding at this time it paid the employing class to purchase industrial peace by buying of the skilled men and by exploiting the unskilled and the women all the more ruth-

lessly. For the next forty years the history of British trade unionism was bound up with the bargaining between the skilled unions and the employers, while the unskilled vegetated in hopeless misery. In the eighties of last century there was a great awakening on the part of the unskilled, starting with the dockers and spreading to other industries. The official caste in the skilled unions looked down on the new movement with undisguised contempt. They complacently predicted its failure, holding that it was quite impossible to organize men who had no special monopoly of skill round which they could rally. Thus the British movement in most industries has raised a barrier between skilled and unskilled which renders co-operation between the various sections of workers for common ends practically impossible. In the meantime the concentration of business was bringing more skilled crafts together under the control of the one firm and though all the various crafts were co-operating together for the profit of the same firm, they were prevented by their trade jealousies from co-operating together for mutual improvement. At the same time the British employing class were beginning to feel the brunt of foreign competition and were no longer inclined to make any concessions to their skilled slaves. Thus the British movement entered the twentieth century torn by sectional strife and absolutely unable to put up a respectable resistance to the exactions of their employers. At first the workers attempted to supplement their industrial weakness by engaging in political activity. They set up the labor party but soon learned from experience that no political activity could be a substitute for strong industrial organization. The formation of the I. W. W. in America influenced greatly the active workers who were groping for a better form of organization than the craft union form. The British I. W. W. was De Leonite in its general characteristics. It attempted to alienate the workers from the existing unions and to organize them in one great union. It ignored the financial and emotional attachments which bound the workers to their existing organizations and though it did good propaganda it failed absolutely to rope any appreciable number of workers into the organization.

tells me every time I meet him, and I tell you if you just keep cool."

"All right," I apologized, "let's hear it."

"He got a room in town, and when he went down on the skidroad 'Slacker Slim,' the cop, flagged him for a registration card. The Russian had left his card in his suitcase, but Slim wouldn't believe him, and took him home.

"They held him for investigation about a month in the city jail and then, when they found he had registered, alright, somebody decided to deport him,

and he lay in the detention station nine months, then he was turned loose. He's got the 'con' now, so I don't think he'll be a whirlwind very long."

"Do you know what Louise Bryant says they do with foreigners in Russia?" Shorty asked, as we proceeded to the camp.

"Give them an equal show with the native born, providing they are willing to do useful labor," I replied.

"You bet! Some Bolsheviki!" chuckled Shorty, as he stumbled over a tie.

Arising from the industrial unionist movement came the amalgamationist movement. This movement recognized the urgent need for industrial unity and recognized the futility of attempting to achieve that unity through endeavoring to win the workers away from existing organizations. They, therefore, proposed to work through the existing unions and create a sentiment in favor of industrial unity among the men who attended the branches. But unfortunately for this movement not one man in a hundred attends or takes an active interest in his union, so that the men who were working up a feeling in favor of greater unity in the union branch were only reaching an infinitesimal part of the union membership. At the beginning of the war the problem of reaching the mass of the British workers remained unsolved. The war conditions helped toward its solution. The coming of the war put the official unions out of action. They were unable because of the various warrants to play any part in the struggle with the employers. But the class struggle had still to be waged and the workers in the shops had to rapidly improvise organization in order to meet the bosses. The majority of the active men in the movement had previous experience in the amalgamationist movement or the industrial unionist movement and the new organizations as they were thrown up were industrial and not trade in character. The general idea was to get a delegate or delegates from each class in a workshop to form a committee embracing all workers in the workshop. If there was more than one workshop in a plant all the various workshops sent delegates to a plant committee which unified the workers within a plant. The various plants were united in a committee in a district and the districts linked up nationally. Such is the origin and structure of the workers' committee movement, the British equivalent of the I. W. W. in America. The first thing to be noted about the workers' committee movement is that it creates a sentiment of solidarity in a practical way. Whether we like it or not, the average man is not greatly interested in theory. Resounding phrase about the "solidarity of labor" and so on leave him cold. But if he can see a committee composed of delegates drawn from skilled and unskilled, functioning effectively in a workshop, then a feeling of solidarity will be created that will have great results.

Another feature that the workers' committee movement has in common with the I. W. W. is that it places full responsibility for action upon the rank and file. Like the American Federation of Labor, the official trade union movement has developed autocratic tendencies. Every year that passes sees in the official unions more power passing into the hands of the officials and the workers stripped of all opportunity of exercising responsibility. This tends to create a sheepishness among the rank and file that is a barrier to revolutionary progress. The workers' committees are out to break down this autocracy and get the responsibility for action placed on the shoulders of the rank and file.

The active workers in the workers' committee movement believe that as their movement grows strong they will be able to force the official unions to unite on industrial lines and force them to adopt a policy of rank and file control or the workers' committee may be able in some industries to push the effete official unions aside and place the work of fighting the boss on the shoulders of the workers' committees.

But a growing conviction is taking hold of the minds of live workers here that industrial organization is not all sufficient for fighting the boss. Industrial organization can tie up an industry and stop the flow of profits going into the pockets of the bosses. But if it stops the profits of the bosses it also stops the wages of the workers and brings the workers face to face with the prospect of starvation.

Over here we feel it necessary to supplement industrial organization to fight the bosses in industry with social organization, i. e., organization to oppose the bosses in the district.

Under modern conditions a worker may live miles away from the shop in which he works and it is therefore necessary that he should be organized in the place where he resides as well as in the place where he works. The organization of the workers at the point of residence is known as a social committee. It would unite all active workers in a given district for the purpose of supplementing the industrial organizations during a strike. The work of the social committees would be as follows: It would bring pressure to bear on the working class co-operative movement to feed strikers during a local strike. Between strikes the social committee would occupy itself in taking an inventory of the industrial powers and social needs of the district so that in the event of a general stoppage the workers could lay their hands on the sources of the food supply, organize means of protection and distribute food to the population. The social committee would also in normal times carry on the propaganda of the industrial movement in the district.

These are the lines on which the left wing of the industrial movement in Britain is organizing the workers to take possession of industry. We are watching the gallant struggles of the I. W. W. in America against the brutal measures of repression adopted by the boss class of that country against the growing industrial movement. It is with no mere academic interest that we watch that struggle. Anglo-American capitalism today dominates the world. It is propping up the tottering capitalist system all over Europe. To the British and American workers has fallen the great historic task of storming the strongest citadels of capitalism. Let us then assist each other and march together in unison to the accomplishment of that great end.

J. R. CAMPBELL,

On behalf of Scottish Workers' Committee.

Industrial Masses the Builders of Freedom

By WILLIAM LEE

Freedom is a desire which dwells in the mind of the oppressed, which has always dwelt there from the time we crawled up out of the sea to investigate its banks, and later crawled deeper into the forests and secure knowledge of the land. It is the compelling force in human life that has driven men ever upward and onward. It has always been the enemy of falsehood, the breaker of rules and established customs, the worker for evolution, the advance agent of society, the overthrower of kingdoms, the tearer-down of the old and the builder of the new. This same force took possession of Columbus and caused him to become the investigator and discoverer. He left the rich gift to society of the American continent. If he had been the believer of stories that told about the sea of darkness filled with hideous monsters, or the theory of ignorance offered in rebuttal to his plans that, if the world were round, when he sailed down the side of it it would be impossible to get back he would never have started. So don't be a coward; be a rebel to the established rules, like Columbus, and investigate that terrible sea of darkness filled with horrid monsters. The most terrible of those is the Bolshevik as painted for you by the capitalist press. Who knows? You might find a new world, filled with beautiful homes, governed over by loving wives, gentle mothers and laughing children—a land without a landlord. These are only a few of the things the terrible monster, the Bolshevik, wishes to establish. Investigate beyond the sea of darkness and behold the beautiful land where the exploiter is forever forbidden, where peace and plenty rule supreme. The Bolshevik is only the name of the new society. It is only the advertising agent of the real show that will arrive later. They are performing now in Europe, doing some great acts of dethroning kings, in order to break through that sea of darkness and give you the rich gift of a new world, marshaling their armies to protect the liberty they have already obtained, building up the new society within and doing battles with the allied armies without, who, we believe, through mistaken policies, are trying to force those free people back to the old reign of kings, and all done under the guise of loving protection. O Liberty, the crime is done in thy name! We wonder why those poor workers who now hold the reins of government were not offered a measure of protection on Bloody Sunday when 700,000 marched, pleading for bread, to the palace, and received bullets from the machine guns of the Czar; 3,300 are reported to have been killed. But we must leave Europe to fight out her destinies, feed her starving people and children, where 800 out of every 1,000 of these tots are dying for want of proper care and nourishment.

In times past America has been the rendezvous of all lovers of freedom, both religious and political, and to attain the measure of liberty they desired for themselves they were compelled to fight a bloody war

with Europe in 1775. They succeeded, established themselves free and independent, and brought that war to a successful close in 1782, and to maintain that freedom they were compelled to fight that same power in 1812. The war of 1861-65 was largely a question of freedom, and the black became free from chattel slavery to enter the struggle as a wage slave; so time has evolved, and now the workers of the world, both black and white, have decreed that this form of slavery must go—not only from the United States but from the face of the Earth, and it shall be done in time, for evolution is working out her own ways. So long as society cringes before the great thrones of monarchy, there will be want, hunger and crime. But take notice: the peoples have quit begging and are now demanding their rights. Remember also to approve of a wrong by the application of government laws against the liberties of individuals, sect or creed, reflects already its darkening shadows on the nation restricting liberties. I wish to say also that, to cut off free speech, free press and free assemblage by turning tight the safety valve, which is free speech, filling the jails and penitentiaries with labor leaders, only fires the rank and file to double their energy, and makes them determined to strive harder and endure greater hardships to secure that freedom which by right belongs to them. A Gene Debs in prison adds more to the ranks of solidarity than a Gene Debs at liberty. You ask me why the Industrial Workers are referred to as dangerous. I will answer you truthfully. Because they are dangerous to a certain class—not to the Government, but to people who pile up millions out of the sweat and blood of the toilers, and who, of themselves, produce nothing; their business is to extract from the workers that which they create. Now the workers propose to put this class to work at some productive labor, so they will cease being leeches on society. Again, they are dangerous because, in their heart and soul, they believe in real democracy—industrial democracy—not a mere democracy of word-pictures, but democracy applied to industries, where the control of said industry will be under direct control of the workers of that industry.

The capitalists know an enemy worthy of their steel and are doing battle in their usual bunglesome way. It is well they know that the Industrial Workers of America are the real live factors in the labor movement of today. Their principles are sound, so far as it applies to the producers—that is, an injury to one is an injury to all. Also, in union there is strength, and the workers are rapidly combining their strength in One Big Union.

The history of civilized man is the history of incessant conflicts between liberty and authority. Each step for victory marks a new step in the world's progress. I agree with Daniel Webster when he

One Enemy—One Union

By FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM

As the big strikes—the steel strike, the coal strike, the New York longshoremen's and printers' strikes, etc.—come and go, they leave the workers puzzled and discouraged to see so little gain in return for so much effort, such insignificant results in proportion to the suffering and sacrifice involved.

The trouble, they know, is not due to failure to organize. That fundamental lesson, the need of organization, has been taught to the workers by the bitter experiences of many years. They have seen that the employer has no more consideration for the unorganized worker than he has for a dog—less than he has for his horse. They have learned that singlehanded they are helpless in the struggle with the boss and that the first step toward success is organization.

The Great Question Today is How to Organize

But the next step, how to organize THE RIGHT WAY, so as to gain the maximum strength from organization, is now the burning question. For years the workers have been organized in craft unions, a form of unionism derived from and suited to the society of the middle ages, when the industries were so simple that a single craftsman often did practically all the work involved in transforming the raw material into the finished product. In those days the shoemaker took the leather from the tanner and worked on it alone until he turned out a complete shoe. The printer not only set the type, but also printed the book and, in many cases, bound it.

In the textile industry the weaver performed the operations which today are distributed among a number of crafts. Besides weaving the cloth he made the warp and entered and twisted it. He was his own loomfixer and often did the winding and quill winding also, not to mention the dyeing and finishing.

With the invention of machinery and the development of large industrial establishments, the manufacturing processes have been divided and subdivided

so that now the task of producing a shoe or a book or a piece of cloth is performed by many workers, each of whom has only one special portion of the job to do. The weaver, for example, tends merely to the weaving process. The rest of the work he used to do is now taken care of by the warper, the twister, the loomfixer, the winders, quillers, dyers, etc.

Craft Unionism Divides and Weakens the Workers

Instead of uniting more and more solidly as the industries grew larger the workers have allowed this specializing process in industry to split them up into hundreds of separate unions corresponding to the different crafts. As the number of the crafts has grown, the number of craft unions has increased and the unity of the workers has decreased accordingly. In the printing industry in New York, for example, the paper straighteners belong to one union, the paper cutters to another and the paper rulers to a third, each union having its own time and place of meeting, its own officers and rules and regulations.

While the employers have been building up powerful organizations along modern industrial lines, the workers have clung to the outworn craft union system, which, by separating instead of uniting them, has produced division and discord instead of unity and harmony, craft jealousies and jurisdictional disputes, instead of industrial solidarity and a united front against labor's common enemy, the employing class.

That greatest of all crimes against labor, "union scabbing," whereby one craft remains at work while another in the same shop is out on strike, is the direct and inevitable result of craft union disorganization. When the weavers, organized in a craft local of weavers, go on strike, the warpers, belonging to the Horizontal Warpers' Benevolent Association, and the loomfixers and twisters, belonging to the Silk Loomfixers' and Twisters' Protective and Benevolent Association, remain at work, thereby

said that the freest government cannot long endure when the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of a few, and to render the masses poor and dependent. Stop and think, you dispensers of law. Do you think you can cure the evil without first curing the cause? You cannot check this progress by filling your jails. If force is the proper cure to pursue, then Europe should be safe from this new society, because the monarchs used force and cruelty. Then, look at Europe and draw your own conclusions, and still the blind politicians in America are following in the same footsteps; suppressing red flags is too silly to a man who thinks to comment upon it. Why don't you reach after the cause? Some Americans

are so fond of liberty that wherever one of their libertarians is known the State or Government is sure to house and feed them against their will. Well, that is one way to build for liberty, but the work is coarse. You ask is there any way to head off Bolshevism? Why, yes. You see, the exploiters themselves are, in a measure, slaves to the system and, if they wish to be free themselves, they must grant that freedom to all others. Work along the lines of least resistance. Give the Workers what they want; it will spare their taking it. That is the only way. We are living in a new age, but some people, high in politics and finance, are like heathen images made of gold; they have no eyes to see, no ears to hear, no heart to feel; they are dead—images only!

helping the boss defeat their fellow workers on strike.

Industrial Unionism Unites the Workers Against the Common Enemy

In an industrial union all the workers in one shop are united in one solid organization and stand together against their common enemy, the boss. If the weavers strike, the warpers, loomfixers, twist-ers, etc., go out with them, and in return the smaller crafts have the support of the weavers and all the other workers in any dispute with their employer. In this way an injury to one becomes an injury to all and the strength of each is equal to the strength of all.

The workers are waking up to the superiority of industrial unionism over the craft form of organization. They are beginning to realize that a warper has more in common with the weavers, twist-ers and other workers in his shop than with the workers of his particular craft in other shops—that the industrial slaves of any establishment have one common master and exploiter, and that in order to defend their interests they must unite in one solid organization, taking in every employee in that shop, regardless of his particular trade or craft.

Industrial unionism unites the workers, not according to the tool they use or the particular portion of the manufacturing or distributing process they perform, but according to the industry in which they are employed. It organizes the workers for their mutual protection in the same manner as the employer organizes them for his own profit. All the workers in the textile industry for instance whether weavers, warpers, twist-ers, loomfixers, winders, quillers, pickers, or clerical help, sweepers, engineers and mechanics—in short, all the workers whose labor is necessary to carry on the textile industry are united in one big industrial union.

Industrial Unionism is the Worker's Only Hope

This is the modern scientific form of labor organization. It is the only one that can put the worker on an equal footing with his employer. It follows closely the lines of modern industry and by wiping out the old craft divisions, establishes unity and solidarity among the workers. It is the only form of unionism that can break the yoke of industrial slavery and set the workers free.

In response to the growing demand for industrial unionism a number of organizations have sprung up, such as the Hotel Workers' Federation, the Automobile Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and its annex, the Amalgamated Textile Workers, which claim to be industrial and which have more or less the form and tactics of industrial unionism. In so far as these organizations unite the workers by industries, instead of crafts, they represent an advance over the old fashioned trade unions. None of them, however, are genuinely 100 per cent industrial. In all of them some of the defects and weaknesses of craft unionism, such as separation into craft locals, arbitration, agreements with the employer, control by union

officials, compromise and conservatism, still exist.

But even at their best, even if these single industry unions became 100 per cent industrial in both structure and methods they would be doomed to fail in the end. In any real crisis they would inevitably prove unequal to the test because whatever power they might have would be limited to one industry.

Single Industry Unions Must Fail in Any Serious Crisis

The workers in the steel mills, in spite of their huge semi-industrial organization, failed to win their recent strike because they had no direct connection with the workers in the allied industries of mining and transportation. When half a million steel workers walked out the miners dug iron ore and coal for the scabs to use, while the transport workers carried the raw materials by rail and water to the mills and then transported the scab-made products to the market. When the coal miners went out for themselves a few weeks later, the railway workers stayed at work and helped to move coal mined by scabs. And when it comes the turn of the railway men to go on strike their fellow workers in the mines will dig coal for scab engineers and firemen to use, while the steel workers will turn out rolling stock and repair parts to help the bosses keep the roads in operation.

Thus the workers in one industry are scabbed on by those in the allied industries and we have the same "union scabbing" as under craft unionism, only on a still larger scale.

The Employers Have One Big Union of All Industries

In the modern business world no industry stands alone. The intricate structure of capitalism binds together all important industries into one huge, closely interlocking mechanism. The development of financial methods has made possible a more and more unified ownership until today a small group of interests control practically the entire industrial life of this country.

In addition to their direct control over the industries, these interests dominate also the political machinery of the nation. Through their industrial power they wield tremendous influence over the various branches of government, the executive officials, legislative bodies, courts and police. They have also at their command the powerful instruments of the press, the churches and the schools, not to mention many trade unions of the A. F. of L. type, "patriotic" organizations, sundry religious, nationalist, benevolent and secret societies, etc., etc.

The sum total of this power is enormous. It constitutes a stupendous organization the like of which the world has never seen.

Workers Must Likewise Build One Gigantic Industrial Organization

Against such a mighty machine none of the puny weapons of the past are of any use. Beside this giant of capitalism the craft union or the single industry union is a helpless dwarf. Only another

colossal organization scientifically constructed along the lines of modern industry can ever match the capitalist machine in strength.

It is this all powerful organization which the I. W. W. is steadily building up. Its scope covers every branch of industry. Its structure follows the lines of modern industrial development. Its methods are strictly industrial—rank and file control, direct action by the workers in the shops, no arbitration, no compromise and no contracts with the boss. Its ultimate aim is frankly and uncompromisingly revolutionary—to give control of industry to those who work in industry and thereby put an end to wage slavery.

Industrial Power is the Only Thing That Counts

In any important crisis in the industrial struggle, power is the only thing that counts. It is the only thing the employers fear, the only thing that can force them to yield. Neither begging nor bargaining nor appealing to their sense of justice or their reason can accomplish anything whenever the struggle becomes acute. It is POWER, organized power in the industrial field that determines the victory. If we have more than they we win. If we have less we lose.

The Steel trust refused even to confer with its industrial slaves because it had built up a tremendous industrial organization while they were either unorganized or split up into twenty-four craft unions and therefore had no power worth considering. On the other hand the mine owners with a less solid employers' organization had to call in the help of the U. S. government through its courts and administrative officers in their struggle against the United Mine Workers' Union, the near-

est approach to an industrial union in the entire American Federation of Labor.

Until the workers organize in a way that will give them the greater power they will continue to be defeated in every real contest with their employers. They are licked before the fight starts because they are organized the wrong way. Their union officials realize this and try every means to avert strikes and settle matters by arbitration and compromise.

Build Up the One Big Union of All Wage Workers—The I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is the only labor union in America through which the workers can build up a power greater than that of the capitalists. Only through its form of organization, uniting all the workers in each industry into an industrial union and welding these unions together into one solid, harmonious organization of all wage workers, can they acquire sufficient power to take control of industry from the present exploiters of labor and place it in the hands of the workers themselves.

Fellow Workers, do not waste your time and money organizing THE WRONG WAY. Do not spend your lives building up craft unions and single industry unions which can never win in the battle against the capitalist system. Drop the hopeless effort to fight a battleship with a pop-gun. Get to work and develop the only form of organization that will give you power enough to win a complete victory over your oppressors—the One Big Union of all the workers in all industries—the I. W. W.

Join the I. W. W. Join it at once and get on the job of building it up until it is strong enough to win the emancipation of the working class.

Justice for the Negroes

By PEOPLE'S FREEDOM UNION

The People's Freedom Union, 138 West 13th St., New York, a federation of American groups devoted to the purpose of helping America build a world order which will substitute for today's militarism, governmental coercion and imperialism, the civil liberty, economic justice and international good-will, for which all sincere men and women hope, is taking a strong stand on the race question in America. It feels that, to seek the lifting of the blockade against Russia and to demand self-determination for that heroic country and to protest with all the power that it can command against a war with Mexico at this time in the interest of her foreign exploiters, American and English, and to neglect to come out vigorously and openly against our own most glaring national sin—our treatment of the negro—would be no less than hypocritical. The People's Freedom Union then demands for the negro everything that it demands for his white brother, the unrestricted exercise of the franchise in fact as well as on the statute books, and for women as well as men; equal opportunity in the industrial

field; and the total abolition of jim-crow-ism in all its forms. In short, it demands that this country cease, with the connivance of its whole governmental machinery, federal and state, to treat its citizens of African blood in any way differently from its citizens of the white races. It demands that the negro no longer be looked upon as half a man, but that he be allowed to take his place in the common democracy in the full stature of a man.

The union is particularly outraged over the recent situation in Arkansas, where a protest on the part of a group of negroes known as the Farmers' Protective Union has resulted in a general charge of conspiracy against all the negroes of the community. One hundred and twenty-two have been brought to trial. On the flimsiest evidence, sixty have been sentenced to prison terms ranging from one to twenty-one years. After a trial lasting exactly seven minutes, twelve have been condemned to die. This hideous travesty upon justice has been well called "legalized lynching", and all fair-minded people should repudiate it no less vigorous-

An Appeal to the People of America

People of America! We, the internees of Ft. Douglas internment camp call to you in despair to bring pressure to bear on the authority that is responsible for our prolonged internment, to open the gate of this hideous, contemptible, unjustifiable hell hole of internment camp.

The armistice was signed fourteen months ago, and America is doing an enormous amount of commercial business with her former enemies, Germany and Austria. In other words, the war is over and has been for a long time, and we, the German and Austrian internees, are still held and treated like vicious beasts.

This unjustifiably prolonged internment is breaking in the spirit of the average man in here. Wherever I look I see men walking around talking to themselves. They are in a continuous state of terror, afraid of their own shadows.

One man has just committed suicide. He took his life on Christmas night, the one night in the year when everyone should be happy and gay. But this man, Han, Prisoner No. 1,258, could not bear his misery any longer, and so put an end to it. He became mentally unbalanced about three weeks ago. Capt. G. C. Emery, M. C. U. S. A., was notified about it, but to no avail. Later, this man was put in the war prison compound hospital—a hospital by name only—and from there the poor derelict was thrown into the guardhouse like a horse thief.

On Dec. 21, Mr. K. Offer, Prisoner No. 343, requested Capt. G. C. Emery to get an insane certificate for the man and have him removed to some institution, on the ground that he had twice attempted suicide and would, if left here, succeed in hanging himself. But the answer Mr. Offer received from that dastardly brute Capt. G. C. Emery was: "If the man wants to hang himself, let him hang himself."

And so on Christmas eve while the outside world was making merry this poor mental wreck was locked up in the guardhouse, no one there to speak

to him, no one to cheer him or to make him forget his misery. During the night he hung himself with a bed sheet.

If this camp is not dissolved in the very near future I fear there will be a wholesale mania breaking out and a few suicides thrown in for good measure. Some of the men breaking down are married men and have their wives and children somewhere in the United States.

It is only the talking and encouragement they continuously receive that keeps them from going to pieces. These men had great hopes that they would be home for Christmas, happily united with their relatives, wives and children. But Christmas is over and these nervous wrecks find themselves still here. How long they will stand that mental torture is hard to tell.

One thing I must say before I close. We have been thrown in here, though innocent. Our records are clear and will stand any and all investigations. So again, we, the internees of Ft. Douglas internment camp, appeal to you, the American people, to bring pressure to bear for our speedy release.

Yours for greater humanity,
201764-400 J. B.

THESE ITS ONLY HOPE

By COVINGTON AMI

The young men, the strong men, the men with
nerves of steel,
With eyes to see the vision and with hearts that
feel;
Whose souls are still afire, whose spirits still are
young,
Who sight, in dreams, the lights in freedom's tow-
ers hung;
Whose sesame is love; whose minds dwell not in
nod;
To whom truth mistress is and liberty their god;
The young, the clean, unselfish, quick with wrong
to cope—
There are the race's future, these its only hope.

ly than those outbreaks of mob violence which we have lately been called upon to deplore in Chicago, Washington and Longview, Texas.

The union calls upon everyone in the radical and labor movement to respond to the appeal now being made by the various committees and organizations of negroes to assist them in the securing of an appeal for the condemned men. Letters and telegrams should pour in immediately upon Governor Brough, Little Rock, Ark., demanding that he use his influence as governor of the state to secure this appeal, in order that the men may have a fair trial with adequate counsel. In the previous trial they were defended by an attorney appointed by the court, who was, of course, in full sympathy with the prosecution. And, finally, in addition to put-

ting forth every effort to save the lives of the individual negroes, we must all demand of Congress not a paper investigation, but thorough, honest and fearless inquiry into the conditions under which thousands of both blacks and whites are living in the southern states today. Chattel slavery has merely given place in many localities to peonage by which the worker, though free in name, is as much chained to the soil as was the serf of medieval Europe or the chattel slave of the sixties.

Do not forget. Let all radical organizations and labor unions as such send strong demands for a new trial to Governor Brough, and let him also receive thousands of individual letters from indignant Americans.

The Story of the I. W. W.

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

WINNING THE LUMBER JACKS

CHAPTER 12

To cover the incidents of the year 1912-'13 in the span of a narrative would be difficult. It was a period which reeked with unrest. The fires of revolt would die down in one locality only to flare up fiercely in another. Hot on the sequel of its Lawrence prestige, the I. W. W. was besieged with appeals for help. Every spontaneous strike turned to it for leadership. These struggles were not limited by locality. Today it would be Pittsburg steel workers or Louisiana lumber jacks. Tomorrow the tide of agitation would swing out to far away British Columbia or would engulf the placidity of open shop Detroit. The resources of the I. W. W. were taxed and exhausted. Like the Knights of Labor of thirty years before, the I. W. W. was too successful. The very amplitude of its endeavors brought about its undoing.

Before depicting the multitude of strikes we must allude to San Diego, the last of the great Pacific Coast free speech fights. It was such a terrible tragedy of suffering that it stands out, almost alone, among the incidents of the west. Not even Spokane surpassed it in the fierce passion with which it was fought.

The Lawrence strike was still raging when the San Diego fight broke out at the other extremity of the continent. San Diego was one of the incidents in the mighty open shop campaign which was inaugurated on the Pacific coast at this time by old Harrison Gray Otis. A World's Fair was being prepared in San Diego for the year 1915 and immense building construction jobs were being laid out. Adroit advertising had flooded California with a surplus of labor. These unskilled hordes were being permeated by I. W. W. propaganda.

It is generally supposed that the fight to oust the I. W. W. was planned at a banquet of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of San Diego, early in the year 1912, a banquet which was presided over by Otis himself. Anyhow, the city council received a petition from the M. & M. shortly afterwards, requesting it to halt street meetings. The council obediently took this action and barred all street meetings within the only district where speakers could draw a crowd.

In reply to this challenge the radicals of San Diego consolidated into a free speech league. The I. W. W., the Socialist party, the craft unionists and the anarchists all joined hands. On Feb. 8, 1912, Mrs. Laura Emerson, a member of the I. W. W. opened the fight by being arrested. She was followed upon the box that evening by forty-two others. Night after night, speakers were pulled down until a total of 216 were lodged in the jail. A defense organization was perfected, modeled upon the plan employed in Spokane and Fresno. Great

publicity was given the case in all radical circles.

A phenomenon which began to stand out more and more strongly in these western I. W. W. fights was the vindictive psychology of the small business classes in moderate sized cities and towns. Strikes and disorders create unsettled business conditions and reduce profits. In the small city and town, storekeepers and puny business men feel an immediate slackening in trade whenever a strike commences. Then they see red. No underlying principle of justice which may animate the strike is powerful enough to stay their hand. The solidarity of greed welds them into a mob, and of all mobs the broadcloth mob is the most deadly. In the name of "law and order" they go out upon errands of terrorism before which the most hardened desperado would shrink. This is peculiarly obvious in the west where the old border instincts and lusts of a generation ago still lurk behind the sedate respectability of class rule.

In San Diego this was exemplified. A vigilante committee of leading citizens was formed. Under cover of the night these masked ruffians would seize the free speech fighters, throw them into automobiles and carry them twenty miles out of the city into the desert. There they would be beaten and tortured and then left helpless, with the threat of death if they ever returned to San Diego. The police stood by passively and allowed this to continue. One of the fighters, Michael Hoey, was severely kicked by a policeman, and died from lack of medical care. When the I. W. W. endeavored to give him a decent burial the party was broken up at the graveyard and clubbed away. It was also during this fight that Jack Whyte made his famous courtroom speech in which he ended with the words, "To hell with your courts; I know what justice is."

In the heat of the fight, Emma Goldman, the famous anarchist, arrived in San Diego in company with Ben Reitman, to fill a pre-arranged lecture date. Reitman was immediately seized by the vigilantes and rushed to an awful experience of torture in the desert. The hotel where Emma Goldman stopped was surrounded by an immense mob and she was led out through the crowd to the depot amid a roar of bellowing voices demanding that she be lynched.

To tell the full tale of San Diego is to recount a hideous orgy of mob rule. It was another drama of cruelty. The hundreds of volunteers tramping across the desert, the little homeguard bunch who held the fort so loyally, the prisoners beaten in the jails, old Michael Hoey, dying defiant, all make an ensemble as rare as it is stirring, in the great age pregnant with the struggle for freedom.

The vigilantes won. The isolated location of the city made it almost impossible to wage the fight there as successfully as in Spokane. Free

speech, unionism, every form of radical expression, were stamped out. Never since has the I. W. W. succeeded in gaining a foothold in San Diego. Vigilantes have reigned unchallenged.

This was the last of the big free speech fights. Smaller ones have broken out at intervals in many of the western cities. Denver had one in 1913, Kansas City, Sioux City and Minot in 1914, Peoria was the scene of a combination free speech fight and strike which we will come to shortly.

While we are speaking of San Diego it would be interesting to mention an incident of this period which, while it was not an official enterprise of the I. W. W., throws a flood of light upon the daredevil character of many of its members. The Mexican revolution had overthrown the rule of Diaz in Mexico shortly before this time. Sensing an opportunity for a bold stroke, a group of I. W. W. men formed themselves into a secret band, bought arms and crossed the border into Lower California. Their dream was to capture the fertile region which borders on the Imperial Valley and establish a co-operative state. Led by "General" Stanley Williams they were at first remarkably successful. They captured Mexicali and issued a flamboyant proclamation. But their success was short-lived. Met by regulars under Cantu they were beaten and almost exterminated. Williams was killed among the first. A few stragglers escaped across the border. Jack London the novelist is said to have been one of the backers of this opera-bouffe revolution. Among the filibusters was Joe Hill, of whom more later.

During the exciting episodes which had been occurring in the east the lumber workers of the northwest had not been idle. The I. W. W. strength had always been largely in Montana and in the Spokane section of Washington. Efforts were made now to extend the organization to the western lumber district of Gray's Harbor. The bosses and the business men of this district made a strenuous resistance. With the strong arm and thug tactics which the I. W. W. was getting so used to, they endeavored to drive the union out. A long and bitter strike was waged in which the mills of Aberdeen and Hoquiam were closed tight by the I. W. W. Eventually the workers were starved back, but the I. W. W. retained a considerable following in this district.

More important than this were the developments among the lumber jacks in the south. The timber workers in the Louisiana district have always been difficult to organize. For one thing, the majority of them are natives of the state and they share the peculiar provinciality of prejudice which characterizes all southern workers. Many of them are also farmers, working in the woods part of the year and working for themselves on their few miserable acres during the remaining months. Naturally, this same farmer class, or self-exploiters as they are known by the I. W. W., do not feel a clearly defined identity of interest with the pure wage worker. But a terrible condition of poverty, peonage and

oppression goaded them involuntarily to some form of action. Certain large lumber interests have acquired almost feudal holdings in the state. All the land for miles around, and all the railroads which approach it are often controlled by one big interest. Drunk with such limitless power the lumber barons and their satraps did not hesitate to abuse it.

Onto the scene came A. L. Emerson, one of those remarkably magnetic personalities which play such a striking role in the labor movement. Realizing the contrast between the conditions in the northwest, bad as they were, and the conditions in Louisiana, he launched the Brotherhood of Timber Workers in Carson, La., on Dec. 3, 1910. Going from camp to camp, stirring up the workers by an almost revivalistic campaign, he soon numbered thousands in his new union. Unique among southern labor organizations, the B. of T. W. did not draw the color line. White and black met together in their union hall just as they worked together on the job. A permanent headquarters was established in Alexandria, La., and at the first convention Emerson was elected president and Jay Smith secretary of the new union. At its period of greatest strength over 30,000 members were affiliated.

Alarmed at its growth and at the prospect of menace which it offered, the lumber barons began to hit back. Organized as they were into the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, they agreed to a simultaneous lockout. For nearly six months the mills were closed, while the workers were reduced to abject poverty. This was nearly fatal to the union. When the mills resumed operation a blacklist system of employment was introduced and many of the agitators were weeded out. In this condition of decline the Brotherhood of Timber Workers turned to the I. W. W. Haywood visited their convention in May, 1912, and the delegates voted overwhelmingly to affiliate with the I. W. W. At a referendum which followed the action was confirmed without opposition. When the seventh convention of the I. W. W. assembled on Sept. 10, 1912, seven delegates appeared to represent the B. of T. W. The technical details of the merger were completed and the Louisiana lumber jacks were installed as a part of the N. I. U. of F. & L. W., with a separate southern administration of their own from Alexandria, La. Representation was also given them upon the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. This was the first instance of an entire organization amalgamating as a body with the I. W. W. and it was hailed as an invaluable accretion of strength. A third English weekly, the Lumber Jack, was established to spread the I. W. W. propaganda through the south. Under the editorship of Covington Hall this paper, afterwards changed to the Voice of the People, did splendid agitation.

In the meantime Emerson was in prison. The lumber barons had become alarmed at this latest move of the union. Throwing off all semblance of restraint, they unloosed a horde of gunmen and detectives who proceeded to manhandle the organizers of the union in a dozen localities. On July 7, Emer-

son went to Grabow, La., accompanied by over a hundred members from De Ridder, and began to address the workers. Suddenly his voice was drowned by the crack of a gunshot and a young man fell beside him. This was a signal. A regular fusillade followed, fired from the company office and from the houses of the company thugs. The shots were returned and three men were killed outright, while twenty, on both sides, were wounded.

Emerson was immediately seized and thrown in jail, where a charge of murder was placed against him. When the following grand jury met, indictments were returned, not only against Emerson, but also against sixty-four other officers and members of the brotherhood. None of the mill owners or company gunmen were mentioned in the indictment, however. The defendants were thrown into a pestilential prison at Lake Charles, huddled together indiscriminately without regard to color. Emboldened by this achievement, the gunmen and thugs ran rampant in Louisiana. Not even the homes of the workers were sanctuaries from their invasion. Speech, organization and even thought were fettered. The capitalist newspapers began a campaign of slander too putrid for belief. But the I. W. W. and its prisoners did not flinch. Emerson himself wrote from the jail: "I am here for labor, and I will still be fighting for it, though I am killed."

Deadlocked though it was with the Ettore-Giovanitti case, which was in court at almost the same time, the I. W. W. did its utmost for the defense. A large fund was accumulated and when Emerson went to trial on Oct. 8, he was adequately defended legally. The argument which the prosecution put up against Emerson and his co-workers was brazen in its illegality. In substance, it averred that if Emerson and his followers had not formed the B. of T. W. the company and its gunmen would not have been obliged to commit the massacre at Grabow. Every effort to intimidate the jury was made by the fifty or more gunmen who surrounded the court. Then, to excite public opinion, three I. W. W. organizers, Clarence Edwards, C. L. Filigno and Ed Doree, were dramatically arrested on the charge of attempting to bribe the jurymen. "This," as one of them expressed it, "when we didn't even have money enough to buy our grub." Witnesses were beaten up and driven out of town. But, despite such tactics, the evidence in the case was too palpably one-sided. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty and Emerson and all the other "conspirators" were freed.

This legal victory did not check the depredations of the gunmen nor the remorselessness of the blacklist. The union steadily lost ground. The year concluded with a big strike raging in Merryville, La. This was an aftermath of the Grabow case, the strike being called to protect fifteen witnesses who had been blacklisted for testifying in Emerson's behalf. The company retaliated with a lockout order which practically blacklisted all of the 1,300 Merryville workers. J. W. Kelly and Charles Cline were sent in to take charge of the situation, and

for three months the ranks were unbroken and the mills empty. There was a fine feeling of solidarity between both blacks and whites.

But the situation was at all times fraught with danger, as the camp was in a closed section of Louisiana where the Santa Fe railroad owned and made law for miles. Exasperated by the persistence of the strike, the company resorted to violence. A mob of nearly 300 men was raised and a reign of terror commenced. The I. W. W. leaders were terribly beaten and were driven out of Merryville. The headquarters and soup kitchen were demolished and all the active union men were rounded up and deported. The leaders halted and endeavored to continue operating from De Ridder, twenty miles away, where a socialist mayor assured them protection. A woman member, Mrs. Fredonia Stevenson, bravely stepped into the breach in Merryville and attempted to continue the strike. But the odds were too great and the workers were either intimidated or starved into returning to the mills.

After Merryville, the I. W. W. maintained its hold on the southern lumber workers about a year longer. But the fight was too unequal. Unlike the lumber jack in the northwest, the southern lumber worker was a novice at unionism. He had not been hardened to endurance by years of struggle. A much larger percentage of the workers are married. The migratory element is only in Louisiana during a short season of the year. And the whole situation is complicated by the inherited suspicions of race prejudice. Emerson left the union soon after his acquittal. Nobody else was strong enough to hold them together. Under such handicaps the National Industrial Union staggered along until 1914. Then it was forced to even discontinue its headquarters. At present nothing is left in Louisiana of the once powerful B. of T. W.

THE WORLD IS MY COUNTRY.

By Nona Tatum Ziegler.

The world is my country, I claim no God
Save the one of Liberty;
No race and no creed, nay, every clod
Of earth was fashioned for me.
The world is my country, I'll laugh and sing,
I will live and love and dream;
Will defy each earthly despot or king
And fear no devils unseen.
The world is my country, my law is love,
Humanity is my kin;
I bow no knee to the ruler above
That damns my fellow men.
If there is a God, then I am Divine
Because he created me;
The earth in all of its fullness is mine,
Unshackled I am and free.

Help Organize H. R. & D. Workers

By CHAS. DEVLIN

Fellow Workers in all Industries:

How many you have ever stopped to think what the Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers Industrial Union really means to the workers both now and when it comes time to take over an operate industry? How many of you realize that it is in your power to do wonders for the building up of No. 1,100 without any great exertion on your part? And have you ever stopped to think how much we could do to help build up the other industrial unions if we had the H. R. & D. I. U. built up to any degree of strength? I will try and show you what you can do, and what it means to you to do it.

1. In every city where workers are employed you will find numerous hotels and estaurants. You sleep in the hotels and you eat in the restaurants. You talk to the cooks, waiters, waitresses, dishwashers, bussboys, clerks, chambermaids etc. but have you ever asked them if they were members of No. 1,100? Why not? Instead of kidding them, why not talk business for a while? Why not tell them what No. 1,100 is? Have some literature with you and when you get done talking, hand them a paper or the O. B. U. or a pamphlet, especially something that deals with their case in particular. When you run into someone you think there is a chance to line up, get in touch with a No. 1,100 delegate and tell him or her, or if there is no No. 1,100 delegate there, see if you can't get someone to act as delegate until they are strong enough to go ahead on their own account. Now is the time for action; words count for but little. Capitalism is doomed and we must take action—intelligent action—for we, the Industrial Workers of the World, have the only program for the taking over of industry and the only program for successfully managing it in the interest of all.

2. Write to Secretary Holmen, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill., and he will supply you with whatever literature you may need for the hotel, restaurant and domestic workers. Write now, and get some; start action right away. It will only cost you a 2-cent stamp, and it may be the means of bringing in a lot of members. They will help you to bring about the new order of society.

3. If you are married, see that your wife takes out a card, for she belongs in No. 1,100 and she should be a member. See that she joins, and see that she knows what she is joining. There is plenty for her to do as a member of No. 1,100 to help the cause. Today she cooks the food and takes care of your shack. Today she should start in to know what the hotel, restaurant and domestic workers are and how to function in that industry, for she will be called upon tomorrow to do her share, not only of work, but of management.

4. Help us organize the slaves so we can get job control and dictate to the boss as to the number of hours we shall work and the wages we shall receive and the conditions of the job.

5. Today the scabs, stool pigeons and all those who are tools of the bosses, are being fed and taken care of by workers in our industry so they can help defeat you in wage wars, because we are not organized; while if we were organized, we would absolutely refuse to serve that class. They would starve so far as we are concerned until they got brains enough and guts enough to fight for the workers. We would not feed a gunman; we would not feed a scab. There are many things we can and will do to help organize and better the conditions of the workers as a whole under the present system. And now, as to the management of the H. R. & D. W. I. U., when capitalism is no more. We are the ones who will have to manage it. In every hotel, restaurant, club and private house—by committee—we will get together, locally, nationally and internationally and dictate the policy of our branch of industry in conjunction with the best interests of the other industrial unions. Instead of slaving 8, 10, 12 or 14 hours a day as we do now, for profit for the boss, we will work only the number of hours necessary to carry on the work of our industry—and put a pair of overalls on the boss and let him work, too. We will rob nor exploit no one, but see that the workers get the full product of their toil. The hotel, restaurant and domestic workers are today the most menial and servile of all slaves; it is our duty to ourselves and our class to raise them out of the quagmire of abject slavery and put them in a position of vantage where they can fight with us for the overthrow of despotism and help establish industrial communism, where none will want, but all will have the fullest of life; where little babies and children will have the sunshine; where they can play an denjoy life in the parks and woods and country to the fullest extent; where none will go hungry, but all will have the best of food and plenty of it so their little bodies can grow and develop into real live, strong, healthy, intelligent human beings; where all will have a chance for education; where the world will be one continual picnic for humanity; where one can delve into science, art, literature, music, etc., to their heart's content; where women will not have to prostitute their bodies and men will not have to prostitute their minds; where when any action is taken, the deciding factor will be, "Is it good for us, and humanity as a whole?" where wars, murders and crimes of all kinds will be a thing of the past; where we will continually visualize and realize nothing but beauty. Our sun is rising; the gloom of night is fading into the distance.

EVOLUTION VS. REVOLUTION

By L. M. VAN WENGERDEN

There seems to be a great deal of misunderstanding among the members of the I. W. W. as to the aims and objects of the organization. This is most ly due to the lack of understanding the meanings of different words. For instance, the I. W. W. is not a revolutionary organization, although a great number of the members think it it. This is so because they do not understand the meaning of the word revolution. This attitude, on the part of the members, is duplicated threefold by people who have no connection with the I. W. W. The word revolution means to cause a sudden change. The I. W. W. is a progressive organization and certain changes are necessary in order to keep up with the natural progress of evolution. Now the preamble of the I. W. W. or its constitution, contains nothing pertaining to the causing of a sudden change in society. In fact, the reverse is true. The I. W. W. means to gain its end through an absolute process of evolution. It means to change society by going through a series of minor changes, as I will attempt to show.

Minor Change No. 1, "Education"

The I. W. W. advocates the educating of all of the workers to their true social and economic status in present day society. This is absolutely necessary, as the workers are mostly ignorant of the part they play in present day society, nor do they understand their social and economic relation to industry.

Minor Change No. 2, "Industrial Organization"

Through this education the workers are shown that the craft form of organization is no longer of interest to the workers, who are organized in crafts, and that industrial organization must replace it. With the advance of modern machinery, the workers engaged in crafts are forced into the ranks of the common laborer.

The unorganized workers are shown that their only hope of advance lies in industrial unionism, and all the workers are taught the power of the solidarity of labor. Thus the workers, through education, become aware of the necessity of industrial organization, and consequently organize industrially.

Minor Change No. 3, "Consolidation"

Being aware of the fact that the strength of the workers lies in solidarity, the I. W. W. provides for greater solidarity and greater organization, and as a consequence comes the consolidation of industrial unions by combining and forming an industrial department. Especially, closely allied industrial unions can profit greatly through this consolidating of forces.

Minor Change No. 4, "Administration"

Consolidation having been accomplished, the workers seeing their ability to govern themselves, realize the necessity of a general administration. This general administration then must consist of representatives elected from the various industrial unions and industrial departments, a per capita representation, even as people elect their representatives to congress. Thus the workers will, through

the medium of the different stepping stones, to-wit: Education, organization, consolidation and greater consolidation, arrive at the point where they come to the realization of self-administration, or self-government through representatives.

Whether capitalism continues until it shall have caused its own downfall, or whether capitalistic administration shall slowly disband as it loses support and the workers gain support is of unimportance to the I. W. W. It states in the preamble of the I. W. W. clearly and distinctly, "when capitalism shall have been overthrown," and does not say that we, the I. W. W., shall overthrow capitalism. It is immaterial to us, the I. W. W., and should be immaterial to any intelligent worker, how capitalism shall meet the fate of preceding states of society. The only and main thing that we, the I. W. W., concern ourselves about, or that any intelligent worker will concern himself about, is that we, the workers, shall have a definite and proper administration or government with which to replace the deteriorated or fallen machine. The master class accuses us of violence, but let them not intimidate you, workers. What we want is intelligent, cool, deliberate thinking. When capitalism shall cease to function and becomes absolutely incapable of managing the affairs of the world, it will be up to us, the workers, to be ready to take over the machinery of production, and carry on production and distribution.

GATH'RING AT THE ISLAND

By JOHN E. NORDQUIST

Air: "Shall We Gather at the River."
Now we're gathering on the island
For a journey o'er the sea;
Sons of Russia, Sweden, Ireland,
England, France and Germany.

CHORUS

Yes, we are gathering on the island,
In deportation sheds upon the island.
Gath'ring with the "Reds" on the island
That's lighted by Liberty's torch.

'Cause we fought for better wages,
Shorter hours and nobler life;
They've decreed this trip outrageous—
Parting us from friends and wife.

Soon we'll reach our destinations,
Norway, Denmark, Italy, Greece;
Austria, Spain, and other nations—
In our crowd there's e'en Chinese.

Fare ye well, our fellow workers;
America we leave to you;
We know you'll crush the greedy shirkers
And Freedom's life renew.

Now we sail for greater conquest
In the lands they call our own,
And were'e pledged to stir the unrest
Till the world's a workers' zone.

The Conscience of A Dum-Dum Bullet

By QUASIMODO VON BELVEDERE
(Copyrighted 1919, by Vincene Noga)

CHAPTER III

In which the setting in order of Mexico is prudently postponed; and in which the author grants unlimited opportunity to General Wood to grow to the full size of presidential timber.

It would be needless to apprise intelligent readers that I had a Turkish bath and a general massage upon my arrival at home; and that the resting in soft bed was beneficial to my lately much abused body; I am recounting here only such happenings as are of historical importance.

The morning following my resumption of residence at my home I came across a letter from Judge Garcia, which was sent to me under special delivery privileges and which was lying already two weeks upon my desk. I found the text of this unique communication not only philosophically important, but so flattering to my vanity that I decided to present here its full text:

"Illustrious Sir: A great strike is impending, not only in our mill, but in the entire steel industry throughout the country. I know that you have only some \$50,000,000.00 invested in the steel, and that, were merely the shrinkage of dividends from that source involved, your cause for worry would be negligible; however, as the case is shaping itself, the most sacred principles of our free institution are at stake. Collective bargaining, after the recently revised tactics of the workers, is a criminal disguise for collective robbery. If we allow them to organize their 'One Big Union' all bargaining will end right there; Bill Haywood, Debs, Simms and Foster shall then send us out of doors while they shall be deciding how to dispose of our property. Sovietism and confiscation would supersede Christianity and democracy; the UEBERMENSCH element of our society would be degraded to the unholy level of the working class—and civilization would be no more.

"We have the Mexican problem on our hand, a problem in which you are deeply interested; but we cannot tackle it with any certainty of success without having the steel production pushed at least a whole year ahead of consumption. This we hoped to achieve by the six months' truce between capital and labor which we recently offered to the American Federation of Labor through our government. Due to Bolshevist agitation, this truce was denied us. Scorning the offer of the government is a crime; it must not go unpunished; production must be enforced; we must see to it that every wheel of the government's machinery be set in motion to save the republic.

"You may be surprised, sir, at the familiar manner with which I am approaching you. Now, I do not pretend to be intimate with you, but I am often associating with your closest friends, who imparted to me some of their intimate knowledge con-

cerning your phenomenal patriotism and your almost incredible influence upon the government. A few days ago I had a conference with Morgan and Schwab and in the course of our discussion your name came up and I soon learned that you are the mightiest intellect in the country. I learned that you wrote eleven of Wilson's university famed fourteen points, which eleven points are the only sensible ones; and which were virtually accepted by the Paris peace conference. You and Barney Baruch are also credited with the draft of the league of nations to enforce peace; and the articles which you wrote were so perfect that even General Smooth could not improve upon them. Above all things, you are credited with inducing the president to get us into the war. With your flaming Ciceronian eloquence you have convinced him that our participation was for the good of democracy and humanity. Thus you averted the loss of billions of dollars of American investments. I also learned about several other excellent deeds of yours. You may blush all you want, but you needn't try to disprove these facts.

"Now, while we were deliberating upon the new perils to ordered society, we all came to the conclusion that, if we could enlist your aid, your wonderful mind would surely devise some means to avert the approaching revolution.

"Should you condescend to grant me an audience, I would present you several concrete facts, connected with the situation, such facts as would convince you that this matter merits your distinguished attention. Your reply shall be awaited with anxiety.

"I have the honor of remaining, sir, with boundless admiration for your exemplary patriotism, your wisdom and your prophetic vision,

"Albert Garcia."

The text of the above letter made me glad that the judge was seeing the whole situation in the same light as I did. I conferred with him immediately through the telephone and invited him to come in the afternoon to my La Salle street office.

There was a warm greeting when the judge arrived at my office, because his classic letter caused me to consider him almost my equal. However, we cut short all ceremonies and settled to business; subjects such as our individual health, or weather, are of little importance when there is disease in the whole system of society; and when portentous thunder clouds are hovering above the entire privilege system of our class. "You wrote to me, my dear Garcia," I said, introducing the subject, "that the entire civilization is imperiled by the activities of the Reds, and that it could be saved only through my intercession. If I am really possessed of such supernatural powers as are ascribed to me by you and Messrs. Morgan and Schwab, I surely am will-

ing to exploit them in so holy a cause; hence I am eager to hear your suggestions."

The judge is an accomplished debater; but he was employing a lot of big words; hence I am presenting here his most important opinions in a simplified form so that everybody could understand them. He was convinced that a strike was necessary, because the workers could be safely subdued only through hunger; but he deemed it imperative that at least 25 per cent of normal production be maintained and that the meetings of the strikers be curtailed and all radical orators suppressed so as to keep the temper of the toilers within the bounds of safety. "In this way," he concluded, "we shall not only annihilate the newly organized union but we shall see the defeated slaves resume work at a considerably reduced wage."

I frankly told the judge that he did not convince me about my assistance being needed, that his plans were as good as if I had made them myself.

"The difficulties," said the judge, "lay in the executing of those plans."

"Have you a respectable jail in your town?" I asked.

The judge smiled. "I think it's respectable," he said, "the bars are made from our steel; but upon what charges can the radicals be incarcerated? Promoting of strikes has of late become a lawful occupation."

"There is more than one road leading to Old Kentucky, my dear Garcia," I replied, "why not charge them with Bolshevism, seditious utterances, disloyalty, pro-Germanism, syndicalism, I. W. W.-ism and criminal anarchism? I simply would have every suspicious character pinched, and have our legal spider entangle him in the Overman spinach law afterward; the war is not over yet, or is it?"

Garcia's eyes commenced to shine. "Great stuff," he commented; "the idea would be perfectly feasible if our bull pens could accommodate all the rebels."

This last obstacle irritated my temper. "Life is growing more complex every day," I cried with disgust; "the old Romans would simply corral the agitators into their amphitheatre and then turn a few hungry leopards or lions amongst them, and the gate receipts of the spectacle would have filled their coffers with gold, while we have instead to keep judges, jails, guards, deporting commissions and God knows what; I am beginning to feel a hearty contempt for our civilization."

The judge sighed painfully. "Then all my plans have gone to pieces," he said, resignedly.

"Oh, no, nothing went to pieces," I said resolutely, "we are going to build jails; it's cheaper than to surrender our fundamental, and time honored rights."

The judge betrayed signs of misgivings. "If we start to build jails before the emergency arises," he said, "we will evoke the suspicion of the public, and if we await until the emergency is here, then it shall be too late."

Not sooner had the judge spoken than I had a solution for the problem. I showed him that we can build jails secretly. "I can have my civil engineers design a portable wooden bastille. I can have the parts made in my own factories here in Chicago without even divulging to the superintendents the purpose for which they are intended. You can have your agents place the order with me in their own names, and for some pretended commercial purpose. They can have it shipped to your town and stored in a handy place. When your jails become overcrowded your agents can offer the bastille for sale, either to the municipal government or to the war department. With such material at hand ten common laborers or soldiers can build accommodations for one hundred Reds every day."

"Great Scott! what an inspiration!" the judge exclaimed in bewilderment. "Now I feel contented that democracy shall not perish. With an intellectual Hindenburg such as you are for our leader, we shall easily surmount any obstacles that the Bolsheviks may set in our path."

"Of course, we shall!" I fervently averred. "We have thousands of machine guns in the arsenals at the present; we have the sawed off shot guns which are serviceable and effective at night as the machine guns are at day; and we have all the secrets of the Huns as to how to make poisonous gas. We still have a million men under arms, while radical speeches are the only weapon which our helots can employ against us—and we have the means of silencing most of them."

"This reminds me of one more vital question," said the judge; "when the walkout takes place, the entire steel community must be submitted to martial law. Our success shall largely depend upon the military efficiency of the officer whom we shall choose for conducting the job, but I think I got the right man on the string."

"Who is your man?" I asked.

"General Pershing," the judge proclaimed proudly.

"General Pershing?" I repeated contemptuously. "Why, sir, we may just as well entrust this task to any old woman."

The judge's eyes popped out. "This comes like lightning from a clear sky; do you not consider General Pershing as the greatest soldier we have?" he asked in an astonished voice.

"No," I replied simply. "I consider him to be one of the poorest."

The judge was thoroughly puzzled. "If this is the case," he said, "then why did you recommend him to President Wilson as the leader of our armies in France — or was I misinformed? Leonard Wood was my choice."

I gracefully divulged to the judge that Pershing's military shortcomings as well as his tenuous intellect were the very reasons for my choosing him for the overseas service. "The best military talent we needed right here at home," I declared, "to fight the kaisers of labor. Leonard Wood did not go to Europe because I wanted to save him, that is to say,

How An Industrial Union Works

By GIOVANNI BALDAZZI,
Class War Prisoner No. 13,116

Characteristics of Industrial Unionism

One of the most important unions in the Industrial Workers of the World is the Bakery Workers' Industrial Union No. 46, with headquarters in New York. From the viewpoint of industrial union education, not to say as information matter, it will be interesting for all readers of the One Big Union Monthly to know something about the workings of that union as an agency of industry, and how considerable improvement has been won on the issue of wages, working hours and conditions, and especially about the high degree of protection and control attained by the I. W. W. bakery workers in New York through a wise and consistent application of industrial union tactics and policies.

One should not think that to induce a number of workmen in a given industry to get together under the statutes of the I. W. W. and with red cards in their pockets would really mean that they had built up an industrial union. While it is a highly commendable and noble thing for every conscious and faithful member of our organization to look upon the red card and the preamble of the I. W. W. as inspiring symbols of our struggle in the labor movement, we should not altogether be so dogmatic as to expect by the mere influence of these symbols some sort of industrial miracles. The creation of an industrial union capable of affording its members an effective and efficient protection on the job, and to preserve such standards of wage and condi-

tions as would compare favorably with all other sections of organized labor, is not such an easy task. Working class devotion and idealism should undoubtedly be welcomed on this field of endeavor; although they would bring little or no practical result unless coupled with a sound knowledge of industrial union process; that is to say, of that complexity of tactics, discipline and union policies which after the age-long experience of labor's history, is to be considered as the most trustworthy condition of success in the workers' struggle. Industrial unionism is to a certain extent a faith, yes; but more than that, it is a struggle to be carried on along scientific lines. These studies on the technical problems related to the existence and development of our industrial unions are paramount in the I. W. W. literature, inasmuch as they do not contemplate some abstract and cultural conceptions or side issues, but the very subject of our daily struggle, the thing for which our best fellow workers have fought, suffered and died: **The conquest for the I. W. W. of an influential position in the industrial life of the country, as the first step or the condition of departure toward the establishment of a proletarian commonwealth.**

History of Bakery Workers' Industrial Union No. 46

The history of the bakers' union of the I. W. W. stands as a convincing proof of the great efforts that a body of workers must face in order to secure for themselves a position of comparative prosperity and

to keep him handy for a bigger job as, for instance, the one we have under discussion now."

"Future then had no secrets for you!" stammered the judge in amazement.

"No," I modestly admitted, "not many."

After a brief silence on the part of both of us the judge broke into a plethoric laughter. So completely did he yield his self-restraint to his sentiments of merriment that he lost his balance and fell off the chair; and this laughing fit reacted upon him twice after I had picked him up from the floor and tried to draw his attention to the business at hand. "We are facing a serious thing," I reminded him, after I had helped him to his feet a third time.

"Yes," he agreed, "the situation confronting us is grave, but when I come to think that in a conference lasting less than 15 minutes you have succeeded in convincing the president that General Pershing was the greatest military genius upon the American continent I forget that we are living in a serious world."

I asked the judge if he had any influence with Fitzpatrick, so as to cause him to call the strike when we get ready for it.

"That's the easiest part," said the judge, laughing. "I only need to insult him; I know his Sinn Fein temper."

Thus our business was completely settled for the present. I invited the judge to have dinner with me at the Blackstone hotel. However, no more important matters were discussed that day except at our parting when the judge proposed that we promise some definite reward to General Wood. I authorized him to apprise Leonard Wood in my name that if he keeps the impending strike in our basic industries within the limits of the law I shall consider him as the most auspicious presidential timber.

(To be continued)

Editor's Note—Kernel Quasimodo declined to confide to us as much as a single word concerning the next turn of his dum-dum history so we cleverly approached Matrys, who is his most confidential servant, and promised to him the post of the president of the Academy of Art in the coming I. W. W. society and he confided to us that Chapter IV is devoted to the promotion of patriotism.

job control. The union membership is about one thousand (1,000), most of the members being residents of New York City and nearly all employes of the French bakery shops. There are several Italian branches besides one German and Polish branch. The bakers' union was organized about fifteen years ago and joined the I. W. W. some six years ago.

The wages are the highest paid in the bread industry within the boundaries of New York state, viz., first class bakers, \$42 a week; second class, \$38; third class, \$36.

The bakers in the French bakery shops controlled by the I. W. W. union have brought about the end of the night work system, while the unhealthy condition obtains everywhere else in the bread industry throughout the United States. It is a fine piece of "industrial legislation" enacted in the union hall of the I. W. W. and in force since the month of July, 1919, without any attempt having been made at consulting the political wisdom of the house of representatives in Albany. The Bakery Workers' Union No. 46 of the I. W. W. was the first union in the bread industry to declare for a forty-four hour week. So the members of that union are actually working seven hours and a half a day, and before long they will ask for a seven or a six hour work day, and they will get it. A great effort has been made by active members of Industrial Union No. 46 with the co-operation of several English speaking fellow workers of the I. W. W. Recruiting Union to spread the agitation among all bakery workers in New York City, encouraging them to fall in line for better sanitary conditions, higher wages, forty-four hour week and the day work system. German, Polish and Jewish branches are in process of organization.

Far from being the product of momentary enthusiasm, all these thousands of successes have been brought about through a long record of perseverance and stubborn struggles. Out of a fifteen years' existence of Bakery Workers' Industrial Union No. 46 (although the union itself was known under other names before being incorporated in the I. W. W.), it springs into light the old commonplace truth that it is rather difficult and almost impossible for a union to win at one blow, by means of a victorious strike, or by the mere spirit of enthusiasm such a thing as an influential position in industry. Industrial conquests are comparatively slow, and they seem to be the conclusion of persistent, systematic efforts for the capture of power on the job, rather than the result of some kind of master stroke.

What Industrial Control Means

The act by which an employer takes into his service a wage worker or employe is known as a "contract." Since labor contracts are the commonest form of intercourse in our present industrial life, they most frequently occur under the seal of silent conventionalism. This sort of labor selling between em-

ployers and employes may take the shape of an individual or collective contract. Of course, a true union man, whether he is an I. W. W., an American Federationist, or an independent unionist, is necessarily opposed to the proposition of individual labor contract. Why is this so? Because from a long series of experiences the workers have learned that any direct agreement between individual workmen and employers turns out to be detrimental to the former contracting party and it effects also an extremely demoralizing influence upon the collectivity of labor. Individual bargaining affords no protection for the working man, surrendering the latter to the employer with hands and feet solidly tied.

The Industrial Workers of the World is by no means against the proposition of collective bargaining and union contracts, but they are decidedly hostile to timed contracts, as well as any specific contract, between the employer and the members of a trade or other particular section of an industry, when it might endanger the general interests and solidarity of the workers of the whole industry. One of the main points of difference on the questions of tactics between the American Federation and the I. W. W. is to be identified in this manner of conceiving and carrying out the policy of collective bargainings and union contracts. The I. W. W. repudiate all timed agreements with the employers on the question of wages and other conditions affecting the workers in the industries, and they conceive the idea of collective bargaining on the basis of the general interest and solidarity of all workers employed in the industry while in a good many unions of the A. F. of L. organized along trade lines, the workers are engaging themselves in sectional forms of contracts to such an extent as to divide them and make them scabs against each other in time of strike.

Except for these differences the I. W. W. should be as much insistent as any other labor union on the question of enforcing the "closed shop" and collective bargaining in all transactions between the workers and the employer. These, at least, have always been the policies of the Bakery Workers' Industrial Union No. 46, and the members of that I. W. W. body are firmly clinging to them as a solid ground for practical and successful industrial unionism. Experience has taught also that every industrial union which does not recognize the principle that all men on the job should be made members is bound to fall quickly into disintegration. There is a spirit of class discipline in our conceptions and tactics of industrial unionism, and that spirit springs logically out of the economic fact that the interests of the individual worker are tightly bound with the interests of the whole body of his fellow workers employed in the industry, so that for the sake of the common good he ought to solidarize and fall in line with them. The industrial unions are the medium of this working class solidarity and discipline.

How the Shops Are Controlled

To understand the tremendous power exerted by Bakery Workers' Industrial Union No. 46 in its struggle against the bosses and the large share of protection afforded to its members on the job, one should visualize that union not merely as an institution stranger to the industry, but as an auxiliary of the highest import in the working of the industry itself. There is great meaning conveyed in the proposition that a true and well organized industrial union ought to function right on the job, rather than in the union hall. However, let us illustrate this idea by the aid of facts.

All bakery shops controlled by the I. W. W. in New York City are running with full crews of union men. None of the members of the crews are allowed to remain out of the union ranks. The drivers themselves are members of the union. The question arises: How did the union succeed in compelling the boss to engage members of the I. W. W. exclusive of all other classes of workers? One of the most effective instruments that helped the bakers' union in tightening its grip over the jobs is the employment bureau. Nobody, including the members of the union, is allowed to go and ask a boss for a job. All jobs are disposed of by the Union Employment Bureau. Even the right of a boss to supervise the crews on the jobs is restricted to a considerable extent. There is common understanding that the workers under the guidance of the union foremen are bound to turn over a production according to some conventional standards; there ceases the right of interference on the part of the boss. In the case of a man refusing to pay his monthly dues or having made himself responsible for some offense against the union, the committee and the assembly are invested with full judicial powers to admonish or to punish him. Sometimes the union required that the guilty man be dismissed from the job, and the boss had to comply with it. There is not a boss that dares to resist such requests, realizing that he couldn't possibly run the place without the consent of the union men. On the other hand, in order to prevent the bosses from complaining to the police against such union tactics they have been made to sign an agreement to the effect of securing their crews at the Union Employment Bureau to the exclusion of all other agencies.

The actual bakers' union of the I. W. W. in New York is built upon such strong foundations as to give assurance for tremendous successes in that line of organization work. It is to be noticed that all that has been done hitherto comes directly from the initiative of the membership of that body, without any outside help. Taking into account the lack of English speaking elements in the ranks of Union No. 46, it would be utterly absurd to expect great results under actual conditions. So it is high time the General Headquarters of the I. W. W. extends its powerful hand and help in bringing about the

propaganda, agitational and organization work among the slaves in this industry.

To train the workers in the responsibilities connected with the running of the industries so that they shall be prepared to solve the revolutionary crisis which is so near, and that they will be able to build up a new commonwealth founded on the possession by the workers of all instruments of production, and of the wealth of the world, this is undoubtedly the most compelling task, both of an educational and of an industrial or technical character that the Industrial Workers of the World is confronted with. These qualities for industrial government, that is to say, these capacities on the part of the workers to take care of all processes of production and to discipline themselves on the job, so as to eliminate all reasons for capitalist patronage, find the best conditions of development in the practice of industrial control.

This is also the plan that we should carry on and make effective through all the educational and organization activity of the I. W. W., if we really expect to play an actual and dominant role in the future of American industrial life.

THE WAY OF LIBERTY

By COVINGTON AMI

Little brothers of the Czar,
Liberty ye bolt and bar,
Know ye not the age-long truth?
She shall break you without ruth.

Shattered tho' her ranks may be,
Overborne on land and sea;
Yet her long Golgotha march,
She shall end 'neath freedom's arch.

Triumphing round rich banquets spread,
Ye shall hear her thund'rous tread;
From potters' fields and shrouding waves,
She shall use from many graves.

From the lakes of blood ye spilt,
From the peace your terror built,
All despite your guards and spies,
Many Emmets shall arise.

In the moment all seems won,
Ye shall see your work undone;
Ye shall know the age-long truth:
She shall break you without ruth.

WANTED—Information as to the present whereabouts of Edward Wellington Flower is being sought by his mother, Mrs. I. Flower, 591 Congress street, Troy, N. Y.; last known to be working on Great Lakes boats.

A MESSAGE

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

You, O Men of Africa, Greeting!
 Greeting to you who are on the high seas.
 You who have been exiled.
 You who are on strike.
 You who are fighting only as noble men can fight.
 You who are ready to sacrifice your lives for the
 cause you love.
 You who have been beaten.
 You who have been imprisoned.
 You who are separated from your loved ones.
 You who grieve for your comrades who have been
 murdered.

You, O Men of Ireland and the Empire, Greeting!
 You who have had your homes invaded.
 You who have been maltreated.
 You who have been deserted in your hour of need.
 You who have been duped by priests and poli-
 ticians.
 You who have been clubbed.
 You who have been denied the right to organize.
 You who have been bereaved by death.
 You who have been evicted from miserable homes.
 You who have been robbed of your heritage.

You, O Men of Europe, Greeting!
 Slavs, Latins, Orientals, Teutons and Norsemen.
 You who have been pitted against each other like
 beasts in bloody war.
 You whose comrades have been massacred.
 You who are conscripts of a monarch's army.
 You who are denied voice in a nation's council.
 You who give the themes of discourse and art.
 You who build palaces and temples and live in
 hovels.
 You whom churches and kings would use as pup-
 pets.
 You who have been lashed with scorn.
 You whose voices cannot be silenced with threat of
 bullet or gallows.

You O Men of the Americas, Greeting!
 You of the East, the West, the North, the South.
 You who have been driven to take up arms against
 your oppressors.
 You who have been hunted like wild animals.
 You who have been blacklisted.
 You who have lost your loved ones in disaster.
 You who have been crippled.
 You who have had your women violated.
 You who are living under martial laws.
 You who have been bullied and browbeaten.
 You who have been deported.
 You who have been in bull pens.
 You who have been robbed of every civil and con-
 stitutional right.

You, all Men and Women and Children of Labor,
 Greet each the other.

You who are white, black, brown, red or yellow of
 skin.
 You who have been denied the sunlight of life.
 You who have been denied knowledge.
 You who have been denied love.
 You who have never known independence.
 You who are wage slaves in the mart.
 You whose drops of blood turn the wheels of all in-
 dustries.
 You who fill the warehouses and granaries of the
 world.
 You who made all invention possible.
 You who feed, and clothe, and shelter, and succor
 the peoples of the world.
 You who have had the resources of the earth and
 the machinery of production within your grasp.
 You who are compelled to die of starvation amidst
 plenty.
 You can start and stop every wheel.
 You must rise in revolt against the inhuman mas-
 ter's control.
 You must strip the rich of all power, save the
 strength to work.
 You must feel that an injury to the least is an
 injury to all of your class.
 You must know as individuals you cannot avoid the
 iniquities and tortures you have suffered.

You, O Men and Women and Children of Labor,
 you can end forever the wrongs your class has
 endured.

You have but to think within yourselves.
 You have but to act within yourselves.
 You have but to act within your class.
 You must organize as you work together.
 Think, Organize, Act Together.
 Industrial Freedom Will Come to All.

A LETTER FROM A MOTHER

In response to a circular sent out by the Indus-
 trial Worker the following letter was received:

"Aug. 30, 1919.

"Editor Industrial Worker:

"I received your letter. I am sending 25 cents
 for your paper for a while—all I can spare now after
 the severe skinning they are putting us through in
 various ways. I understand your organization is
 trying to pick up the threads of life, which this
 thing I am told is civilization leaves out in its lop-
 sided calculations. I have no prejudices for or
 against any nationality, believing we are all just as
 good or bad as the other one. I want the time to
 come when every one will have to work and not live
 on the sweat of others. I want to see those that
 work hard get full pay and honor, and I particularly
 refer to mothers who in the past have been foolishly
 raising children FREE, thereby making the human
 being cheaper than hogs and furnishing material
 for wars. I have raised six children against all
 kinds of handicaps, and consider I have a bill against
 society for that labor which has never been paid
 but is long overdue. A. MOTHER."

MANIFESTO

To the Workers of France, England, Italy and America, Greetings:

Over a year Russia has been shut off from the rest of the world by the allied governments. The hypocrisy and hate shown by the governments of France, England, Italy and America, who fought in the war in the name of Democracy and the right of all people to choose their own form of government, is now more clearly shown in this latest, most raw and dastardly attempt to deny the Russian people self-determination.

We, the undersigned, have no reason nor desire to defend any ruler or form of government, because as revolutionists, we fight for liberty and communism against all forms of governmental tyranny, but we must cry out against the attempts of Democratic governments to interfere in the internal affairs of Soviet Russia. The conditions there are unspeakable. The people starve, freeze and die for the lack of the barest necessities.

Not to mention the fact that the assistance the contra-revolutionary forces are getting in the form of military supplies, money, food, ammunition and soldiers, is a direct violation of the Democratic principles declared by your governments, much more so is the indirect intervention and blockade against Russia a crime which strikes direct at innocent men, women and children.

Workers, comrades in France, England, Italy and America, friends of liberty, the right of the individual, group and nations to self-determination is at stake. We come to you in the name of humanity, culture, solidarity, liberty and revolutionary socialism demanding that you do everything you can to stop your governments from interfering in the internal affairs of Russia and give its people a chance to live in peace.

May you all, comrades and brothers, come to an understanding as to the methods to use in forcing your governments to take their bloody hands off Russia. Give the Russian revolution, although a more political and far from our ideal of a social revolution, a chance to develop, free from the pressure and interference of tyrannical and reactionary governments.

Workers, proletarians, we demand that you use all your power and through direct action, the general strike and the boycott, stop your government from continuing their present policy of blood and iron in Russia.

Brothers and workers of the allied countries, let us join hands above the heads of all governments.

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

Long live the international brotherhood, in a united action, while laying the foundation for a new society, an association of free people.

**THE YOUNG SOCIALIST PARTY OF SWEDEN.
THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF SWEDISH WORKERS (SYNDICALIST.)**

TWO CONFESSIONS

By FRANK LIEDTKE

Who am I? A poor, helpless thing. Until a short time ago I was proud of myself, I felt superior. I always had plenty of gold, but—never have dug any. Someone dug it for me. I have a large farm on which there is plenty of corn, wheat, cattle and horses. I know it is my property. I bought it with good gold, but there is one thing, I never have done; I have never labored upon it. Why should I when people are willing to do it for me in return for a little gold. Am I to blame? I always thought I was doing my part when I gave my workmen gold.

I have my bread and butter; I have good clothes and beddings; I ride in automobiles and Pullman cars; I get the best of everything. Some people call me lucky. Some people love me and other would like to kill me. Why? Yes, ask me why? Have I done right? I do not know.

It seems to me I am a miserable thing. I have done nothing to aid progress. I have lived on the labor of my fellowmen. If everyone did as I have done, no man could exist. I do not wonder that the people call me a Bally parasite. I do not blame the people who curse me and yet I do not blame myself.

"Who is to blame?"

I heard somebody say.

It is the damnable system which is to blame.

Brother, I have heard your confession, I see you are trying to do better but let me tell you my story. My life has been a life of misery. Yes, I too am a miserable thing. I am a working man. I have labored at many things. I have built ships, railroads, wagons, automobiles and machinery of all descriptions. I have built houses and cities with the help of my fellowmen. I have also labored on farms where I raised grain and meat. Clothes have I also made. Yes, I have laid my hands to many things.

But why should I boast about all those things? I am old now. I have nothing, never did, I haven't anything to boast of. O yes, I liked to work. I have liked my bosses and they liked me when I was young and strong. Today the boss doesn't seem to know me. I wonder why?

Sometime the work was hard and dangerous. Many of my fellowmen were killed. Little did I heed. I was too busy. My comrades were busy, too. The busiest fellow was always the boss. My boss did the brain work and told us what we should do. We had muscles, why should we need brains if the boss had plenty? My boss has a nice house and rides in an automobile. He is a lucky man.

The young men of today are strange fellows. They say we are slaves to the big boss. How can that be in the land of the free? I hear the whistle. The freight train is coming. Goodby—I must move on. I am hungry and cold. I am a miserable thing.

If all men did as I have done, loved the man who robbed them of their share, God have pity on the people of our free land.

Equality

(A BIT OF DRAMA IN ONE SCENE.)

(By Walter C. Hunter)

This bit of pathos takes place in the Bell's kitchen at a dignified summer resort on a beautiful Sunday afternoon in August. The kitchen is a small room 8x15 with yellow painted walls. At the left end is a door leading to the dining-room through which Mrs. Bell passes back and forth as she serves dinner. Abutting it is a closet containing dishes and below this a shelf full of plates ready to serve. Next this, along the front wall is a sink, a set of drawers, more shelves table-height, and the pantry door. To the right are also shelves and a window. A combination gas and coal stove occupies the front of the room. Several pots and pans are steaming on the stove.

When the curtain goes up Mrs. Bell, a well-built woman of 40 or thereabouts, having a kind intelligent face a bit heated and worn is seen busily passing from the kitchen to the pantry and from the stove to the tables, dishing out the food which she carries to the dining-room. From these she brings back empty dishes some of which she washes as she has need for them. Each time the dining-room door is opened a burst of women's chatter and laughter is heard.

Seated in front of the stove and very near it is a man, her husband. He wears a gray flannel shirt but no tie, a sweater and a coat. He is drawn together and is very near the stove. His hair is long above the ears and on the neck; his clean-shaven face is flushed, but he too is alert-looking. From time to time he raises one hand to his chest and coughs into a handkerchief: frequently he rises to spit in the fire.

For some minutes this silent tableau goes on. Mrs. Bell moves speedily about the serving, Bell watching her and coughing now and then. Finally as Mrs. Bell is returning from serving the dessert, Bell coughs louder than before. She approaches him and in low voice says:

"Turn your head the other way when you cough; they'll hear you."

Bell does as bid. Turning his head enables him to gaze out the kitchen window.

Bell (in taunting, sarcastic voice — all the while he talks his wife works):

There go the Bronsons. Going out to dinner.

They don't have to work any seven-day week. No sticking around a hot kitchen for them. They were out to dinner nearly every night last week. That's my idea of living. Take a cottage for the Summer and put on your good clothes on a Sunday afternoon and go out on the beach and enjoy yourself.

(Hilarity from dining-room.)

Bell (continuing with increased bitterness): They like your cooking and it makes them feel good. (Coughs.) But you see you weren't born right and they were. You're just common ordinary and you've

got to work and when you get through you can go to bed. You're not as good as those people, as those refined pigs in there, and so you have to work. They don't work, never have worked, but then, as I said, they were born right and they've no end of money. You see, that's the difference (cough) between being born ordinary and having folks that cough. (Laughter from the dining-room.) All gotten up in their silks and satins and nothing to do but wait around till feeding time. — Perhaps one of them will give you an old dress she doesn't want any more. They're so generous with things they don't want. — Did they praise your cooking? Flatter you so you'd kill yourself pleasing them. That fat little Wentworth with the blood pressure is eating so much she'll get apoplexy. — Suppose they wanted you to play to them? Well, they're God's chosen. Give them anything they want. The best is none too good for them. Tell 'em if we haven't got it we'll get it. Anything to please! Tell 'em we're flattered at their notice. Tell 'em we'd sell our souls if they wanted them. That's what comes from not being born right. — (Coughs.) Too bad. Never mind. When you get the dishes done it'll be time to start in on the supper and when you die you'll go to heaven and then everything'll be all right.

Mrs. Bell (in hurt tone): I can't go on with all this if you keep on talking like that. (a pause) I haven't stopped a moment all day."

(Laughter from dining-room.)

Mrs. Bell starts to cry softly, but keeps on with her work.

(More laughter from dining-room.)

Bell surprised and concerned gets up and goes to her.

Bell (dejectedly): I'm such a failure. I'm so sick and miserable and the worse I feel and the more impotent I am the more bitter I get. In my impotence I strike out blindly at anyone and I hurt the very ones I want to help. (She puts out her hand to him and stops crying, having forgotten her own misery in her concern for him.) I'm getting so I'm envious and jealous of everyone that's got anything. I want to do so much — help you and everything but all I do is make things harder.

Mrs. Bell: No you don't, but you mustn't be so bitter.

Bell (earnestly): Yes, I know, but I sit here and see you slaving like a drudge and never having a moment to rest or do all those other things we want to do and all those people utterly incapable of doing anything for themselves, these smug, complacent people with their stupid conventional little souls never doing anything and yet having everything: so utterly selfish, without the slightest consideration for you or for anything but their animal comforts,

and regarding themselves as a kind of superior creature. God, what an arrangement — you who are kind and capable having to drudge all the time and they who are thoroughly worthless and never put forth an effort having time for everything! (a pause) Well, I'll die some day and then things wont be so hard for you.

Mrs. Bell (quickly): Don't say that; you'll be all right as soon as you get over the pleurisy. (She leads him over to his chair and stands holding his hands.)

Bell (impatiently): But you take it all so calmly and passively! you let them walk over you! You don't seem to feel the injustice of it!

Mrs. Bell: Yes I do: but I have to do the work. I can't sit around and talk about it all the time and get the work done too.

Bell: O, I feel I lose my self respect in taking their money. I feel it places me in the position of all those tradesmen and snobs who fawn upon them and would sell their souls for a few dollar's profit. These canting hypocrites talk about spirituality but they really think money's everything and when we cater to them put us in the same class as all those others.

Mrs. Bell: But what are we to do? We're not free to do as we wish. We've got to live and this seems the best way to do it now.

Bell: Yes, yes, I know, that's the maddening part of it. Life's so hard! We try to get above money and find because of our generosity we have to struggle harder for it than those to whom it is everything. — O, if people only had a little fellow-feeling—!

Mrs. Bell. (soothingly): Things will be different; they'll get better.

(A knocking at the kitchen door which the Bells do not hear.)

Bell (in voice of distressed yearning): O, I wish

we might have an afternoon off occasionally and get cleaned up and I might feel well enough and just go out and see the rocks and the water or ramble out in the country and just enjoy ourselves and forget everything, instead of always being so tired out that when you get a free moment you are fit only to lie down.

(Knocking again, following which door is opened and a tall woman in a spangled dress and a short old lady in lavender appear in doorway.)

Mrs. Bell drops husband's hands and both look questioningly at intruders.

Tall woman (in superficially apologetic voice with humorless laugh): Do excuse us for intruding, Mrs. Bell, but we knocked twice. Mrs. Bell, wont you please play a little for us—?

Short woman: "—yes, do come and play a moment. I do so want to hear you play Greig's sonata again—."

Tall woman: "—and those Schumann Fantasies."

Short woman: "—yes, do please, Mrs. Bell. Your playing is perfectly wonderful."

Mrs Bell stands smiling at the women. After a moment she looks at her husband, who sits soberly, at once to tell him she consents and to seek his approval. Then she starts toward the door.

Bell (in whisper): Your dinner.

Mrs. Bell (to husband): Just a minute, dear. (To women as they exit): I get so little chance to practice—.

Exit all but Bell who sits thoughtfully with cheek in hand, elbow on knee. Sounds of half a dozen voices reach him from the dining-room. After a minute or so the playing of the Greig sonata is heard.

Bell coughs: the handkerchief is covered with blood.

CURTAIN

The Darkness of the Soul

By Covington Ami.

There is no other darkness like the darkness of the soul,
 No other clouds above us in such gloomy blackness roll;
 No other desolation that's so hopelessly complete
 As the dark that sweeps upon us when the soul falls in defeat.
 There is no other requiem like the requiem of the soul,
 No other bells so sadly, with such mournful terror toll,
 No other tears comparing with the burning tears that fall
 When the knell of hope is striking and the soul has lost its all.
 There is no other hunger like the hunger of the soul,
 No other dregs so bitter as the dregs within its bowl;
 No other feast so barren as the feast whence love has flown,
 And the soul sits at life's table, waiting, watching, all alone.
 There is no other sorrow like the sorrow of the soul,
 No other grief so utterly beyond our strength's control;
 No other shadow blacker and no darkness more complete,
 Than the dark that sweeps upon us when the soul falls in defeat.

Hands Off Russia

We publish herewith a call sent out over the world by the Workers of Holland, as well as an appeal issued by the Methodist Federation for Social Service, showing that this demand for justice comes from quite different layers of society in different countries.

At the same time we may mention that the syndicalists and young socialists of Sweden have sent out a stirring appeal in the same direction.

What are the people of America doing for the suffering people of Russia while they are fighting for the cause of freedom?

To the Revolutionists all over the World:

The highest council of the allied and associated powers has in his mad passion for dominion of the world, applied to the governments of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Finland, Spain, Switzerland, Mexico, Chili, Argentine, Columbia and Venezuela and urged them to tighten

The Cordon of Death

around Russia, not to allow any vessel to go there, or to come back; to refuse all passports; to break off all commercial relations and to render all postal and wireless union impossible. For the first time the allied and associate powers have addressed the German government in a rather friendly way in order to obtain from them that by their help, too,

Soviet Russia Should Be Murdered as Quickly as Possible

We rouse all revolutionists in all countries to begin an action and carry through with might and main to break that Cordon of Death. Up against the governments who conspire with the representatives of czarism that has been cast off and who don't shrink from starving ten millions of men, women and children; against whatever political power, it may be found, that maintains imperialism within its own frontiers or outside them, and promote it under pretense of love to mankind and peoples.

More than ever unanimous revolutionary action is required now.

When the allied and associated powers succeed in suffocating Russia, a

Gulf of Reaction

will pass over the world.

Fellow workers, men and women, soldiers and intellectual people, don't suffer this!

Millions, now show your will against the will of the few oppressors.

Especially it is your duty, revolutionists of America, England and France to relieve Soviet Russia. Set the example with the knowledge of your responsibility for a common revolutionary action, the only thing that can SAVE RUSSIA, and for which the world is waiting!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, C. P.,

D. J. Wijnkoop, J. C. Ceton.

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARIST UNION,
S. A. M. V.

M. de Boer, J. Hooyberg.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF PERSONAL IN
PUBLIC SERVICE,

J. A. Wesselingh, J. Schenk.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SOCIAL ANAR-
CHISTS

C. Kitsz, M. de Boer.

NATIONAL LABOUR SECRETARY, N. A. S.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY, S. P.

W. Hovers, H. Kolthek.

"THE SOWER" YOUTH ORGANISATION

W. F. Dolleman, L. Z. de Jong.

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UNION OF REVOLUTIONIST SOCIALISTS IN-
TELLECTUALS, B. v. R. S. I.

B. de Ligt, Heleen Ankersmit.

UNION OF REVOL-SOCIALIST WOMEN,

M. Kruis, C. Koomans-Timmer.

Holland, October, 1919.

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

150 Fifth Avenue, New York City

The Blockade of Soviet Russia

The Executive committee of the Methodist Federation for Social Service submits for the earnest consideration of the ministry and membership of our church the following petition to congress, with the suggestion that those who find themselves in agreement with it will sign and send it to their representatives and senators at Washington, and will take every opportunity to bring the matter to the attention of others:

WHEREAS, THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF SOVIET RUSSIA is increasing the suffering of millions of people in a world which is now overflow-

ing with misery, is daily adding to the bitterness of a world which is already over full of hate, is obstructing that natural sympathy with distress which has often bridged the gulf between antagonistic peoples, is withholding from the wounds of Europe those healing influences that inhere in economic relationships:

WHEREAS, For the Government of the United States to acquiesce in the blockade of a people against whom we have not declared war, is to go directly contrary to our historic attitude toward blockades:

We Request Congress to Declare That

The United States does not recognize the blockade of Soviet Russia.

Financial Statements

GENERAL SUMMARY, LUMBER WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 500 OF THE I. W. W. DECEMBER, 1919

Receipts	
Initiations, Union No. 500.....	\$ 1,806.00
Dues, Union No. 500.....	3,489.50
Initiations, other unions.....	202.00
Dues, other unions.....	555.00
General Org. stamps.....	324.00
Class War Prisoner stamps.....	489.00
Seattle War Prisoner stamps.....	54.00
Gen. Def. stamps.....	681.00
Gen. Def. donation and coll.....	258.72
Centralia Def. stamps.....	210.00
Centralia Def. collection.....	156.63
Strike Fam. Relief stamps.....	41.50
Calif. Syndicalism stamps.....	11.00
Buttons and pins.....	79.75
Literature.....	446.40
Card cases, banners, etc.....	177.00
Collect from telephone.....	1.10
Total.....	\$ 8,932.60
Cash, Dec. 1.....	3,684.11
Total.....	\$12,616.71

Disbursements	
To other unions, 50-50 acct.....	\$ 460.75
Literature.....	304.67
Commission.....	386.25
Organization wages.....	2,195.92
Mileage.....	219.75
Supplies acct.....	23.05
Increase indiv. ledgr. balances.....	2,331.09
Centralia defense.....	114.85
General defense.....	1,132.55
Main office wages.....	850.10
Rent, light, heat.....	637.90
Stationery and fixtures.....	365.07
Postage, wires and express.....	272.10
Disc. Canada currency.....	8.00
Total.....	\$ 9,802.05
Cash on hand Dec. 31.....	2,814.66
Total.....	\$12,616.66

Notes for General Information—The above summary for the month of December is 70 per cent Superior district business, 30 per cent Seattle and Spokane districts. We are short reports for December and part of November from both the latter districts.

Where the word "deficit" appears in the reports of delegates, it merely signifies that more funds were turned in to the delegate than was his remittance at that particular time and has no relation to his individual account balance.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT A. W. I. U. NO. 400, I. W. W., DECEMBER, 1919

Receipts	
Initiations, 191.....	\$ 382.00
Due stamps, 2,181.....	1,090.50
Organization stamps.....	160.00
Relief stamps.....	207.00
General Defense stamps.....	376.00
A. W. I. U. stamps.....	65.00
Buttons, pins, etc.....	5.80
Lit., card cases, dup. cards, etc.....	320.95
Moneys paid on acct. supplies.....	92.10
Moneys paid on acct. by Br. Secty.'s and Dels.....	1,482.47
Moneys refunded.....	5.00
Subs.....	3.00
General defense donations.....	259.46
R. R. Magazine stamps.....	12.50
Criminal Syndicalism stamps.....	190.00
C. W. I. U. stamps.....	14.00
Centralia stamps.....	175.00
Joint office receipts for Nov.....	113.20
Wm. Gorham, misc. receipts.....	3.50
Mimeograph work.....	3.00
G. R. U., dues.....	7.50
M. T. W. I. U. No. 8, dues.....	11.00
B. W. I. U. No. 46, dues.....	2.00
Initiations.....	4.00
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300, initiations.....	6.00
Dues.....	7.00
S. B. I. U. No. 325, dues.....	3.00
F. I. U. No. 448, dues.....	1.50
Initiations.....	2.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450, initiations.....	54.00
Dues.....	87.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, dues.....	88.00
Initiations.....	36.00
C. W. I. U. No. 573, initiations.....	80.00
Dues.....	173.50
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, dues.....	47.50
Initiations.....	22.00

M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, initiations.....	6.00
Dues.....	22.50
T. W. I. U. No. 1,000, dues.....	.50
H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1,100, dues.....	17.50
Initiations.....	16.00
G. D. W. I. U. No. 1,300, initiations.....	2.00
Dues.....	2.00
F. P. W. I. U. No. 1,500, dues.....	3.00
Initiations.....	6.00
Total receipts.....	\$ 5,667.98

DISBURSEMENTS, MAIN OFFICE, DECEMBER, 1919

Personal deposits.....	\$ 1.00
Headquarters on acct. supplies.....	771.00
Com. on literature and papers.....	8.62
Literature and papers.....	893.40
List. and Br. Secy.'s wages and Del.'s com.....	1,308.39
Mileage.....	188.22
Moneys held by Br. Secy.'s and Del.'s.....	1,528.90
Rent, light, heat, etc.....	313.05
Main office salaries.....	373.00
Stationery and fixtures.....	17.09
Postage, express and wires.....	72.83
Allowance on reports from other ind. unions.....	187.25
H. Allsbrook, report chgd. twice.....	13.00
R. L. Meyer, report chgd. twice.....	6.50
Criminal Syndicalism stamps.....	149.00
J. Stevens, one trunk.....	7.97
G. Ward, G. O. C. wages and mileage.....	34.73
T. Murphy, one trunk and rope.....	5.40
On acct., Nov. rep. to other ind. unions.....	387.50
W. Gorham, total cost altering Mpls. hall.....	68.40
Calif. dist. adv. to Calif. Def. Com., to be applied on G. D. assessments.....	150.00
General defense and relief.....	748.69
Total disbursements.....	\$ 7,228.94

Recapitulation

Total receipts.....	\$ 5,667.98
Cash on hand Dec. 1, 1919.....	5,584.00
Grand total.....	\$11,251.98
Total disbursements.....	7,228.94
Cash on hand Dec. 31, 1919.....	\$ 4,023.04

Mat K. Fox,
Secy.-Treas., A. W. I. U. No. 400, I. W. W.

SUMMARY RECEIPTS, NO. 573

Personal deposits.....	\$ 15.50
Initiations, 40 A. F. of L. cards.....	696.60
Dues.....	1,161.50
Organization assessments.....	72.00
Class war relief assessments.....	32.00
General defense assessments.....	216.00
Centralia assessments.....	133.00
Criminal syndicalism assessments.....	103.00
C. W. I. U. assessments.....	87.00
R. R. Mag. assessments.....	7.00
Literature.....	273.33
Papers and magazines.....	623.45
Buttons.....	29.00
Card cases.....	11.25
Duplicate cards.....	7.75
Defense donations.....	15.00
Hall collections.....	21.12
Organization donations.....	190.87
Acct. cash bal. Del. Sec. and G.O.C.....	1,130.05
Report taken by authorities S. F.....	78.00
Charter for Toledo.....	10.00
Pennants.....	13.85
Defense lists Nos. 9205 and 16764.....	8.00
Christmas fund, Forum hall.....	30.78
Shields.....	1.25
New York pictures.....	.50
Donation for library.....	1.00
Error, Detroit report.....	1.00
Initiations, other unions.....	204.00
Dues, other unions.....	361.00
Total receipts.....	\$ 5,534.20

Expenditures

Personal deposits.....	\$ 1.00
Per capita.....	23.00
Supplies.....	169.00
Literature.....	126.90
Commissions, lit. and init.....	112.75
Papers and magazines.....	332.41
Wages, Br. Sec., Del. and G.O.C.....	853.50
Wages, auditing committee.....	138.00
Mileage.....	144.22
Allowance, other unions.....	966.75
Cash balance by Sec., Del. and G.O.C.....	591.39
Defense.....	390.00
Criminal syndicalism assessments.....	125.00
Main office, wages.....	274.25
Rent, light, heat, etc.....	385.23
Stationery and fixtures.....	220.36

Postage, wire and express.....	163.50
Calif. dist. ballots	12.25
Bulletins.....	44.85
A. F. of L. cards.....	80.00
Refund, Christmas fund	43.85
Advertising.....	4.00
Total expenditures	\$ 5,902.21
Cash on hand, Dec. 1.....	\$ 240.17
Total receipts, December	5,534.20
Grand total	\$ 7,774.37
Total expenditures, December.....	5,902.21
Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1920.....	\$ 1,872.16
Bert Lewis, Secretary-Treasurer.	Bob Nelson, Chairman,
	Chairman, G. O. C.

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS, I. U. NO. 600, DECEMBER, 1919

Initiations, 123	\$ 246.00
Due stamps, 776	388.00
Organization stamps	12.00
Relief stamps	5.00
General defense stamps	18.00
Centralia and raids defense stamps	40.00
Defense lists	26.00
Donations, defense	6.00
R. R. Magazine stamps	42.00
Donations to No. 600	3.00
Pins, buttons and duplicate cards	4.50
Literature	12.00
Papers and magazines, bundle orders.....	24.68
Subscription papers	5.00
Branch charter	2.00
Stove	12.00
Stenographer to No. 300.....	8.00
Credit, branch and delegate accounts.....	46.55
Business for other unions:	
G. R. U., initiations \$4, dues \$5.50.....	9.50
I. U. No. 8, dues \$2.....	2.00
I. U. No. 300, dues \$1.50.....	1.50
I. U. No. 325, initiations \$2, dues 0.50.....	2.50
I. U. No. 400, initiations \$2, dues \$6.....	8.00
I. U. No. 500, initiations \$2, dues \$3.....	5.00
I. U. No. 573, initiations \$2, dues \$2.....	4.00
I. U. No. 800, initiations \$20, dues \$30.....	50.00
I. U. No. 1,000, initiations \$2, dues \$1.....	3.00
I. U. No. 1,300, initiations \$4, dues \$1.....	5.00
Total receipts	\$ 991.23

Summary of Expenses	
General Headquarters Br. Ch.....	2.25
Three craft union cards exchanged	6.00
Papers and magazine bundle orders.....	103.01
Wages and commission to Dels. and Brs.....	84.60
Mileage	9.83
Main office, wages	206.00
Rent, light, heat	34.75
Stationery and fixtures	8.30
Postage, express and wires	43.05
On hand, delegates and branches.....	46.38
Advanced, acct. printing work.....	100.00
Allowance, ind. unions for supplies.....	246.50
Total expenditures	\$ 885.67

Recapitulation	
Receipts for December, 1919.....	\$ 991.23
Cash on hand, Dec. 1, 1919.....	527.83
Total receipts	\$ 1,519.06
Total expenditures, December, 1919	885.67
Balance cash on hand, Jan. 1, 1920.....	\$ 633.39
George Apt, Chairman, Organization Com.	C. N. Ogden, Secy.-Treas. No. 600.

GERMAN SPARTACISTS FOR INDUSTRIAL ACTION

The Berlin organization of the Communist Party of Germany recently adopted a declaration on mass action and industrial unionism. A translation of parts of this declaration is here given from *Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung* of Hamburg, for Sept. 19, 1919:

"We hereby proclaim: The street is lost. There is no question about it. But those who are wide-awake to further development will notice that the proletariat was driven—to Parliament? No. The sound eye will see that the proletariat has been driven into the industries. There the great uprising is fomenting; there it broke out in great strikes, and there it will not and shall not come to rest. Spontaneously the industrial organizations arose and shoved the craft organization aside. Here is solid

GENERAL RECRUITING UNION RECAPITULATION

Organization Receipts	
Due stamps	\$ 3,388.85
General Organization stamps	234.50
Relief stamps	208.00
General Defense stamps	587.50
Due books	1,014.75
Buttons and pins	200.00
Supplies	656.16
Literature on account	208.71
Supplies	656.16
Organization contributions	22.00
Literature, cash sales	92.39
Publications	5,191.29
Personal accounts	1,107.77
Class war prisoners Xmas fund.....	36.00
Rent	350.00
Refund on wages	6.00
Total	\$18,303.92

Organization Disbursements	
Office wages	\$ 626.00
Stationery and supplies	51.35
Express	9.02
Postage	20.44
Office equipment	19.05
Rent	250.00
Telephone	14.27
Telegraph	64.71
Light	92.27
Coal	348.73
Miscellaneous	12.34
Publications	4,117.03
Literature	1,192.38
Supplies	1,305.21
Organization wages	96.00
Miscellaneous org. expenses	53.20
Due books	805.00
Card cases	224.75
Refund loans on linotype	170.00
Personal accounts	1,115.06
Class war prisoners Xmas fund	266.67
Due stamps	226.50
Shipping room expense	34.38
General Rec. Union, expense	293.85
Defense committee, acct. Def. and Relief stamps, part cost financial stmt. and bk. exchange.....	786.88
Total	\$12,195.09

Balance, Dec. 1, 1919	\$ 92.06
December receipts	18,303.92
Total	\$18,395.98
December disbursements	12,195.09
Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1920.....	\$ 1,200.89

The One Big Union Monthly joins with the many friends and fellow workers of Wm. D. Haywood who extend to him condolence over the loss of his wife, who died at her home in Denver, Colo., after an illness of twenty-four years.

ground upon which the battalions again can be organized.

"He who says that the technique of the industrial organization is related to the idea of organization underlying the old party, he does not know the real nature of the industrial organization.

"To the bourgeois the Parliament may appear to be the symbol of social power. To the proletariat, not the Parliament, but the industry is the symbol of social power. Questions of production are decided in the industry, not in the Parliament.

"Only so do we understand the declaration of the Third International that speaks of the subordination of the Parliamentary methods, not co-ordination. Only so can we understand the situation in Germany at present. The industry is what we want to own and control."

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