



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests 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 every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

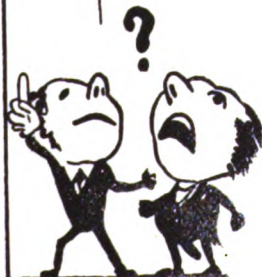
By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

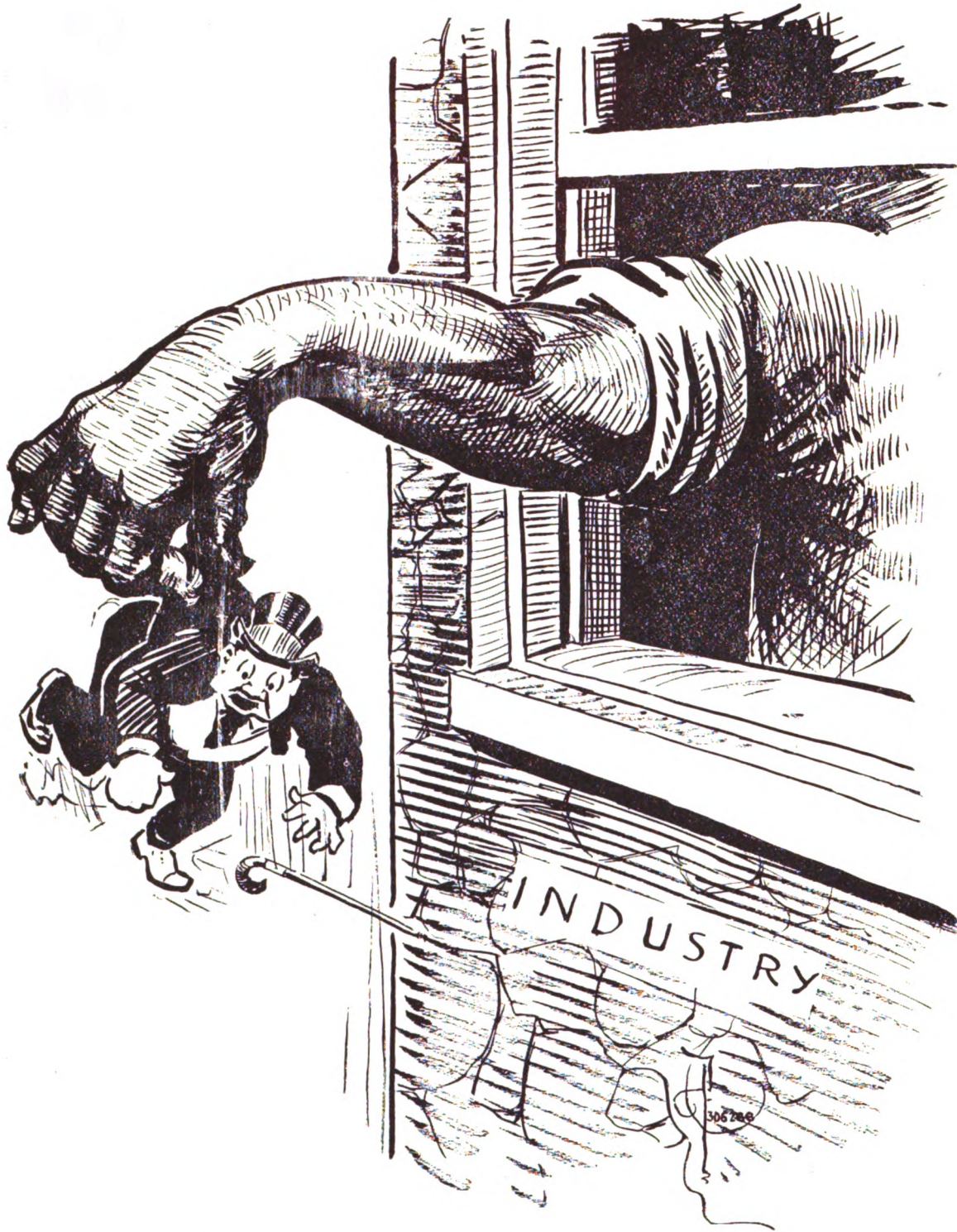




INDEX

	Page
Locking Out the Capitalists. Photo.....	1
I. W. W. Preamble	2
House Cleaning in the Industrial Establishments.....	4
The English Coal Strike. Editorial.....	5
A Call for International Solidarity. By G. E. B.....	7
Who Shall Rule "Merry England"? Cartoon	8
The Spirit of the Italian Revolution. Editorial.....	9
More About Italy. By G. Cannata. With 3 photos.....	10
Politics and Justice. Editorial.....	13
Unity. Editorial.....	14
The Referendum on the Third International.....	16
Control of Industry. By Giovanni Baldazzi.....	17
A 1920 Crusade. Free verse by Geo. Sutherland.....	20
Shop Organization for the Industries of the East. With two charts. By "A Shovel Stiff".....	21
Labor. Poem by Budd L. McKillips.....	26
The Waste of Human Labor. By P. A. Kane, M. D.....	27
The German Working Class and Syndicalism. By John Anderson.....	31
Hypocrites. Poem by Ammon A. Hennacy.....	35
Social Structures. Political. By Ralph Winstead.....	38
Troubles of his Own. Cartoon by Harrison.....	39
Before and After. Cartoon by Dust.....	40
Who Will Feed Us When Capitalism Breaks Down? By Charles Devlin.....	40
On His Death Bed. Cartoon by Morris.....	42
The "Jack" to Be. By Geo. J. Bouffloux.....	43
A Look Into the Gulf. By Edwin Markham.....	45
Communism and Woman. By Martha Bigot.....	45
Sweden, Where the Social Democracy Rules. By John Anderson.....	46
Job Control Is Most Effective. By St. Clair.....	48
Shall We Join the Communist International? By Henry Van Dorn.....	50
Industrial Workers of the World. October bulletin.....	51
Some Resolutions on the Referendum.....	53
Defense News. By John Martin.....	54
In the Eyes of Justice. By Anise.....	55
The Agricultural Workers' Convention. By E. W. Latchem. With photo	56
Some I. W. W. Anniversaries. With 1 photo.....	59
Wesley Everest. Poem by Bert Bland.....	60
Joe Hill. Poem by C. O. G.....	60
Two Cartoons by Joe Hill.....	60
Agriculture. Book advertisement.....	61
The I. W. W. Press Committee.....	61
I. W. W. Publications.....	62
The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice.....	63
The Centralia Conspiracy.....	63
Agriculture. Advertisement	64





HOUSECLEANING IN THE INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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The English Coal Strike

On Saturday, October 16th, 1,100,000 English coal miners went out on strike for a raise in pay of 2 shillings a day.

From no quarter is it said that this strike is in any way a direct revolutionary move. In fact, the nearest friends of the coal miners, the transportation workers and the railway men, have failed to make common cause with them from the start. This means that they are in hopes of a settlement which would make a walk-out on their part unnecessary. However, it is said that they are ready for a sympathetic walk-out, should an early settlement not materialize.

Thus the bourgeois papers are reassuring themselves and their readers. But, as a matter of fact, a strike of this magnitude in the coal industry in England at this time is about as re-assuring as the driving of an explosive wagon through Wall Street. The elements of a social conflagration are piled high on all sides, and the fuel is drying and becoming fitter every day, basking in the tropical sun of staggering poverty and destitution. It needs only a spark, and it will flare up like petroleum.

The riot of 20,000 people in London is a case in point.

The tremendous importance of the actions of the coal miners is visible on all sides. These workers hold the fate of England in their hand, but not only of England, but of numerous other countries as well. When they work, everything is booming. The smokestacks belch forth the smoke and endless lines of workers go to the mills and factories. Then they can both work and eat. When the coal miners stop, then these millions can neither work nor eat.

The English government is taking desperate steps to tide over the strike. They, as well as we, know that every strike must end some time through the exhaustion of the workers or for some other reason. The government and the employers have declared themselves prepared to play that desperate game again. Will they have tried it once too often?

The next few weeks will answer the question.

When we see the English workers time and again rise in their might as now, we cannot help but ask ourselves, why they do not do as the Italian workers have done. Why do they not occupy the mines and the factories?

As a matter of fact, the trouble with the English workers is much the same as with the American workers.

If one were to start a thorough investigation one would be shocked to learn how comparatively few of the English workers have learned the idea of using the union as an organ of occupation and as an organ of production and distribution. Like the A. F. of L. men in America the big mass of them conceive of the union only as an organ for wage and hour skirmishes with the employer.

The idea of emancipation from wage slavery through taking over the industries has not seeped down very deep in the English working class.

As a result their unions, splendid fighting organs as they have been, are not fit to use as gripping organs suitable for industrial occupation and operation. The English workers are cursed with what they call "sectional unionism," which has most

of the drawbacks of craft unionism here in America. In many cases they would be unable to accept the industries if they were given to them as a gift, simply because a craft or a trade union cannot serve as an organ for taking over the industries or carrying on production or distribution. The Shop Steward system helps some, but before the English workers can take over and run the industries they will have to tear down the sectional fences and organize every place of work as an industrial unit, that is, they will have to adopt the industrial form of organization. Until they do they will merely be able to carry on wage and hour battles, leaving to politicians to handle whatever schemes of socialization and nationalization that may come up, and looking up to them as masters or dictators.

The situation is very dangerous. Should a complete industrial collapse occur and the masses become desperate, the turmoil is apt to become terrible before the working masses have become ranged in industrial units so that they can continue to work.

This matter should have been attended to in advance during the years gone by, while it could have been done in comparative peace. It should be attended to now. Tom Mann and his friends have sounded the warning in the years gone by. So have the I. W. W. pioneers who have taken up our agitation in England. But conservative trade union leaders and politicians have from stupidity and selfishness made the strongest opposition in their power.

The English workers are now apt to have to pay the penalty for having followed false leaders, paying dearly in blood and suffering, and still getting only a "dictatorship of the proletariat," that is, political dictatorship like that in Russia, while the workers are getting in shape to take things over themselves.

The English Coal Strike and the I. W. W.

The following telegram from our General Headquarters to the secretary of Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510 in New York tells the story of the

I. W. W. position in regard to the strike of the English coal miners:

**James Scott,
New York City.**

Instruct branches to do all in their power to prevent shipment of coal to Great Britain during miners' strike.

**Geo. Hardy,
Joe Fisher.**

At the same time the following cablegrams were sent by the General Office to Robert Smillie, Secretary of the Miners' Federation, and Robert Williams, Secretary of the Transport Workers of Great Britain:

"Marine Transport Workers of Industrial Workers of the World instructed to stop coal shipments.

**Geo. Hardy,
Gen. Sec., I. W. W.**

RESOLUTIONS FROM THE G. E. B.

Owing to the many inconsistencies appearing in recent issues of SOLIDARITY, together with many articles absolutely out of harmony with the policy and principles of the organization, we, the General Executive Board, hereby concur in and endorse the action of the General Secretary-Treasurer and the Chairman of the G. E. B. in removing the editor. We further disclaim any responsibility for the past issue, which is at variance with the policy laid down by the G. E. B. at its last session, and that this resolution be published in the current issue of SOLIDARITY.

October 16, 1920.

Gen. Ex. Board.

A LAST MOMENT CORRECTION.

On Page 47 of this issue we have made the erroneous statement that the "Bolsheviks" of Sweden lost 10 out of 13 seats in the riksdag elections just over. It was not quite so bad as the first dispatches indicated. An unofficial count now shows that they "only" lost 4 seats out of 11. Their vote was 16810 less than last election, a loss of about 28 per cent. The Social Democrats lost 10 seats and 32,408 votes, about 14 per cent. The liberals lost 15 seats and 58,749 votes. The total loss in votes is 107,967. Of these only 33,102 are accounted for as given to other parties.

What became of the balance of 74,665 votes?

ANSWER: THE SWEDISH WORKERS, AFTER A TASTE OF POLITICAL POWER, ARE PUTTING THEIR BALLOT IN THE SWILL BARREL WHERE IT BELONGS, WITH OTHER OUT-OF-DATE STUFF.

In the meantime the Syndicalist organization is growing steadily.

Parliamentary action is being replaced by Economic Direct Action.

A Call for International Solidarity

The momentous hour arrived November 16th, when a million miners left the coal pits of Great Britain. A momentous hour for the International Capitalist Class. They watch the interests of THEIR class closely and well. The evidence of this fact is to be seen in the daily press. The capitalist press of this country will lie and vilify our British Fellow Workers who are fighting a strenuous battle in the class struggle.

A great degree of class consciousness is manifest in the miners' hearts and minds. This was demonstrated when they supported the I. W. W. in its struggle against the American Capitalist persecution and the support of those members still suffering in the prisons of this country.

The I. W. W. now calls upon the American Workers to stand behind their British Fellow Workers in this, the greatest strike in British history, which bids fair to involve, within two weeks time, six or seven million workers.

WE CANNOT BE TRAITORS!

DO NOT HELP TO SEND COAL TO GREAT BRITAIN!

Longshoremen, beware lest you do an injury to unionists who are leading the world in solidarity in action.

The darkest of clouds hover over the head of capitalism, but it is a beacon light to the workers of the world if Lloyd George, "king" of the International League of Thieves, can be dethroned and labor made supreme.

While the American worker is separated by distance from this struggle we are actually a part of it. The great Atlantic liners are partly owned by American capital, the White Star, Cunard Line and others have American capital invested. Do not give them bunker coal at this side of the ocean!

Press reports have it that the Transport Workers of Great Britain have already made demands for more wages. This means that a score of other unions will strike, if their demands are refused. If their threat is put into action, all tram cars, vehicles of every kind and all dock workers will cease to work.

The British Railway men have the key that may unlock the door of the Industrial Co-operative Commonwealth to the workers of the world. These railway workers wiped the challenge of the British government from the slate in September, 1919, but the government today is more hostile and will endeavor to win by committing violence. Let us minimize that violence, and reduce the government's chances for success by standing guard here as outposts. We cannot sleep "on lookout."

Our own fellow workers are instructed to maintain the spirit of International Solidarity. We now ask all other labor bodies to join with us in an agreement to do everything within the limits of our power to help the British Fellow Workers.

We appeal especially to the INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION and THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA. We will do our best in the ports under I. W. W. control.

If one ship is bunkered in an American port during this strike it will be an act of treachery. The slogan should be:

NO SHIPMENTS OF COAL FOR BRITAIN!

If your union officials tell you to go ahead, REFUSE.

Tell them that you as union men refuse to scab on any of the world's workers.

"Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty!"

Do not let the press poison your minds with cries of "sovietism." The British workers may take over the industries. Sooner or later it will be necessary to do so as capitalism, the present owners, cannot keep all employed. England's artisans walk the streets. It is the same as in America. This alone justifies the workers running the industries in their own interests. Don't Scab!

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, I. W. W.



WHO SHALL RULE "MERRY ENGLAND"?

The Spirit of the Italian Revolution

Herewith we reproduce a corner of the daily Italian labor paper "Umanita Nova" (The New Humanity). It is an anarchist daily, and is styled the paper of Malatesta, of whose arrest we are these days reading in the daily papers.

It contains the original text of a pro-

clamation addressed to the metal workers of Italy, then busy occupying the shops through their unions. Alongside of it runs the English translation.

Read it carefully. **It is an immortal document.** It is the condensed program of the real world revolution.

UMANITA NOVA

QUOTIDIANO ANARCHICO

Anno I - N. 168	Conto corrente colla Posta	Un numero Cent. 10 - All'estero Cent. 15	Sabato, 11 Settembre 1920
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Abbonamenti: Italia e Colonia: Anno L. 25 - Sem. L. 13 - Trim. L. 7
 Direzione e Redazione: Via Goldoni, 3 - MILANO
 Estero: Anno L. 42 - Semestre L. 22 - Trimestre L. 12
 Amministrazione: Casella Postale 1029 - TELEFONO N. 20-652

La battaglia dei metallurgici è la battaglia di tutto il proletariato

Metallurgici,

qualunque cosa stiano per decidere "i dirigenti", non abbandonate la fabbrica, non cedete la fabbrica e non consegnate le armi. Se oggi uscite dalla fabbrica, domani non vi rientrate che decimati, dopo di esser passati sotto le forche caudine della tracotanza padronale.

Operai di tutte le industrie, arti, e commerci; seguite "subito", i metallurgici nell'occupazione degli stabilimenti, dei cantieri, dei depositi, dei panifici, e dei mercati.

Contadini, occupate la terra!

Marinai, occupate le navi!

Ferrovieri, non fate marciare i treni se non per la causa comune!

Postelegrafonici, sopprimete la corrispondenza della borghesia!

Una imprevista possibilità viene prospettata dall'occupazione delle fabbriche: quella di compiere una grande rivoluzione, senza spargimento di sangue e senza disorganizzare la vita nazionale.

Non lasciamocela sfuggire!

E voi Soldati, fratelli nostri, ricordatevi che quello armato che vi hanno dato per difendere il privilegio e massacrare i proletari che anelano alla loro emancipazione possono essere adoperate contro gli oppressori e la redenzione dei lavoratori tutti.

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ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

METAL WORKERS:

Whatever your leaders may be deciding, do not abandon the factories, do not return the mills, do not deposit your arms. If today you leave the factories, you will return tomorrow decimated after having passed under the yoke prepared for you by the employers.

WORKERS of all industries, arts and commerce; follow immediately the example of the metallurgical workers by occupying all establishments, warehouses, naval yards, bakeries and markets.

PEASANTS, occupy the land.

SAILORS, occupy the ships.

RAILWAYMEN, allow the trains to run only for the common cause.

POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH WORKERS, suppress the correspondence of the bourgeoisie.

An unforeseen possibility is in prospect through the occupation of the factories: that of accomplishing a great revolution without the shedding of blood, or the disorganization of national life.

Do not allow this opportunity to get away from you.

And you, **SOLDIERS,** our brothers, remember that the arms which the masters have given you to defend privilege and to massacre the workers struggling for their emancipation, can also be used against the oppressors and for the triumph of the proletariat.

CHE SI ASPETTA?

Ci è stato riferito che l'ordine del giorno in queste condizioni il Comitato

Note the words "A great Revolution without the shedding of blood, or the disorganization of national life."

It is the irony of fate that such a proud and hopeful message should reach mankind through an organ of the much abused anarchists, and that the bourgeoisie, after all, should live to accept such charity from those it has so cruelly persecuted.

More About Italy

By G. CANNATA.

I. In the Realm of Morale.

A social system in good working order creates and then derives support from a species of spiritual enthusiasm which pervades large sections of the population; without this faith in its virility and greatness the dominating class goes into moral bankruptcy and is finally eliminated as a factor in social life.

To understand properly the crisis that Italy is traversing today it must first be clearly understood that capitalism as an economico-political system has lost practically all moral prestige, all faith in its ability to function. It has lost this prestige first with the workers and then successively with all social classes till today the capitalists themselves are driven to pessimistic apathy and despair. The wherefore of this downfall is not far to seek: to capitalism and its allied movements (nationalism, militarism, imperialism) popular opinion lays the blame for the late "victorious" war—a national disaster fatal in its effects on the economic life of the country. If the popular resentment against the late war is great, no less wide-spread and profound is the displeasure with the "old men's" peace of Versailles, which is commonly estimated as a cruel, crushing triumph of the great capitalist trio among nations, France, England and the United States, at

the bleeding expense of the rest of the world. The Italian people as a whole are turning away from capitalism as from a fatal genius, bringer of hunger, pestilence, despair and death.

To fill the void left by the capitalist failure, various popular movements have risen to added power and prevalence, practically all of which repudiate the capitalistic system of production. Even the invigorated clerical party has a radical economic program, and one of its factions is outspokenly communist. D'Annunzio, in staging his politico-military melodrama at Fiume, makes villains out of the "money-changers" of Versailles, and derives inspiration for his brand-new constitution from ancient Rome and Soviet Russia. The great and significant growth, however, has taken place in the ranks of the revolutionary organized workers. The Italian workers had been well trained by syndicalist propaganda and action to the role of an aggressive, combative social class aspiring to the assumption of industrial control and social dominance, even before the war. The violent rebound from the restraint of war and the influence of the Russian example kindled a veritable devastating flame that destroyed forever all respect and obedience to the rules and tenets of bourgeois society. In the post-war period, the prestige of the



TAKING POSSESSION
PART OF THE WORKERS' GUARD OUTSIDE THE STUCCHI METAL WORKS,
MILAN, ITALY.

ruling classes, their right to dictate, to order and to command has been the object of continuous and fatal attacks on the part of the workers. Their prerogatives have been torn down piece-meal; the cry of defiance has ever been flung in their faces and the threat of revolution rung in their ears till its actual accomplishment would be a relief to many of them.

The Italian psychological upheaval has already produced the "Carmagnole" of the proletariat, a taunting ditty in which the simple statement is repeated exultingly over and over again that "the red flag will triumph, and the bosses, also, will have to go to work." This song of defiant revolt has spread like wild-fire among the workers of Italy and its bold notes are ever heard in the mills, mines and the fields. It is called "Bandiera Rossa" (the Red Flag).

The conclusion from these brief facts is simple: On the field of morale the forces of the proletarian revolution have completely eliminated their capitalist opponent. The social revolution in Italy is already an accomplished fact in the minds of the workers. Its actual carrying out is now determined solely by expediency and outward circumstances.

II. On the Economic Filed.

In my article in the last number of the O. B. U. Monthly I pointed out that the recent "lock-in" in the metal and machinery industry in Italy would necessarily and in a very brief time develop one of two solutions—the extension of the movement to other industries and revolution or a temporary compromise with capitalism. The moderate socialist leadership of the Confederation succeeded in persuading their followers into the acceptance of a proposal advanced by the Italian premier, Giolitti, which is equivalent to the second solution above mentioned. The Italian Syndicalist Union and the Communist-Anarchists led by Errico Malatesta consistently and vehemently advocated the first solution—immediate revolution; they went further, advising the workers not to obey the terms of the settlement by evacuating the factories. It is my firm belief, supported by what fragmentary news the bourgeois dailies publish, that in those localities controlled by the Italian Syndicalist Union the workers are still in possession of the factories and the government has not yet made a move to dislodge them. The solution offered by premier Giolitti amounts to actual joint control of industry and provides for the following terms:

1. The Workmen's Council must control the purchase of raw materials.
2. Supervise the sale of finished products.
3. Fix the price of finished products.
4. Superintend the grading of wages.
5. Control all goods unloaded.
6. Decide what task each workman is better adapted to accomplish.
7. Obey the conditions of employment of the industrial establishments.
8. Control the general expenses of the establishments and especially limit the expenses of the pres-



THE RED FLAG AND THE GUARDS OUTSIDE THE STUCCHI METAL WORKS, MILAN, ITALY.

ent proprietors and directors, who will participate in the profits to the extent of 50 per cent.

9. Decide when new machinery is necessary.

10. Supervise hygienic and sanitary conditions in industrial establishments.

11. Insist that the proprietors furnish necessary utensils.

12. The employers must not resort to artificial industrial crises.

13. The employers must prevent "dumping."

To some employers these terms have appeared a worse humiliation than out-and-out confiscation and they have actually offered to turn their properties over to their employes organized as a producing unit.

The principal effect of the metallurgical workers' agitation has been to spur all other workers to accomplish at least as much. To date the occupation of various textile mills, ship-yards and miscellaneous enterprises has been recorded in the news. The iron mines of the island of Elba are in the hands of the workers and likewise the sulphur mines of Sicily. Sixty macaroni factories were occupied in a single day in Torre Annunziata, near Naples. The confiscation of large estates by well-organized bands of armed peasants in southern Italy is a daily oc-

currence. The occupation of land is not temporary but permanent and upon terms of unconditional surrender; to any one that knows the southern Italian peasant, it will appear quite inconceivable that any force in Italy will ever succeed in separating him from his newly acquired holdings.

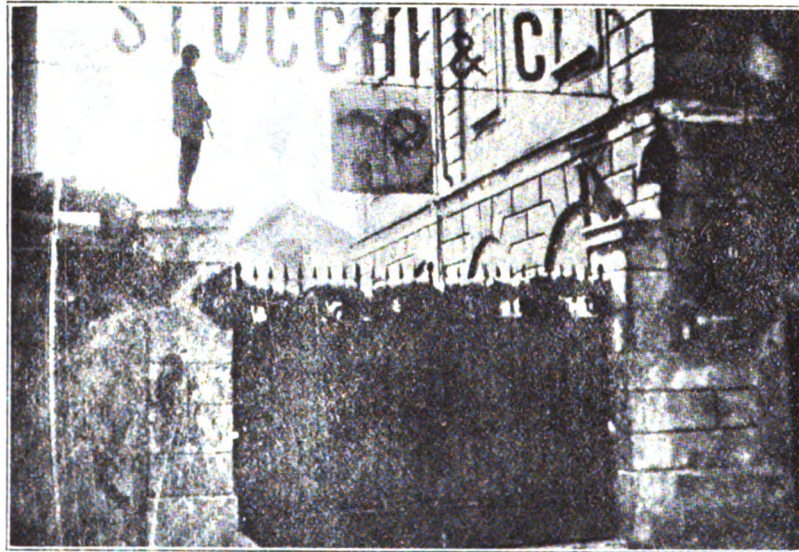
To illustrate the technique of the present wave of land-seizure, I shall quote from a letter of an ex-resident of Detroit, Mich., at present on the war-path in his native Sicily:

"On Sept. 17 we were invited to be at Formosa (Sicily) to return the keys to the owners of the feudal estates there as the season was at an end. Under the leadership of the co-operatives of Monte Santo and Paceco, 25,000 peasants gathered on the highway. Suddenly a beautiful carriage appears on the bridge of Scialacchi, the carriage is stopped, but instead of the landowner, it contains one of his servants who has come to secure the surrender of the keys. Upon seeing that ragged multitude of men, women and children, armed with rifles and

ownership and control of the means of production gradually and piecemeal. The normal struggle of the unions for an ever-increasing share of the control of industry has simply been spurred on and accelerated by favorable circumstances. As their share of control increases, that of the capitalist diminishes till it eventually disappears entirely. On that day the most essential feature of the social revolution will have been accomplished.

III. On the Political Field.

The most remarkable phenomena in the Italian situation has occurred on the political field, where the bourgeois state has failed completely to function as the defender of private property and capitalist interest in general. The government of Premier Giolitti has openly declared its neutrality in the class-conflict on the economic field; that it has strictly adhered to this extraordinary stand is clearly demonstrated by the following touching resolution, passed at a meeting of 300 employers, held in Turin, on Sept. 9, 1920. It shows that the Italian



ARMED LOOK-OUT AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE STUCCHI METAL WORKS, MILAN, ITALY.

clubs, the man shook with fear. He announces his mission and, as one man, the mob shouts its firm resolve never to surrender the land that they habitually work. The lackey returned to Trapani to inform his master of what had occurred, and the army of armed peasants proceeded to occupy every large estate in the province. Within the period of four days, the red flag was unfurled over the entire province of Trapani, Sicily."

The status of industrial ownership and control in Italy today is highly confused and indefinite, and subject to daily change. Some enterprises are owned and controlled outright by the workers; others are under joint control with the employers, and still others are owned nominally by the state and leased to the workers. As in the case of its moral prestige, the Italian capitalist is losing his right to private

bourgeoisie is somewhat prematurely assuming the air of an **oppressed class**:

"The employers of the various industries of Turin, in meeting assembled, beg to repeat to your excellency (Premier Giolitti) the protest which we recently had occasion to present to the vice-prefect of Turin regarding the failure of the government to protect our constitutional rights, and to enforce the laws, a failure which amounts to connivance with the law-breakers. We ask the immediate intervention of the government, not to carry out a futile and difficult repression for the misdeeds already committed, but to avoid with all means further crimes against property, and the personal liberties of free press and inviolate domicile. We ask especially that the exchange of products between the occupied factories be stopped, by an injunction on trucking from the plants mentioned. We further declare that the present attitude of the government

tends to destroy the faith of the defenders of the present institutions in the ability of said government to uphold our constitutional liberties. Unless steps are taken to remedy the situation, we shall be forced to institute through our own initiative the defense which the government denies us."

It would be too much of a task to enter, in the limits of these brief notes, into any speculation as to the ultimate motive of Premier Giolitti in his present policy. Essentially it is not a policy deliberately and freely chosen by him; he is rather making a virtue out of necessity and trying to snatch from an extremely desperate situation whatever elements of personal support and prestige are still available. He is not bamboozling the workers any with his astute manoeuvres; their attitude towards the government is one of militant and watchful vigilance; in effect they say to it: "Keep your hands off the economic disputes, and we shall keep our hands off you—for the present."

A few words may not be amiss about the actions of the Italian Socialist Party in the present crisis. Hiram K. Moderwell has written for THE FREEMAN of September 29, and Oct. 6, what is undoubtedly the most nearly correct account of the Italian situation that has so far emanated from an official American correspondent in Italy. Mr. Moderwell is not very enthusiastic about the party that has been called "Moscow's trump card." About its political leadership of the workers in the larger sense, he has this to say, "The official party, which professed to be directing the revolutionary movement, was actually restraining, if not sabotaging, the movement it pretended to lead." It is an actual fact that the Italian proletariat has been for fifteen years ever ready for bolder action than the Socialist Party was willing to countenance. The

Syndicalist elements playfully call the "revolutionary" politicians "the firemen (extinguishers) of the revolution."

As to the practical parliamentary activity of the 156 socialist deputies in the Italian chamber, Moderwell has this to say:

"In the meantime the Socialist parliamentary delegation is in no end of trouble. Pledged to collaborate with no bourgeois government, it can do nothing but vote "no" on every question involving the life of a ministry. Since it is predominantly of the right, its speeches, though usually the best in the chamber, are scarcely calculated to advance the social revolution. In the meantime, the extreme right of the party, while observing the letter of party discipline, makes no secret of its desire for a collaboration ministry. Turati continually gives interviews calling the official Socialist policy disastrous, and ridiculing the idea of a soviet regime for Italy. The delegation, in its efforts for "results," is reduced to a miserable divorce-law project."

Moderwell could have added that the politicians did not fail to pass a law increasing their own salaries immediately the chamber opened last winter.

* * *

The distinguishing feature of the Italian upheaval to date have been the positive and constructive acquisition of moral prestige and economic control on the part of the organized revolutionary workers. The Political State has been reduced to quasi-impotence; the conquests of the workers on the economic field have stripped it of most of its social significance and power.

Events in Italy seem to be moving towards a syndicalistic rather than socialistic solution of the social problem.

Politics and Justice

From a circular letter issued by our Defense Committee in Philadelphia we borrow the following lucid statement of the status of the so-called Chicago case:

"The United States Court of Appeals of the Seventh Judicial District, on October 5th of this year, handed down its decision in the now famous 'Chicago I. W. W. Conspiracy Case.'

"The original charge against the ninety-four I. W. W. members convicted in Judge Landis' Court in August of 1918, contained five counts. The fifth count was thrown out by Judge Landis when he turned the case over to the jury.

"The jury found a verdict of 'Guilty as charged' on the four remaining counts, and the defendants were sentenced to, from a year and a day to twenty years in the Federal Penitentiary.

"The four counts, above mentioned, may be divided into two parts; the first two counts being the so-called 'Industrial Counts,' charging these defendants with having conspired to use every conceivable form of violence and destruction. It was upon these counts that Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer based his arguments for refusing to consider the

men convicted under them anything other than ordinary criminals, and, not subject to either pardon or amnesty. The last two counts are based on wartime legislation, the 'Draft Act' and the 'Espionage Act.'

"The Appellate Court reversed the findings of the lower court on the first two counts, and sustained the verdict on the last two counts. This makes all men convicted in this case 'POLITICAL PRISONERS' with the same status as Debs and others."

The important point brought out in this statement is the fact that according to the decision of the Court of Appeal the fellow workers in question now are to be considered only as "political prisoners."

The lower court never made a success of branding them as common criminals in spite of the assistance of the kept press, but now even the higher court has repudiated the lower court on that point.

In reality it does not make any difference. The political party in power shows no inclination to release political prisoners. Senator Harding, prospective Republican president, has, as spokesman for his party, declared that he will not stand for any clemency towards political prisoners. The ruling class think they can "get away" with such action towards the I. W. W.

We have no mercy, no justice to expect.

The decision of the Court of Appeals may justly be attacked as a political decision rather than a judicial one.

The prisoners have again been judged wholesale, instead of separately. It is plain that individual cases have not been taken under consideration. In some cases the injustice is so flagrant that one must come to the conclusion that either the judges of the Appellate Court have not gone to the trouble of reading the evidence, or else they have rendered their decision in accordance with orders from some other body, or else they have interpreted the political situation to mean that such a decision would be acceptable to the American people.

In neither case has justice been done.

But we cannot silently submit to this decision. Our fellow workers must be gotten out of prison pending an eventual re-hearing and an appeal to the Supreme Court. We must get bail for them.

Do not think that the General Defense Committee is able to rustle the million dollars, or so, which is required to bail out these and other prisoners now admitted to bail. Every member, every friend of ours will have to set all the machinery at his disposal in motion to secure bail immediately. The matter of bail will with necessity be a question of private enterprise more than before. The Defense Committee is doing what it can, but its resources are entirely inadequate. The work of the organization will now more than ever be to change the mind of the working people of this country into an acceptance of our principles. In conjunction with the general world development this is apt to bring about conditions that will swing the prison doors open sooner than our enemies expect.

In the meantime let us be untiring in demanding the release of all political prisoners and bail them out as fast as we can.

Make the supreme effort now!

U N I T Y

The cry of unity is being raised on all sides. And in the cry is frequently a wail against the I. W. W. for not "uniting," for not starting a "One Big Union," etc.

When that cry comes from the "Communists" we need not pay any attention to it. They are themselves split in at least 3 factions who are mutually condemning each other. But even if they were united, there would be nothing for us to unite with. Being an economic organization, a labor union, we cannot unite with a political body, secret or otherwise. Besides, these unity cryers deserve none of our attention, as all they are out for is to get in among us to try to rule us. As will appear from the extracts of their official communications in another place in this issue as well as from articles we have printed before, they are simply making a bluff offer of ex-

tending the dictatorship of their political body over the unions, including the I. W. W. What they mean with their false unity plea is, that the I. W. W. should get down from its position of independent world movement and accept the rule of the politicians in the Third International and in the communist parties. They only want to raise confusion, in order to fish in troubled waters.

We do not want any unity with such bodies, and we think that wherever they show themselves with their masqued political propaganda they should be brusquely turned down. Times are too serious to be fooling away part of our life in discussion with these convicted flimflammers, impostors and traffickers in the achievements of the Russian people.

On the other hand, the I. W. W. has con-

stantly its ears to the ground for unity cries coming from bona fide industrial organizations. We are willing to discuss such questions at all times, night or day, with representatives from such bodies.

But, to tell the truth, as far as we know, there has not been any such proposition raised by any such organization. Most of the cries come from professional unity howlers with an axe to grind. When we occasionally take up these cries and try to track the timid animal in the new-fallen snow, we generally run across a—skunk at the end of the trail, who was only trying to do a little knocking of the I. W. W. and a little boosting of some brand of politics.

There are some industrial organizations enumerated with which it is said we ought to unite. These are the One Big Union of Canada, The Workers' International Industrial Union, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, The Amalgamated Textile Workers, The Amalgamated Foodstuff Workers of New York, and certain rebel unions in the A. F. of L.

Well, we repeat, our hand of fellowship and solidarity has been outstretched in the cold these many years until it is almost frozen stiff, and no comers. Our organization keeps growing, but it is all through individual acceptance of our principles. If you go the round of the offices of the other unions mentioned, you will not discover any particular anxiety to unite with the I. W. W., mostly for the same reason that a man hesitates about marrying a widow with 14 kids. They have got troubles of their own without marrying into the I. W. W. troubles, they think. It takes men of courage and strong conviction of the justice of our cause to join the I. W. W. now-a-days.

And if you come up to the I. W. W. headquarters you will not discover any strong desire to marry into the other family. We simply do not like their principles. We want unity with them, but we want it on our own terms. And there you are.

"In making hare stew," an old cook book says, "the first thing to do is to catch the hare."

So, in cooking a unity stew, the first thing to do is to find the basis upon which to unite.

It does not require much ingenuity to discover the fundamental principle which all bona fide industrial unions should have in common. That hare is easily caught. The basis upon which we should unite is acceptance of the industrial form of organization with the treble purpose of having it serve as a militant organ for the present, with which to wring concessions from the employers, and as an organ of industrial occupation, as in Italy at present, and finally, as an organ of production and distribution in the new society. That is all there is to the I. W. W. program on which we invite to unity.

The O. B. U. of Canada answers: That is all right. But if you want us to unite with you, you will have to adopt **our** political clause (that is political socialism) as well as submit to our leadership. And there you are.

The W. I. I. U. answers: Your formulation of the basic principle for unity is acceptable to us as far as it goes. The trouble with it is that it does not go far enough. You must also endorse political action (à la S. L. P.). Besides you are a bunch of anarchists and physical forcists. And there you are again.

The hindrance to unity in these two cases is that the I. W. W. insists on taking the industrial organization straight while the others insist on taking it with a dash of their particular pet politics. The I. W. W. cannot stomach that dash, for the moment you introduce politics in our ranks the organization will go to pieces as if you had touched off a quantity of TNT in its ranks. Politics to I. W. W. means dissolution. Of the others it makes sectarian cliques.

The only possible way to establish unity with the workers organized in those two organizations is for them to abandon the political feature, accept the I. W. W. program unconditionally and merge in our membership, not in order that we may rule over them, but in order that they may become full-fledged citizens in our embryo industrial republic.

As for the various amalgamated unions enumerated, their membership is not committed to any such far-flung plans of industrial occupation as the three above unions

endorse. They are industrial in form, more or less, less rather than more, simply because they have discovered the superiority of industrial unions to craft unions in the daily struggle. Also some are attracted by socialist twist to the wording of their preambles.

But their preambles and constitutions do not commit them to any conscious effort at creating new organs of production and distribution as well as of industrial occupation. When one reads their preambles one gets the impression that they intend to give a covert endorsement of political action along socialist lines rather than a proud declaration of independence on their own part as the masters of their own future.

If the proposition of unity with the I. W. W. were to be brought up in those bodies we are afraid it would be quickly turned down. The mass of their members have yet to learn to understand the true mission of industrial unionism before they dare to make common cause with us or have any desire for it.

Or is it, perhaps, that the unity promoters wish that the I. W. W. should shed all of its principles to become acceptable to the others?

But why should the I. W. W. constantly be held responsible for the failure to get unity? Why don't the other bodies here

referred to unite? Why don't the communists and the S. L. P. unite? Why, why, answers echo.

The I. W. W. has a world mission to perform. Its purpose is to drive home the principles above referred to until the whole world has accepted them. We have done well in this regard in the last 15 years. If any other bodies wish to unite with us in that difficult and stupendous task, they are welcome under our banner. We have no aversion to unity with them on that basis. But the I. W. W. cannot discard one iota of its principles in order to accomplish so-called unity.

We are determined to construct a new society purely from an industrial union basis. There are no inducements that could make us deviate from that policy.

It is not the I. W. W. that is a stumbling block to unity. It is those organizations and individuals who try to create artificial unity on the basis of some pet hobby or on the basis of accepting them as leaders and rulers.

The I. W. W. hand remains outstretched, inviting to unity, but unity without any compromise whatsoever.

On the basis of these principles a new industrial international will soon be built, providing for world-wide unity of all enlightened workers.

The Referendum on the Third International

It is only grudgingly that we devote another line to the question of joining or endorsing the Third International.

From all parts of the country comes the voice of the membership with a **NO** so strong that the "communist" sympathizers in the I. W. W. will be sorry they ever spoke. Of the communications received we can give space only to one: "Shall We Join the Communist International?" by Henry Van Dorn. For the rest we reprint two resolutions from the West, demanding that the G. E. B. recall the referendum, as the proposition advanced is entirely contrary to the program of the I. W. W. Numerous such resolutions have been adopted.

Should this move on the part of the mem-

bership fail to bring the desired result, it will be necessary for the members to turn out in mass and vote on the referendum, so that we will have a true expression of the will of the membership to refer to and a clear and distinct rule to go by.

For the benefit of our members, and in order that nobody may vote for affiliation or endorsement without knowing what the conditions are, we feel compelled to reprint a few points from the official statement of those conditions, as adopted by the second convention of the Third International:

Conditions for affiliation with the Third International:

1. All party organs shall be edited by none but trust-worthy communists.

(Continued on Page 49)

Control of Industry

By GIOVANNI BALDAZZI.

Feudalism and Capitalism.

Since the time of the French revolution, it has been one of the chief concerns of the legislators of the European countries to enact and specify by law the limits and attributes of private property. These legislative enactments, which were taking place with the steady fading away of the last remnants of serfdom, reached a more definite stage of development in this country at the time of the war waged by the North American States against the Southern Confederacy on the issue of the abolition of slavery. This legislation marks the transition point from feudalism to capitalism.

Within the folds of the feudal system, the owner of a title or fief was invested by the Sovereign who held the entire ruling power over the State, with a political and administrative authority over its tenants by which the latter were deprived of citizenship rights and became serfs and bound to the land which they cultivated for their master. With the advent of the bourgeois class to power, a complete distinction between the economic and the political jurisdictions was to take place, so that afterwards property holders appeared as stripped of all political and juridical investitures over which the State itself was going to lay its sovereign hand.

Limitations of the Right of Property.

The individual capitalist or corporation running a factory, a mine or other industry, is invested by law with the right of disposing, for their own exclusive benefit or pleasure, of the machines, estates and all other material implements connected with the running of the industry, but with no right to corporal possession over the workers employed there. In the present state of morals and legislation, human labor is still disposed of as a commodity, but it is worth noting that while the terms "purchase and selling" recur constantly in the bargaining of a horse, a mechanical motor, etc., the trading of human labor is being carried on under the heading of "contract." This means simply that the possession or use of a horse, a motor car or any material implement is quite definitive or discretionary on the part of the purchaser or owner of that thing. On the other hand, the workingmen or employes are not supposed by the mere terms of the working contract they are bound by to have given up their standing as free acting and responsible members of society. This is the theory proclaimed by the various constitutions which are the basis of the modern states, ruled by the bourgeoisie all over the world, but in many cases, the constitutional rights of the common people are made a "scrap of paper" by the ruling class drunken with power and wealth. This is particularly the case with the American bourgeoisie, which seems to be willing to take advantage of the privileged financial and political position which came to it as a result of the war to

satisfy its lust for dominion in utter disregard of all other classes, both at home and abroad.

The Right to Strike and Collective Bargaining.

The great influence which the labor unions have attained in the most advanced and industrially developed countries of the world, the interest which legislators have been forced into taking in the problems arising out of the labor movement, the constantly growing share and jurisdictional privileges which the Union Councils or Shop Stewart Committees in England, France and Italy are claiming on behalf of the organized workers in connection with the actual running of the industries, all these have firmly established in the thought of enlightened peoples the conception that the employers of labor should not be recognized as having a right of patronage or law-enactment over the workers.

To grant corporations a privilege for enforcement of individual bargaining and open shop, to give them power to enact laws and run the industries without consulting the employes who are the persons most concerned there, would mean to abandon all modern standards of civic and industrial citizenship and revive the outworn practices of feudal serfdom. While the right of the bourgeoisie to control and own the means of production, of exchange and the wealth of the world is even now being challenged by all class-conscious workers, in the expectation of the final collapse of the wage-system, the compelling task of the labor unions which are still faithful to the cause of the working-class is that of standing "pat" in defense of the principles of freedom and industrial communism.

The most elemental problems the American labor movement is confronted with today is to resist the efforts of employers to crush utterly and to exploit labor, to uphold the principle of collective representation in all dealings between employers and employes so that a proper consideration be given to the needs and rights of the latter, especially in relation to the question of sanitary conditions, safety precautions to prevent accidents, fair interpretation of the terms of the labor contract, higher wages and shorter hours.

The policies with which labor is dealing in the United States are only the expression of a backward movement towards a regime of industrial feudalism. All labor measures which have been recently enacted by the Congress of the United States, or are being considered by that body, such as the anti-strike bill or the law of compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, are an outrage to all established conceptions of human liberty. To understand the awful consequences involved in such schemes of irresponsible and uncalled for legislation, we should remember that as a consequence of it, the workers have been placed on the same level as a horse or as a machine; and, consequently, will lose all voice on the questions of working hours, wages and work-

ing conditions. Not to mention Russia, where the workers are fast working towards the nationalization of industries, the establishment of a kind of democracy and working class citizenship in the government of the industries is asserting itself in a very promising way in Germany, England, Italy, Spain, surrounded as it is by the sympathy of public opinion. Far from being of a radical trend, this movement is really the revival of an enlightened liberalism, by means of which the tottering bourgeoisie of these countries is seeking to appease the proletariat and to prevent it from working out its own salvation through a revolution. In the light of these facts, the reactionary policies to which the ruling classes of America have committed themselves appear all the more outrageous; therefore, it should be the task of all decent people to rise up against them. This is not a fight for Socialism or for I. W. W.'ism; it is rather a great struggle in defense of citizenship rights and of the best traditions of liberty and democracy embodied in the Constitution.

The Collapse of Labor Legislation.

The so-called "labor legislation" over which the powerful socialist parties of Germany and Italy were wasting the best of their activities for a few years before the war, has practically proven a failure, so that the workers are now turning to the direct-action movement as the only one which affords better guaranties of result for their salvation. In America, too, this kind of legislation has found a chance of being tried out, particularly as a measure for protecting women and children from the strain of modern industry, for securing sanitary working conditions and the eight-hour day. Although it would be hazardous to say to what extent such regulations have been influential in raising the maintaining standards of health and decency for the workers, the outstanding fact in the whole situation is that in no place did these reforms materialize, except where they were backed and impelled by the organized forces of labor. So, let us not be deceived into thinking that it might be possible to make of the State, as it stands in capitalist-ruled countries today, an effective protector of the working class against the owners of wealth and the rulers of the industries. It is needless to say that there is no chance for the socialists to poll a majority vote in this country, thereby to gain control of the political machine by the mere use of the ballot. If we consider the countries where parliamentary socialism has really attained popularity and can poll votes by the millions as in Germany and Italy, we immediately realize that it has left unaffected both the spirit and the actual structure of society. The principal reason is that political authority is not so much in the hands of the people's representatives as in the hands of their executives, that is, of the government's functionaries. A district-attorney, or even a chief of police in Italy, France or Germany, is invested with a far larger share of political power than a score of so-called radical representatives in parliament. It can be said of these functionaries

that they dispose of the liberty and very lives of citizens, and the laws do not exist for them except as they may be construed and applied for their personal interests. The capitalistic character of the state is not determined merely by the affiliation or political program of a majority of the people's representatives in Parliament or in Congress; it springs rather from a number of factors embracing both the political and industrial sides of the social system, and from the prevailing tenets of tradition and culture. Because of the fact that the bourgeoisie is in a position to control all the agencies of public education, thereby fitting the minds of its youth with its own ideologies, tastes and prejudices, it appears almost an impossibility to conquer the State from within and to make it emerge from one of capitalist supremacy into one of working-class autonomy and solidarity. Then, the most reliable forces in the way of a proletarian revolution are identified with the organization of the workers at the point of production because there the workers find themselves face to face with the class antagonism; and there, too, the impulse towards solidarity and emancipation is more strongly felt.

Problems of Industrial Control.

Control of industry, as it is understood by trade unionists all over the world, is chiefly concerned with the enforcement of regulations and shop rules which concern quantity of output, shop management, restrictions as to the use of machinery and tools, prohibition of team work, enforcement of proper sanitary conditions, compensation for accidents, improving working conditions, wages and hours, decreasing the power of the bosses and altogether getting an increasingly larger sphere of influence and power for the workers organized in the industry. Nevertheless, with our conception of revolutionary unionism, the material question of wages and hours, becomes second in importance to the question of increasing the power of the workers and decreasing the power of the capitalists in the industries. In the present stage of proletarian consciousness, there is no more effective way to challenge the power of the ruling class and to train the workers in the management and control of the industries so as to have them ready to meet the approaching revolutionary crisis.

We, the I. W. W., believe in supplanting, rather than reforming, the existing State, and in building up a new Commonwealth based on the ownership by the workers of the means of production and of the wealth of the world. This is why we are against State Control of Industries, as we realize it would mean the enslavement of the workers by the capitalist class through the State. We consider the State, as it is organized today, an organ to promote and maintain the supremacy of the capitalist class over the toilers.

Education: A Factor of Industrial Power.

Out of the above reviewed series of facts, it clearly appears that to make of the Industrial Workers of the World movement something more substantial than a nominal expression, in fact, a move-

ment of true revolutionary significance capable of exerting a strong influence on public opinion, and becoming a factor in bringing about a constantly enlarging sphere of power and influence, one should not identify it in terms loose, undisciplined and incoherent. Persons have too long been accustomed to smile at any kind of a genuine, as well as at a presumptive revolutionary movement, as something inconsistent and irresponsible, something as founded on boosting rather than on scientific conceptions of cultural, social and industrial training, discipline and education. Therefore we should realize that a class or group of persons who have committed themselves to the task of bringing about a revolution and of raising the standard of living for the civilized world should not rely merely on the negative factor of discontent. Revolution is the outcome of high cultural development applied to the social and industrial fabric of society. And, too, the trend to declamation and demagogical shouting should be considered as quite obnoxious to the best traditions and spirit of revolutionary and industrial unionism. Let us reject the ungrateful task of deceiving the workers with futile hopes and illusions. Syndicalist, or rather unionist culture, should be of a technical and highly scientific character, being committed to the training and education of the working class in the most difficult task of social and industrial organization. The most striking impression, and the most distressing, too, that one gets from a review of the revolutionary movement in this country today, not excepting the I. W. W., is its inadequacy in the face of the great problems of revolutionary reconstruction.

The very greatest need in this critical hour is a call for a larger and loftier conception of the historical task to which we have committed ourselves; that we ourselves rise to our true stature and rely on those virtues which are qualified to inspire the masses. Then, only, will we no longer be called a group of dreamers and talkers in the contemptuous sense in which the bourgeoisie is actually considering us.

Why the Bourgeoisie Rules.

There is no more dangerous tendency than to apply dogmatic and absolute principles to the social question. This is particularly true of the question of the employment of violence in the class struggle. Never would I, of course, commit myself to a definite and straight generalization of this difficult issue. Although violence, the use of physical force, is in many cases a necessary resort in the class struggle, one should not think of the latter in terms of a physical fact with no social and intellectual content. It may be that the supremacy of the capitalist class over the working class is one of physical force, but it is undoubtedly also a supremacy of culture, in education and in the possession of attributes of leadership in many other relations of social, political and industrial life. **It follows, then, that the syndicalist and industrial unionist movements should rely not only on disciplined mass action, but also on culture, education and class citizenship.** Thence

proceeds the notion that the members of the working class should be united by a common bond of loyalty and class citizenship. It is, of course, material, that the individual workingman should understand and recognize his duties toward the whole set of his fellow workers and that he should strive in unison with them for the common welfare. These concepts of citizenship and responsibility are to be looked upon as of paramount importance in the revolutionary education of the proletariat.

There is an inexorable law presiding over the evolution of mankind, whereby individuals, families, races and social groups badly equipped with organs and aptitudes for their own preservation, and thus incapable of asserting and maintaining the rights of their own existence, are to a more or less extent condemned to a position of dependence on the community. There is also a great deal of difference between the abstract right of the workers to establish social and industrial equality and the practical possibility of their carrying these things through to realization. And the fact that the workers are right in their claims against the bourgeoisie does not imply that their point of view will necessarily hold good in a contest with the latter. On that particular question it is the part of wisdom to restrain the flights of our fancy and recognize the truth of the following proposition:

THE RIGHT OF THE WORKERS TO FREE THEMSELVES FROM CAPITALIST HEGEMONY AND EXPLOITATION IS CIRCUMSCRIBED BY THEIR INTELLECTUAL AND TECHNICAL CAPACITIES, AS WELL AS BY THEIR POWERS OF ORGANIZATION AND SOLIDARITY.

Under such circumstances, to force capitalism to give the workers a share in the control of industries or to crush altogether capitalist rule presupposes that the workers are endowed with comparative capacity for management, knowledge of industrial discipline and industrial processes, and that the quality of mature judgment and the experience in handling great political and industrial affairs are not lacking.

Leadership in the I. W. W.

The responsible rulers of the capitalist order being by no means the dullards and incompetents they are usually described as being by professional charlatans and demagogues in the labor movement, the surest path to victory for the militant proletariat is in the development of the qualities of revolutionary discipline and leadership. To say nothing of a revolution where political and military skill and large knowledge in the organization and conduct of the industries are required, even the usual organization and strike activities with which we are concerned everyday call for men of conviction, education and leadership.

People are too much accustomed to think of an I. W. W. organizer as a garrulous, boasting, lazy and happy-go-lucky fellow rather than as a hard-working and sturdy pioneer. There should be no room for boasting and demagogical habits with the I. W. W., inasmuch as these things have been the

cause of all our misfortunes and failures. The present hour calls for a highly schooled, inspiring leadership, if the I. W. W. is to attain a position of influence and power in American social and industrial life. Our passion for perfectability and power, enhanced by a more fervid devotion to the cause, stimulated by fiercer revolutionary impulses and keener intellectual efforts will render us irresistible.

Let us infuse this new spirit into the rank and file

of our organization so that it may bring us to our full height and exalt our men above all shadows of mediocrity and vulgarity. This is a most fruitful and inspiring endeavor which we should struggle for with all the fervor of our reviving souls. Let us rise in sunshine, like the dawn of the rising sun, towards the attainment of this heroic spirit and keen intellectual power in order to make ourselves worthy of a higher destiny.

A 1920 Crusade

By Geo. Sutherland.
Delegate 2056 F

I have read in
HIGH BROW Books,
And have been told
By THOSE WHO OUGHT
TO KNOW
That a babe
Comes into the world
With a QUESTION
On its lips,
And that the infant
Constantly QUESTIONS
Things, persons and experiences
With "WHY?" "WHO?" "WHAT?"
I am further wised up
To the effect that
The kid gets
Its EDUCATION
Thataway;
Also it has been
Tipped off to me
That MEN
Are but grown-up
CHILDREN—I believe that.
I have been READING
Lately
The HALF PAGE ADS
Of the Interchurch
World Movement,
FINANCED and MANAGED
By John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,
Geo. W. Perkins, the Phelps-Dodge
Crowd and other
BOLD CHAMPIONS
OF THE PEOPLE'S CAUSE.
Like both old line
POLITICAL FARTIES,
This bunch of
SAVIORS OF SOCIETY
Has quite a "MISSIONARY
FUND" to spend—MILLIONS.
Being only a
Grown up kid,
I'm chock full
Of "WHYS and WHATS.
I'm gonna ask
A few questions.
WHAT are the people

To be saved FROM?
The High Cost of Living,
The loss of their jobs,
Bolshevism, Low Wages, EXPLOITATION, or
from the
Debasing influence
Of Ping-Pong and
Tiddledywinks?
Or is the Missionary Fund
To be used to
Chloroform and SOOTHE
Folks with inquiring minds,
To HEAD OFF DISCUSSION
OF INDUSTRIAL WRONGS?
What will the effect
Of that BIG FUND be
Upon Preachers, Church Officials
and Church Editors?
Will they be FEARLESS
And SINCERE in pressing
Home the truths of
Christianity which call
For SOCIAL JUSTICE?
I am wondering
What GAME the BIG BOYS
Are going to SPRING next.
THEY never spend much
Of their precious time
Or COIN
For the general welfare.
I'd like to know
THE MOTIVE and PURPOSE
Back of all this money
And advertising,
And I WONDER
If the WAD of KALE
That John D. Jr. and
His TAX-DODGING DAD
Are spending for UPLIFT
Is in any way connected
with POOR QUALITY
And HIGH PRICED GAS,
Which everybody is cussing
NOW.
As I remarked, I'm only
A grown-up kid,
So I WANT TO KNOW

Shop Organization for the Industries of the East

A PLAN AND A PROPHECY

By "A Shovel Stiff"

(Editor's remarks: In our October issue we published a chart of Industrial Communism reduced to its simplets form. We there solicited improvements in that simplified chart. That the subject is occupying the minds of more members than one, is evidenced by the fact that lately we have been shown several charts applying to single industries as well as the whole system. Here follows a chart and an article by "A Shovel Stiff," depicting more in detail how he thinks production and distribution should be organized in the period of transition as well as in the new Industrial Communist Society. In an additional chart, which retains the well known wheel feature, "The Shovel Stiff" ranges the various councils and other bodies of industrial administration around the General Administration and at the same time illustrates the interdependence of industries.

We hope the readers will carefully study these charts and the explanations of their author.

The necessity of taking over the management of the industries by the workers is hanging right over us. Every worker must study these problems and devote his most sincere thought to them. If we do not, we will be caught in the trap of ignorance when the terrible crisis arrives and the social revolution is liable to turn into a social cataclysm. For these reasons this subject should be taken up at meetings everywhere without delay and be discussed in earnest.

IF THE WORKERS ARE NOT PREPARED TO OWN AND CONTROL THE INDUSTRIES WHEN THE TIME COMES, SOMEBODY ELSE WILL.

Study, think, organize and get ready!

The delegate system, as understood at present, may be all right, yes, even successful, amongst workers in lumber and construction camps, or during the harvest on the farms. Such homes are only temporary, ceasing with the job. Generally such fellow workers, after leaving a camp, blow into the city, either to winter, meet friends, or rest up and ship out again on a similar job.

In densely populated industrial centers, where gigantic industries are permanently established employing thousands of workers, the majority of providers for families are tied down to a little two by four called home. Under such circumstances quite different results are obtained. Here we come in contact with the modern machine proletariat, "hands" and numbers with an entirely different mental attitude, produced by an entirely different environment.

The migratory worker, traveling at times great distances between jobs, has to depend on his own initiative in securing food and shelter. This creates in the individual self-confidence and self-reliance, something almost entirely lacking in the modern industrial proletariat, where thousands of workers

are crowded together in limited space, each producing only a very small part of the to-be-manufactured article. The nature of mass production creates mass dependence, which in turn produces mass thought, expressing itself, when conditions become intolerable, in mass activity. Spontaneous mass strikes and mass demonstrations by unorganized workers, ready to listen and willing to follow any individual, group of individuals or organization, seemingly able to secure for them desired results immediately.

Here we find the delegate, issuing cards right and left, leaving the new member to himself, without contact with the rest of the local membership, leaving both old and new members in ignorance as to the strength of the local membership. Sometimes traveling members of the G. O. C. of an industrial union not only issue cards but credentials to any Tom, Dick or Harry on whose card the ink is barely dry, members of the G. O. C., drunk with authority, demanding card numbers and names of old time and trusted members, daring to question their integrity. Both delegates and members of G. O. C. produce anything but organization with such tactics.

What is lacking in industrial centers is not delegates, but competent organization and since the last convention has adopted the job or the shop as basis of industrial unionism, I shall find ample opportunity in the following program to outline, not only the work of organizers, but of all present officials of the I. W. W.

"A Few Preliminary Remarks."

An idea, unable to stand criticism is death, therefore I invite criticism.

Institutions such as clearing houses, supply stations and defense committees, are temporary and do not interfere with the following program, neither does the program interfere with them.

Names given the various organs are only used to express the functions of those bodies and don't matter.

There seems to exist more or less confusion pertaining to industrial unionism, that is the combining of men and women for the solving of common problems and the administration of industry. In other words, there is a big difference in the rule over men, by men, and the administration of things I do not attempt to claim, that my program is perfect, far from it, but I do claim, that if this program is brought to the attention of the membership, that discussion, interchange of opinion, which is bound to follow, may create a program, far superior to the present form of organization.

The I. W. W. is but the tool with which we intend to build the new society if the tool becomes dull, the tool needs sharpening, if a tool ceases to serve its purpose, such tool will be discarded, in favor of a new one.

Industrial Unionism and the Administration of Industry.

(The letters and numbers refer to the accompanying chart.)

The Shop (No. 1).

General term for job, shop, mill, mine, factory, etc.

The organized workers in a shop elect a shop committee, which should, if possible, consist of at least one worker from each branch, making up the shop unit. For illustration let me use a modern machine shop. Here the committee would be drawn from the various departments, making up the factory unit, blacksmith shop, pattern shop, foundry, both iron and brass, erecting and assembling department, the different departments of machine production, the clerical and technical departments, etc.

Shop Committee.—A.

The shop committee would assume all administrative functions, that is, they would put into operation, carry out all rules and regulations, pertaining to working conditions, hours, etc.; they would gather data dealing with the productive capacity of the shop; acquaint themselves with the various operations necessary to turn out the finished product, time required for each operation, sources of raw material and amount of raw material needed. They would turn all such data over to the local or district union branch to be filed for future reference. They supervise, instruct, control the shop management (B), consisting of Department foremen, Superintendents, Master Mechanics, Department and Chief Engineers. The personnel of the shop management are either elected by the workers themselves or appointed by the shop committee, with the consent of the shop workers.

All elected, or appointed officials, single members of committees, or committees as a whole, are subject to recall at all times. The legislative power of the workers must supercede at all times the administrative and managing powers of elected or appointed officials.

How to Organize the Shop.

Wherever one or more members are working in a shop, factory or single department thereof, such member or members should constitute himself or themselves a committee to carry on a systematic distribution of literature (leaving same in clothes lockers or work benches or machines), explaining the general principles of the I. W. W. in relation to the particular industry of which the shop or factory is a part. They should gather data pertaining to the particular factory in which they are employed, dealing with general working conditions, time, piece work, bonus system, rate for piece work, wages for day work, sanitary condition, absence of adequate safety devices, especially if occurring accidents can be traced back to the absence of safety devices, etc.

They should collect names of workers sympathetic to the I. W. W., a simple matter by watching the effect the distributed literature has on the individual worker, and turn both data and names over

to the organizer, who in turn can use all such collected data, either in leaflet form or speech for general propaganda amongst the workers of the factory in question.

As soon as two or more shops of the same industry in a locality or district have a nucleus of workers organized, they should at once form the

Local or District Industrial Union Branch 2).

Local in congested industrial centers (cities), district in rural territory. District headquarters should be centrally located and within easy reach of all shop branches affiliated. All shop branches would elect one or more delegates, number of delegates to be decided by the workers themselves. Those delegates would become the legislative body for the local or district industry. All grievances and disputes which cannot be settled by the shop organizations, would be brought before the industrial union branch as well as legislation for regulation of production, such as equal distribution of raw material, work and workers in locality and district. These delegates would compile all data coming from the various shop branches and make them accessible to all members of the industry, local and general. They would supervise and co-operate with the work of the organization. They would control the

Industrial Board—C.

A technical body, either appointed or elected, always with the consent of the membership of the local or district branch. The function of the industrial board would consist in bringing about general improvement of industry, creating or installing new inventions, standardizing relative machinery or parts thereof, always with the object in view of bringing production to the highest possible efficiency with the least expenditure of human energy. They would improve old or invent and install new devices for the protection of the life, health and limb of the workers. They would give technical instructions through classes, mass meetings and literature to all workers of the industry.

District Council.—No. 3.

All industrial union branches would elect (either with proportional or equal representation) delegates to the District Council. Such delegates should be nominated by their respective industrial union branch. This would be a simple matter, as the members of the shop branches, working together, could be reached at all times. The district council would assume the "Supreme" legislative function of the district, without interference from any sources outside the district. One member from each industrial union branch elected to the district council would form the

District Administration Board—D

All affairs of the district, general improvement, construction projects, water, light, sanitation, etc., would come before the District Council to be passed upon, and if passed, would be turned over to the District Administration Board for execution. The Administration Board would appoint, with the approval of the district council, the

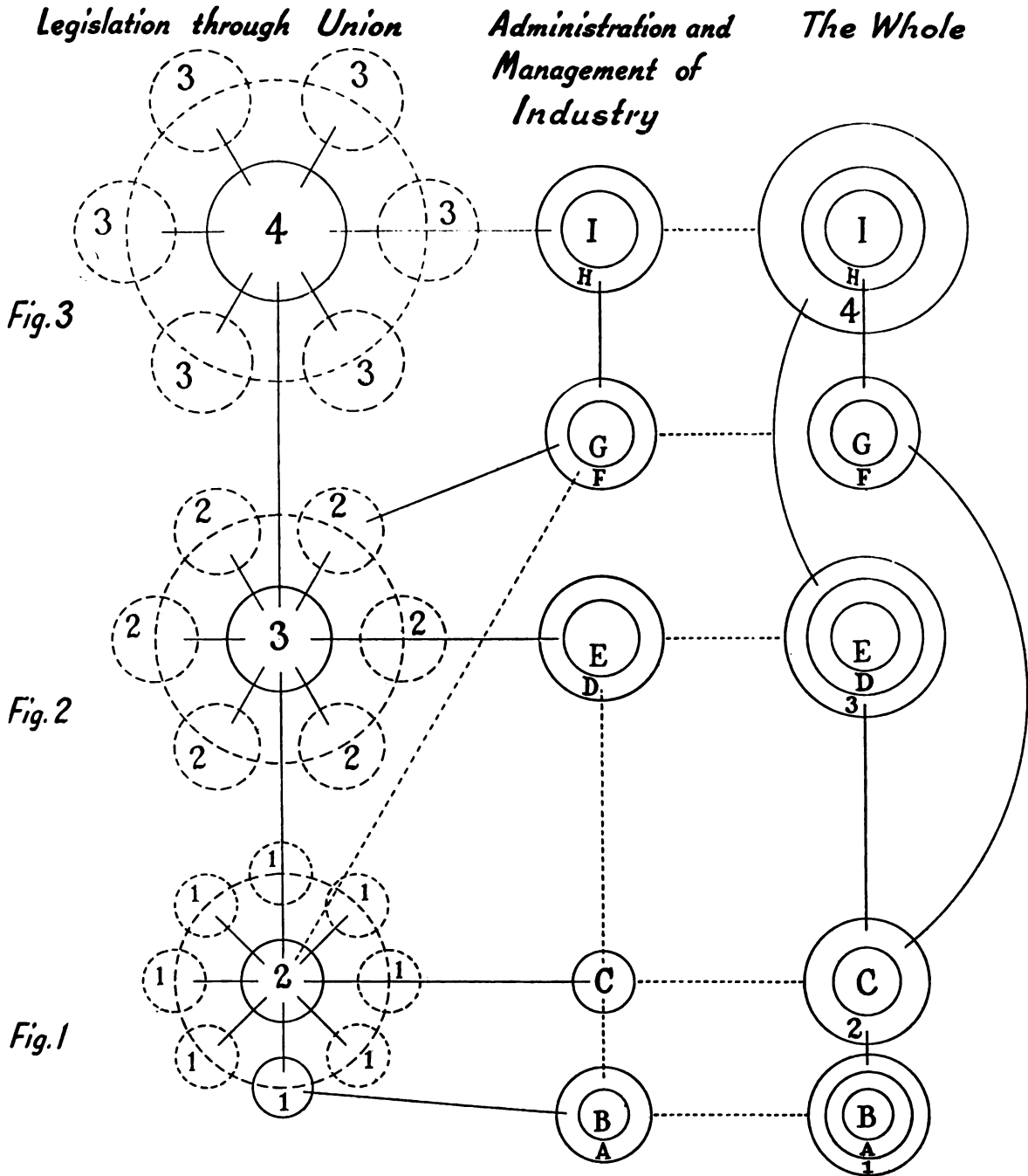


Fig.1 1- All shops of same Industry, Loc. Distr.
 2- Ind. Union branch
 Fig.2 2- All Ind. Union branches
 3- District Council
 Fig.3 3- All District Councils
 4- General Congress

A.- Shop Committee
 B.- Shop Management
 C.- Industrial Board
 D.- Distr. Administration
 E.- Distr. Technical Board
 F.- Industrial Unions
 G.- Ind. Union Technical Board
 H.- Gen'l Administration G.E.B.
 I.- Industrial Cabinet

Chart Showing Proposed Form of Organization for Eastern Industries, by "A Shovel Stiff."

District Technical Board—E

composed of technical experts from various branches of industry and science. This board would work out and draw all plans on all projects to be carried out. They would act at all times in an advisory capacity to the Administration Board.

In case of catastrophes, epidemics, etc., they should have the power to call upon the service of any industrial board or industrial union branch necessary for such emergency, without wasting any time on legislative red tape.

Being organized in such a way we would be able, at all times, in small or in big numbers, to pool our forces for concerted action; and if permitted, without interruption, to perfect such an organization, we could then claim that we are building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Industrial Union—F

To be brutally frank, I have no program for the functioning of industrial unions at this time, unless it is the present secretaries should prepare the ground work for the functioning of the industrial union in the future, collect and compile data, statistical and technical, dealing with the respective industry, and publish same to the advantage of all workers in the industry. Unless it would be that the present members of the various G. O. C., being competent organizers, should be sent to and kept in districts where they are needed, willing to co-operate with and work under instruction of local or district membership.

All local or district union branches of the same industry, would elect one or more (preferably one) delegate for a certain period of time (the period should be short and, if possible, uniform in all industrial unions). This delegation constitutes the industrial union. Only such delegates should be elected who would qualify as organizers, **not to gain members for the industrial union,—but to organize industry itself.** These delegates should be men and women possessing a general knowledge of their respective industry. Such delegates should keep up between sessions inter-communication between their own district and industrial union branches of all other districts, using as medium a permanent industrial union headquarters (including clerical and technical staff).

The function of the industrial union is administrative, such as the securing of and equal distribution of raw material, the transferring of workers from districts where a surplus exists, to districts where they are needed, the amount of finished product needed for the welfare of society as a whole (society of workers only) and the prompt distribution of such products to territories where required, the doing away with isolated shops, factories, etc., antiquated and no longer productive, the concentration of industry around the sources of raw material, readjustment of transportation, abolishing competitive lines, making use of and improving all the latest means of transportation,—motor trucks, electricity, etc., utilizing for transportation highways, canals, rivers and using of all of the nation's water power

for the production of light, heat and power. General research and general improvement of industry and production, always with one object, to do away with the useless expenditure of human energy, and the waste of material and machinery.

The industrial union would appoint the

Industrial Technical Board—(G)

The greatest experts and specialists of the whole industry, who would work out, direct, and give advice on all technical questions, pertaining to operation, management and improvement of the nation's industries. In order to improve the technical knowledge of all the workers in a given industry, this board should issue a technical magazine, at least once a month, giving itemized reports, figures and illustrations on all latest improvements and inventions. If chemical or medical, the complete formula in the simplest language, thereby making knowledge accessible to all, eliminating the monopoly of knowledge by the few. If industrial communism should come tomorrow, the next generation would require a technical knowledge, which would make exploitation in the future impossible.

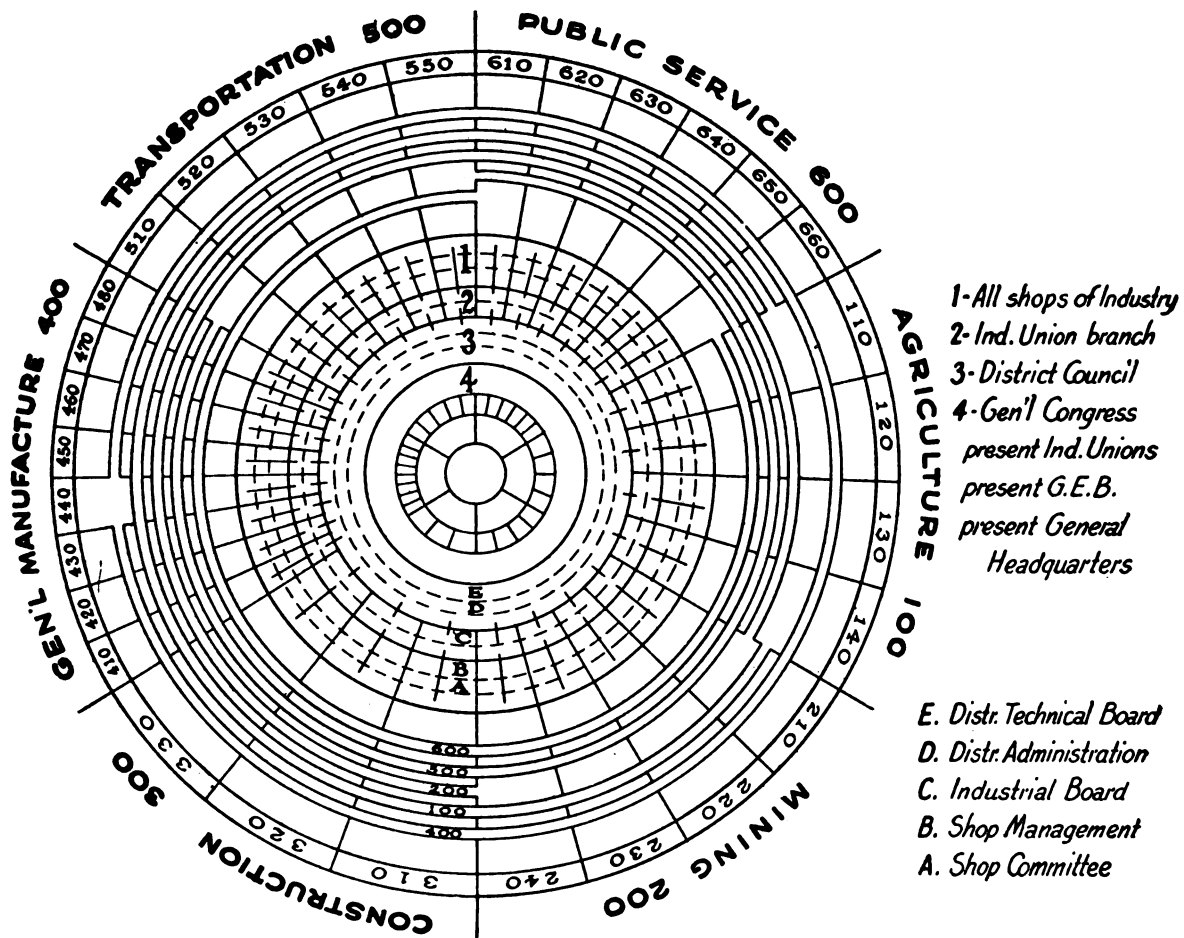
Ignorance is the mother of fear and fear is the father of slavery.

General Industrial Congress or Convention (No. 4) Supreme Legislative Body of Whole Organization

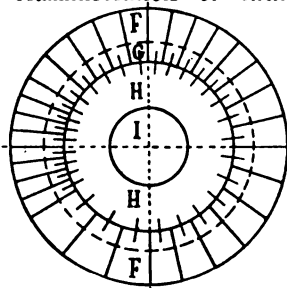
This congress would consist of delegates from all district councils and would convene either at regular intervals or whenever conditions required. This congress would pass upon **All National**, and, through commissions elected or appointed by all national congresses, upon all international questions of general importance. Among such questions would come highways, irrigation projects, draining of swamps, railroads, tunnels, canals, etc., on national and international basis, the international exchange of raw materials and finished products, the supplying of workers and material on construction projects of international scope.

The word "national" is not used in the old sense, but simply to express the idea that, even if all capitalist states, including their artificially produced and at this moment continuously changing geographical boundaries were abolished, so-called culture, customs and economic development nursed for centuries would still remain and could be abolished only by generations yet unborn.

For the election of delegates from district councils, instead of industrial unions, as at present, to the general convention, I advance three reasons: First, to strip the industrial union of all legislative power. Second, the delegates to the district council are under the direct control of the various industrial union branches making up the district council, and the industrial union branch, being the direct representative from the shops, enables the workers of the shop not only to control and keep in constant touch with all activities of the district council, but enables them also to get acquainted with the activities of each individual member of the council, which in turn enables them to choose the best and most active members of the council as their representa-



General Administration of Industry



- F. Industrial Unions
- G. Ind. Union Technical Board
- H. Gen'l. Administration. G. E. B.
- I. Industrial Cabinet
- H. One delegate from each Ind. Union
- F. Del. from all Ind. Union branches.

Circles 400-100-200-500-600 show interrelation of Industry

- 400. Without Machinery all modern industry comes to a standstill
- 100. Without Agriculture, life is unthinkable
- 200 Without Mining, neither fuel nor raw materials are produced
- 500. Without Transportation, communication, distribution. Industrial life is paralyzed
- 600. Without Sanitation, Education, the human race drowns in filth.

"Wheel-Chart" Showing the Various Organs of Administration Proposed for Eastern Industries by "A Shovel Stiff." Also Indicating the Interdependence of Industries.

tives to the general congress. Third: The district council, being made up from representatives of all the industries within the district, enables the members of the district council to gain a general knowledge of all questions, practical and technical, pertaining to the affairs of all industries within the district. The exchange of all their district experiences at general congresses should enable them to solve all problems coming before the congress to the best interest of all.

General Administration, G. E. B.—H

The G. E. B. would consist of one member from each industrial union, either nominated by the general congress or by the industrial unions themselves. In the latter case with the consent of the general congress, under whose jurisdiction the G. E. B. at all times remains. Each member is elected by the whole membership of the industry which he represents. The G. E. B. remains in continuous session during the whole term for which they are elected and carry out, execute, put into effect all legislation and instructions enacted by the general congress.

Departmental Management of General Technical Board—I

Either the general congress, or the G. E. B. with the approval of the general congress, would appoint one expert for each department, and if necessary, from subdivisions of departments, for instance, in transportation, railroad, navigation, postal and telegraph service, etc., as well as in public service, sanitation, education, etc. The members of this board would become the technical and managing chiefs of staff of all industry, unless the general administration (G. E. B.) would assume this function, thereby making the general technical board unnecessary. Whatever body assumes this function becomes a substitute for the cabinet of present political states, with the only difference that industrial experts, instead of lawyers and politicians, would hold down the job.

Conclusion.

By writing this program I do not claim to have produced something new, but have only attempted, within the power of my limited knowledge, to assist in creating something definite, in the same manner as a group of architects develop and draw plans for a structure to be erected, after all plans have been submitted, discussed and corrected and the final plans worked out in detail. Then the architect, having always the picture of the finished structure in mind, is capable of directing the excavation and the laying of a foundation strong enough to carry the finished structure.

The shop, that is, the factory unit, is the only foundation upon which to build the sound structure of industrial unionism. Even if such factory units should produce commodities, which under our present form of organization may involve more than one industrial union (for instance, the steel trust not only controls the production of steel but owns and controls the mines, both raw material and fuel, the land on which the mines are located, the iron

ore docks on the great lakes, the ships carrying the ore, private roads carrying both ore and coal, or carrying liquid metal from one mill to another, during the process of steel production). Some mills produce cement bricks, etc., from their own waste. Or remember the stockyards, who utilize "everything but the squeal of the hog," as it is humorously put. One thing is certain, **the shop unit remains.**

Labor

By BUDD L. McKILLIPS.

I builded your ships, and I sailed them,
I worked in your factories and mines,
I builded the railroads you ride on,
I crushed the ripe grapes for your wines.

I worked late at night on your garments,
I gathered the grain for your bread,
I builded the mansion you live in,
I printed the books you have read.

I linked two great oceans together,
I spanned your rivers with steel,
I builded your towering skyscrapers,
I builded your automobile.

Wherever there's progress you'll find me,
Without me the world could not live,
And yet you would seek to destroy me
With the meager pittance you give.

Too long have you ground me in slavery,
Too long have I cringed at your throne,
Today I have thrown off my fetters
And stand forth to claim what I own.

Injunctions and jails do not awe me,
I fear not your grim prison wall;
God Damn you and all of your tyrants,
No more will I cringe at your call.

You masters of field and of workshop,
I am mighty and you are but few;
No longer I'll bow in submission—
I am Labor and ask for my due!

THIS MEAN YOU!

What right have you to allow the workers of your town to live on in ignorance of industrial communism?

Get a bundle of THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY every month and go after that ignorance like a good housewife goes after dirt with soap and scrubbing brush!

The history of liberty is a history of the limitation of governmental power, not of the increase of it.
—President Wilson.

The Waste of Human Labor

By P. A. KANE, M. D.

The waste of human labor, of human effort and human life is appalling, immense, prodigious. My first example illustrating this truth, will be that of our farmers.

There are at present in the United States a little more than eight million five hundred thousand farms. This means that that many farmers, with their families and all the extra help obtainable during the spring and harvest seasons, produce all our food and clothing. Approximately fifty million or about one half of our whole population. They all work from ten to sixteen hours every day, three hundred and sixty-five days each year for three years and three hundred and sixty-six during the fourth. There are no holidays for the farmer.

A farmer is a jack-of-all-trades and master of none. He should know and understand all there is to know about his soil, but, alas, he does not. A thoroughly up-to-date farmer today, sends his soil to a professional soil chemist for analysis, in order to ascertain what it is most capable of growing, and by this knowledge is he governed. The farmer who does not, and they are legion, is only guessing at the possibility of his lands. But everyone thinks himself capable of running a farm. All are taught and led to believe that fact. When a man is a failure in a city, he is advised to go out in the farm. He does not know the first rudiments of farming but is told that he will be a success, that if he will only turn the soil it will fairly drip with milk and honey for his use and benefit. People are taught that any kind of a fool can manage a farm. Very many take up the burden with little more intelligence than a fool, and that is one reason why land is becoming more poverty-stricken each year. That is why the soil is getting poorer and poorer.

The farmer must understand his soil; when to irrigate and drain; when, where and how to plough, plant, cultivate, reap, thresh and store all that is raised on his land. He must know how to grow cereals: corn, wheat, oats, hay, alfalfa and cotton. How to raise vegetables of every description and fruits of all kinds. How to care for his stock, raise and breed horses, cattle, pigs and sheep, milk cows and care for same, make butter and cheese. He must be a fence builder, a carpenter and a painter for the upkeep of his buildings, a machinist to care for his implements, a horse doctor, a cow farrier and a swine herder.

What would be thought of the management of any of our large industries, say a railroad system, if it used an employe as a laborer yesterday, a trackman today, a track-walker tomorrow, a section foreman the next and a blacksmith's helper and carpenter the next? Then a breakman, switchman, painter, machinist, engineer, etc. The manager would soon lose his position or else the industry e'er long would be forced to the wall. Our farming

industry, which is of vastly greater importance than all other industries combined is operated in that manner. A farmer or a farm laborer is all the above and more, he must be all of those in the same hour and every day. He is a veritable jack-of-all-trades, does not produce much and is destroying the soil.

It is safe to say, and I do so without any fear of exaggeration or successful contradiction, that if one million of those farmers were worked collectively, scientifically and systematically, eight hours during the forenoon and a like number, the same number of hours in the afternoon, that those two million would raise more and better commodities and preserve the soil much better than the fifty million are doing today. This shows that forty-eight million of people on our farms, except school children or younger ones, also wives and mothers performing household duties, are wasting their labor and their lives.

When I say those two million should be worked collectively, scientifically and systematically, I mean our farming industry should be specialized. Two hundred thousand should be trained for cultivating cereals, and know nothing but that, another large number to raise hay, alfalfa and cotton, another for producing vegetables and more for raising fruits. Many trained to care for stock, some of them specialized in dairy products, others to raise poultry, others to care for the machinery and buildings. All should be living in centrally located communities and all about them the land with which they produce.

Farmers, on account of their isolation, individuality and selfishness, have many more implements than are at all necessary, also many barns, stables and out-buildings. Besides one can readily understand if only two million were doing the work of nine million what an immense number of all those commodities would be essential. Men employed in the woods getting out timbers, those in the mines digging ore and coal, on the railroads for transporting the same, in the mills sawing and shaping, in the machine shops welding and forming and in the International Harvester shops assembling those excess machines are all wasting labor and life, for they produce that which is of no real use. They not only produce non-essentials but are destroying all of this material that in future generations may be of vast importance and a prime necessity. "Wanton waste makes woeful want." I see future generations as yet unborn who will curse us for our wanton destruction of nature's munificence, the demolition of the forests, the prodigal waste of oil, ore and coal and the utter ruin of all the land.

All servants in and about houses are wasting their labor and lives for they produce nothing of any material advantage to our economic conditions, and are but a luxury to their mistress and masters.

If conditions were just no one would be occupying a house greater than he could care for and hence no servants.

Many, many railroad employes are wasting their energies, especially in the rolling stock department, for they, like servants, are luxuries and not necessities. Unnecessary luxuries akin to sin, produce nothing of good but everything of evil, an overloaded stomach with all its attending maladies, an overbearing manner, a crafty brain seeking more and more, and a selfish disposition. Under our present system we see the spectacle of commodities transported from New York to San Francisco and from there back again to New York City. Coal is shipped from W. Virginia to Illinois and vice versa and so on ad infinitum.

The evil system that rules our destinies, commonly called capitalism, is inherently dishonest. So true is this, that it trusts no one. If Jesus came to earth tomorrow His credit would be no good without a bank account, and that closely scrutinized. So true is this, that capitalism assumes the antithesis of that which our courts of law teach, namely: that everyone is innocent until proven guilty. Everyone to capitalism is a crook, is guilty until proven innocent and then must have some one of wealth to endorse his note. Every business has a large body of detectors, detectives known as clerks. Practically every clerk in an office is employed to watch the other fellow. To see that no other firm or employe cheats his firm. To do business other firms and employes will rifle their coffers if the opportunity presents itself, although the large mail order houses claim the public are honest. Most of those clerks' life's efforts are wasted, for if we were living under honest conditions, their service would not be required.

The life labor of soldiers and naval soldiers are wasted; they produce nothing but on the contrary are taught, drilled and specialized in the art of destruction. They are trained to destroy human life and necessities. Also all men employed in producing instruments of warfare. The time has come, when all warring implements on land and sea should be put out of existence and rebuilt for useful purposes.

Lawyers, judges and policemen are wasting their lives and are but the product of our quarrels. They give me the power to abuse my neighbor and hence a quarrel. I know if he retaliates with physical violence he may be arrested and brought before the bar of justice. The three passively assist me in my criminal act. Where neither is ever seen, on the farms, in the woods and wilderness, each man strictly attends to his own affairs.

Ministers, priests and rabbis are a waste of life's labor, and are the offsprings of judging. They judge us incapable of working out our own salvation, at God said, "Judge not lest ye be judged," also, "God cannot deceive nor be deceived," and preach long windy sermons on both texts. Do you not see if

they did not judge us incapable, they would not have the effrontery to think themselves the only ones qualified to lead us all to heaven. Hallelujah! They also try to deceive the Almighty while preaching to us, and endeavor to make Him believe they do not consider themselves so superior to us common mortals. They deem themselves so great, so pure and so sublime, that they can tell what God does, what God says and even what God thinks, and, God damn 'em, they know not a thing whereof they speak.

One large store centrally located in each community would supply all our necessities. All small shopkeepers would go out of existence as non-essentials. Also middlemen, advertisers, traveling salesmen and salesmen together with men employed making paper on which advertisements are printed, and those who produce and handle the finished product, would all take the same road.

Under our present conditions medical doctors are no doubt a necessity, but with proper conditions, doctors as at present constituted would be practically wasting their lives. Under just conditions everyone would have an education equal to, if not superior to the best doctor of the present day and be able to take the proper and necessary care of himself. Do away with the causes of disease—long hours of hard exacting labor, bad hygienic surroundings, unwholesome food and close confinement—sickness would then be a crime.

Every man working for wages or salary is wasting his life, for he must first earn the money with which his master pays him. All the surplus that his labor makes over his wages goes into the coffers of that master. All he earns takes the same road, he must spend it all for his necessities. One can readily see that all excess wealth produced for his employer must be a waste of labor. That which you give away to a beggar, a poor relation or a friend, may be a charitable act, but is a waste as it is of no material advantage to you. That which your employer holds is absolute wastage, because it is forcibly retained without any choice on your part.

There are but three classes of people today who are not wasting their lives. Those of the wealthy, who do not labor in any manner, but seek diversion and enjoyment; bums and hoboos who do not work; teachers, including inventors and authors. Teachers introduce new ideas into the brains of the young and adolescent, inventors and authors do likewise for all mankind.

Right here I wish to lay emphasis upon the fact, that all must obtain some sort of food, clothing, shelter and education. Socialists claim there are but three things necessary—food, clothing and shelter—for all mankind. But education is as indispensable and individualistic as the other three. To all plant and unreasoning life, nature carries all necessities. Moving, reasoning beings seek their food, and for this purpose must have an education or instinct, if you please. Those struggling for food without either perish and die. Die a lingering death

of slow starvation. Human beings without either are fed, clothed and sheltered and that is why lunatic asylums and orphans' homes are built and maintained.

Nature or God, if you like, has said, "Who does not labor neither shall he eat." "By the sweat of thy brow shall thou eat thy bread," is a command handed down. But man, made in the image of God, knows much more, and has improved on all God's edicts. Today the rule reads: "He who has no money, neither shall he eat." So mankind labors no more for food but for money. This law is not promulgated for the love and glory of God or man but for the aggrandisement of our money changers and owners. Money originally was a medium of exchange and was a goodly thing. At that time if I had some surplus commodity, which some other person needed, I sold it to him for something that I desired. If there was an inequality between the goods exchanged, a small shell or stone with a personal mark was given to show that one owed the other. From this primitive exchange method our great money oligarchical system has sprung and enslaved all, the rich as well as the poor.

The more property and wealth a man possesses, the more is he enmeshed in the web of capitalism and held by the tentacles of that octopus. The sole difference between the struggle of a wealthy or a poverty-stricken man under the system, is that the former is never forced to seek employment nor fears poverty and starvation, the horror of want and hunger is always facing the latter. John D. Rockefeller is held by the tentacles of the octopus more thoroughly than is the common laborer. He must continually increase his possessions or some other man will usurp his place. Nature's law has nothing of immobility, it is movement and that movement is perpetual.

Everyone who works for a master under the capitalist system, must produce sufficient to keep the employer in affluence in order that he will be able to remunerate the producing employe. Every cent taken by the employer, over and above the sum required to pay all of his employes, is profit to him. I know that the great majority of people will immediately disagree from this statement, and tell me all about the other expenses to which the employer is subject. The cost of his buildings, machinery, commodities and advertising, all of which is not expense but wealth. Everything purchased by him which goes into the business is property, not debit but an asset. So where is his expense? No matter how much material wealth he accumulates off the labor of his employes, it is considered just by all. If I were an optician and sold a pair of eye-glasses, that cost forty cents to produce, for one hundred dollars, I would not be regarded as a thief. On the contrary, I would be lauded as a shrewd and successful business man. For my part I cannot see any difference between a thief and a business man. The former despoils you of your coin surreptitiously, the latter philosophically, but the result is the same.

The former is classed as a thief and the latter a shrewd man of affairs.

Business, the capitalist system, is a system to which all kow-tow and worship as a god. A god that each one desires to be its living personification. That monster without a corporeal body, without a stomach to satisfy, without a mouth to eat and with no blood vessels, still is a veritable vampire sucking the life blood from everyone. Oh! the injustice, the imbecility, the uselessness and horror of it all! It is a demon by night and a hell all day. If thoroughly understood by the masses it would be immediately destroyed.

Oh! the wanton waste of human energy, human labor and human life! Well might the white civilized peoples cry out with Jesus on the cross, "God, God, why hast thou deserted me!" All this prodigious never-ceasing labor, ninety per cent. of which is useless, is labor in vain. They tell us, it is for the purpose of obtaining food, clothing and shelter for all mankind. It is a lie.

The frame house in which I was born was built about fifty years ago. It is a large one, having four rooms upstairs, three on first floor, beneath which is a commodious cellar. A large kitchen adjoins one end. It is as good today as when built, if not better, and is good for two hundred years to come. Houses built out of stone, concrete and brick are almost imperishable and good for centuries. It took two men working ten hours a day about sixty days to build that house. This means that it took twelve hundred hours of labor to build my father's house and it will act as a shelter for two hundred and fifty years. Dividing the number of hours of labor by the number of its habitable years, we find that five hours of labor each year is sufficient to supply everyone with the best of shelter.

Let us now take up the problem of clothes. About ten years ago the senate at Washington ordered an investigation on the matter of clothing. A committee was appointed for the purpose. The evidence given before this body conclusively proved that one man working sixty hours, with our modern means of production, could create sufficient clothing to last each of us for three years. This included shoes, collar, neckties and all kind of wearing apparel. Just think what this means, sixty hours of labor of one man would supply us all with clothing for three years. The clothes would be of the very best material and have nothing of shoddy in them. Sixty divided by three, means that twenty hours of labor each year would supply all with clothing.

The one necessity left out of the socialistic trinity; food, clothing and shelter—that all must acquire is food, food, food. The ration of an American soldier are, one pound of flour, one pound of potatoes and one pound of meat each day. Seven bushels of wheat, six bushels of potatoes and one good-sized pig each year, would supply sufficient rations for all. This does not include the other vegetables and the fruits, a few bushels of both are consumed in their seasons by everyone. Sugar, milk

and butter should here be mentioned. The more of fruits and the other vegetables eaten, the less amount of flour, potatoes and meat would be used. It takes much more land to feed a horse or a cow than it does to feed a man.

Let the farming industry be specialized and the farmers worked collectively, scientifically and systematically. It is safe to assert, under those conditions, that one man laboring one hundred hours each year, could produce sufficient foodstuffs for everyone. Think of that for the rest of your lives, one hundred hours of labor can furnish plenty of wholesome food for all. Recapitulating, we find that five hours of labor equals shelter, twenty hours is the equivalent of clothing and the adequate of food is one hundred hours. One hundred and twenty-five hours labor each year, or twenty-one minutes per diem can supply everyone with all necessities and luxuries. Allowing sixty per cent. increase on the labor hours for finished material that go in the buildings, furniture and furnishings into the houses and farming implements. Let each man represent a family of five. Then every man working one thousand hours would supply his family for one year. This I assure you would regulate birth control; no man-made laws would be necessary. When man is compelled to labor two hundred hours for each dependant, he will soon adjust the size of his family.

Oh! the woeful waste of labor, energy and life. The present system compels everyone, who reaches the age of fourteen to labor long hours. Under just and equitable conditions a man laboring one thousand hours each year or three hours every day could easily supply a family of five with all necessities. Supplying these thousand hours at the rate of eight hours each day, he would have only to work one hundred and twenty-five days of four months each year. The remainder of the year, he and family would be free. Free from further obligations to society or state. A passport and a bill of credit would be given to him showing that he had performed such service and entitling him to food, clothing and shelter in any part of the civilized world in which he chose to reside. His leisure would be occupied in increasing his own knowledge, imparting information to others, perfecting some new invention or traveling. Under this system everyone would reap the fullest happiness, the joy of all be signal. At present, none are happy or contented, the rich or the poor, nor should they be. Nor should you or I be happy while we know that we are exploited every moment from the cradle to the grave. Life's leisure time would be chiefly spent in traveling, for all are nomadic. Nature imbues all creation with restlessness and activity. It is only our unjust conditions that keep us in the one place.

Let us consider again the farmer and the rations of a soldier. We find that seven bushels of wheat, six bushels of potatoes and three hundred and sixty-five pounds of meat each year is sufficient to feed a soldier. On account of a soldier's active life his appetite is perhaps greater than the average per-

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Socialists teach that there are but three things which each of us can get out of life, namely, food, clothing and shelter. But philosophy cries out to me that education is the first essential. The world owes four things to man, and these through kindly nature it furnishes in inestimable abundance. Man's injustice, man's inhumanity to man keeps from the great multitude the necessities to which they are entitled. Entitled to it by all the laws of justice and right. Equality of the universal right to the self-same opportunity as any other. Man's inhumanity is better told in some part of the Bible, where it says: "They take from him that which he hath not." There are but four things that man obtains from life, whether he be J. D. Rockefeller, the King of England, the Pope of Rome, you or I, and these are: education, food, clothing and shelter. Socialists overlook or ignore the one distinctive human attribute, education.

When any of us do not have the opportunity to acquire the highest education, the best of food, clothing and shelter, he is not receiving his just due. He is cheated out of essentials that nature supplies in abundance but man-made laws withhold. These four are individualistic: the education I receive, the food I eat, the clothes I wear and the shelter that I should own (but seldom do) are mine absolutely. The last three are acquired with little time or labor on my part, and it follows, should be freer and more easily obtained than air, sunshine or water.

There are four other things or conditions to which man is heir, but these involve others, the human race at large. The marriage state, the perpetuating of the race, power and pleasure. Eight conditions, education, food, clothing, shelter, matrimony, offspring, power and pleasure are the sum total of our whole existence.

When the prophets and soothsayers of old had a complaint or grievance, it is related that they would cry out. In modern parlance, tell it to the world. Permit me, I beg you, to do likewise, to call out with Jeremiah-like lamentations: "Oh! the appalling waste of time, of labor, of energy and of life! Oh! that the awfully unjust capitalistic system were destroyed and consigned to the hell of oblivion forever!"

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When in the international congresses revolutionary ideas were voiced, the German representatives as a rule made violent resistance to them.

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The political Labor movement of Germany went into bankruptcy during the August days of 1914 when the world war broke out. The German Trade Union Movement did not at that time show any greater fighting capacity than the politicians. The whole German labor movement proved to be decadent and incapable.

When the German Social Democratic politicians at the outbreak of the war made beautiful speeches in favor of war, the Trade Union movement also made its peace with capitalism. During one of the first days of August 1914 the craft union popes held

a conference in Berlin, when Legien, the president of the German Trade Union movement, said:

"As the situation now is, democracy ceases in the trade unions. Now all the trade union executives will have to decide on their own responsibility, and decide in such a manner that they will be able to defend it before their own conscience."

This conference decided:

1. To call off all pending labor conflicts.
2. Not to present any new demands for increased wages.
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The leaders of the National Trade Union organization thus completely dodged the struggle against the bloody craze, making their organization an apparatus for the support of the war.

During the month of November, 1914, the employers were asked by the General Commission of the Trade Unions if they were willing to co-operate, "because the war preparations were of great importance to the outcome of the war," as the communication stated. And as the German Social Democrats became more war crazy, the following statement was issued from a conference of the leaders in July, 1915: "The conference of Trade Union presidents holds that the position taken by the majority socialists is the only one which in these difficult times serves the interests of the working people and the trade unions."

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The same conservative position was held by the Trade Union movement and its leading men during



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the whole war. The workers, therefore, began to see that if a revolutionary struggle was to be made against the war and against capitalism, they had no support to expect from that movement. Instead they figured on having it as an adversary in an eventual working class revolution.

When, thus, the German working class stood before the revolution, when the foundations of capitalism began to creak and crack all over, then the capitalist class immediately saw that they had their surest support right in the conservative Trade Union movement and opened negotiations with it.

As a typical example of this fact let us quote from a pamphlet written by a member of the administration of the Union in the Iron and Steel Industry, Dr. Reickert, as follows:

"After the outbreak of the revolution the question was: How can the industry be protected, how can the employers be protected from the threatening, all-embracing socialization? The government was so weak that no help could be expected from it. Looking further we asked: Can the bourgeois be depended upon? The answer was that the bourgeoisie could not be counted on in economic things. Only the organized workers seemed to have a more powerful influence. From this outlook the following conclusion was drawn: **In the midst of the general industry, when the state and the government are too weak, the capitalist employers will find a strong ally, and that is the Trade Unions . . .**"

As will be seen, a genuine capitalistic recognition of their friends, the reformists. The leaders of the German Trade Union movement formed, after the revolution, together with the employers, an organization called "Arbeitsgemeinschaft" (Co-operation), the purpose of which was to work for the economic reconstruction of Germany. As the employers took part in it, the intention was, naturally, to rebuild the capitalist system which was on the verge of breaking down. It is impossible to interpret this organization in any other manner.

The failure of the German revolution as a movement of economic liberation must in the last analysis be charged up to the German Trade Union movement, which instead of accepting its historic roll as an organ of production, entered into an alliance with the capitalist class to protect private property and took up a vicious struggle against our fellow workers who were fighting for a real revolutionary change.

The German revolution has failed, and why? It failed because the struggle has been conducted mainly on the political field. The workers have in the first place used their revolutionary power to capture the political "power," but this "power" was no good for purposes of production and distribution, which is the most important at the time of a revolution, and, furthermore, it has not created even the smallest economic improvement for the working class. This for the simple reason that the political institutions are no organs of production. They are unsuited to productive labor. Here you have the

explanation of the poor economic results of the German revolution.

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But it is a pleasure to be able to state that the masses of the German workers now are beginning to see that it is on the economic field that the battle must be fought out.

At the 14th congress of the German Metal Workers a fresher wind was blowing. The decisions there arrived at plainly show what tendencies are cropping up in the ranks of the workers. Among other things we note the adoption at this congress of the following statement of principles:

"The November revolution has not brought the German working class freedom from capitalist oppression. At the outbreak of the revolution capitalism sought, by uniting its forces and using them unscrupulously in the economic and the political struggle, and further by the use of military and political means of coercion, to press the working class down to resistless objects of exploitation. Capitalist society, weakened through the world war, hoped in this manner to be able to secure its position of ruler and to hold back the socialist society desired by the workers.

"To attempt to bridge the class contrasts and the class struggle by creating "Societies for Co-operation" between capital and labor is an effort which will only cause confusion in the ranks of labor and which hampers them in the necessary class struggle.

"The working class, which on account of its destitute condition is incessantly forced to new battles, cannot be contented with the small improvements in wages and working conditions, but is forced to take up the struggle for the conquest of the means of production and the abolishment of capitalism. This is an economic as well as a political struggle which in the first place is conducted by the workers by a refusal to place their labor power on the market.

"The old party and trade organizations are insufficient in this rapidly approaching final struggle. In their place the trade unions must be expanded into gigantic industrial unions in order to create the fundament for an organically developed system of councils, must unite all the forces of the working people into an organization fighting for socialism as well as making all the preparations for taking over the capitalist economic system and changing it into a socialist system, thereafter developing itself into an organism which carries the whole economic life.

"The 14th Convention of the German Metal Workers recognizes these principles and is prepared to create a new fighting and organization basis for our union corresponding to these principles. It rejects all co-operation with the employers and recognizes only those negotiations which are necessary in connection with the economic struggle.

"The administration of our union is hereby instructed to take steps towards the creating of one big industrial union comprising all the workers with hand and brain and to carry on the negotiations necessary for the purpose."

The same congress condemned in powerful words the cowardly position taken by the leaders of the organizations during the war and at the outbreak of the revolution.

At the National Trade Union Congress which was held shortly after, radical thoughts were power-

fully voiced. By the Metal Workers the following statement of principles was proposed:

"Through the revolution and the introduction of the council system on the political as well as on the economic field the position of the trade unions becomes different from heretofore, and we ask that the trade unions prepare themselves for the tasks which they have to fill in the interests of socialism.

"We condemn in the sharpest manner the position taken by our Trade Union General Commission during the war on different questions, such as their sympathy for peace with the employers as well as co-operation with the same; also sympathy for compulsory civil service and the joining of the "Society for Freedom and Fatherland." Also their position taken in regard to the struggle for political and economic power and the carrying out of socialization and the council system which all has clearly proven that the actions of the General Commission has been to the disadvantage of the working class and to the advantage of the employers.

"The economic collapse of Germany and the pauperization of the working class is a fruit of the policy of the capitalist government which in every point has been supported by the General Commission and which it has, through false statements, tried to induce the working class to support.

"We demand of the congress:

"(1) The dismissal of the General Commission.

"(2) The return of the Trade Union movement to the basis of the class struggle, as this is formulated in the program of the 'Free Unions.'

"(3) Discontinuance of all co-operation with the employers.

"(4) Recognizing of the necessity of Industrial Councils for the liberation of the working class."

By the organizations of Potsdam the following proposition was made:

"The congress condemns decidedly the policy followed by the General Commission during the war and declares against the starting of co-operation between the organizations of labor and capital. Such co-operation is not designed to abolish the economic power of capitalism but serves to hold the workers in perpetual economic servitude."

Other similar propositions were presented at the same congress. The old labor traitors succeeded even at this time in defeating these resolutions, but the size of the minority indicates that the revolutionary ideas are rapidly gaining ground among the working masses of Germany.

The Syndicalist Movement of Germany.

The purely syndicalist ideas have their special organization in Germany. This organization is quite old.

Already in 1881 the framework of the present Syndicalist movement of Germany was built. First they gathered in a number of local organizations, but without much co-operation. What they principally had in common was dissatisfaction with the old organizations. But later these local organizations formed a common central body "Freie Vereinigung Deutscher Gewerkschaften," which gradu-

ally embraced the syndicalist principles and fighting methods.

Before the war this organizations had as their principal organ "Die Einigkeit." Another organ, "Der Pionier," was also recognized as an official organ at their convention of 1912.

Before the world war their organization led a precarious existence with only about 15-20,000 members, which is a small number in such a large industrial country as Germany. At the end of the war there were not more than about 5,000 members in that organization.

But immediately after the cannons had ceased to roar and after the rifles and machine guns had become silent out at the big fronts there commenced at once an energetic agitation for the organizing of the workers in the Syndicalist organization. The agitation began to tell. The workers joined in ever increasing numbers. From Berlin a new paper was issued, "Der Syndikalist" (Kopernikusstrasse 25, II., Berlin, O 34, Editor: Fritz Kater), which now has an edition of some 85,000 copies. In Mühlheim the Syndicalists issued a daily paper, "Freiheit," which, however, was suspended by the Social Democratic authorities, because it dared to agitate for the general strike among the mine workers of the Ruhr district for the six-hour day. Whether it is issued again I do not know. In Mannheim the Syndicalists also issue a paper called "Arbeiterbörse."

As will be seen the Syndicalist organization is progressing. At its 12th convention in December 1919 in Berlin, 120 delegates took part, representing 125,000 members. Due to existing state of siege the representation was not as large as it could have been. At present the organization has about 250,000 members.

In Berlin there are 10-15,000 members, but the majority of the membership is in the great industrial districts of western Germany. In those districts great masses of the workers broke out of the old organizations at the start of the revolution. They formed not less than 5 different revolutionary organizations on the economic field, more or less dominated by politicians. But if these organizations were to have been used as supports for the coupe-politics of these politicians, it would naturally have resulted in a split front on the economic field. This could not be permitted, for on that field the workers must stand united in order to conquer capitalism. For this reason these 5 organizations met in a convention in Düsseldorf, where it was decided to unite and to enter into the Syndicalist organization.

For this united organization the following principles were laid down:

1.

(A) The name to be The Independent Labor Union (Freie Arbeiterunion).

(B) To be composed of federations and of single trades. In the mining industry the basic unit is the mine.

(C) The various federations to unite locally, by

and butter should here be mentioned. The more of fruits and the other vegetables eaten, the less amount of flour, potatoes and meat would be used. It takes much more land to feed a horse or a cow than it does to feed a man.

Let the farming industry be specialized and the farmers worked collectively, scientifically and systematically. It is safe to assert, under those conditions, that one man laboring one hundred hours each year, could produce sufficient foodstuffs for everyone. Think of that for the rest of your lives, one hundred hours of labor can furnish plenty of wholesome food for all. Recapitulating, we find that five hours of labor equals shelter, twenty hours is the equivalent of clothing and the adequate of food is one hundred hours. One hundred and twenty-five hours labor each year, or twenty-one minutes per diem can supply everyone with all necessaries and luxuries. Allowing sixty per cent. increase on the labor hours for finished material that go in the buildings, furniture and furnishings into the houses and farming implements. Let each man represent a family of five. Then every man working one thousand hours would supply his family for one year. This I assure you would regulate birth control; no man-made laws would be necessary. When man is compelled to labor two hundred hours for each dependant, he will soon adjust the size of his family.

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Let us consider again the farmer and the rations of a soldier. We find that seven bushels of wheat, six bushels of potatoes and three hundred and sixty-five pounds of meat each year is sufficient to feed a soldier. On account of a soldier's active life his appetite is perhaps greater than the average per-

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"The working class, which on account of its destitute condition is incessantly forced to new battles, cannot be contented with the small improvements in wages and working conditions, but is forced to take up the struggle for the conquest of the means of production and the abolishment of capitalism. This is an economic as well as a political struggle which in the first place is conducted by the workers by a refusal to place their labor power on the market.

"The old party and trade organizations are insufficient in this rapidly approaching final struggle. In their place the trade unions must be expanded into gigantic industrial unions in order to create the fundament for an organically developed system of councils, must unite all the forces of the working people into an organization fighting for socialism as well as making all the preparations for taking over the capitalist economic system and changing it into a socialist system, thereafter developing itself into an organization which carries the whole economic life.

"The 14th Convention of the German Metal Workers recognizes these principles and is prepared to create a new fighting and organization basis for our union corresponding to these principles. It rejects all co-operation with the employers and recognizes only those negotiations which are necessary in connection with the economic struggle.

"The administration of our union is hereby instructed to take steps towards the creating of one big industrial union comprising all the workers with hand and brain and to carry on the negotiations necessary for the purpose."

The same congress condemned in powerful words the cowardly position taken by the leaders of the organizations during the war and at the outbreak of the revolution.

At the National Trade Union Congress which was held shortly after, radical thoughts were power-

fully voiced. By the Metal Workers the following statement of principles was proposed:

"Through the revolution and the introduction of the council system on the political as well as on the economic field the position of the trade unions becomes different from heretofore, and we ask that the trade unions prepare themselves for the tasks which they have to fill in the interests of socialism.

"We condemn in the sharpest manner the position taken by our Trade Union General Commission during the war on different questions, such as their sympathy for peace with the employers as well as co-operation with the same; also sympathy for compulsory civil service and the joining of the "Society for Freedom and Fatherland." Also their position taken in regard to the struggle for political and economic power and the carrying out of socialization and the council system which all has clearly proven that the actions of the General Commission has been to the disadvantage of the working class and to the advantage of the employers.

"The economic collapse of Germany and the pauperization of the working class is a fruit of the policy of the capitalist government which in every point has been supported by the General Commission and which it has, through false statements, tried to induce the working class to support.

"We demand of the congress:

"(1) The dismissal of the General Commission.

"(2) The return of the Trade Union movement to the basis of the class struggle, as this is formulated in the program of the 'Free Unions.'

"(3) Discontinuance of all co-operation with the employers.

"(4) Recognizing of the necessity of Industrial Councils for the liberation of the working class."

By the organizations of Potsdam the following proposition was made:

"The congress condemns decidedly the policy followed by the General Commission during the war and declares against the starting of co-operation between the organizations of labor and capital. Such co-operation is not designed to abolish the economic power of capitalism but serves to hold the workers in perpetual economic servitude."

Other similar propositions were presented at the same congress. The old labor traitors succeeded even at this time in defeating these resolutions, but the size of the minority indicates that the revolutionary ideas are rapidly gaining ground among the working masses of Germany.

The Syndicalist Movement of Germany.

The purely syndicalist ideas have their special organization in Germany. This organization is quite old.

Already in 1881 the framework of the present Syndicalist movement of Germany was built. First they gathered in a number of local organizations, but without much co-operation. What they principally had in common was dissatisfaction with the old organizations. But later these local organizations formed a common central body "Freie Vereinigung Deutscher Gewerkschaften," which gradu-

ally embraced the syndicalist principles and fighting methods.

Before the war this organizations had as their principal organ "Die Einigkeit." Another organ, "Der Pionier," was also recognized as an official organ at their convention of 1912.

Before the world war their organization led a precarious existence with only about 15-20,000 members, which is a small number in such a large industrial country as Germany. At the end of the war there were not more than about 5,000 members in that organization.

But immediately after the cannons had ceased to roar and after the rifles and machine guns had become silent out at the big fronts there commenced at once an energetic agitation for the organizing of the workers in the Syndicalist organization. The agitation began to tell. The workers joined in ever increasing numbers. From Berlin a new paper was issued, "Der Syndikalist" (Kopernikusstrasse 25, II., Berlin, O 34, Editor: Fritz Kater), which now has an edition of some 85,000 copies. In Mülheim the Syndicalists issued a daily paper, "Freiheit," which, however, was suspended by the Social Democratic authorities, because it dared to agitate for the general strike among the mine workers of the Ruhr district for the six-hour day. Whether it is issued again I do not know. In Mannheim the Syndicalists also issue a paper called "Arbeiterbörse."

As will be seen th. Syndicalist organization is progressing. At its 12th. convention in December 1919 in Berlin, 120 delegates took part, representing 125,000 members. Due to existing state of siege the representation was not as large as it could have been. At present the organization has about 250,000 members.

In Berlin there are 10-15,000 members, but the majority of the membership is in the great industrial districts of western Germany. In those districts great masses of the workers broke out of the old organizations at the start of the revolution. They formed not less than 5 different revolutionary organizations on the economic field, more or less dominated by politicians. But if these organizations were to have been used as supports for the coupe-politics of these politicians, it would naturally have resulted in a split front on the economic field. This could not be permitted, for on that field the workers must stand united in order to conquer capitalism. For this reason these 5 organizations met in a convention in Düsseldorf, where it was decided to unite and to enter into the Syndicalist organization.

For this united organization the following principles were laid down:

1.

(A) The name to be The Independent Labor Union (Freie Arbeiterunion).

(B) To be composed of federations and of single trades. In the mining industry the basic unit is the mine.

(C) The various federations to unite locally, by

district and province as well as nationally, and embrace the council system in the economic organizations.

2.

The organization has for its purpose to raise the level of the working class, intellectually and materially, and with all available means fight capitalism and the modern class state. As the most effective means to that end it will advocate DIRECT ACTION, which finds its highest expression in the General Strike.

3.

As an economic organization "The Independent Labor Union" tolerates no party politics in its ranks, but leaves the members the free choice to join the left parties and there be active if they consider it necessary.

The development all over Germany goes in the same direction. The workers more and more realize that their salvation lies in syndicalism.

At the 12th convention in Berlin there was also adopted the following declaration of principles (presented by Rudolph Rocker), which clearly shows the conscious revolutionary tendency of the organization. After stating the fact in this declaration that the cause of existing poverty is the system of private ownership and that the oppression by the state and its incapacity to function as a productive organ and its failure to create happiness and welfare for mankind it points out that

"The syndicalists are enemies of any monopolistic order of society. They strive for common ownership of the soil, the means of labor, the raw material and all wealth of a social nature; a re-organization of social life on the basis of **free**, that is state-less communism which finds its expression in the device: From everybody according to his capacity; to everybody according to his need.

"Going out from the premise that socialism is a question of civilization (Kulturfrage), and that it can be solved only by means of the creative power of the people, the Syndicalists reject every method of state control, which only is a form of exploitation leading to state capitalism, but never to socialism.

"The Syndicalists are convinced that the organizing of a socialist system of society cannot be accomplished through government decrees or state proclamations, but that it can only be created through co-operation between the workers with hand and brain in every line of production, through the taking over of the administration of every industrial pursuit by the producers themselves and in such a form that the single groups, enterprises and branches of production become independent and free limbs in the general social organism. On the basis of mutual and free agreements these shall have the right to order production and exchange in the common interest.

"The Syndicalists are of the opinion that political parties, whatever sphere of ideas they belong to, never will be able to carry out the work of socialist construction, but that this work must be performed by the economic organizations of the workers. For this reason we see in the industrial unions not merely temporary organizations but we see in them the embryonic cells of a new social organism. The Syndicalists strive already now for a form of organization suited for its great historic mission and at the same time able to carry on the struggle for daily improvements in wages and working conditions.

"The Syndicalists stand on the principle of Direct Action and support all the efforts of the people which are not opposed to this aim, the abolition of monopolies and the rule of the state. It is their task to educate the masses and unite them in economic fighting organizations, in order that it, through direct economic action, which finds its highest expression in the general strike, may be able to throw off the yoke of wage slavery and the modern class state."

Program and Form of Organization Program.

"F. A. U. D. (Freie Arbeiter Union Deutschlands) is composed of industrial unions, craft federations and such organizations for which no federations are as yet formed, on condition that they are willing to fight not only in the daily struggle for improved conditions of labor but also take part in the efforts outlined in the syndicalist declaration of principles."

"To F. A. U. D. no such unions can belong which deny the class struggle and which, in place of teaching the doctrine of opposing interests, strive for co-operation between workers and employers."

Structure of Organization.

(1) **Local Unions.** The organizations in each locality must, as far as possible, be built according to trades and industries or according to the trade which occupies most of the workers in an establishment. In smaller communities or wherever only a few persons of the same trade are at hand, mixed locals are recommended. In these free unions of all trades all such occupations should be included for which there is no special union organized. But if, in these local organizations, there is a greater number of one trade, these should form a separate organization for that industry. If the number of members of a certain occupation has grown to 25, these have to form a local section and unite this to the existing federation.

(2) **Labor Exchanges.** If in a locality or smaller district there are several local organizations belonging to the F. A. U. D., these should unite in a Labor Exchange (Arbeiterbörse), which shall have for its function to take care of the local interests of the unions and its members and to fight for those interests.

These Labor Exchanges in their turn unite by the district, f. i. a province, into an agitation district, which in their conferences elect a district agitation committee.

The communication between all the labor exchanges attached to an agitation district and the central administration committee is in agitation questions maintained through the agitation committee.

(3) **Industrial Federations:** The organizations in the same trade or industry in the whole country form an industrial federation. Executive organs of the federation is an Executive Committee elected at the Industrial Conference. The federation regulates through its Executive Committee all industrial questions, such as support in a strike or lock-out, etc.

Every organization and every national federation has complete autonomy and have their by-laws corresponding to their local economic and industrial conditions, which however must not contradict the principles of the general organization.

The Executive Committee of the General Organization has for its duty "to disseminate and develop, by the written or spoken word, the ideas of syndicalism, to hold the organization together, to effect solidaric co-operation between all the parts of the organization in strikes and lock-outs, and to arrange collections of funds from the organizations attached and turn them over to the battling fellow workers." In addition there is, besides, a press commission with function to supervise "Der Syndikalist" as well as the manner in which other organization papers are observing the principles of the organization, to receive and pass on letters of protest and complaints and try to set matters right in such cases. If no adjustment is possible the commission has to present the matter at the next congress.

In order to facilitate co-operation between the different industries the executive committees of the craft and industrial federations and of the labor exchanges have provided for co-operation. This co-operation consists chiefly in consulting about and taking action with a scope beyond the domain and power of the separate federations.

German Syndicalism has become a power to count with and will be so still more in the future. It presses forward victoriously in all fields, in spite of prisons for the driving forces and other persecution.

An economic, revolutionary movement cannot be beaten down. It crushes every resistance in its path, it raises with enthusiasm the banner of the economic struggle and prods the working class on to an implacable battle with capitalism, a battle which cannot end before victory is won and liberty gained.

(Editor's Note—From the above detailed account we learn that our German fellow workers "in one fell blow," so to speak, jumped from 5,000 to 250,000 members. The problems such a sudden growth involved may more easily be imagined than solved. The solution arrived at, both in regard to drafting of a program that would hold together this mass of previously unacquainted elements and in regard to devising a plan of organization acceptable to them all, does great credit to the men in charge. The difficulties must have seemed unsurmountable at times. Both the program and the structural plan reflect Germany at the present time. In the wording of the program we recognize a tinge of Spartaism and doctrinaire anarchism, which still clings to these workers who are determined to shift the battle entirely to the economic field. In the structural plan we see reflected the industrial structure of Germany, a mixture of handicraft, small industry and large industry. The word "trades" or crafts occurs time and again alongside of "industry." A doctrinaire insistence on a purely industrial form such as provided for in the I. W. W. program and fitted for American large industry, would probably have wrecked the unity plans. To the handicraft stage of production the industrial union fits as much as a Number 12 shoe fits on a baby's foot. "It is too large." It is apparent that the prime movers of this unity were

satisfied to have this immense body of men voluntarily place themselves under the syndicalist banner, if they only recognized the principle that the union is to be the organ of production and distribution of the future, leaving to coming years to perfect the declaration of principles as well as the form of organization. Taking it all in all the unity accomplished is one of the most monumental achievements in all Labor's history.)

Hypocrites

By AMMON A. HENNACY

(Written in the hole in Atlanta Federal Prison
July, 1918.)

I wonder if the devil laughs,
And sings a joyful song,
As to "Onward Christian Soldiers,"
"My Country Right or Wrong"
The Christians each other slaughter,
And lynch and mob and maim;
All those who will not help to kill
In lowly Jesus' name.

I wonder if the devil laughs,
And if his joy's increased,
To see the god of gold worshipped
By preacher and by priest;
Who teach contentment with your lot—
Unless you run the game—
And wink at sin and grab the tin
In lowly Jesus' name.

I wonder if the devil laughs,
And adds oil to his fire,
To make a warm reception for
That saintly son and sire,
Who preach love and the golden rule,
While practicing the same;
By raising rents and burning tents
In lowly Jesus' name.

I wonder if the devil laughs,
Or if he sheds a tear,
As the revolution's growing
Much stronger year by year;
And whether love or dynamite
Our victory shall acclaim,
Our foe will fight with all their might,
In lowly Jesus' name.

Land never was private property in that personal sense of property in which we speak of a thing as our own, with which we may do as we please.

—James Anthony Froude.



BREAKING DOWN THE CRAFT UNION FENCES THAT SEPARATE THE WORKERS.

A Call to ALL A. F. of L. Union Men

(A Leaflet Issued by the Minneapolis I. W. W. Members.)

The employers of Minneapolis have declared themselves in favor of the open shop. They have organized themselves, financially and industrially, to force open shop conditions on us and make us say we like it. They have organized themselves financially by collecting together a slush fund to pay for a lot of advertisements in the daily press in an effort to mould public opinion in their favor.

But the working class knows that that which is good for the boss is bad for the worker and so we pay no attention to their lies.

They are also organized industrially. You have only to look at their advertisements of the open shop and you will see under the heading of "The Associated Business Organization of Minneapolis" practically all of the industries in which we work,

such as the Hotel and Restaurant Keepers' Association, Master Builders' Association, etc. In other words, our employers are organized into "One Big Union."

Now, just to show you how much they uphold their union, although they refuse us the privilege of organizing, take the case of the milkmen's strike. The milkdrivers declared a strike against one of the local milk dealers. One would think that the other competing milk dealers would put out more men and wagons and try to get that dealer's trade. Not so.

They immediately declared a lock-out and shut down their plants rather than see the workers get a little more wages and better living conditions. Which shows the solidarity of the employers or capitalist class. They don't scab on one another. No, they are too loyal to their class. But how about you, Mr. Workingman, are you as loyal to your class? If there is a strike in one department of your industry, do you also consider yourself on strike in your department? For instance. If the building laborers are on strike on the buildings of this city, do you, Mr. Carpenter, or Bricklayer, go on a strike also? Or do you stay on the job and let the scabs furnish material to you?

What would we have done to the Hindenburg line, if we had sent a small company of soldiers to attack it while the rest of the allied army stood back and watched what would happen to them and then, after that small company had been defeated or annihilated, send another small company against that solid line? Do you think we could ever have smashed it? Of course not. Defeat would be certain. But isn't that just exactly the way you are attacking the solid front of the "Associated Business Organizations?" You A. F. of L. men. When the moulders went on strike did the union machinists and other metal workers go on a strike also? Or did the other workers stay on the job and turn out scab castings? Pattern makers made patterns for the scabs, and all of you watched the moulders go down with certain defeat. Aren't you getting sick of it? Of course, you are, and that is just the reason we are printing this leaflet, not to ridicule your organization, but to show you your weak points and your enemy's strong ones, and also to tell you there is another One Big Union, organizing in this town, and it is growing very rapidly. It is not only growing in this town, but also from coast to coast, in Mexico, in Canada, in most of the South American countries, also most of the principal countries of Europe. Doesn't that sound good? Doesn't that interest you? Well, what is that organization? you say. It is the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World, or more commonly known as the I. W. W.

This organization is not organized by trades, but by industries, just like our employers. If One Big Union is good for the bosses, it ought to be a good thing for the workers.

When Hindenburg strung his lines of solidly entrenched soldiers across the fields of France, there

was only one thing that could break that line and that was another line of well trained soldiers, systematically throwing its forces against the other line and eventually the thing was done; and that is the only way the workers can expect to break the ranks of the open shop advocates, by giving them a dose of their own medicine, and that is solidarity.

We, the Industrial Workers of the World, do not beg, coax or command you to join in the One Big Union. We invite you to. You do not hurt us any more than you hurt yourselves by staying out. It is your fight as much as ours.

We know that some of you are prejudiced against the I. W. W. You have read the big headlines in the papers telling of the terrible I. W. W., and you hesitate to join such an organization.

Remember how during the war the Germans would send out literature in the form of leaflets, newspaper writeups, etc., into the allied lines in an effort to mislead and break down the morale of our boys so they wouldn't fight so hard against them? Well, that was known as "propaganda," and that is why you read of the terrible atrocities of the I. W. W. It is propaganda sent out by the capitalist class to intimidate the working class and keep them from joining the One Big Union of the Industrial Workers of the World, the only organization that is able to cope with the One Big Union of the Associated Business Organizations.

Some of you think we have the right form of organization, but you think we ought to change our name. It would make no difference what we called our organization as long as it is a labor organization and interfered with the profits of the masters, it would be slandered anyway.

The capitalists still own the daily press as yet and they can spread their lies and propaganda much faster than we can spread the truth. The fact that we continue to grow in spite of all the lies and vilifications is conclusive proof that we are not the destructive organization the press would like to have you believe we are.

There is practically no shop or job in this city but what you will find one or more members of the Industrial Workers of the World at work with you. We have a free reading room for all workers and you are invited to make use of it. Any further information can be had at the hall and you are invited to join at any time as individuals or as a body.

Initiation \$2.00; monthly dues \$1.00.

Yours for solidarity,

The Industrial Workers of the World,
14 So. First St., Minneapolis, Minn.

I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden.—Richard Rombold, last words spoken on the scaffold. Macaulay's History of England.)

Social Structures

By RALPH WINSTEAD.

Political.

The contortions of modern political organizations have for a hundred years and more kept the whole world in a state of upheaval. Representative government of a political nature has proven to be the kind of government that does not represent any one but the special interests. Yet the ideal of democratic political organization after a century of failure is still looked forward to and advocated by many peoples who have suffered under its administration as well as people who live under the old conception of the Divine Rights of Kings.

A study of the back ground of so-called political representative democracy, an examination into the conditions and the system of production which gave birth to such ideology, explain not only the causes for its inception and the almost religious fervor which animate its adherents, but also the causes for its failures in practice.

During the dark ages or up to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the system of production was individual. The feudal serfs made by their own hands not only ALL their own goods but also ALL the goods consumed by their barons and lords. A serf raised his own grain, ground his own flour, made his own bread, also his master's. He raised and butchered his own meat, he tanned his own hides and made his own shoes, never neglecting his master's share. In his little hut were spun the thread and yarn and woven the cloth that went into his clothes. Individual production meant that the individual produced all the necessities of life, food, clothing and shelter, by himself.

Early in the twelfth century the beginning of a better or more efficient method were made. It was found that if a man specialized in production he made better goods more efficiently, so the beginnings of the handicraft system were laid. We see here the working of social and economic evolution.

The factors involved in evolution are heredity, environment, and survival of the fittest. These are the forces which caused the development of the handicraft system. The customary products could be made in that particular environment more fittingly by the handicraft system. The serfs were left to till the soil and render their tribute in raw or partly manufactured products.

The artisans gradually came to live in little burgs or towns which were isolated one from the other. The tendency among them was to transact civil business and settle their social affairs democratically by means of town councils—whenever the feudal lords allowed them to. Owing to the opposition and greed of the feudal lords, and to the tendency towards democracy among the artisans there arose a division of interest—a class struggle.

In order to exist—to gain greater strength in their struggle with the nobility different town coun-

cils would surreptitiously send delegates to meet with each other, to transact civil business and derive the benefit which larger organization offered.

It was during this period of the handicraft system that the conception and ideology of political democracy was developed. Each worker was economically independent so far as ownership of his simple tools was concerned. His skill and workmanship depended on himself alone. His only bane of existence was the grafting robber barons—the nobility by divine right.

The handicraft workers could readily see that if each burg held its own town meeting and elected its own committee to look after the welfare of the community they would have no use for feudal lords. They could see the advantage which would occur to them if they were to elect a delegate to meet with the delegates of other towns from their county or section and would act as one unit on the decisions of this body. They could look forward to a greater alliance of many counties with delegates elected from the county sessions, meeting, and having still greater power and prestige and being more able to benefit the workers of the towns.

This was the revolutionary dream of the handicraft period. Opposed to it was the full force of the church and the nobility backed up by the apathy and open hostility of the feudal serfs. The ignorance of the handicraft worker and the snail like pace of social progress and intercommunication were other factors which prevented its spread and adoption. In the meanwhile agriculture developed new methods and serfdom passed away.

Five hundred years and more passed in struggle and turmoil, in martyrdom and sacrifice, while the idea of political democracy was becoming accepted. Finally, with the signing of the Magna Charta in Great Britain the first fruit of that long, bitter fight was tasted. Close to six hundred years it took to change peoples' way of looking at things, to drive the old Divine Rights ideology out of their minds and to substitute the ideology of political democracy.

When the fruit was gathered at last what a bitter taste it had! Political Democracy was an antiquated social system before it was ever adopted. The economic system had developed to the beginnings of factory production. In the place of the small burg were big towns dominated by merchants' guilds and associations of traders and parasites. The town council was a tragic joke. The town committees and the county officials were ever the tools of the budding capitalist. National government once looked to by the dreamers of early handicraft days as heaven on earth was corrupted and perverted to the greed and selfish ends of private privilege.

The efforts of six hundred years of agitation and martyrdom produced popular acceptance of an ideal

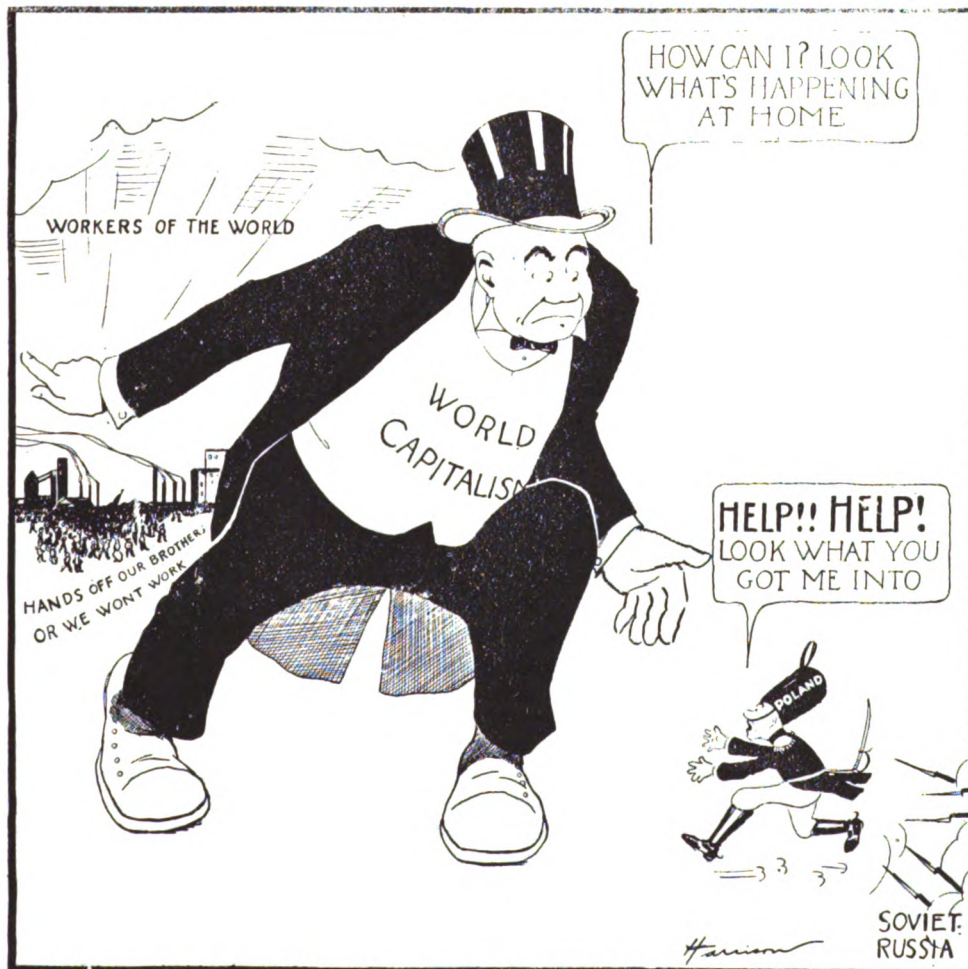
and an ideology that was useless in furthering true democracy and development. The men of social vision that had struggled to obtain freedom for the world had created a Frankenstein. So blinded were they as a rule that they, who saw the new institutions, lived and died uncomprehending why democracy was not democratic and why representative government did not represent.

Economic conditions had changed and social evolution, obeying always the forces of heredity, environment and survival of the fittest, could produce no acceptable plan off hand that would fit the changed conditions. Right from the bottom a new struggle had to be entered upon and a new ideology developed and spread amongst the masses. Its strength must be spent in battle with the old conceptions of democracy, with the power of capitalist oppression, the enmity of the church. This new conception was SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE TOOLS OF PRODUCTION. The means to this social ownership and the organizations that seek to achieve it had passed through stages of evolutionary development till now on the field of battle, wounded, bleeding and scarred from its few short years of achievement, we find the Industrial Workers of the World carrying on the fight as the most

efficient organ of propaganda and the only one able to survive the attempt of the dominant class to either absorb the new movements and make them abortive (organizations of reform and compromise) or to destroy them.

Social ownership of the tools of production will furnish the background that will allow the development of true democracy, INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. The Industrial Workers of the World furnish a means of organization that provides for democratic participation in both the management of industry and civil administration.

Because of lack of intercommunication it took six hundred years to get part of the people of the world to think in terms of political democracy. In seventy-five years of agitation the idea of social ownership is spread broadcast among the people while with only fifteen years of agitation and education the idea of Industrial Democracy is close on the heels of Social Ownership. Because of its pliability, because of the speed with which the I. W. W. adopts itself to changing conditions and maintains its organs of inter-communication as well as the spirit with which its advocates spread the new ideology that organization will gain its goal before that goal is worthless.





Who Will Feed Us When Capitalism Breaks Down?

One of the most necessary things for the membership to try to understand at this time is how they are going to take over and operate industry. Speaking for the Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460 of the I. W. W., I will try and point out some of the main features of this process with the hope that others will follow it up with like articles, so that we can get ready for the necessary steps when the time comes.

There is no denying the fact that capitalism is going and that we, the workers, are going to step in and control industry. That does not need to be argued. We know that the time is all too short for us to get the machinery of administration in operation for this crisis in history. What we have at present must go forward as the vanguard of this new order, they must outline the way and hew the path that the great mass of workers are going to travel. We must show them some concrete example in order to keep them from getting lost in the wilderness. Just to say that the One Big Union is going to do the work does not satisfy the issue. To carry

a card in your pocket does not make you an Industrialist. To say that you believe in the principles and program of the I. W. W. does not mean to say that you understand industrial unionism. "Do you know what to do?"—that is the question you must ask yourself. If you know what to do, then you belong with this vanguard of rebels who will hew the path for the workers. If you do not understand what moves to make and what to do when the occasion demands, then you need education on industrial administration.

Let us take the foodstuff industry as an example and first see what we will do with it. Today we have in the city of Chicago several thousand restaurants and hotels of various descriptions. They are run for profit. The slaves work long hours and receive very little wages in comparison to what is necessary for them to live on.

The work goes to the slaves and the profits go to the boss. The boss dictates and the workers have no say either as to management or as to the conditions in which they work. Now and then a strike

takes place among the employes of some of these establishments; when they have the economic power they win their demands. When they lack the power they lose and go back to work worse off than when they went out. In the past it has always been the workers who have suffered, and the real and only reason they have had to suffer defeat was because they lacked this economic power. Separated into various unions not alone in their own industry but in all industry, they have always gone to defeat by the action of their own fellow workers. The boss is powerless against an organized effort on the part of the workers.

Take the recent strike of the culinary workers in Chicago as an illustration. They struck as one man. Yet all the other workers who belonged to other unions stayed on the job and scabbed them into defeat. They lost. Suppose the other workers had supported them. They would have won all their demands.

Now it is not so much a matter of hours and wages as it is of taking over the industries. The main issue and the one on which all workers should concentrate is the question of how are we going to take over and operate industry. How are we going to establish workers control over all industry? Right here in these United States, not in Europe or the North Pole or South Pole, but here where we work and live. First will come, in the foodstuff industry, delegates from all the foodstuff establishments. One from each branch or shop or job. These delegates would all meet at a certain center and there deliberate on what action to take. In them is the supreme power of the foodstuff industry; the bosses have no more to do with it. Each shop or job will elect a delegate to represent that shop or job and all the delegates from Chicago will then dictate the policy of feeding and housing the people of Chicago. All orders will be issued by the City Central Administration. Suppose I was a delegate to this council. I would try and get all the other delegates to allow all the hotels, restaurants, cafeterias, boarding houses, butcher shops, markets, slaughter houses, bakeries, etc., to remain open as usual and to function as usual for a short period of time, say for a few days, until we could find out which places could be eliminated. Then, gradually, as the occasion required, I would try and have all the smaller places closed and concentrate on the larger places where there was more modern utensils, etc., and where it would be more comfortable for the people. As an illustration. Suppose that in the same block with the Great Northern Hotel there was also a small hotel with plenty of bed bugs and poorly lighted and poor accommodations. I would close up the small place and open up on a greater scale in the Great Northern Hotel. At least one half of the restaurants in Chicago could be closed up with advantage to the public. When you close up the smaller places you also release a great number of workers who can then concentrate on the larger places, thereby reducing the hours to the very minimum and lessening the labor by having more modern labor saving de-

VICES. As to how the rooms shall be rented and who shall occupy them, naturally, the first to be considered will be the workers. This will be a terrible blow for father but will be a very fine thing for the workers, and I want it distinctly understood that the only people we are considering and the only ones we are working for are those who produce. So that if you do not labor neither shall you eat. We will see to that immediately. By work I mean either brain or brawn. To be engaged in essential work will be the only requirement for food and lodging. If you still persist in claiming a divine right to ride on the backs of the workers, we will let you starve and die a martyr to your cause if you so desire. I think, however, that when you get a little bit hungry you will be glad of an opportunity to work and earn your bread by doing something useful.

We are not going to try to capture the city halls or the state capitols or the Capital of Washington, D. C. No, we are not even going to try to capture the office of the dog catcher. **We are going to take the industries.** This is our program, and we are going to carry it out fully. We are not only going to take them, but we are going to operate them, and operate them for ourselves instead of for a boss. There is no middle ground. We are out for the whole works.

Now as to food, etc., to feed the people. Having all foodstuff workers in the same organization, and all having the same program, and all having their delegates to the Central City Council, we will know the food requirements, and we will have the food for distribution regulated so that whatever is needed will be used. There will be no food hoarded for a future high market, food will be put in warehouses, etc., to preserve it during the winter, and where it can be used as needed by the foodstuff workers for distribution whenever necessary.

There will be **no profits** in industry, everything will be done on a communistic basis. All will work for all. The right to slave for profits or the right to eke profits from the labor of others will be ended. One for all and all for one is the motto now and in the future of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The program as outlined will be the one governing body through their delegates elected from the job. In the foodstuff industry as in all others the workers will have their City council and from that to the National Industrial Council and then to the International Council. All delegates will be elected from the job and will be subject to the will of the membership on the job. The entire administration of the new society will be a JOB administration. All legislation will be from the job, by the workers. The Industrial Workers of the World are the administrators of the future society.

To all workers in the foodstuff industry let this special appeal ring loud and clear, so that when the time comes for you to take over and operate this industry you will be in a position to do so. At present we are in no position to do the job, we must admit this and point it out to you so that you will wake up and do your part NOW. We must

point out to you that you are unorganized, that you have no economic power to exert in your behalf. That if capitalism were to fall tomorrow you would be in a woeful position. You would be unable to take advantage of your opportunity. You would have to start in then to plan the operation of this industry and educate the workers to the plan of industrial unionism. In the chaos of the reconstruction you would have a very serious condition confronting you, while now you still have the opportunity of understanding before the crisis hits.

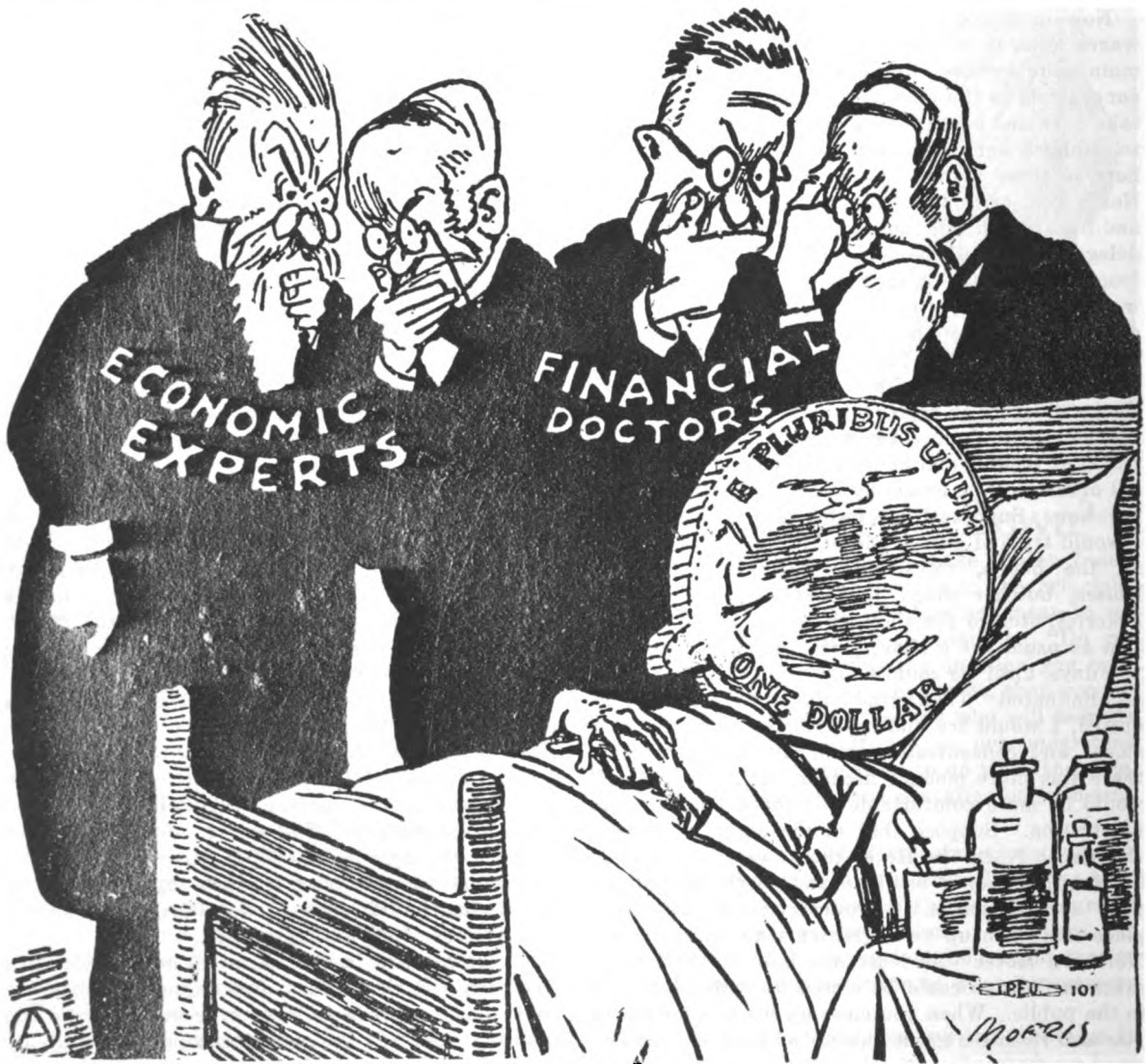
The foodstuff workers are a very vital necessary class and it is absolutely necessary that they be organized. We must not neglect them. We dare not. Food is the one real necessity and will play a leading part in the program of the future. If we can organize the foodstuff workers the revolution will be just that much further ahead. We will be able to supply food to all. But if the foodstuff workers

remain unorganized we are going to have just that much harder time reorganizing the new society.

There are three things to do: Agitate, educate, organize. Never let up on a worker who is able to reason until you have made his card out. When you bump into a "scissorbill," who cannot reason, just let him alone and go after some one who can reason. The boss will look after the scissorbill. When he finally sees that the boss has to go to work also, he will change his mind and fall in line of necessity. We are out to win, nothing can stop us. Our program will soon be in operation. The new order is getting its new suit of clothes made now to don for the occasion. We are making it now in building the industrial unions.

CHAS. DEVLIN,

Sec.-Treas. Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union
No. 460 of the I. W. W.



—Chicago Export Shipper.

ON HIS DEATH BED.
A Grave Consultation About the "Jack" That Is.

THE "JACK" TO BE

By GEO. J. BOUFFIOUX.

When I was a kid, marbles were IT, and we had big times exchanging one kind for another and fixing the exchange values. I'm told that the Indians got along fine without a mint, and there is a story in point about an island in the Pacific.

Ages ago, when the island was a height of the mainland, a couple of large boulders, of different formation from the material in the hump, were thrown up on this peak by volcanic action. When the land was submerged and the peak became an island fringed with cocoanut trees, the boulders remained, and a Chief of the tribe that gathered the nuts and dried the white meat, which they called copra, kept tab on the work of his subjects by having chips removed from these boulders and handed to the copra producers. This worked fine until the White Men came in ships and flooded the market with rock of the same formation as that of the big boulders.

Modern folks may think that these nut-driers had some dried meat in their own nuts for accepting the lava chips in exchange for their cocoanut meat, but such good civilized folks had best take a squint around home first.

The only place I can find in the Bible that tells of Jesus Christ losing his temper or of using violence, was when he knotted up some rope and chased the Money Changers out of the Temple.

We've all had lessons in the Little Red School House, where we learned how America was discovered by treasure ships; how the Indians were robbed of their gold, fur and lands; how our forefathers took their Freedom from England and established what is known as the Constitution of the United States of America.

This Constitution provided ways and means for the people of different parts of the U. S. to elect representatives who were to meet in a body known as Congress. The Constitution also defined the powers of Congress, and among these powers appears: "Congress shall have power to coin and issue money", but it did not state specifically what material was to be used in the process.

We learned, too, how Black folks were imported to do the work of the Whites in the States; how the Mason & Dixon line came into prominence; of Pres. Lincoln's making the Emancipation Proclamation, and how the Confederate States were defeated in the great Civil War.

But what about pay for the Union Troops?

The war had about depleted the gold supply and what little was coming in was needed for interest on war bonds that had been issued. Lincoln's plan was to "issue" paper money, the cheapest dope we had, with which to pay the army. But it seems that the English bankers had lost a lot by backing the Confederate States, and while they had the bulk of the World's gold on hand, they couldn't eat it, so a market for it had to be found.

Lincoln was shot. The Grand Old Party leaders advocated high protective tariff, though the bulk of the country's needs were imported, and an "Exception Clause" was printed on the greenbacks that reads to this day: "This note shall be legal tender for all debts, public and private, EXCEPT interest on the Public Debt and duties on imports."

This made an outlet for English gold, and "call money", or actual cash, became what is known on Change as "tight".

The next big move was to patch up the National Bank Law that had been passed by Congress in 1863 or '64. The greenbacks and shinplasters that had been issued were gathered up by the U. S. bankers at a very low figure, and while they were no good when import duties and interest were to be paid, they were accepted by the Treasurer of the U. S. at face in exchange for bonds.

This National Bank Law provides that any group of men in the country holding \$50,000.00 in bonds, can, by depositing the bonds with the Treasurer, and making application, be granted a charter to establish a National Bank, capital, the face of the bonds deposited; and the Government obliges the National Banks with ready money to the amount of 90 per cent of the deposited bonds, which they loan to "scissor-bills" on security at from 5 to 10 per cent, or invest in different industrial and commercial enterprises direct. In the meantime they draw regularly from the Government the interest accruing on the bonds deposited with the Treasurer. On top of this double percentage, the National Bankers have the use of the depositors' money.

In 1910 call money got tight. The Comptroller of the Currency's report for 1910 shows that there had been coined and issued by the Government of the U. S. since its inception, about 3½ billions. This report also shows that the various banks of the U. S. had on deposit, to the credit of their depositors, 16½ billions, and had cash on hand in the banks of but 1¼ billions.

A bill was passed by Congress to relieve this situation. An appropriation of \$100,000.00 was made and a committee was sent to Europe and to Canada to investigate banking, with a view to the opening of Postal Savings Banks. In December, 1910, about Christmas time, a conference of postmasters, one from each state, was called to meet in Washington, D. C., to approve of the plans, rules and regulations for the new Postal Savings Banks, that had been approved by representatives of the American Bankers' Association. The postmasters approved the plans and the Postal Savings Banks were opened on January 2nd, one in each state.

In order to prevent runs on the private banks, the interest paid by the Postal Savings Banks was fixed at a rate a bit lower than that paid by private banks, and a limit of \$100 in any one month placed on deposits. The Postal Savings Banks were sup-

posed to gather together the change that was under the carpet or behind the clock for rainy days. This money was then deposited by the postmasters in certain banks, which, judging from the advertisements of the favored banks, are TRUSTED with the Postal Savings Banks' funds. All of the signs that I've noticed read "United States Postal Savings DEPOSITARY" and the dictionary states that a depository is a depository in that it is a place to put something, but that when it is spelled a-r-y it implies a trust.

The next big move was the law establishing the Federal Reserve Banks whose currency is about all that is in circulation at present.

The next contemplated big move is the "League of Nations", or, in other words, the International Collection Agency. This was to have been dominated by the Big Four, England, United States, France and Italy. But the Mikado of Japan held an island of the Japanese group as a piece of Private Property not subject to taxation. This he traded to the bankers of Japan for their available gold supply, and immediately the Big Four became the Big Five.

In December, 1919, and once in the spring of 1920 call money was rated as high as 30 per cent and at no time this year has it dropped below 7 per cent.

As nearly as I can ascertain, there has been extracted from this earth a total of less than 20 billions in precious metal. A lot of this has been worn out, lost, put into teeth and some of it hid. In January, 1920, a National Bank of New York City published a statement of conditions. It shows that the thirty leading nations of the earth have between them about Seven Billions in gold; that these thirty nations have issued fifty-one billions in paper currency against this seven billions of gold; and that these thirty nations had two hundred billions in bonds and the interest thereon to be paid with this same seven billions of gold.

The League of Nations seems to have a job cut out for it something like this: to cut up the conquered parts of the earth into small enough pieces so that the seven billions will make an initial payment on the debt assigned to each piece; then to maintain an army to enforce the collection of payments when they come due, in short, to perpetuate the Gold Standard System.

But statistics or statements picturing things as they are, are of no use unless they provoke thoughts that may lead to the changing of the rules of action or laws responsible for the conditions.

To my mind, our "Gold Standard" medium of exchange is just as silly as the chips from the lava boulders that were accepted by the heathen copra producers. There seems to be but one way out of this Gold Standard muddle, and that is to use the thing that gold is the substitute for as the medium of exchange.

There is but one thing that I've bumped into on this earth that is the same yesterday, today and tomorrow, and that is TIME.

The mode of procedure would seem to be, to first educate the workers, next organize the workers for possession and management of their respective industries, and then bring the industries together into One Big Union of workers.

With "time-spent-at-productive-labor" made the standard, everybody who was able-bodied would have to produce. When all produce who are able, hours of labor can be cut down, and the time thus gained used for general or individual improvement.

The average time cost can be made the standard, whether it be of food, clothing or machinery. We have plenty of precedents for this average system. When I mail a letter to someone in the next block and you mail one to someone across the continent, we both pay 2c per ounce, and we don't fight about one getting more service than the other for his 2c, because 2c is the average cost per ounce.

The time cost system can be applied to anything that requires human labor. Take potatoes for instance. Statistics tell us how many hours it takes to till an acre, how many pounds of seed are required, and the average number of pounds an acre will produce. Then spuds can be figured at so many hours and minutes per ton, and can be issued from central points, much as we issue postage stamps at present, except that those doing the issuing would be chosen for their ability by the farmers instead of for political reasons by politicians.

Workers who improve methods of production or distribution could be taken care of by whatever means the members of their industry saw fit, and I feel quite sure that whatever they did would be an improvement over the Civil Service Retirement Bill adopted by Congress on May 22nd, 1920.

Let our slogan be, "If he work not, neither shall he eat".

A Look Into the Gulf

When I see a workingman with mouths to feed,
Up, day after day, in the dark before the dawn,
And coming home night after night through the dusk,

Swinging forward like some fierce silent animal,
I see a man doomed to roll a huge stone up an endless steep.

He strains it onward inch by stubborn inch.
Crouched always in the shadow of the rock.....

See where he crouches, twisted, cramped misshapen!

He lifts for their life;
The veins knot and darken—
Blood surges into his face.....
Now he loses—now he wins—
Now he loses—loses—(God of my soul!)
He digs his feet into the earth—
There's a moment of terrific effort.....
Will the huge stone break his hold,
And crush him as it plunges to the gulf?

—Edwin Markham.

Communism and Woman

By MARTHA BIGOT.

Any woman determined to win for her sex a complete emancipation will not know how to remain indifferent before a future hastened or retarded with a social fact as important as communism.

The feudal regime based on the doctrine of force, established on aristocracy of birth, the bourgeois regime founded on the profit system and putting its emphasis on material wealth have both kept women in subjection and exploited them. Will socialism, when realized, perpetuate this subjection and exploitation?

With only a superficial examination, one might believe this. Many of the militant syndicalists hold exactly the same opinion about women as those ancient Romans, autocratic and egoistic, who could think of no words of greater praise to put on the tomb of a Roman matron than, "She remained at home and spun wool."

They do not understand the life of woman, bound, as it is, by all the enslaving duties of the home: children, cooking and sewing. They do not think of any activity of woman except in the shadow of a man. I have now in my hands a letter which a good militant sent me a short time ago about the work of woman. "Many of the comrades," he said to me, "have decided, as I have, to have their wives withdrawn from industry."

He did not even realize the tone of ownership which he had used. One could easily see in his thought and in that of his comrades that, the husbands once having made the decision, women had only to submit themselves, no matter what they were doing, to their husbands' wishes.

Even in socialist circles, sympathetic to the emancipation of woman, it never enters the minds of our comrades that this emancipation can be accomplished by making an appeal to women themselves. Even when one appeals to the beginner, when one encourages him, when one urges him to action, he will find the beginner in his quiet place.

So that if it were necessary for us to depend for our progress on the masculine ideals which dominate society, we would not see woman's emancipation but in the hazy distance of the future.

But there are things stronger than the sentiments and ideals of individuals. All yield, whether they wish to or not, to the law of the milieu in which they live. Communism, which tomorrow will modify the very foundations of society, will replace the rule of gold with that of service and will create, of itself, a favorable environment where the freedom of this slave of the centuries can be accomplished.

On the regime of the right of the strong, woman can do nothing. To power of money has given to the man who brings his wages to his home an advantage over her whose drudgery is not paid for. Today, in basing all rights on that work, the masters of the new city are "the citizens who earn their living in performing a work productive or

useful to the community, as well as those who are engaged in household work for the former in order to permit them to work." (Constitution of the Soviets, Art. 64.)

By its principles, by the remaking of the very structure of society, a communist society cannot fail to help in the emancipation of women, and I add that if it does not bring to an end the economic inferiority in which women are today, it will maintain within itself an unhealthy ferment which sooner or later will ruin it.

To bring about the society of tomorrow, which should break all chains, socialists are charged with the duty of seeking out the cause of this economic inferiority of women and of recognizing that there is one of the most serious problems which will present itself for solution to the minds of the gravediggers of the old order.

In our age of the machine, where physical force is no longer the only requirement for work, where nervous force is an important factor in the doing a task well, generally speaking, woman does not find any avenue of work absolutely closed to her. She can assure for herself an independent livelihood. The thousand experiences of the war have proved that she is equal to all tasks. She can be sure of her livelihood if she can always work.

The child comes to prevent it. The child is then the cause of the enslavement of women.

As a mother, the worker can no longer work. A baby demands constant care; during the first two years of its life, it monopolizes completely the activities of its mother. Circumstances have thus placed the mother and her child up to the present time in a position of dependence on the father; and the father, through the instrumentality of the child, has made the woman yield to his authority. Society has not only tolerated this state of things, but has embodied it into its laws and sanctified it.

It is thus that our laws on marriage and on the family constitute a veritable monument of iniquity. They have placed woman in a state of complete slavery to the man and have made of her a creature to be exploited.

I say "exploited," and the word is not too strong. Hours of work not fixed, sometimes sixteen or seventeen hours, the impossibility of leisure, permitting her no personal culture, working conditions which no one attempts to better (see whether or not our city officials, members of the departments in charge of the houses of the poorer classes, have ever thought of a central kitchen for workers' houses or for a sensible arrangement of the interiors of their homes); horrible sanitation—the man cares little, for it is not he who spends hours taking care of these hovels without light or air which are the kitchens of the workers' houses—such is the life that awaits the woman worker in her home. Enslaved by endless drudgery which constitutes what

literary sentimentalists call the "life of the family," the "queen" of the home has never been able to find time to work out a way to make her lot an easier one.

The Communists of Russia have realized that socialist society must set itself to the freeing of woman; not only in appearance, by the passing of laws which do not take count of the economic inferiority inherent in the life of woman today; but by providing means which will free her in part from the hold of the child, and which will try, by industrializing certain domestic duties, to render less crushing her endless round of household tasks.

And this is not all. For as the years pass, the desire for the independence of women will be more clearly formulated; and they will realize to what a state of inferiority in the present state of society they have been brought by their maternal function.

And there will be presented directly to communist society, as it has been already presented to bourgeois society, the problem of guaranteeing the complete economic independence of the mother. It is for us then to commence to work out the solution.

The reader is doubtless astonished that I pass

over in silence what action our earnest comrades among the women can do to bring about communism.

In my opinion, it is not necessary for the time being to think about this action. Woman is, in France, too crushed by drudgery and by laws to have had any leisure to study political and economic questions. She submits to the present state because the duties which crush her do not permit her to revolt against it.

It is only when the revolution will have achieved the essential conditions of economic and political freedom for woman that she can make the step forward towards her place in the world.

The more enlightened among the women workers are in sympathy with communism. On them, one can count. The new society will give the workers their due. All, in the development of their abilities, will pay back a hundred-fold to the society which has freed them the equivalent of the services which they have received.

(Translated from La Revue Communiste"
by Frances B.)

Sweden---Where the Social Democracy Rules

By JOHN ANDERSON.

My old friend, the editor of the One Big Union Monthly, which is issued in the country where the dollar rules, asks me to write something about Sweden, the country where Social Democracy rules. He wants to know if we have got socialism over here now.

Can it be, I thought, that the editor of the One Big Union Monthly is becoming shaky in his faith, after all he has written to prove that political action cannot liberate the workers from economic slavery? Can it be that he believes, after all, that a change of political regime can change the economic position of the working class?

No, I said to myself, in the big dollar country out there, there must be some other people who have heard that there exists a little country somewhere by the name of Sweden, where a Social Democratic government is manoeuvring the ship of state in the great world storms, and who believe that, for this reason the Swedish workers are enjoying great prosperity, and that freedom is established over there. It was very likely in order to remove that erroneous idea that I was asked to write.

Here are the facts:

There has been no change for the better noticeable since the Social Democratic government came into power. Rather the opposite. The prices of the necessities of life are rising continually, faster than the wages, in spite of the Social Democratic government. But no government can help these things, for they are of an economic nature. These price advances are events on the economic field, and the political system, being only a reflex, a mirror image

of the economic conditions, has no possibility of exerting any influence in this respect. These conditions change and vary, regardless of which party holds the governmental power.

Purily political freedom is no greater than before. We have the same police arbitrariness, the same bureaucratic arrogance. It is significant that on the same day that I received your letter to write this article a decision was rendered against me by the court, sentencing me to pay a fine for a speech I had delivered against capitalist exploitation and for the necessity of organizing in economic fighting organizations. And many of our fellow workers are compelled to serve terms in jail for their struggle against capitalism in the Sweden of Social Democracy.

Our Fellow Workers in America should not believe that liberty is won here. Far from it. Capitalism continues to rule on the economic field, and as the state, with its government and its parliament, is nothing but a superstructure on the economic foundation, so this Social Democratic state, with its Social Democratic government and parliament, is purely capitalistic.

The Social Democratic government has been unable to do anything along socialist lines. The only thing done so far is the appointment of two commissions of experts to investigate and report on the question of socializing the means of production and the natural resources. Not even the answering of this question is the state able to do of itself. It had to be left to experts. It is the voluntary declaration of bankruptcy on the part of the state as

far as accomplishing anything on the economic field is concerned.

Through these attempts to solve the great economic problems the government, and thereby also the Social Democratic Party, has become convinced, **that the social problem cannot be solved along socialist lines through the efforts of the state.** They are more and more discovering that **for this purpose economic organs are required.**

At the last convention of the Social Democratic Party these thoughts were pretty strongly voiced by several of the leading men of the party who have now partly come to understand the impotence of politics in this regard.

At this convention one of the best heads of the party, Ernst Vigfors, delivered a speech about economic democracy, especially dwelling on the energetic struggle of the English workers to achieve control of industry. He pointed out that "the currents of thought that dominated the English workers did not originate in Social Democracy but in Syndicalism," and continued: "The time for the realization of socialism has arrived when the workers have acquired the knowledge and the technical skill to lead and operate the great industries and to replace the present leaders of industry." Another member of the party, Nils Karleby, advanced the idea of social ownership but with "free organization of production," under the control of the state, though.

This trend of thought permeated the congress of the ruling political party of Sweden, and for this reason another leading party man, Congressman Artur Engberg, was able to state that "he was happy that the Social Democrats had learned that a socialist order of production did not mean state socialism," and further proclaimed that "the economic organizations, the trades unions, had to widen their functions to embrace even the activity of socialist construction."

These are quite significant expressions from the political party which holds the ruling power in Sweden. **It shows that parliamentarism as a fighting weapon for introduction of socialism is about to be abandoned and that the economic organizations of the workers are the organs which are most suitable in the struggle to overthrow the present social system, and particularly that these organs are the only ones which have any possibilities for purely productive purposes.**

Hjalmar Branting is the chief of the Social Democratic government. This man has for many years fought for state socialism and against the idea of industrial communism. He has scoffed at all of us who have propagated this latter idea. But now he has been compelled to publicly change his position.

In a speech he recently made he said among other things: "The task of a political representative assembly are becoming more and more complicated. The economic questions are coming to the forefront, and we will be faced with a number of difficult problems as we pass through the period of transition from a bourgeois to a socialist society, and then it may be advantageous to have those

problems looked into even by others than those who have been chosen in the regular elections. I believe that the much talked of and much misunderstood council system should be investigated by Social Democracy. Possibly there might be something fit to use in the idea that groups of producers can in their capacity of producers send representatives to a popular assembly created by other than political elections. Such a chamber could, for instance, form a chamber alongside of those sprung from the political elections."

From this utterance of the Social Democratic chief we find that he has lost his faith in the ability of the political assembly to handle the economic problems, and that he wants another assembly to go with it, based on industrial representation. The state he does not want to abandon, of course. He only wants to give it a more economic character.

We Syndicalists of Sweden maintain strongly, in opposition to such suggestions, that in the economic fighting organizations we already have organs fully capable of development into organs of production and distribution. This position of ours is being embraced to an ever increasing extent by the workers of Sweden, especially after they at such close range observed the incompetence of the parliamentarians to introduce a new system that guarantees freedom to the working class.

Summing it up, emancipation from wage slavery is not realized in Sweden, in spite of the fact that a Social democratic government holds the rudder of the ship of state. The real battle for freedom is led by us Syndicalists, and this battle is carried on essentially on the same principles as those which the I. W. W. leans back on in its struggle with dollar capitalism in America.

(Editor's Note—Since this was written new elections have been held. The Social Democrats about held their own, and as a result the Social Democratic cabinet continues in power or rather—in impotency. The most remarkable thing about this election was the fate of the "Swedish Bolsheviks," the Left Wing party. They had 13 places in the riksdag at stake, we believe. These they lost with the exception of 3. Thus the Swedish workers have answered these impostors and would-be dictators. For 3 years these "bolsheviks" have been browbeating and insulting people, calling them "opportunists," "contra-revolutionaries," "traitors," etc. Thus "the anti-parliamentary program" of these "dictators" served as a boomerang which struck themselves with such force that it nearly wiped them off the parliamentary map. They will soon be where their American counterpart is—underground, indulging in bombastic "r-r-revolutionary" proclamations issued by their secret committee.)

**YOU DO NOT NEED TO BE RATED IN
BRADSTREET AND DUNN TO BECOME AN
AGENT FOR THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY.
ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS TO SEND IN YOUR
ORDER AND THEN PAY YOUR BILL. WE
TRUST YOU FROM MONTH TO MONTH.**

Job Control is Most Effective

By ST. CLAIR

(In "Industrial Solidarity," Adelaide, Australia.)

Workers Organized on Job Have Initiative in Own Hands and are Not Dependent on Craft Union Officials.

The most effective way in which the workers can deal with the troubles arising between themselves and the boss on the job is through a system of job control.

The old method of carrying complaints to the Trades Hall and placing them in the hands of craft union officials is both slow and inefficient. Very seldom anything is done in that way. And if anything is done it is pretty sure to be so late as to be quite useless.

The worst is that craft union officials are very often political aspirants, and therefore they don't want to do anything which might offend the powers that be. They don't like strife. And in the class war no victories are won by the workers without strife.

Besides, the only place where grievances of the workers can be effectively remedied is on the job. The workers are robbed on the job, and the only place where they can deal with those who rob them is on the job.

No methods are so effective in the everyday struggle of the workers with the employers as job control. Where there is job control, the workers don't want to wait until there is a union meeting to take action. They can take action on the job at a few minutes' notice.

It doesn't matter much to the workers who understand the principle of job control what their officials happen to think on the matter. They don't want to ask their officials whether they should take action or not.

They want to take action at any time, on their own initiative, when there is need of it.

NEW ORGANIZATION FUNCTIONS ON JOB

The new working class organization must be made to function on the job, not in the Trades Hall.

This can be done under a proper scheme of Industrial Unionism, with shop committees.

A shop committee should be elected in each big shop. And even on smaller jobs, job committees should be elected in the same way. Delegates from the different sections should meet regularly on the job. And if there is any trouble with the boss or the management the workers complaining and the shop committee should first consider it. If it is necessary, a stop-work meeting of all the workers in the shop or on the job should be called to decide what is to be done.

Where the workers are well organized these shop branch meetings can be held on the bosses' time.

When it is decided what is to be done, the workers on the job can at once set about giving effect to it.

The Trades Hall need not know anything about it. Nor does it matter if scabby craft union officials

condemn the actions of the men concerned, as long as the men stand solidly together.

Workers who know the right sort of job action will know that it is not always wise to cease work. There are other ways in which scientifically organized workers can fight the capitalists.

Well-paid craft union secretaries have often assisted in organizing starvation strikes, simply in order to get the workers defeated.

Craft union officials know that if workers have suffered severe defeats in the industrial field there is usually a reaction in politics, and craft union secretaries aspiring to political office have a better chance of being elected.

But the workers are out to gain victories for themselves, not for political traducers.

EFFECTIVE JOB ACTION

Job action is often the only action that can have any effect.

Fancy, for example, a worker being victimized because he had taken an active part in organizing the workers on a job. Fancy his union appealing to his boss to reinstate him because he had been treated with unfairness! It is not likely that the boss would reinstate the workers from such altruistic motives as those appealed to in this manner.

But consider how much more effective it would be if the workers on the job where the fellow-worker had been victimized held a stop-work meeting and decided either to hold stop-work meetings every day until their fellow-worker was reinstated, or adopt other tactics on the job which would bring pressure to bear on the boss.

Again, if the hours are too long on a job, it is much more effective for all the employes to act together, and knock off earlier each day, or stop away on Saturdays, than it is to try to carry out such action through outside organizations with usually unsympathetic officials.

And if the toil is too hard, it is on the job action must be taken. Workers who fill bags can make up nice, small bags, which are easy for other workers to carry. Machinery that goes at a pace which will crucify workers can be made to slacken down, if the workers on the job are scientifically organized.

And again, it is on the job that industrial unionism will have to be started. All the workers in a shop or on a job can organize themselves into one industrial unit, in spite of the opposition of craft union officials.

It has happened more than once that craft union officials have tried to break up industrial organizations by ordering the members of their unions to refuse to work with workers who are industrially organized.

Bosses have even assisted such craft union officials in preventing workers from organizing industrially, because they know that craft unionism plays into the capitalists' hands.

Workers can easily upset the cunning schemes of both craft union officials and bosses in trying to prevent industrial organization among the workers by adopting right job tactics.

If craft union organizers and bosses refuse to recognize the industrial organization of the workers, the workers on any particular job can put job control tactics into operation until both union officials and bosses have to recognize them.

If necessary, they can even hang up any particular job until their industrial organization is recognized.

JOB CONTROL, SCIENTIFIC AND BLUE WHISKERS

But while the right sort of job control can confer untold benefits on the workers, the workers must be careful not to lend themselves to reactionary purposes.

For any institution or organization, no matter what it is, can be used for purposes detrimental to the class for which it has been created as well as beneficial.

If the system of job control is perverted to the use of individuals of the working class, instead of to the benefit of the working class as a whole, then the effect although it may be beneficial for certain individuals, will not help the working class as a whole.

In some places job trusts have been established by certain sections of people functioning in industry, and these privileged sections would pretend that they have established a system of job control.

It is job control the workers want, not job trusts.

A job trust would be a close corporation of craftsmen working together, building up privileges and jealously excluding other workers from sharing in these privileges.

The old American craft unions, with entrance fees sometimes of hundreds of dollars, were attempts to establish such job trusts.

Again, the guilds of England and other European countries in medieval times were job trusts on primitive lines.

Job trusts under machine industry would be different. But the effect of their establishment would be equally detrimental to the interests of the working class, as a whole.

In order that industrial unionism may be successful it must be universal. It must embrace the whole of the working class, not merely sections. And nothing in the form of exclusive job trusts must be established.

Industrial unionism must admit all workers on an equal basis. Therefore there is need for the One Big Union, which must embrace job organization.

And again, the industrial unionist should not forget that the ultimate object of industrial unionism, with this job organization, is to enable the workers themselves to take over the industries and run them for themselves.

That can only be done through the establishment of shop branches with a complete system of job

control, as well as industrial unionism which is capable of functioning in the coming industrial republic.

It is, therefore, necessary for those workers who organize industrially to have a fairly complete grasp of the objective as well as the methods of industrial unionism.

The Referendum on the Third International

(Continued from Page 16)

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International shall consistently and purposefully remove from all important posts, and even less important positions of trust, the reformists and centrists (and all non-communist I. W. W. members are considered as such—Editor) and shall replace them with tried communists, even at the risk of supplanting for a while experienced men by workers picked from the ranks!

3. * * * Is it their duty everywhere to create, parallel with the lawful organization, secret organs destined at the decisive moment to play the revolutionary role of the party.

4. * * * Within every group and within every unit a communist kernel must take root. * *

12. The entire organization of periodicals and party literature shall be controlled wholly by the Central Committee, regardless of the legality or illegality of such committee * * *

17. Resolutions adopted by the congress of the Third International and the Executive Committee thereof are obligatory upon all parties belonging to the Third International.

18. * * * Parties about to join the Communist International must change or amend their names; thus they are to be known as * * * the Communist Party of, etc. * * *

As will be seen from the above, by affiliating with the Third International, the I. W. W. would entirely lose its independence as well as its name and become merely an organ for carrying out the wishes of the communist politicians sitting on their central committees, secret or otherwise.

Should this not be enough for the purpose of showing the utter impracticability of joining the Third International and cooperating with the "Communist" Party, we will here state the terms of such co-operation, as outlined in the official organ of the Communist Party, issue No. 7:

"The basis of such co-operation is the following:

(1) That the I. W. W. cease misleading the workers with the teaching that the revolution can be achieved by industrial organization in the shops and factories and the direct seizure of industry, without first overthrowing the capitalist state and establishing the proletarian dictatorship through the soviets.

(2) That the I. W. W. in its official publications carry on an educational campaign, going as far as the legal character of the organization permits, for the overthrow of the capitalist government through mass action and the establishment of the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(3) That on such questions as that of armed insurrection, which the I. W. W. could not advocate

and maintain its legal existence, it shall not carry on propaganda against this method of action.

(4) That the leadership and editorial positions in the I. W. W. shall be entrusted, so far as possible, to members of the I. W. W. who are communists.

Fellow workers! It is impossible to take such people seriously. They are soviet maniacs whose weak minds have been upset by the stirring events of these days. Also, they need the poor jobs as officials and editors in the I. W. W.

And it is with this bunch of half-wits, brazen adventurers, crafty politicians and agents provocateurs that we should join hands!

If anything further is needed to complete the picture of mental derangement

and stool-pigeonry, masquerading as "communism" in this country, read this point in their official proclamation in the same issue of their paper:

"You must direct your strikes against the government and must overthrow the capitalist government, when the final struggle to overthrow the government comes you must have guns in your hands, even as the West Virginia miners have now, and be prepared for an armed insurrection to wipe out the government of the capitalists and establish your government, the government of the workers councils."

It is about time for the level-headed and sane I. W. W. membership to take such an unmistakable stand against these half-wits and provocateurs, that our name will never again be mentioned in the same breath as theirs.

Shall We Join the Communist International

By HENRY VAN DORN.

The referendum issued by our G. E. B. concerning endorsement by the I. W. W. of the Communist International is the best thing that ever happened for the purpose of clarifying our minds about the meaning of political action, economic direct action, mass action, the soviets, the dictatorship of the proletariat and kindred subjects of tremendous importance. Upon the adoption or rejection by the labor movements of different countries of the principles expressed by the above terms depends the future of the world's working class.

The wording of the motion is, in my opinion, a bit faulty. "Join," or "affiliate with" should have been used in place of "endorse." It has been taken for granted in the course of this article that endorsement of the Communist International by a majority of our rank and file will be equivalent to joining it, and will entitle us to send delegates to its next congress.

In the Oct. 13th issue of the Nation are printed the conditions for joining the Communist International as adopted at its second congress.

Condition No. 17 states that all organizations affiliated with the Com. Int. will have to abide by the decisions of its Congress and its Central Executive Committee. Its membership is made up largely of political groups. Its dominating spirit, the Russian Communist Party, is a political organization. F. W. Andreytchine evidently did not know of condition No. 17 when, in his plea for affiliation in the October number of the O. B. U. Monthly, he states: "We will not enter the Third International if we have to abdicate our principles and listen to dictation from outside groups or even the International itself." Is the I. W. W. in a position to have any part of its policy dictated by political organizations from European countries where economic condi-

tions, and consequently the tactics to be employed in fighting the master class, are radically different from those prevalent in the United States?

Throughout those conditions the importance and responsibility of the Communist, as a member of a political organization, is repeatedly emphasized, but the importance of the industrial unionist is nowhere in evidence.

F. W. Andreytchine says that our choice lies between the Red International in Moscow and the Yellow International in Amsterdam. But not so, fellow worker. We have also the choice of creating a Red Industrial International which is a source of inspiration, located, let us say, in Chicago, Ill.

To better ascertain the points of difference between the Communist and I. W. W. principles and tactics let us briefly examine the salient features of the Appeal of the Third International to the I. W. W., printed in the September O. B. U. Monthly. The appeal can be summarized as follows: The social revolution is here. We can't wait to form the new society within the shell of the capitalist system. We must act at once. All the revolutionary class-conscious unions must be united into one organization, which, besides the I. W. W., would embrace the W. I. I. U., the One Big Union and some insurgent A. F. of L. unions. This industrial body must work shoulder to shoulder with the Communist political organizations to establish soviets and abolish capitalism by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To accomplish this we must use revolutionary mass action, armed insurrection and the general strike. "In order to destroy capitalism, the workers must first wrest the state power out of the hands of the capitalist class. They must not only seize this power, but abolish the old capitalist apparatus altogether."

It must be noted that, beyond the mention of the general strike, not a word is said about the use of economic direct action. The duality of the industrial and political organizations is maintained throughout, with the assumption that in the new society the political element will have the ascendancy over the industrial, as is today the case in Russia.

The I. W. W. cannot subscribe to the above program without renouncing its preamble, its constitution and the tradition of its birth and growth into a powerful fighting machine for the liberation of the American proletariat.

That program was eminently fitted for the success of the social revolution in Russia. It is just as eminently unfit for the success of the industrial revolution in America.

Here is the reason: Russia at the time of the revolution was 10 per cent industrial and 90 per cent agricultural. America today is 65 per cent industrial and 35 per cent agricultural.

The ruling classes in Russia—the bureaucracy and the capitalists—were weak, disorganized, corrupt, and numerically formed a negligible minority of the population. The American capitalists are today stronger, better and more efficiently organized than ever before.

Russia had no middle class to speak of. The American middle class—the small business men, the professional men, executives and technicians—constitute a strong body numerically, and, with very few exceptions, are a unit for capitalism and against a workers' commonwealth. Without previously winning over a considerable portion of the technicians before starting an "armed insurrection," such as the Communists speak of, the industrial revolution has not the ghost of a chance of success in America. Such an attempt would only result in useless bloodshed, anarchy and starvation.

In Russia organized labor had revolutionary aspirations. The American labor movement—the A. F. of L. and some big independent unions—is the most conservative and archaic on the face of the globe.

In Russia political action prior to the revolution had real significance; it provided a means for the free expression of the desires and needs of the country. In America political action is a joke, as has been amply evidenced by the expulsion of Socialists from Congress and state legislature.

Those are the reasons why the Communist program cannot be adopted in America.

The revolution is a long way off—in America. All we can do is to plod along as heretofore and try to build the new society within the old. We must organize the workers in our industries, we must try to get as many converts among the technicians as possible, and as much as possible we must try to keep out of trouble by not giving too free a rein to our ultra-revolutionary comrades with political aspirations. To talk at this time of revolutionary mass action and armed insurrection is the height of folly—in America. As for overthrowing

our government—we have not even dreamt of that in our wildest dreams. We would forget all about our government if A. Mitchell Palmer did not occasionally disturb the sanctity of our halls and enliven our monotonous existence with his stupid stool pigeons. Why bother about such trifling matters as a political government; that is only liable to land us behind the bars on charges of treason and sedition. What we are after is the big things—the industries. After we will have captured the industries—by means of economic direct action—we will become a government sufficient unto ourselves. The government of the capitalist will find itself without a job and will naturally evaporate.

While in Russia the Soviet was the logical thing under the circumstances, we do not propose to introduce the political element into our future society, with a host of political overlords to do the governing for us. We do not need a dual administrative system; what we need is a 100 per cent industrial administration with the industrial union branch as its unit.

Since we cannot endorse the Communist program we cannot join the Moscow International. Therefore it is clearly our duty to vote for Motion No. 2 in the referendum on International Relations. To vote for Motion No. 3 is out of the question because if we join at all we must abide by the conditions laid down for membership in the International, and those conditions preclude reservations of the kind mentioned in the motion. F. W. Hardy's points in the October O. B. U. Monthly are well taken, but possibly he was not fully informed about all the conditions of joining the Communist International, as adopted at its second congress.

If the rank and file decide in favor of Motion No. 2 it is the duty of the G. E. B. to send an exhaustive report to Moscow setting forth our full reasons for not joining. However, it would be a good thing if arrangements could be made to have an I. W. W. representative in Moscow to keep us advised of the workings and plans of the Soviet government. In this way a measure of co-operation could be secured even though we cannot subscribe to the program of the Com. Int. It is absolutely essential that organized labor in all parts of the world works in harmony against organized capital in the critical years to come.

The G. E. B. should take immediate steps towards the creation of a Red Industrial International. If the G. E. B. has the authority to do so, it should hold a special session at once and issue invitations to all the industrial unions, syndicalist and radical labor organizations to convene in congress at some tentative point in the near future, say, some place in Italy on or about February 1st of next year. The creation of such an Industrial International and the harmonizing of the forces of labor which should result from it would do more for the success of the working class in its death-struggle against capitalism than any other one thing which can be done at the present time.

Industrial Workers of the World

October Bulletin.

Much discussion is going on about the constitutionality of the Third International Referendum Ballot. Some say: This question should have come before the Convention. This was before the Convention in the last G. E. B.'s annual report. The last G. E. B. voted unanimously to become a constituent part of the Third International in the following resolution:

"Moved by Speed, seconded by King, that the following resolution be concurred in and that the secretary-treasurer and the secretaries of Industrial Unions shall act as a committee to communicate with officers of the Third International. Resolved,

"Whereas the Soviet Republic of Russia in its call for the organization of the Third International, included the I. W. W. as one of the bodies eligible to such new international, and

"Whereas, the I. W. W. is the only revolutionary organization in the United States whose program is absolutely scientific and uncompromising, and is the logical American unit of the Third International, and

"Whereas, the proletarian revolution is worldwide, and not national or local in its scope;

"Therefore, the time has come for the I. W. W. to assume its proper place as the American Unit of the Workers' Red International, and to establish closer relations with groups of the same or similar principles in every country, such as the Communists of Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, etc., the Spartacans of Germany, the Syndicalists of France, Italy, and Great Britain and other countries, and the Industrial Unionists of Canada and Australia; therefore be it

"Resolved, that the I. W. W. shall create a committee on International Relations, which shall at once establish and maintain correspondence and fraternal relations with such aforesaid revolutionary groups throughout the world and shall provide for the representation of the I. W. W. as a constituent member of the Third International." **Carried unanimously.**

Then in their report to the Annual Convention in May, 1920, they gave the following reasons for their actions:

"The Board believed in so far as the Third International was the only workers international that had ever come into existence throughout history that disagreed with the meek and mild parliamentary program that we should show our approval of it as opposed to the opportunism of the Second International; and particularly so, because we were convinced that our Russian Fellow Workers in Russia are only maintaining the political character of the first Soviet Government to hold and gain power temporary during the transitory period from Capitalism to Industrial Communism."

It will be noticed they did not retract from their former decision, but gave reasons for taking the

action they did. At the Convention not one delegate challenged their action, but to the contrary, voted to accept the report, **unanimously.**

When the new G. E. B. came into office, they were confronted with the turmoil of the Philadelphia situation; Communist influence being exercised within and without the organization. The G. E. B. could see nothing but a long controversy within the organization—lasting probably until the next Convention—with another "1908 Convention" convening in 1921. They had no other alternative, but to give the membership their final say, in view of previous decisions. Let it be settled at once, but the membership should be awake to all influences pro and con.

The G. E. B. will meet in Chicago October 18th. The M. T. W. Philadelphia controversy is not settled and will come up again. Many other items that must be settled will be dealt with.

The editor of Solidarity has been removed from its editorship, because of the various inconsistencies appearing in its columns. We must disavow all connection with many things that were written in the last few issues, as these were gotten out while the General Office was in constant protest and was holding many conferences with the editor, who promised changes that did not appear; hence the removal.

The General Membership should not let the small issues detract them from organizing the workers on the job. "Rump"-meetings and "hair-splitting" debates should be discouraged. Lining up the workers in industry is our social function.

We cannot help ourselves if we have no power at the source of production or distribution. This is proven in the decision of the Appellate Court in rendering a decision against our Fellow Workers. Although the first two counts were thrown out, with the judges sustaining the third and fourth counts—the Draft Act and the Espionage Act—the sentences remain the same. The courts cannot be prevailed upon for justice according to their own ethics and practices. So there is nothing else to do but to **ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE!**

The G. E. B. decided to replace Fellow Worker Haywood with John Martin as General Defense Secretary. Fellow Worker Haywood will make a national tour for the General Defense. We believe every center will hold a meeting and ask all members to be prepared for the push for big meetings as soon as the announcement is made. Get ready for the word "Go!" Don't stop going after the workers on the jobs with the literature and the red card. Remember, it is within the industries that a revolution must come—a change from Private ownership to Social Ownership.

Yours for Industrial Solidarity,

(Signed)

GEO. HARDY, Gen. Sec.-Treas.
JOE FISHER, Chairman G. E. B.

Some Resolutions on the Referendum

Fargo, N. Dak., Oct. 3, 1920.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE I. W. W.:

We, the membership of Fargo Branch I. U. No. 110 of the I. W. W., 56 members present, assembled on Oct. 3, 1920, at 2:30 P. M., go on record demanding that the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. withdraw the special referendum pertaining to the Third International as outlined by the Zinovieff Appeal, which is now in the field. We consider said referendum contrary to the by-laws as set down in the General Constitution of the I. W. W., and therefore demand that it shall be declared null and void.

The reasons for taking this action are as follows: **That the motions** are vague and incomplete and are causing confusion among the membership.

Furthermore, on page 39 of the Constitution, under head of "Resolutions," we find the following: "Resolved, that to the end of promoting industrial unity and of securing necessary discipline within the Organization, the I. W. W. refuses all alliances, direct or indirect, with existing political parties or anti-political sects, and disclaims responsibility for any individual opinion or act which may be at variance with the purposes herein expressed." This clause from the Constitution is at direct variance with the aim and intent of the matter, which has been put on special referendum. Before any referendum of this kind can properly be put before the membership, it would be necessary to bring it up on the floor of the General Convention with representatives of all concerned, where it can be thoroughly discussed and acted upon by delegates instructed by a membership who have had time to weigh the matter in full detail. As it stands now, a question of such vital importance is put up to the membership in a few vague motions, giving the membership only a very short time to decide such question.

And, be it further resolved, that we send a copy of the action taken by us to the G. E. B., Secretary-Treasurer, of all Industrial Unions and Branches of the I. W. W., and find out what action they will take on same, and that we elect a committee of three, including the Recording Secretary, to draw up this statement to go with the motion on why we have taken such stand, and also, to have them published in all I. W. W. publications and to ask the Industrial Unions and Branches to send a statement to the G. E. B. and a copy of action they take to this Branch. Carried unanimously.

Signed by Resolution Committee:

James Cronin, No. 236559,
Tom Doyle, No. 185400,
Albert Anz, No. 304529, Rec Sec.,
John Downs, Chairman of Session.

Meeting of the C. W. I. U. No. 310

Held at Pomroy, Wash., September 28, 1920.

M. & S. that we endorse the following resolutions and instruct Fellow Worker J. Kennedy to send copies of resolutions to all I. W. W. papers. Carried.

Resolution: Whereas the Industrial Workers of the World is an organization composed wholly of wage workers, the function of said Industrial Workers of the World, as we understand them, are:

(1) The educating of the working class to their true status in society.

(2) Organizing the workers of the whole world in Industrial Unions for the purpose of entirely managing the social revolution and the world control of industry by a combine of Industrial Unions.

Therefore be it resolved, that we condemn the action of the G. E. B. for even considering the endorsement of the Third International and urge upon the members of the I. W. W. the importance of studying carefully the ideas of the Third International as expressed in the Zinoviev appeal which was published in the O. B. U. Monthly and Solidarity, before voting on the ballot issued by the G. E. B. concerning the Third International.

The above to be published in all I. W. W. papers. (Seal)

Everett Jones, Rec. Sec.
J. Kennedy, Sec. No. 310.

ELZIE STOUT

will please immediately communicate with his mother, Mrs. L. B. Culver, Box 182, Toronto, Kansas. Any one knowing the whereabouts of this fellow worker, please write to above address. He is 25 years of age, 5 feet 4 inches tall; brown, wavy hair. Was last known to work for Frank Hunt, near Pratt City, Pratt county, about middle of June.



DEFENSE NEWS

By JOHN MARTIN.

On October 5th the Court of Appeals rendered its decision in the **Chicago case**. It reversed the lower court's decision on the first and second counts and affirmed the decision of that court on the third and fourth counts. The latter two counts were respectively for violation of the Selective Service Act and the Espionage Act. Under the rules of the Circuit Court of Appeals, 30 days are allowed in which to apply for a rehearing. The government has 20 days thereafter to file its answer to our petition. Should a re-hearing be denied, the appeal will then be carried to the Supreme Court.

In view of the situation created by the Court of Appeals' decision, the matter of a blanket bond for the Chicago defendants has lapsed. However, separate bonds to the amount originally set are still acceptable. In connection with this, I wish to state that the fellow workers in Leavenworth have voted in favor of obtaining bond for the five boys now being held in permanent isolation first.

The **Sacramento appeal** is now awaiting decision. The fellow workers involved in this case have also been admitted to bail and it is of great importance that we obtain their release pending their appeal.

In the **Wichita case** we are now waiting for the printed records from the clerk of the court handling the appeal. Then there will have to be a reply to the government's answer brief. The case will then be ready for argument. The date for argument has already been set for January 11, 1921. This, however, is subject to change in the event that time is needed to complete the briefs. Remember that the Wichita fellow workers have also been admitted to bond.

The **Illinois state case** against 35 members, which grew out of the New Years' raid on General Headquarters, is still pending in the Criminal Court of Cook County, the defendants being charged under the new Illinois Treason statute. We have on several occasions tried to have this case disposed of either by having the indictment quashed or by trial, but for reasons satisfactory to the judge handling this case, he has failed to act so far.

The government has presented its **cases against Fellow Workers Hoffman, Bludin, Gromoff and Trotsky**, who are being held on deportation warrants. The defense is still to be made.

The cases against **Fellow Workers Higgins and Granger at Wichita** were dismissed on October 4th. **Fellow Worker Danton**, charged with criminal syndicalism, was held over until the November term of court. The demurrer in the injunction order at El Dorado, Kansas, was overruled and the case will come up for hearing at the November term of court. The time of **Fellow Worker Bradley**, who was serving 60 days at the County Jail at El Dorado on a trumped-up charge of vagrancy, expired October 12, but the sheriff did not think it necessary to release him. We wired the sheriff inquiring as to

sons for not releasing Bradley. In reply he stated that he was going to hold him until the costs (\$10) in the case were paid. That amount was then wired, and Caroline Lowe has been instructed to demand his immediate release.

Fellow Workers Greist and Cheesebrew have been released from the jail at Bellview, Kansas. Two Fellow Workers, **Thomas Paine** and **Robert Dilgar**, are being held at Wakeeney, while a third defendant, **William Murphy**, who became sick, has been removed to the Lansing hospital for treatment. These three cases are set for the December terms of court. We have not as yet received the full particulars. **Fellow Worker Breen**, who was arrested on the 8th of July, charged with criminal syndicalism while at Wakeeney, Kansas, was recently convicted and sentenced to from 3 to 30 days in the penitentiary at Lansing, Kansas. An appeal is being taken in his case.

Oral arguments were made August 19th on the writ of habeas corpus in behalf of **six fellow workers charged with vagrancy at Kansas City, Mo.** Briefs have now been filled and the court has promised a decision some time in October. A date for trial of the case against **Fellow Worker Lamson**, charged with criminal syndicalism at Marion, Kansas, has not been set. He is now out on a \$500.00 bond.

An appeal is being taken in the case of **Fellow Worker Tonn**, who was convicted on a charge of criminal syndicalism at Des Moines, Iowa. We are filing a civil suit against the authorities that beat up **Fellow Worker Barker** at Wichita some time ago. This case will come up for trial some time in the early part of November.

The first of the **three criminal syndicalism cases at Aberdeen, S. D.**, will be called for trial some time after Oct. 20th. This is the first case to be tried under the South Dakota Criminal Syndicalism law and it is very important that we win this case. The minimum sentence is 25 years and from all present indications the prosecution will employ any and all means to obtain a conviction. We are doing our utmost to secure those fellow workers an adequate defense.

On Oct. 2nd, Fellow Workers **John Kroon** and **Mike Quirk** were arrested at Akron, Ohio, for "unlawfully" distributing advertising for a meeting to be held in that city on Oct. 3rd. Later, however, they were charged with criminal syndicalism and bound over to the grand jury and a bond of \$10,000 placed against each. We are testing the case on a writ of habeas corpus. The date for hearing has been set for Oct. 18th.

At Little Rock, Ark., **Fellow Worker Harry Grummer** has been arrested and charged with "distributing seditious literature" and bound over to the grand jury. He has been released on a \$500 bond.

Many of our fellow workers who have been held

on Ellis Island on deportation warrants, for long, dreary months, have recently been removed to Deer Island. The New York Defense Committee (I. W. W.) is making a hard fight to have their cases reopened, but in order to do so in a proper way, \$6,000 must be raised as we have to obtain copies of transcripts, etc., etc.

The many cases pending in the West are being handled through the Northwest District Defense Committee.

In order that the General Defense Committee may carry on its work effectively, the full co-operation of the membership and our friends should be given. **Money must be raised to enable us to conduct a proper defense for our fellow workers**, and also in order that we may be able to acquaint the public with the facts surrounding the persecution of our members. **Also, bonds must be obtained for the boys in Leavenworth and other places.** Let us all put our shoulders to the wheel and I am sure the results will be well worth our efforts.

In the Eyes of "Justice"!

By ANISE.

No!
I wouldn't say that Justice
Is BLIND,
But, judge for yourself!
Yesterday
Two German plotters were
Released from Leavenworth:
Von Schack and Von Bopp,
Who were found guilty
Two years ago
Of purchasing ARMS
And trying to fit out
An ARMED expedition,
From the Pacific Coast
On behalf of Germany!
They are let out now,
And allowed to return
To their fatherland,
And the very same day
The Court of Appeals
Sends BACK to jail
Bill Haywood,
And 93 Wobblies,
Who were also convicted
Of "obstructing the draft"
Or something like that,
By discussing strikes and wages
In war-time!
There is a man I know
Across Lake Washington,
A skilled worker
With a nice little home,
Who must go back now
To JAIL;
There is a man I know,
A champion SWIMMER,
A robust out-doors man,
Who must wear out his lungs
Behind the bars;
There are artists and authors,
Gentle souls
And fearless souls,
Bitter with the wrongs
And throbbing with the dreams
Of HUMANITY,
Who must face the sentence
Of TWENTY YEARS,

And a fine of \$20,000!
No,
I wouldn't say that Justice
Is BLIND!
For, after all,
Von Schack and Von Bopp
ONLY plotted against
AMERICA!
While these fellows plotted,
Against Anaconda Copper,
And Arizona Copper,
And the Lumber Trust!
Von Schack and Von Bopp
ONLY conspired to help
The German kaiser,
But these fellows tried to help
American WORKINGMEN!
No,
I'm not quite sure that Justice
Is BLIND,
She may be merely trying
To make us understand
That THEIRS
Is the GREATER crime,
NOT blindly and by chance
But regularly right along
In the eyes of "Justice!"
—Seattle Union Record.

THE PEOPLE

The people is a beast of muddy brain
That knows not its own force and therefore stands
Loaded with wood and stone: the powerless hands
Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein;
One kick would be enough to break the chain;
But the beast fears and what the child demands
It does; nor its own terror understands,
Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.
Most wonderful! with its own hand it ties
And gags itself, gives itself death and war
For pence doled out by kings from its own store.
Its own are all things between earth and heaven;
But this it knows not; and if one arise
To tell this truth, it kills him unforgiven.

—Campanella.

The Agricultural Workers Convention

By E. W. LATCHEM.

The 10th Semi-Annual Mass Convention of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, held at New Rockford, N. D., from Sept. 27th to Oct. 1st, has passed into history. To better understand the business transacted, it may be well to consider some of the economic conditions existing in the industrial world prior to the formation of the A. W. I. U. No. 110, also a brief survey of organization activities since.

One hundred years ago most of the work, which is done in the factories now, was part of the various duties incidental to work on the farm, which necessitated long hours of the hardest kind of toil with crude tools.

The introduction and development of the factory system has transferred the work from the farm to the factory, where giant complex machines now do much of the work formerly done on the farms. All that is left to do on the farms, is the work incidental to growing, harvesting and marketing the crops and most of that is done by machinery, very few workers being needed, except at harvest time.

In spite of the use of all this labor saving machinery, those who work on the farms are still working the same long hours that our ancestors did 100 years ago, except where the workers have used their organized power. In fact, the farm worker today (both farmer and hired help) are about the worst paid, the worst housed and the worst treated workers in the country.

In 1915, the harvest workers presented an organized demand through a new organization, which had sprung up as if by magic, known as the Agricultural Workers' Organization No. 400 of the I. W. W. (This was later changed to Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union.)

This new organization was the result of discussions between the harvest workers themselves at open forums conducted by I. W. W. locals for the purpose of evolving ways and means of perfecting an organization that would make solidarity possible for the workers on migratory and seasonal work. Job delegates from I. W. W. locals bordering on the wheat belt had been trying to organize those workers, but had discovered that no solidarity could be obtained by the method of organization then in use.

The first demands presented by this new organization, which were printed in leaflet form, with appropriate slogans, and distributed to all harvest workers, were: "A minimum wage of \$3.50 for a 10-hour day, time and a half for overtime and decent living conditions."

The wages paid in previous years had seldom gone above \$3.00 for a 14-hour day. By the new method of organization and tactics made possible thereby the organized harvest workers were able to get the 10-hour day in localities where they had control, and to force the "going wages" up to \$3.50.

The principal reason for the success of the new organization, in 1916-17, was the minimum wage and hour demand, which cemented the workers together on common ground. It was something that all workers instinctively desired but had been unable to get as individuals, and now an organization was in the field, that not only voiced those desires, but at the same time made their realization possible. The enthusiasm and spirit of solidarity aroused in the workers as a result of this organization policy has withstood four years of the worst kind of persecution on the part of the master class.

During the year 1918, most of the organized harvest workers of military age were in the army, but still the organization managed to live and withstand the most severe persecution.

No set demands were possible in 1919, owing to the poor crops and unsettled state of affairs in general, but the organization regained most of its membership which had been temporarily lost during the war on account of military service. The fall convention went on record for a maximum ten-hour day for the coming year, but neglected the most essential element to its success, and that was: proper publicity among the harvest workers, which had made previous campaigns a success.

Most of the members in the harvest fields this year did not know that such a thing as a ten-hour day demand had been passed and were confused by the various conflicting reports that were going round. One of the most important essentials to the success of previous campaigns had been overlooked, making solidarity impossible.

Matters were further complicated by the new method adopted by the farmers to counteract any concerted action for a shorter work day. Instead of hiring by the day as formerly they hire by the hour and try to make the worker believe that the long-hour day was invented for his benefit, so that he can make more money. Some few cases were reported of workers who had been duped into lengthening their work with hours by this argument. To meet the situation, the 10th convention passed the following resolutions:

(1) "That we cut out working by the hour and work by the day."

(2) "That we get out a leaflet dealing with the 10-hour day."

(3) "That all members who are proven to have raised their hours be expelled."

Other resolutions were passed pertaining to literature in regard to persecution and the need of organization, also about the Industrial Court laws of Kansas.

Unlike previous A. W. I. U. conventions, which usually donated large sums to papers, etc., this convention decided that we could make better use of the money for organization work.

The matter of discussion caused by gambling in

the harvest fields, which has been "hanging fire" for several conventions, was again taken up but came no nearer a solution than formerly, owing to the confusion caused by the various conflicting opinions in regard to that "favorite pastime" whereby the lowest of all parasites, the "tinhorn gambler," is enabled to fleece the worker out of what has been left him by the big parasites.

Another matter of note was the abolition of the districts, which have been part of our structure up to now, owing to their failure to function.

The results of this year's organized effort can be summed up in about an average of \$1.00 more than the farmer had intended to pay, in spite of the fact that no such a thing as minimum wage demand had been made. The ten-hour day was established wherever the workers had the moral courage to force the issue, and this in spite of the confusion caused by conflicting reports.

The most important step taken to get better solidarity in the harvest fields was the adoption of a resolution calling for the election of a "job steward" on all jobs where the A. W. I. U. has job control (this should read seven or more members) for the purpose of keeping in touch with workers in other places. This will make possible an industrial district council of all jobs in a certain district, and this in turn, will make possible the election of delegates from the industrial district council to the general convention of the A. W. I. U. and replace the present crude and unwieldy mass convention, which has pretty well disgusted everybody. This matter of a delegate convention was well thrashed out at the mass convention last spring and a delegate convention had been decided on but the failure of all districts in the West forced the organization to fall back on the mass convention.

The history of the I. W. W. has been one of con-

tinual change and re-adjustment to meet new situations arising from changing economic conditions or that have been made necessary by our growth and development. These re-adjustments are made easier by a thorough discussion of the problems to be solved as well as the various solutions offered. Discussion broadens our vision, so that needless wrangles, that come as a result of misconceptions, may be avoided.

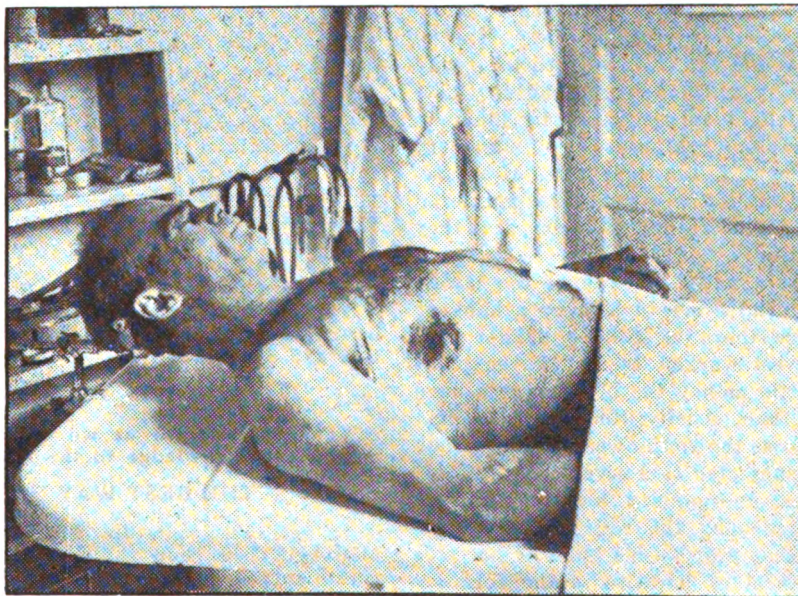
All difficulties, confronting the A. W. I. U., can be easily overcome when once we get a clear conception of the issue and the remedy. The most important problem at present is to provide for a new structure that will meet the needs of the agricultural industry. The above resolution is the first step towards a solution, but won't amount to anything unless it is properly understood and worked out by the members.

The 10th semi-annual mass convention adjourned at 12 noon, Friday, Oct. 1st, singing "Hold the Fort."

The Aftermath

The 10th semi-annual A. W. I. U. had hardly adjourned, when there occurred a tragedy, that has made all feel very keenly the need of a society, that is not based on murder and robbery, but one that is founded and built to satisfy the needs of the workers.

Several harvest workers were aboard an east-bound stock train, going to the potato harvest after the close of the convention, and when they arrived at Hannaford, N. D., Saturday morning, Oct. 2nd, 11 A. M., they were accosted by a Great Northern R. R. Special Agent and ordered to leave the train, which they did without resistance. Then they



JOE BAGLEY—MURDERED OCT. 2, 1920

were ordered to: "Put up your hands," which they all did. When all had their hands in the air he started to shoot, the first bullet going between the legs of Thos. Brady and the second hitting Joe Bagley in the side, piercing both lungs and coming out on the other side.

When asked as to why he shot a man down, while the man had his hands in the air, the special agent replied: "What the hell do you care?" The local station agent took occasion to voice his opinion of the affair and was told: "If you don't shut up, you will get some of the same medicine."

Bagley was taken to St. John's Hospital, Fargo, N. D., where he died on Tuesday, Oct. 5th, at 7 A. M.

His death reminds us of the time when the unorganized worker lived in constant terror lest he be a victim to some of the many pitfalls that an insane, money-mad society has created as a part of the environment of the wheat belt.

The wages paid the harvest worker do not permit the payment of railroad fare and to live at the same time, and travel hundreds of miles to and from the harvest fields, to harvest the crops that feed the nation, and no provision having been made for his transportation, he is forced by economic necessity, to adopt any means at hand, that will get him to where work can be had.

He is usually friendless and thousands of miles away from any relatives who might take an interest in him, and is therefore "easy-prey" to the various parasitic or depraved elements that are always on the lookout for some victim on whom they can satisfy their depraved desires.

The slums of the big cities are usually scoured by the railroad companies for degenerates that are devoid of all human feeling, in whose hands they place a club, a gun and authority as special agents, supposedly to protect property from theft or destruction. If they only performed these "special duties," no fault would be found with them, except by those who live by petty thievery; but they usually take great delight in venting their inhuman instincts and desires by "beating up" any migratory worker who happens to fall in their path. If any resistance be offered the victim is sometimes murdered and all witnesses forced to flee in terror, lest they share the same fate.

The "hi-jack" is a petty parasite of the lowest kind, who has not the nerve to hold up a bank or other place, where there is a little danger, but preys on the harvest worker, taking, at the point of a gun, what little money the big parasites have left for him, and then, usually, throwing him off a moving train. In case the victim was without money he generally was subjected to a severe beating.

If the friendless, unorganized migratory worker should happen to get by the railroad bulls, "hi-jacks" or others, that prey on his kind, he has still to face another form of parasite in the form of so-called "union workmen," who would sometimes take the worker's last cent or force him to get off

the train in some desert, where no work could be had.

This class of animal is usually very "conscientious" about his "duties" and "job," if no money was in sight, but if he can get a little money his "job" is usually "safe." If the worker should happen to present a "union card" of any kind he was told, "I can't eat that," and at the same time, in nine cases out of ten, this trainman would have a B. R. T. button on his hat.

When the harvest worker started to organize he, naturally, came in conflict with all parasites, both big and little. An unjust society had forced him to accept the same accommodations of travel that are accorded to the "lower animals" and merchandise, where he had, through no individual fault of his own, been subjected to all sorts of indignities. Therefore he resisted by his organized power all who had taken part in making life miserable for him. Instead of running from every obstacle like a "whipped cur," as formerly, he has developed the moral courage to make a stand and state his case. Now the railroad trainmen have a thorough respect for him and his organized power and the "hi-jack" has almost disappeared.

While unorganized he was subjected to all sorts of indignities, with no means of helping himself, and now when he is learning how to help himself, the "powers that be" try to frighten him with jails and penitentiaries, even lynchings, and tar-and-feather parties, but it does not scare him a bit, for all the horrors of their jails or other methods of torture are not as bad as the life of an unorganized worker.

So we are still singing:

"The workers' flag is deepest red,
It shrouded oft our martyred dead;

* * * * *

Come dungeons dark or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn."

The murder of Bagley is only another reminder that we have a lot of education and organization work to do yet, before we will be able to establish a society that is based on satisfying the needs of the people.

IF

You think that our salvation lies in organizing industrially for the purpose of taking over production and distribution

WHAT IS YOUR DUTY?

Your duty, as far as we understand, is to help impart that knowledge to the rest of the workers.

THE BEST WAY TO DO IT

is to get subscribers for THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY or send for a package of them each month to sell.

Some I. W. W. Anniversaries

The month of November is particularly rich in memories for the I. W. W.

The events of the day are crowding upon us so fast that we cannot devote much time or space in our publications to the memories of the past, but not for a moment should the workers of this country be allowed to forget the outrages committed upon us in years gone by.

For the time being we shall content ourselves with a very brief review of some of the most horrid anniversaries of the I. W. W., which should be "celebrated" this month, not forgetting such anniversaries as that of Frank Little, whose anniversary falls in a different month.

On November 19, 1915, **Joe Hill** was legally murdered in the prison of Salt Lake City, Utah. His ashes are scattered by loving friends, who believe in his innocence, over the flower beds of this and other countries, and his memory lives in the songs which the I. W. W. members sing on every occasion.

Besides being a writer of songs which made the workers of all countries listen, Joe Hill, the miner, was also an amateur cartoonist. We reproduce here with a couple of his cartoons.

On November 5th, 1916, **The Everett Massacre** took place. We shall not try to describe this terrible tragedy of the class struggle. We refer every-

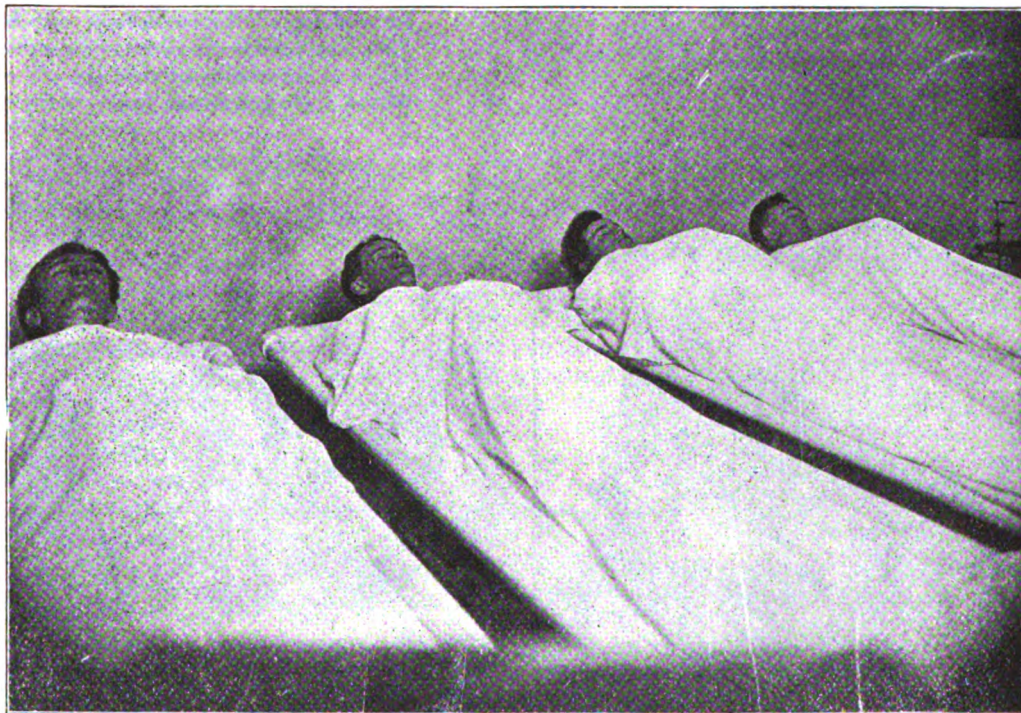
body to the account of it, issued in a book of 302 pages by the I. W. W. This book, "The I. W. W. Massacre," is written by Walker C. Smith and sold by the I. W. W. Should be read by every red-blooded worker. Five were killed and scores wounded.

The Everett Massacre was one of the foulest deeds ever committed by the dirty hirelings of the capitalist class. It can be compared only to the indescribable horrors of Armistice day in **Centralia**, Wash., on November 11, 1919. The gruesome death of our Fellow Worker **Wesley Everest** on that day is enough to stagger the world. We cannot go into details. Read the book "The Centralia Conspiracy," by Ralph Chaplin. It describes in word and illustration those terrible days.

Fellow Worker Bert Bland, who with a number of others is now serving a sentence equal to life imprisonment in Montesano as a result of the Centralia conspiracy, writes a touching tribute to the memory of the martyr Wesley Everest, which is published herewith.

Wesley Everest's last greeting was: "Tell all the boys I did my best." Joe Hill's last message was: "Don't mourn. Organize!" Frank Little's last message is known only to his murderers, but we have no doubt it was like Joe Hill's.

Let us keep the memory of our martyrs green by commemorating their death every year, but on the



FOUR OF THE VICTIMS OF THE EVERETT MASSACRE.

other 364 days let us follow their advice: "Don't mourn, but organize!"

It may be some consolation for us to record that the anniversary of the Great Russian Revolution is celebrated on November the 9. In the near future there shall be several more such anniversaries, where

the spirits of our martyred fellow workers will find solace for their sufferings.

The events in Italy and England and many other countries bid fair to serve as good stuff for anniversaries with which to compensate, in part, for the death of our martyred fellow workers.

Wesley Everest

A Tribute to Our Martyred Dead.

BY BERT BLAND

Montesano Jail, November, 1920.

Our own is Wesley Everest,
The bravest of the brave,
Who stood for his conviction
Though it meant a martyr's grave.

You may talk of Stonewall Jackson,
You may speak of Grant and Lee,
Whose courage was never doubted
Out on the battle field.

But as our most dramatic figure
Wesley leads the bravest brave,
And in defense of human rights
He stood the mob at bay.

But when his gun refused to work
No longer could he stand
Before a mob of inhuman fiends
With nothing but his hands.

They tied a rope around his neck
And dragged him in the street;
They threw him down upon his face
And stamped him with their feet.

But never a word of protest
Came from our bravest brave.
He sent one message to the world,
Through bloody lips it came:
"TELL ALL THE BOYS I DID MY BEST!"



AS IT WAS

AS IT IS

TWO CARTOONS BY JOE HILL

Joe Hill

BY C. O. G.

Joe Hill!

Courageous Fellow Worker,
Singing rebel—
It is Indian summer now,
And the hazy, sleepy mountains,
Clothed in ragged, fleecy clouds
Are looking down upon that city
Where they murdered you.

Joe Hill!

Beloved rebel leader,
Fearless singer—
Far below me lies the city,
With its towers of church and prison.
With its struggling oppressed workers,
In the valley of the Mormons
Where they murdered you.

Joe Hill!

Fearless singing fighter,
Bravest poet—
Do you see our people coming?
Do you hear them marching, marching?
They are coming to revenge you.
There is trembling in the city
Where they murdered you.



Mr. Highbrow: "These wars are terrible. Here they have shot a hole in this 2,000-year old painting."
Mrs. Highbrow: "Oh! Horrors! How thoughtless of that commander not to order some peasants to stand in front of it during the battle."

AGRICULTURE

The World's Basic Industry and Its Workers.

The above is the title of the latest publication issued by the I. W. W. through its Bureau of Industrial Research.

It is a book of 64 pages with 1 chart and 42 other illustrations from photos and drawings.

It is written in the usual flowing style of Ralph Chaplin, who has done the compiling of this work for the Bureau of the Industrial Research.

Turning over the leaves we find that the compiler has followed the evolution of agriculture from its earliest stages during primitive communism, up through family collectivism, feudalism, private capitalism and collective capitalism, finally leading us by interesting stages into the future society, industrial communism.

The following chapter headings tell briefly about the contents of the book:

- "What Agriculture Is."
- "Prehistoric Man, the Fisher and the Hunter."
- "Primitive Communism and Consanguine Collectivism."
- "Private Property and Slavery."
- "Slaves and Patricians."
- "Slavery Triumphant."
- "The 'Harvest Stiff' of Ancient Days."
- "Ancient Labor Unions."
- "The 'Dictatorship' in Sicily."
- "The Immortal Spartacus."
- "Better to Die a Man than to Live a Slave."
- "Pie in the Sky."
- "Rotten Rome."
- "The Beginnings of Serfdom."
- "The Crusades and Labor Crushing."
- "John Ball, Watt Tyler, Jack Straw."
- "The Dawn of the New Despotism."
- "The Industrial Revolution."
- "Modern Serfdom—the Tenant Farmer."
- "The Evolution of the Plow."
- "Agricultural Work Becomes Seasonal."
- "The Farm 'Hand.'"
- "California—Sunshine and Slavery."
- "Industrial Solidarity Versus Craft Division."
- "The Agricultural Workers Own Union."
- "Farmers, Workers and Capitalist Farmers."
- "Organization for Emancipation."

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25 cents per copy. Wholesale price 15 cents per copy.

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"The I. W. W. Press Committee" What Is It?

The editors and business managers of the I. W. W. publications in Chicago have organized themselves into "The I. W. W. Press Committee," closely in touch with the General Office.

The purpose of this committee is not to raise funds to pay the running expenses of the publications or eventual deficits, as is usually the case. The purpose of this committee is to place the I. W. W. publications on as many newsstands and in as many stores as possible in Chicago, to start with.

As everybody understands, this is a proposition which requires cash, as at least one person has to be employed soliciting orders and delivering magazines, papers, pamphlets and books.

The work has now been going on for a week and a very encouraging start has been made. Our publications are cheerfully accepted in many places. It is only a case of being wide awake and going after these places. We hope to cover the whole of Chicago in the near future. As the I. W. W. publications run with little or no profit (where they do not run with a deficit), there are no funds with which to finance this work, except by raising them. That is exactly what the I. W. W. Press Committee of Chicago is doing through a series of meetings and entertainments. The first meeting is scheduled for Oct. 24th in Workers' Hall, 119 So. Throop St., Chicago, when it is hoped that a good sum will be realized. An enthusiastic admirer of the plan has already donated \$25.00 for the purpose. On Saturday, Nov. 13th, a great dance has been arranged in West Side Auditorium, corner Racine and Taylor Sts., Chicago, and on Dec. 11 a big meeting will be held in Belmont Hall, cor. Clark and Belmont. The proceeds of these meetings and entertainments will go to the press fund mentioned. Many benefits will surely be derived from this work, such as increased membership, increased circulation, increased literature sales, etc., but above all, it will put publications out to a bigger public than we can reach through our regular channels.

Now, here is the morale of the above information.

If this can be done in Chicago, **why can it not be done in New York and Philadelphia, Detroit and Minneapolis and many other cities?** In fact, there is hardly a city or village in the country where there are not newsstands or stores that would handle our publications. Where it is a big city, a special worker will have to be employed and paid for this purpose, but in smaller places it could be done by volunteer work.

You solicit the orders and we will fill them. That is easy. Go to it and watch the results!

The I. W. W. Press Committee of Chicago.

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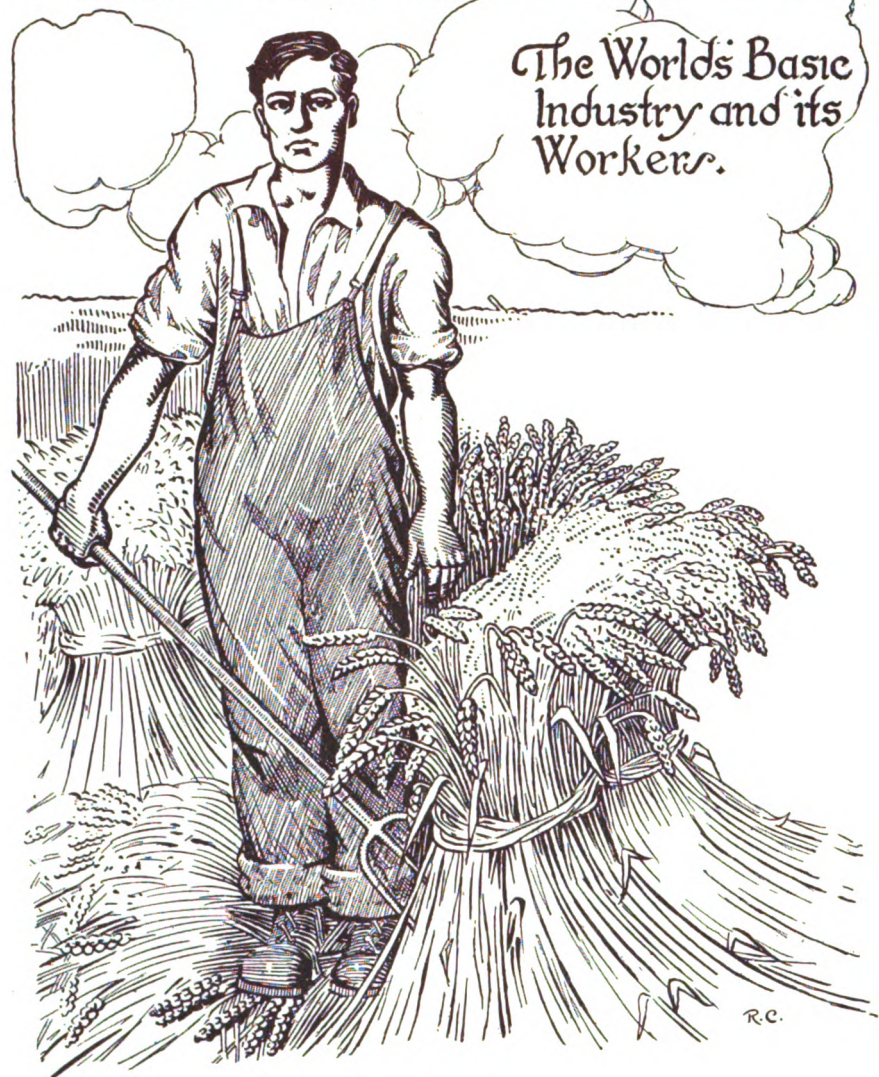
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