

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

APRIL, 1921

Reconstruction in Soviet Russia

By KARL RADEK

Two Conventions of Italian Labor

The Australian Labor Movement

Red Russia and the I. W. W.

PRICE 25 CENTS

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 has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld 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.



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**OUT OF SUFFERING AND DEATH ARISES THE SPIRIT
OF WORKING CLASS LIBERATION**

THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Vol. 1, No. 3

APRIL, 1921

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Red Russia and the I. W. W.

A Letter from Tom Barker

RED RUSSIA is passing from the war period to that of industrial construction. The Red Army, after its great victory over the White forces of General Wrangel, is demobilizing for the new fight on the industrial front, where problems are more complex and intensified. It is, I think, quite true that very few other countries could have withstood the combined forces of war, hunger and cold for nearly seven years in the way that Russia has done. Her people have an enormous power of resistance, which has left them still sturdy and strong in a contest that would have destroyed the more nervous Americans and Britishers by the million. The Russians have also enormous recuperative power, and I am sure that there is no country in Europe, excepting perhaps Norway and Sweden, where the general mass of the people are so healthy and vigorous. Such is their power of both resistance and recuperation that their health and vigor is maintained on food which would probably utterly ruin the fastidious stomachs of Western peoples.

Red Russia is alive to the needs of the moment. The end of the war and the pressing problems of economic reconstruction have precipitated an intense discussion upon the role of the unions in industry. The long series of wars upon nineteen fronts against the mercenary White Guards and the agents of world capitalism could only be waged by a highly centralized political and military organization. When one reflects upon the woeful state of both the political and military organizations after the fall of czarism and the Kerensky

regime, one can see the tremendous organizing work that was necessary to throw a sense of direction into the aimless rabble, and by enthusiasm, propaganda and ceaseless hammering weld it into the most powerful of all modern armies.

Judging by what I have seen of the Red Army, the blood-stained imperialists of the West have as much opportunity of reducing Russia by their own dissatisfied and semi-mutinous troops as they have of unloading their shoddy goods on the inhabitants of Mars. The next time Russian armies have to march to repel an invader, they may probably not maintain that solicitude for staying within their own frontiers. The small Baltic states can neither fight nor permit outside troops to pass thru their poverty-stricken lands. Finland is about to open trade with Soviet Russia, and Latvia is talking in a very conciliatory strain. The Polish imperialists cannot at present afford to give vent to their diseased policy of over-running Europe and murdering the Jewish race. Roumania may give some trouble, but a little reflection will teach her to remember the ignominious trashing she received from the Germans in 1917, after she declared war in the usual high-sounding phrases so current among people who are bankrupt in everything else. So, undoubtedly, the efforts will come thru agents, smuggled in, to re-organize the counter-revolutionary elements still existing to some minor extent in Russia. These trouble-making gentry who could well spare themselves for some other much worthier cause—say, the white slave traffic—will find their work both hard and dangerous. The only satis-

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slogan, "War on the Bourgeoisie" is not a platitude, and the person—whatever his label—who works to bring more war, misery and hunger upon the Russian workers and peasants will thereby probably receive more attention than he bargains for.

As for the blockade, its effects are breaking down. It is true that highly essential things are lacking, even elemental things, but, as I have already said, the Russian will grow strong upon half the bread which he could eat. Russia's harvest under normal conditions will feed her for five years. Last year was a bad crop year, but nevertheless the people obtained, despite this and the occupation of the best crop lands by the White Bands, nearly sufficient to feed everybody. Bad transport, engines in foul repair, dynamited bridges, destroyed track, all these have hindered the distribution of bread in some of the districts, which have gone hungry, while other districts have had a superabundance. But the best of the winter is over, and in two and a half months the country work will be in full swing, hundreds of thousands of men and women will go back to the land, the zealously guarded seed will be sown and then Nature herself will prove to the "big men with warped minds" that the blockade has been broken—not by Allied politicians, but by the Russian workers and by Mother Nature! Ploughs are being repaired, here and there one sees a tractor being assembled. God knows how it came here; but it is going to send up the total of food produced in this great flat fertile country. Next year food will be plentiful. Vegetables and fruit will be a welcome change to the salt fish and the heavy bread. The damaged bridges will be repaired, three "sick" engines will become two "healthy" ones, the tracks will be regraded and ballasted anew, and, little by little, the feeble transport arteries will throb with new blood.

Russia is so great, so immense. Time is of little or no account and her people are slow. But there are 180,000,000 of them, and parasitism is almost destroyed. A little from so many, is ever so much more than the intensified complicated efforts of the workers in the capitalist world, working

on weapons of destruction, or objects for the gratification of parasitism and all the odious professions which are bent upon perpetuating parasitism. A gorgeous and glorious year opens before Russia. It is the first year of Peace, the first year when her workers can turn from the anxiety of overthrowing her class enemies, and can enter upon the greatest work of construction that ever devolved on any people in history. If half the energy can be utilized in the reconstruction of industry that has been used in the organization of the Red Army, then success, while slow, will be assured. Such a condition of affairs is a challenge to the finest mechanics and inventors in Europe. Tools are lacking; labor is mostly unskilled. The crying need of the hour is for mechanical and technical workers; the war has killed off nearly all of them. Russia is overrun with theoreticians and draftsmen, but what she needs are men who can construct, men who can build. For instance, in Moscow there are thousands of large hotels and dwellings unfit for habitation simply because all the heating and plumbing arrangements have become disorganized and unusable. But a few I. W. W. men came into town, and under the leadership of one plumber, and with a scanty collection of tools, the obtaining of which "was like drawing teeth," they began to solder and mend, and to put huge buildings back into use again. A little industrial experience is worth a great deal in Russia.

Russia is not perfect, but perfectly organized social systems do not fall from heaven; a great social transformation is not brought about by simply exercising the powers of pure logic. The bursting of the shell of the old society does not result in a full-grown economic chicken strutting gaily forth into the world. The period of transition is now on. The counter-revolution is not yet dead, nor is the bourgeoisie, either of Russia or of the world, ready to relinquish its designs on this country and its enormous resources. I was held up at Yamberg, the frontier station, for six days. From there I could see, half a mile away, a wrecked railway bridge blown up by White Guards, which had meant the loss

of hundreds of rail miles, and perhaps the death of 10,000 workers thru starvation caused by the breakdown of the transport system.

As to the future in Russia, the I. W. W. may have little fear. Industrial construction is the essential thing, not for the moment but for many years to come. This implies economic organization, unionism, but not according to the outer-word conception of it. Speaking a week ago at the All-Russian Industrial Union of Miners, I said: "It is true that the mines in which you work, or in which you will work, are swamped by water, the machinery rusted and useless, or entirely destroyed by the White Bands, but bad as all this is, they are **your mines!**" And bad as things are, are you not a thousand times better off now than the mining slaves of the great capitalist countries, who toil to enrich their masters, contract phthisis, lead-poisoning, and all the other ills and evils of the capitalist system?"

And so it is! It is so difficult for men who have lived all their lives under a capitalist dictatorship to realize the real position of the industrial workers in Russia. The full power is actually diverting to their hands. A few are opposing this, but certainly least of all men like Lenin or Bucharin, Tomskey or Zinoviev. I don't believe that they desire to maintain one iota of power on the day the industrial workers are ready to assume it. But as I have said, the industrial workers are few in an immense country. Besides, as yet, the industries, owing to lack of fuel and raw material and defective transport, are only beginning to operate in part. So it is evident that while the power of the industrial workers is growing, and not merely growing, but loudly and clamorously asserting its growth, it is still a step, and possibly a fairly lengthy one before the full administration of Russia will fall entirely into their hands.

And to those who may disagree, I say, "Look at Russia!" The I. W. W. can help Russia greatly. The I. W. W. is respected in Russia more than any other outside organization. It is respected for its many fights against the American, Australian

and South American authorities, and even more for what the I. W. W. have done, and are doing today in Russia. If ever there was a field for work, lasting, permanent work, it is in this country. Mechanics, engineers, turners, blacksmiths, tool makers, mechanic's laborers, Russia wants you, and if possible, your bag of tools. And I tell you that you can fight the American boss from Russia, by building a proletarian civilization that will demonstrate to the workers of the whole world how stupid they are to tolerate the vile system of greed, piggishness and misery that prevails in capitalist countries. Industrial unionism is coming into its own in Russia, and as soon as the outside enemy is punished sufficiently to learn to leave well enough alone, all production will be carried on only to supply, to quote my old friend, John Benjamin King, "the economic wants of society." The State will disappear, and people will live naturally, humanly and beautifully.

Fellow workers, you know as little of Russia as Russia knows of you! They have "put something across" and have lighted Eastern Europe and Northern and Western Asia with the Red Star of the Proletariat! Less criticism of Russia based upon lies and distorted facts, and more real help and desire to assist will be to the advantage of all. Remember how much Russia has done, and how little we of the outside would have accomplished, and do not presume that our experience is the sum-total of the world labor movement.

Industrial Workers of the World! If you are tired of keeping a boss, or of being continually broke, there is room and a welcome for you in Red Russia. In this country every ton of iron ore and every extra truck of coal is a nail in the coffin of capitalism, whereas in your country they mean only a speedier way to hunger and the road. Summer is coming and you will get all the food you want, and you can grow up with something in Russia, instead of going down with nothing in the land of hypocrisy, Wilson, Standard Oil, bull-durham, stool pigeons, bull pens and lawless law. Bring your card with you, and have it paid up!

Moscow, Feb. 1, 1921.

Toward a Definite Syndicalist Policy

SYNDICALISM in the labor movement is a relatively recent phenomenon. It has had its eminent theoreticians, especially in the Latin countries of Europe, but in its practical manifestations, this remarkable philosophy is the spontaneous result of the experience of labor in its endless struggle for emancipation. Being a movement of the rank and file, a growth from the most fecund the humble depths of human society, it has with difficulty established international connections, such as the political parties enjoy for many years. The ideas of men find a ready unity across obstacle and distance; much more significant is the joining of hands of mighty labor groping by its own painful but heroic efforts towards the goal of emancipation.

The London conference before the war and the Berlin conference held recently are the only efforts ever made at syndicalist international organization. It is all the more striking, in view of this relative isolation, to what an extent unity of thought has been achieved in the world syndicalist movement. This coincidence of purpose and policy is significant in that it establishes syndicalism as a definite and powerful world-factor to be reckoned with in the labor movement.

We reproduce below extracts from recent writings of authoritative French, Italian and Spanish syndicalists on the much-discussed problem of the relation between Communist Parties and Syndicalist Unions. The reader will notice how closely these views tally with each other and with the prevalent ideas in the I. W. W. on the subject.

THE ITALIAN SYNDICALIST UNION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Extracts from an article by A. Faggi, Acting Sec.-Treas. of the Italian Syndicalist Union.)

What, then, shall be our attitude towards the new Communist Party? As a class organization, we shall first of all declare our absolute independence and most rigid neutrality, even towards the Communist Party. This does not exclude, naturally, the pos-

sibility of the most neighborly and friendly relations to the new party. If this organism is really a nucleus of vital revolutionary elements, we cannot ignore it, we must be its good friends and allies, even though we function in a different field and must maintain our own characteristics, which do not admit of alterations; our organization needs no tutors, it cannot and must not become a submissive pupil.

As to the individual militant members of the Italian Syndicalist Union, just as there are many to-day that belong to the Socialist Party, so there will be, and in a larger measure, many who will belong to the Communist Party. It is undoubtedly true that this new body exercises considerable fascination among our members and the reason is easily explained. To our way of thinking, the situation is mature for a revolution in Italy; it can be successfully attempted. In order to triumph, it requires a revolutionary organism in which are earnest and authoritative men who should say the word "go". The proletariat will be with these men. Can the Communist Party assume this vital revolutionary role? Will its men rise to the exigencies of the occasion? Whoever answers affirmatively to these questions naturally joins the Communist Party, remaining also an active member of our Union.

For my part I believe that the Italian Syndicalist Union must be considered — in harmony with the syndicalist conception — the most important single factor in the coming Italian revolution. This belief does not eliminate the possibility that in the decisive period that we are traversing, a political organism such as the Communist Party should exercise a great influence in the revolutionary preparation, especially if it were to purge itself of the infection that afflicts the Socialist Party, and that Karl Marx once called "electoral or parliamentary idiocy".

There is one point upon which it is impossible to agree with certain com-

munists. It is in reference to their absurd pretention of wishing to monopolize the revolution, making it in effect a party or even a sect affair.

In speaking of labor unions, these communists seem to consider them as organisms that must pass under their command; the Communist Party would thus assume all the destructive and creative functions of the revolution. It is by this road that our friends arrive at the conclusion of the **Communist Dictatorship**, which in the thoughts of many of them has taken the place of the **Proletarian Dictatorship**. All this is in absolute opposition to our ideas and represents a serious danger to our class. In our eventual dealings with the Communist Party we Syndicalists must always avoid the appearance of sanctioning a principle, harmful in itself and potentially fatal to a workers' revolution, namely: the supremacy of the political group over the Union and consequently the diminution and alteration of the self-sufficient, autonomous organizations of labor.

The Italian Communists cite as an example the Russian revolution — undoubtedly rendering it an evil service — in which they pretend to see the dominance of a political party over all the manifestations of social life.

In Russia, evidently, it is the **Soviet** which dominates and controls social activities. It may happen that in Russia, thru the Soviets, the directing functions may fall to the men of the Communist Party. But this phenomenon simply indicates a condition in which the Russian revolution took place and is presently developing. In Russia, the workers did not have Unions developed to the point that we have reached in Italy; our proletariat has reached a further stage of class-consciousness and maturity. Consequently, even tho we recognize that in Russia the revolution was the fruit of the audacity, the genius and the enterprise of the virile and marvelous body of men that constitute the Communist Party, thru the instrumentality of those magnificent organisms — the Soviets, it must not neces-

sarily follow that exactly the same course should be followed in Italy.

With us, a Communist Party may have educational, inspirational and similar functions — just as other political groupings have in a varying measure — but the Union cannot surrender the creative functions peculiar to the organism which unites in one powerful body the producers of all social wealth, and therefore destined to the historical task of building the new society.

The organized workers may require more education, more organization, better tactical and moral disposition for the supreme effort — but the indispensable practical and technical factors of social reconstruction are with them and not with the lawyers — in the Union and not in the Party. It is the revolutionary Union that must in the event of revolution furnish the thousands of humble proletarians able to reorganize and administer industry, and the elements for the successful guidance of the local and central Workers' Committees. It is in the Union that even today the unmistakable lineaments of a new society are appearing, just as it has been the Union that has raised our fellow workers to their present stage of maturity, and which will create the psychology and the ethics of the coming society of free producers.

No party can advance pretensions to the **Dictatorship** over these workers, who have in themselves the secret of all future victories: the proletariat alone, collectively as a class, must dictate to the enemy class, which it must destroy in the transitory period of revolutionary consolidation in which the new civilization of the producers purges the earth of the lurid survivals of the capitalist order.

The new Communist Party may degenerate into a sterile and disagreeable sect if it does not take these facts into account; it may, on the other hand, be worthy of the highest consideration and support if, permeating itself with our syndicalist viewpoint and spirit, it should duly appreciate these brief considerations.

THE SYNDICAT AND ITS RELATION
TO THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST
PARTIES AND THE RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION

By Salvador Seguí

(Former secretary of the Regional Federation of Labor of Catalonia, Spain, and active militant in the National Confederation of Labor; jailed in Barcelona, March-April, 1919; leader in the Madrid congress of the N. C. of L., December, 1919; arrested and deported to Mahon prison, Balearic Isles, December, 1920, and now confined with Angel Pestafia and others, in the infamous Montjuich fortress, Barcelona, where Francisco Ferrer and numerous other political prisoners were incarcerated, tortured or executed.)

What we desire more than anything else to eliminate from the General Union of Workers (the socialist **Union General de Trabajadores**) is the influence of the Socialist party. The workers who form the Union should no longer continue under the tutelage of a "foreign element". This "foreign element" is the Socialist party. It is possible that it is composed in its entirety of workers—of hand or of brain; nevertheless its function is very distinct from ours. We believe that the class struggle, which we must necessarily maintain, cannot be realized by any other body than the syndicat, the union of workers as workers. Any element or organization other than the syndicat or workers' union stands in the way rather than helps in the struggle.

Our methods in the struggle are completely different from the methods of the bourgeoisie, just as our field of action must also necessarily be different. The Socialist party cannot be considered as other than a prolongation of the radical parties of the bourgeoisie, of the which it is the last expression. Our organization, our Union, must act, therefore, not in accord with the Socialist party or as its adjunct, but rather contrary to it or against it.

The same reasons that make us stand aloof from militant socialism cause us to eschew the political contests or elections. We are anti-parliamentarians, as the whole world knows. The failure of the present regime is the failure of parliamentarism; and, it is for this reason that, even tho some confidence might otherwise be inspired in us in behalf of parliamentarism,

we would still continue to repudiate it, as it would be folly to accept it now that its uselessness has been demonstrated.

No, we shall not accept this heritage. The syndicates have a mission to fulfill which is separate and apart from all election contests and their influence. Our intervention or participation in the elections would serve to give the present regime a sort of an injection which would permit it to artificially prolong its existence a little longer. But we do not nourish any sympathy for the present regime.

It has been said, with pretense of converting us, that we should accept the political contests, and that the Russian Communist Party, which now assumes the responsibility of power in the republic of the Soviets, participated in the elections to achieve its triumph.

Our attitude towards the Russian Revolution, beyond the limits of sympathy, is that of allies disposed to defend it at all cost. But this does not oblige us to a submission which we ourselves could not respect, nor to a complete acceptance of all the methods employed by the communists of the former empire of the czar.

Without it being considered that these words signify censure, as all that we read about Russia tends to show that our comrades there acted in the best manner possible, yet, we believe that the revolution will have to be a very different thing in Spain from what it was in Russia, and we also believe that the power will not be in the hands of a political party, no matter how good the intentions of such a party might be, but that the power will be in the syndicates because it is the syndicates, the unions, after all things are taken into account, that alone will have a reason for being, and will have a mission to perform, since upon them will rest the responsibilities of production and distribution.

The dictatorship—admitting that in the period of transformation from the bourgeois to the communist state we may have need for a dictatorship—must be exercised by the syndicates because it is in the syndicates where resides all the power of that class

which must necessarily make the revolution as well as insure its ultimate success.

The Communist Party would inevitably have to dispute its mandate with other parties which would stand in its way, and, in order to retain its power the Communist Party would have to expend much energy which would necessarily be urgently needed to correct defects of organization in the new society then being born.

With the syndicates, none of this would happen. However warm the discussions might be within the syndicate or union, the different contenders or factions would sooner or later arrive at an agreement, for the simple reason that it is much less difficult for people directly and intimately concerned to agree on questions of administration or of production, etc., than on speculative problems.

We understand that the power, or to state it better, the duty to attend to the economic needs of society, of the new communist society, is really the exclusive attribute and function of the syndicates or unions.

The various philosophic, social and art schools may and will flourish better, without any doubt, apart from the material life and freed from the tread-mill struggle for existence, and their different conceptions would then take on a tone of true nobility and disinterestedness which they would never be enabled to assume while subordinated to the passions and everyday needs of the material side of life.

DECLARATION OF THE FRENCH DELEGATION TO THE BERLIN SYNDICALIST CONFERENCE

The French delegates presented the following declaration of principles:

We, the French delegates, are of the opinion that all revolutionary syndicalist organizations should unite in one single body to put up a united front against international capitalism and against the Reformist Amsterdam International. By dividing the forces of revolutionary labor into two Internationals we could only help capitalism and the Yellow Amsterdam International.

The French Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority, organized within the reformist General Confederation of Labor (Générale Confederation du Travail), comprises Syndicalist-Anarchists, Revolutionary Syndicalists and Socialist-Communist Syndicalists.

We are of the opinion that these same elements can enter into the formation of the Red Industrial Union International at Moscow. The French Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority already has affiliated to the Third International. Our point of view is reinforced by Zinoviev in a speech at the last congress of the Russian trade unions, in which he declared:

"I believe there is place for all unions to participate in the coming conference. It is not necessary to exact from participants recognition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Communism and the Third International. It is sufficient to place before them the question: Amsterdam or Moscow. There must come to Moscow only those who do not wish to go to Amsterdam."

The Industrial Union International of Moscow will be what the Revolutionary Syndicalists who will enter it will want it to be.

The main problem before us at the present time is the formation of this International, which will be capable of taking revolutionary action when the time arrives. This is no time for us to enter into lengthy discussions of questions of only secondary importance.

We should first of all agree on a program of class-war and direct action in order that there may be formed within our trade unions the necessary complementary organs (Councils and Workers' Shop Committees) which will be prepared when the time arrives to fulfill their functions of taking over the factories, of re-organizing them and of continuing the work of production and distribution after the revolution.

By voicing our intention to come to Moscow, we do not want to convey the impression that we subscribe to the platform of any political party. It would be unjust to place the Communist Party of Russia, which has made the revolution, on the same

level with the more or less opportunistic political parties, parliamentary and otherwise, which exist in the different countries at present still under capitalist domination.

By adhering to the Red Industrial International the French Syndicalist Minority has not been influenced in its conduct by any political party. This Revolutionary Minority has formed Revolutionary Syndicalist Committees in all the French Reformist Trade Unions; the purpose of these Committees is to propagate the revolutionary doctrines of direct action and the class struggle, and to give to the reformist management of the trade unions and confederations, and to the General Confederation of Labor as a whole, a revolutionary direction.

In this work the French Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority is not following the advice or instructions from any political party; it has, however, declared its readiness at its last congress to co-operate with other bodies for the abolition of wage slavery.

It is in the above spirit that the French Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority asks all of the organizations represented at the Berlin Syndicalist Conference held in December, 1920, to affiliate to the Red Industrial International and to send their Delegates to the Congress that will take place in May, 1921, in Moscow. At this Congress a definite plan of action by all revolutionary labor bodies there represented will be formed.

The French Delegation,

V. Godonneche,
Jean Ceppe.



Two Conventions of Italian Labor

By G. C.

ON THE WEEKS beginning January 15th and February 28th of the present year, the Italian Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labor, its economic reflex, held their national conventions in the socialist municipality of Leghorn. The importance of these conventions to the Italian people and to the world labor movement cannot be overestimated; one Leghorn daily declared that they were the most important single events since the armistice in their potential influence on the destinies of the Italian nation.

The Socialist Party delegates, to the number of over three thousand, met in the Goldoni Theater. They represented the strongest single party in Italy, with over 210,000 members, 156 deputies in the Chamber, and the most important industrial municipalities and provinces under their political control.

Still the glory and pomp of power could not conciliate the most heterogeneous gathering of "socialists" imaginable. The metallurgical workers' agitation of last October had bared to the view of the Executive Committee of the Third International,

and to a large body of Italian workers, the essentially conservative soul of the loud-spoken, phrasemonging politicians. When the moment for revolutionary action came, the Maximalists of the Bologna Congress, the men who had been to Soviet Russia and had attested their revolutionary faith before the officials of the Third International, deliberately sabotaged the workers' movement and sent the Italian proletariat reeling back into the depths of disillusion and despair. When the Revolution reared its unkempt head brusquely before them, the politicians refused to recognize it.

A heated, controversial correspondence with Moscow followed; Zinoviev reproved Serrati, the Centrist leader, bitterly and to the point of offense; the party disintegrated into a half-dozen groups of varying views, which merged into three main divisions: the extreme Left, led by Bordiga, Bombacci, Terracini; the Centre, with Serrati, Baratonio and Lazzari; the Right, with the old and crafty politicians Turati, D'Aragona, Modigliani, etc.

It was the general feeling that the Leghorn Convention could have but one outcome: a complete



THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST DELEGATION AT A RECENT SOVIET CONGRESS
 Sitting at the table, left to right: D'aragona, Graziadei, Zinoviev, Bombacci, Serrati, Dugoni.

split. The popular expectations were verified, the only surprise being occasioned by the completeness with which the ambiguous and fluctuating elements of the Centre gave themselves into the arms of the Extreme Right when they faced the inevitable alternative. The essential opportunism of all politicians was here unmistakably revealed; two years ago the Centrists of today steered their Socialist Party into power and prominence on a program which satisfies the popular demand for Revolution and Soviets; today they renounce Revolution and substitute the formation of Soviets with the more convenient task of conquering more offices in the bourgeois political structure. It is to the great credit of the Moscow Communists that they have finally seen thru this duplicity: they state clearly in their telegram to the Convention that "the general revolutionary circumstances (in Italy) give them the External Appearance of being more to the Left than the Centrists of other lands."

The Third International was represented at the Convention by the Bulgarian Communist, Kabaceff, who made known to the delegates the views of the Central Committee in no uncertain terms. On the first day of the Convention the following telegram from Moscow was read:

"Dear Comrades: The attempts of our representatives, Zinovieff and Bukharin, to participate in your Congress have not had the results hoped for thru no fault of ours (they were barred out by the Italian Government). Moreover, Comrades Serrati and Baratonio,

who had declared their intention to come to Russia, have not come. Therefore we send to you with this telegram our fraternal greetings and the following message:

"We have followed thru the columns of your journals the struggle of the last months between the diverse tendencies of your party. Unfortunately the actions of the Communist Unitarians, at least the actions of the heads of the faction, have confirmed our most unfavorable expectations. In the name of unity with the reformists, the unitarian leaders are as a matter of fact ready to separate from the communists and also from the International.

"Italy is crossing at present a revolutionary period, and it is for this reason that the reformists and the centrists seem to be more to the Left than those of other lands. Day by day it has appeared more clearly to us that the faction headed by Comrade Serrati is in reality a faction of centrists, to which only the general revolutionary circumstances give the external appearance of being more to the Left than the centrists of other lands.

"Before knowing how the majority at your Congress will be constituted, the Executive Committee declares officially in an absolutely categorical manner: the decisions of the second world congress of the Communist International obligates adherent parties to break with the reformists. They who refuse to effectuate this schism violate an essential law of the International and put themselves outside the ranks of the International. All the unitarians in the world cannot convince the International that the editorship and the inspiration of that arch-reformist review, the "Critica Sociale" (Turati's journal), are favorable to the dictator-



THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN SESSION IN THE GOLDONI THEATRE, LEGHORN, ITALY

The streamer above the picture of Karl Marx reads: "Workers of the World, Unite!"

ship of the proletariat and to the Communist International. No diplomacy will convince us that the faction of the concentration is favorable to the proletarian revolution. Those who wish to bring the reformists into the International wish in reality the death of the proletarian revolution. They will never be of us.

"The Italian Communist Party must be created at any odds (in ogni modo). Of this we have no doubt, and to this party will come the sympathy of the proletariat of the entire world and the warm support of the Communist International.

"*Abbasso il riformismo! Viva il vero partito comunista italiano!*"

After six days of heated discussion in which the gulf between the contending factions widened increasingly, the matter came to a head with the vote on the motion to join the Third International under the conditions outlined by Kabaceff—strict observance of the 21 points, including expulsion of the reformist wing of the party.

The vote on the motion was as follows:

For (Communists).....	58,000
Against (Center and Right).....	111,000
Abstained from voting.....	50,000

The Communists abandoned the convention and proceeded to hold one of their own in which the Italian Communist Party came to life.

* * * * *

At the convention of the General Confederation of Labor about 1,750,000 workers were represented, of which almost a million are embraced in the powerful Agricultural and Metallurgical Workers' Federations. Transportation is the Confederation's weakest point for neither the Syndicat of Railway Workers nor the Federation of the Toilers of the Sea belong to it; these are extremely radical and efficient independent industrial unions.

The struggle which materialized at the Leghorn Convention of the Italian Socialist Party had its counterpart in the Convention of the G. C. of L. Communists and moderates fought for supremacy and the latter won out in the test vote. On the motion of the Communists to withdraw from the Amsterdam International and join the Third International, the vote stood 1,300,000 against and 418,000 for. The convention approved the closest co-operation between the Confederation and the Socialist Party, the withdrawal from the Amsterdam International, and possible co-operation with Moscow on the basis of national autonomy in the policies to be pursued in the future. Here also the ambiguities of Centrism triumphed. That socialism which seeks the conquest of the bourgeois governmental mechanism for its own purposes of political dominion has again fooled a large section of the Italian workers into believing its revolutionary pretensions.

A very competent appraisal of the significance of the split in the socialist forces from the pen of Angelo Faggi (formerly editor of the Italian organ of the I. W. W. and at present acting secretary-treasurer of the powerful Italian Syndicalist Union) appears in "Guerra di Classe," of January 29th,

1921. This is Fellow Worker Faggi's comment on the situation:

"Evidently the Communist Party is destined at its birth to meet great sympathy and powerful support in the ranks of the Italian workers. Nursing the hope of imminent revolution, they find themselves today suffering bitter disillusion. Still, their general tendency is to rebel against their betrayers, and, veering instinctively towards a more precise and decisive stand, they naturally sympathize with whoever preaches the most extreme doctrine. From this point of view, the Communist Party will have a large following, especially because of the fact that on the political field it will be the authorized representative of the Third International.

"To what extent the new Communist Party can satisfy the hopes of the proletariat, it is difficult to foretell at this early stage. It is better to see it in action before hazarding a judgment which may be either too pessimistic or too rosy.

"As to the influence that the new party will have in the ranks of the General Confederation of Labor, it is impossible to foretell. It seems that the Communist Party, thru its most authoritative leaders, has expressed the determination to support this organization in order to gradually conquer and transform it. It is a fruitless labor that the Communists are attempting, to our way of thinking. Still we have read with pleasure the writings of many members from the rank and file of the party who sustain the only clear road in the economic field it outside of the G. C. of L., and precisely in the Italian Syndicalist Union. If,



In the centre, Filippo Turati—a potential Italian Scheidemann.



Above the cross, the Centrist leader G. M. Serrati. The most prominent figure in the Italian Socialist Party, in 1903-4 editor of "Il Proletario" in New York City.

then, the split in the Leghorn Congress will not have an immediate repercussion in the ranks of the G. C. of L., to the point of causing a secession of the forces controlled by the Communists, some effect of this nature it will surely have, especially as the G. C. L. is bound to follow the Socialist Party in an increasingly conservative policy, all communist efforts to the contrary notwithstanding."

If we were politically minded and believed that the fate of the Italian workers was entirely in the hands of the warring political sects and factions, the situation would indeed appear dark to our anxious eye. But fortunately such is not the case; the Italian workers are developing thru continuous warfare on the economic field a remarkable capacity for independent action; almost one million workers in the Italian Syndicalist Union and the railwaymen and

seamen's unions, repudiating all political tutelage, are a living example of this new spirit. The metallurgical workers' movement of last October is an indication of the possible future tactics of Italian labor, and the workers have learned a great lesson from that memorable uprising.

Norman Matson writes in the March Liberator:

"In the first great industrial struggle they took over the now famous 500 factories, and holding them, turned to their previously unconsulted leaders for advice. Out of the maze of contradictory, ambiguous accounts of that tense moment, one remembers the story of the night of waiting. In the factories of Turin and Milan not a red worker slept. Would their political and industrial advisers—Serrati, D'Aragona & Co.—tell them to hold the line or retreat? The order—formulated by the men who now lead a party purged of bolsheviks—was "Retreat—evacuate!" A young Torinese told me: "The disappointment crushed us. Some of us wept that night!"

Today Italy is practically rent by civil war; in the first week of March, the Italian workers, goaded by the bourgeoisie's white guard, the "fascisti," have been driven to retaliation. General strikes, riots, and a guerilla warfare in which the troops have used machine guns and three-inch cannon, have spread from Trieste in the North to Bari in the extreme South. The dead on both sides number close to one hundred; the wounded reach many times that number; thousands have been arrested. Still the Socialist Party maintains that the time for revolution is not yet at hand.

To the millions of Italian workers surging forward under the impellent urge of hunger, unemployment and reaction, the Italian Syndicalist Union alone has a virile message of hope and deliverance; to them it says constantly:

"Do not weep; do not retreat; do not wait for orders; keep right on fighting on your own initiative and the world shall be yours, and the riches thereof."

CAPITALISM MAKES WAR INEVITABLE

This monstrous thing called war will occur again! Not because any considerable number of people want it, not even because an active minority wills it, but because the present system of competitive capitalism makes war inevitable. Economic rivalries are the warp and woof of capitalism.

Today the rivalries are economic—in the fields of commerce and industry and finance. Tomorrow they will be military.

Already the nations have begun the competition in the building of tanks, battleships and airplanes. These instruments of destruction are built for use, and when the time comes, they will be used as they were between 1914 and 1918.

Again there will be the war propaganda—subtle at first, then more and more open. There will be

stories of atrocities; threats of world conquest. "Preparedness" will be the cry.

Again there will be the talk of "My country, right or wrong"; "Stand behind the President"; "Fall in line"; "Go over the top!"

Again fear will stalk through the land, while hate and war lust are whipped into a frenzy.

Again the most stalwart men of the nations will "dig themselves in" and slaughter one another for years on end.

Again the truth-tellers will be mobbed and jailed and lynched, while those who champion the cause of the workers will be served with injunctions if they refuse to sell out to the masters.

—Scott Nearing in "The American Empire."

The Industrial Pioneer

A Journal of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

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HARRY FEINBERG, Business Manager

Published monthly by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Subscription price, \$2.50 per year; 25 cents per copy; bundle orders, 15 cents per copy, non-returnable; express charges "collect."



THE STATUS OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA

IN THIS ISSUE of *The Industrial Pioneer* are printed three articles dealing with the labor situation in Soviet Russia. Controversy has been going on for some time past on the share that organized labor should assume in the management of industry and in the functioning of the Soviet Government. As will be seen by a reading of these articles, the Soviet Government is at present completely in the hands of the Communist Party, which numbers some 500,000 members. The labor unions in Russia, on the other hand, number 6,500,000 members. Altho they have a great deal to say about the management of industry, the supervision and co-ordination of industrial life is entrusted to the Communist Commissars. Of late a strong demand has arisen among a portion of the unionists that the major functions of the State should be taken over by the industrial unions. The names most prominently associated with this movement are those of Alexandra Kollontay and Schlapnikoff; at the other extreme stand Trotzky and Bucharin, with Lenin occupying a central position. Karl Radek, whose article appears in this issue of *The Industrial Pioneer*, and whose views on this subject coincide closely with those of Lenin, was at one time Soviet ambassador to Germany, and served on the Soviet delegation to the Brest-Litovsk and Riga peace conferences.

These articles are printed in order that our readers may get a more accurate understanding of the situation in Soviet Russia. It is exceedingly difficult to judge what ought to be done over there by trying to apply principles which are adaptable to America and to other highly industrialized countries. The industrial population of Russia forms only 15 per cent of the people, the other 85 per cent constituting the agrarian population. But since the Soviet Government rests primarily on the 15 per cent of the industrial population, and yet at the same time has to satisfy the demands of the other 85 per cent, it is apparent that they have a task on their hands of no small proportions. It is not for us to say what the Soviet Government should do to solve its difficulties. We rest assured that in the course of time these difficulties will be solved in a manner satisfactory to all concerned.

POLITICAL VERSUS ECONOMIC ACTION

There seems to be a great deal of uncertainty concerning the real meaning of political and economic action.

In everyday parlance the meaning of these terms depends very much upon the person using them. When, for instance, a pure and simple trade unionist speaks about economic action he means the going out on strike for more wages and shorter hours. When a democrat speaks about political action he means the going to the polls and the casting of votes for aldermen, mayors, congressmen and other legislators. When, on the other hand, a thoroughgoing industrial unionist uses the expression economic action he does not simply mean striking for more wages or shorter hours; he understands by this term any action which his union may take, irrespective of the ends to be attained. To illustrate, should the members of his union go on strike for shorter hours, this would be economic action. But should they go out on strike for the liberation of class war prisoners, that would also be economic action; and

lastly, should they lock out the employers and take over the industry in which they work, this would likewise be considered as economic action.

From the point of view of the adherents to political parties, the last two instances will be cited by them as examples of political action. They would claim, for instance, that a general strike proclaimed for the purpose of liberating all class-war prisoners is a political act; likewise, they would claim that a parade of strikers for the purpose of enrolling the sympathy of a city populace is also a political act.

It seems to us that in determining whether an act is political or economic, we ought to consider the source from where it emanates, and not the ends that it has in view. Any action that originates and is carried thru, directly or indirectly, by an economic organization should be considered as economic action; likewise, any action which originates and is carried thru by a political organization should be considered as political action. This would save a great deal of misunderstanding and ill feeling caused by squabbling over the meaning of words which in themselves really are of little importance to the working class.

The trend of the times is away from the political towards the industrial way of running society. Political administrations are becoming obsolete for the simple reason that they do not satisfy the needs of the hour. Lenin has expressed this truth very succinctly by saying that we should substitute the "administration of things" for the "administration of persons." In this new scheme of things the industrial unit is to be taken as the point of departure instead of the territorial unit, which makes it impossible to give the necessary attention to industrial requirements. Political organizations are left-overs from an order of society which is fast sinking into oblivion. While they, as yet, perform useful functions in most countries, the shadow of extinction is upon them.

It is quite possible for economic organ-

izations to function in the field at present commonly occupied by political organizations. The Russians have made a good beginning along these lines by the organization of the Supreme Council of National Economy. This Council will eventually take over the functions at the present time performed in bourgeois countries by legislators and political governmental departments of labor and production. The idea prevails in the minds of a great many people that in the labor movement it is absolutely essential for a political party to serve as a unifying influence between the different labor organizations. This concept is, of course, borrowed from the role that the Communist Party has played and is playing at the present time in Soviet Russia. It is doubtful, however, that in highly industrial countries it is at all necessary for a political party to assume these supervisory and unifying functions. It seems conceivable to us that the labor organizations themselves could create organs to take over the work commonly assigned to political bodies, whether they be Communist or otherwise.

NIKOLAI LENIN ON EFFICIENCY.

"Keep accurate and conscientious accounts; conduct business economically; do not loaf; do not steal; maintain strict discipline at work." These slogans, which were justly ridiculed by revolutionary proletarians when they were used by the bourgeoisie to cover its domination as a class of exploiters, have now, after overthrow of the bourgeoisie, become the urgent and principal slogans. And on the one hand the practical realization of these slogans by the toiling masses is the sole condition for the salvation of the country, which has been shattered by the imperialistic war and by the imperialists (headed by Kerensky), and on the other hand, the practical realization of these slogans by the Soviet power, with its methods, and on the basis of its laws, is necessary and sufficient for the final victory of Socialism.

For a Concerted Plan of Action

By H. Van Dorn

THE TIME has arrived for the Industrial Workers of the World as an organization, and for each member individually, to ask these questions: Where do we stand? Why are we not growing faster? What should be done to make the I. W. W. the power that it should be in the American Labor Movement?

Conditions were never so good for the growth of the I. W. W. as they are today. Unemployment, lowering of wages, the open shop, hunger, lockouts, persecution—these are the things that make the workers turn their eyes to the radical movement as the only way out of the morass of capitalism. These are the things that the I. W. W. will grow strong on, and that, if proper advantage is taken of the opportunities as they present themselves, will make of the I. W. W. in the not distant future the **one big power** in the American Labor Movement.

A thoro discussion from all angles of the problems confronting the I. W. W. is especially desirable in view of the nearness of the Thirteenth Convention; more, it is imperative, if the I. W. W. is to play its proper role in the great impending struggle between the forces of labor and capital, which already throws a threatening shadow athwart the continent.

For the purpose of clarity of thought let us divide our discussion into three parts, dealing with the necessity of

(1) **A definite I. W. W. policy**, which will be mainly a discussion of principles.

(2) **A concerted plan of action**, wherein the policy arrived at will be applied to particular problems.

(3) **The creation of organs for the execution of the I. W. W. plan of action.**

For An I. W. W. Policy

The situation that prevails in American industry today is unique. All previous unemployment crises were of a temporary nature, whereas the unemployment of to-

day is here to stay. For this reason our policy, built upon the past experience of the organization, will have to be revised to conform to the changed situation in industry. Consequently, our plan of action for organizing industries will also have to be revised.

During the war this country produced not only enough goods to supply the current needs of the people, but also a tremendous volume of work was done to manufacture war munitions and other commodities for the prosecution of the war. Since the signing of the armistice all of the man-power that was previously engaged on war contracts has been thrown into other fields of activity. For a time a good deal of this man-power was absorbed in the production of goods that were exported to South America, to Europe and to other countries, as well as in catching up in industries which had been neglected during the war period, such as the building of automobiles, residences, factories, etc. By this time, however, the country has completely caught up with its neglected industries, and the man-power that was previously engaged in work of this nature has been thrown out of employment. To aggravate the situation, the export trade is but a shadow of its former self. American manufacturers shipped to Europe exports to the value of some three billion dollars, and afterwards found that they could not collect on this trade on account of the greatly depreciated exchange value of European currency. Our exports to South America and other countries also have greatly fallen down. To make things worse, wages are being cut for the workers who still are fortunate enough to have jobs, which in turn means that the purchasing power of the money that they receive will not be as great as it was when wages were high, so that so much less commodities will have to be manufactured to supply the needs of the

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country, which in its turn will throw more people out of work. There is no reason to believe that anything will turn up to accelerate production. In the course of the coming years, should the incoming Republican administration be far-sighted enough to open trade with Soviet Russia, it will help matters for a while, but even this cannot be looked upon as permanent relief. The Russians can only use so much machinery and other manufactured goods, and the supplying of these commodities would only be a drop in the bucket of unemployment in the United States.

It is exceedingly important that the situation outlined above be clearly understood and emphasized, for it changes the whole complexion of the industrial situation. Labor organizations which answered the needs of the working class in years past will no longer do so under the changed circumstances. Millions of men and women out of work will make it practically impossible for labor organizations to fight for shorter hours and more wages with the same tactics that have been used in the past, and win out. Furthermore, those labor organizations whose backbone has been their ability to give to their members bigger wages and a closed shop, will find themselves utterly useless. For instance, in the past the only reason why working people joined the different A. F. of L. unions was because by doing so they got more wages, shorter hours and better conditions than if they were not members. As soon as these craft unions are no longer able to offer these inducements to the workingmen, naturally these workingmen will not join them, and those who already belong to these craft unions will gradually drop away. This leads us to the conclusion that the craft unions comprised within the American Federation of Labor from now on will be losing both in numbers, in prestige and in influence, and will in the course of some years practically go out of existence. Added weight is given to this prediction by the inability of these unions to uphold their present wages and working conditions, as has been demonstrated time and again during the last few months when

wages have been cut and these unions have submissively accepted these cuts, as well as the lengthening of hours.

Altho not with equal force, the same argument applies to the independent industrial unions, such as the Amalgamated Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and others. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have been locked out in the City of New York by employers for months, in an attempt to break up the organization, and there is no reason to believe that the employers will not be successful in this attempt. The Amalgamated Textile Workers are practically useless as a labor organization to the silk weavers in the East.

As for unorganized workers to go on strike in isolated instances under the present circumstances is utterly foolish, for they have not the ghost of a chance to succeed. Whenever any group of men, heretofore unorganized, go out on strike they are doomed to lose, for there are thousands of men and women to take their places. Therefore, for any craft organization to try to line up members at the present time with the plea of giving them shorter hours and more wages is attempting the impossible. It would amount to nothing else than a conscious attempt at deceiving these unorganized workers.

As a consequence of the conditions outlined above, among the rank and file of the unorganized as well as the organized the sentiment for the radical labor movement, as exemplified in the Industrial Workers of the World, is growing stronger day by day. The conditions are forcing the working class to understand that nothing short of complete industrial unionism will make it possible for them to fight capitalism. It is primarily on this account that wherever one may go at the present time, whether it be the West, the Middle-West, or the manufacturing centers of the Eastern and the New England states, one will find a strong sentiment in favor of the I. W. W. And what is more important, this sentiment is growing stronger as the days go by. These workers are getting to be actually hungry for somebody to come along and tell them

what to do, and how to organize in order to put up a solid front against their masters. The only organization which is capable of doing this is the I. W. W.

In order to meet the situation successfully, we have to adopt

A Definite Plan of Action.

In outlining our plan of action we ought to keep two things in mind:

(1) That we gain the confidence of the workers only by telling them the truth, and not by giving rash promises.

(2) That we must always lay special emphasis on the necessity of the workers taking over industry and running it for the benefit of the whole community instead of for a few individuals.

It has been the experience of branch secretaries all thru the country that wherever unorganized workers go on strike they very often apply to the I. W. W. for organizers. These workers may number only a few hundred, or they may form but one department in a big industrial establishment, and the chances are twenty to one that they will lose out. Now, should the I. W. W. send organizers to help them with this strike, it should always be the duty of these organizers to impress upon the minds of the strikers that the chance of winning their demands for more wages, shorter hours, or whatever else they may want, are very slight, but that they will have accomplished much indeed if they will line up in the I. W. W. and thus become part of a nationwide organization, whose aim is primarily to abolish the whole system which makes strikes possible.

It ought to become readily apparent to all open-minded Wobblies that in view of the changed conditions the field for the I. W. W. has greatly widened. We should not only try to line up members individually, but we should also get into other labor organizations and try to get them over into the I. W. W. bodily. We should get away from the habit of condemning other labor organizations just because they may have the A. F. of L. label or some other label on them, and should remember that the rank and file in any labor organization are simply workingmen who are as much sub-

ject to persuasion as the unorganized. We should keep uppermost in our minds that if the organization that a workingman belongs to is not capable of offering him a solution for his troubles he will cast around for some other organization which is capable of doing so.

To illustrate the above contention, let us cite a few instances from recent history in the labor movement. A few months ago the Amalgamated Textile Workers in Lawrence, Mass., took a vote to affiliate with the O. B. U., and this motion came within 75 of being carried. This action was of an entirely spontaneous origin, as the members of this union had come to realize the uselessness of an independent union such as the Amalgamated Textile Workers. Now, it is reasonable to expect that with a certain amount of concerted action within the Amalgamated Textile Workers during the months to come it will be an easy matter to swing this organization bodily into the I. W. W. Another instance: some months ago the switchmen in Chicago and in other cities revolted against their Brotherhood and formed what are known as "outlaw" Switchmen's Associations. This only goes to demonstrate that the old form of organization was not adopted to meet the needs of the switchmen under the changed conditions, so that they were forced to form another organization. It is reasonable to expect that with a certain amount of hard work, agitation and education within the "outlaw" Switchmen's Associations it would not be a hard matter to take them bodily over into the I. W. W.

Some fellow workers will object to this line of argument on the grounds that when men are taken into the organization in great numbers thru the taking over of other unions they are not educated well enough to be of any substantial use to the I. W. W. This argument is fundamentally wrong, for there is nothing on earth to prevent the I. W. W. from educating them after they become member of our organization. Furthermore, they would bring into the organization funds which could be used for the purpose of spreading propoganda and educational matter not only among themselves

but also among other workers in different industries. This in turn would bring in more members, who in turn would bring in more funds, which could be used for the putting out of more educational propaganda, which would bring in more members. In this way we would establish a steady rotation of funds, education, organization, more funds, more education, more organization, which would make of the I. W. W. a power in the labor movement of America undreamed of at the present time.

As a further argument for the necessity of the I. W. W. extending its sphere of activity, let us consider the transportation industry. Is it not futile to imagine that we will be able to line up individually in our Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520 the hundreds of thousands of men who now belong in the big railway Brotherhoods—all the brakemen, conductors, firemen, locomotive engineers, switchmen, maintenance-of-way men, etc.? These Brotherhoods are at present so solidly organized that it is unreasonable to expect for anything short of an earthquake to shake these members away from their respective organizations in the course of the next few years. While we are doing everything in our power to get in as many individual members as we possibly can into our Railway Workers' Industrial Union, why should we not at the same time get on the inside of the Brotherhoods and also do everything in our power there to create sentiment for the I. W. W., to educate the workers, and, should the opportunity present itself, to take over some of these unions, or at least locals, bodily?

Those members who object to these "bor-ing from within" tactics should remember that conditions today are not what they were in the past. Their stand in the past was perfectly justified, because at that time the craft unions had something to offer to the working class, and it was exceedingly hard for revolutionists to make any appreciable progress within these organizations. At the present time, however, practically all craft unions are bankrupt and have nothing to offer to their members. Their members are in a condition of extreme dis-

satisfaction, and will get more so as the months go by. The counseling of agitators within their midst will be eagerly listened to, and, should conditions permit it, their advice will be followed. This leads us to the third part of our discussion, which is

The Creation of the Necessary Organs for the Execution of the Program Outlined Above.

It will generally be admitted that the following four industries are the most essential, so to speak the pivotal, industries in this country:

- (1) Transportation.
- (2) Steel and Iron.
- (3) Mining Industry.
- (4) Food Industry.

Outside of having organized a small portion of the mining industry, the I. W. W. has no hold whatsoever in any of the four industries mentioned above. The big problem, therefore, is this: How are we going to proceed to organize these industries?

Such Industrial Unions as are at present functioning within the I. W. W. have a General Organization Committee, the so-called G. O. C. In the smaller unions, altho theoretically they also have a G. O. C., this G. O. C. as a rule does not function, the union being handicapped in the matter of finances. In those industries in which the I. W. W. does not function there are no G. O. C.'s to lay plans for organization work to be carried on there. Consequently, it ought to be apparent that what we need is some sort of a central organ, the specific function of which will be to carry on organization work in industries and localities which at present are not included in the field of activity of the already existing I. W. W. Industrial Unions.

What we need, therefore, more than anything else at the present time is a **Central Propaganda and Organization Bureau**. The functions of this bureau could be outlined as follows:

- (1) To gather vital data about industrial conditions all thru the country.
- (2) To route speakers and organizers to districts which present the most favorable conditions for organization work.

(3) To prepare propaganda

(a) Of a general nature, which could advantageously be spread among all classes of workers, dealing with general questions, such as unemployment, break-down of the capitalist system, the necessity of organization, etc.

(b) Of a special nature, to appeal to workers engaged in separate industries and under distinct working conditions. To illustrate: the getting out of leaflets which would appeal specifically to the automobile workers all over the country, to the packing house workers, to the coal miners in West Virginia, etc. It is to be understood, of course, that in the preparation of this literature the Bureau would work in the closest conjunction with the G. O. C's of the respective Industrial Unions.

(4) In its work, this Bureau should overlook no factor which would react to the benefit of the I. W. W. It should concentrate as much on the spreading of favorable I. W. W. sentiment within already existing labor organizations, and should endeavor thru organizers to capture some of these organizations bodily, if the opportunity should present itself, as on the lining up of individual members. In co-operation with the G. O. C's it should see to it that the right men are placed in the right places and that they work according to orders for the benefit of the I. W. W., and not according to their personal whims. This brings us to the necessity of

The Strictest Discipline in the Carrying Out of This Organization work.

We might as well make up our minds now as at any other time that if the I. W. W. is to attain power in this country it has to learn to instill the spirit of discipline within its ranks. One of the weaknesses of the I. W. W. in the past has been its haphazard, unsystematic way of doing things.

Let us constantly bear in mind that unless we become at least as efficient and as well-disciplined as the capitalists, that we will never be able to successfully take over the functions that the capitalists are performing today. To be able to the better to grasp the importance of discipline, let us present a concrete illustration:

Suppose the G. O. C. of the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union decides that the conditions prevailing in the repair shops of a particular railroad are especially favorable for carrying on I. W. W. propaganda and organization work. Having made this decision let it get its men on the job, and let those members who already are on that job understand that a special effort is to be made to line up that particular repair shop. The G. O. C. should then gather all data respecting the conditions, wages, sentiment and any particular situation that may prevail in that shop. Thus prepared, it should draw up a detailed plan of action. It should then communicate its plan of action to the members on the job and it should make them understand that they are absolutely expected to carry out this plan and not to work according to their personal likes or dislikes. Whoever is not willing to conform to this action is to be shoved aside as not fitted to function on that job. This will virtually amount to the formation of machines. A machine is a term greatly disliked by some of our members, but let them remember that in reality it is nothing else than a co-ordination of the efforts of a militant minority.

Let us, therefore, coin these new watchwords for our future organization work: **Efficiency and Discipline.**

* * * * *

The writer of the above article earnestly hopes that it will provoke constructive thinking in the membership, and will eventually lead to fruitful activity for the creation of a bigger, a stronger and a more powerful I. W. W.

ORGANIZATION

By James Kennedy

ALL WEALTH is produced by labor being applied to the natural resources of the earth. Wherever labor and natural resources come together, there industry springs up—a job comes into existence. The wealth produced on the job is divided in two parts. Part goes to the workers in the form of wages and part to the capitalists in the form of profits. The share of each is determined by the amount of control they exert over the job. On every job there are two conflicting interests. The capitalist wants to make the biggest possible profits in the shortest possible time. To accomplish this he must get as much as possible out of the workers and must give them as little as possible. He wants hard work, long hours, low wages, and low running expenses, which make rotten conditions. The workers are on the job to make a living. To this end they must have short hours, high wages, easy work and good conditions. This conflict of interest is the cause of the struggle that goes on between workers and employers—the class struggle.

In this as in all struggles the side with the most power will win. The secret of power is organization. The capitalists are few in number. They do no useful work but live as parasites off the labor of the workers. They are entirely unnecessary to the running of industry. They perform no useful function in society. But they are organized, and by virtue of their organized power they control the natural resources of the earth and the machinery of production, and only allow the workers access to them on condition they can make a profit off their labor.

The workers are absolutely necessary to running industry. They furnish the labor power without which not a wheel would turn. But they do not control their own labor power because only a small percentage are organized. Being forced to deal as individuals with the organized power of the capitalists they are helpless and have to accept whatever conditions the employers see fit to impose on them. On all jobs where the workers are unorganized their standing is little better than that of work animals—of cattle. They only receive enough in the form of wages to enable them to keep in working condition, just as a four-legged beast of burden is fed enough hay and grain to enable him to furnish motive power for his master's wagon. If an individual worker voices a protest he is discharged. This causes no inconvenience to the boss, for it is easy to get another to take his place.

But when the workers begin to organize, a change takes place. When all the workers on a job, or even a fair percentage of them, make demands the boss cannot discharge them without shutting down or seriously crippling his job. Fear of stopping or re-

ducing his profits forces him to make concessions. He will try to compromise. Just how much he will concede depends entirely on the strength of the workers' organization. Where the workers are unorganized the capitalist holds undisputed sway. He has complete control of the job. But on every job where the workers are organized there are two contending forces—that of Labor and that of Capital. Unorganized, the workers are powerless and must tamely submit. With organization they gain power and are able to dispute the control of the capitalists. Hence, where the workers are organized, hours, wages and conditions are always better than on unorganized jobs. Provided, of course, the workers' organization is genuine and not a fake controlled by the bosses.

Workers Organized to Produce.

Organization is the keynote of power and success. Without organization nothing worth while can be accomplished. Even wild animals and birds know enough to organize for mutual protection. By organization and co-operation primitive man was able to overcome the beasts and reptiles of the primeval forest, and rise to civilization. Without the workers being organized to carry on industry, production would stop and the world would go back to savagery.

When a man goes to work in the woods his object is to get wages—money. He wants to make a "stake" and to make it as big, as easily, and as quickly as possible. He cares nothing about the profits of his employer. When a lumber company hires men to work in the woods their object is to make profits, and to that end they must get out logs. They are not concerned with the welfare of the workers. Thus we see there are two distinct objects to be accomplished—that of the workers "organized"—arranged in interdependent groups each co-operating systematically with the others so as to work to the best advantage and produce the greatest results. One set of men fall the trees. Others cut them up into logs. One man acts as hook tender; others set the chokers. A fireman keeps up steam in the boiler, and the engineer runs the donkey. Some load the logs on cars and the railroad crew haul them out of the woods. Some act as riggers, and some as cooks and flunkys. The whole crew is working together systematically to get out logs—to accomplish the object of the company—and they work successfully. They get out many logs and make big profits for the company because they are organized for that purpose.

Suppose the same number of men were to go into the woods, and instead of working in an organized manner, each one was to work as an individual.

Suppose each carried in his own tools, his own food and his own cook-stove; built his own shack, did his own cooking, cut his own roads, and tried to get out logs all by himself. How much headway would they make? We all know they would accomplish practically nothing. If a boss put men to work that way they would consider him insane. They would not accomplish his object of making profits. Yet that is exactly how the great majority of men go to work to accomplish their own object. Have unorganized men any reason to consider themselves sane? They co-operate systematically to produce wealth for their employers, but not to protect their own interests. Small wonder hours are long, wages low and conditions rotten.

Occasionally we hear of a number of men breaking out of jail, but who ever heard of such a break from a lunatic asylum? It takes organized action to break out of captivity, and it is a well-known fact that lunatics never organize.

Industry Run Entirely by Workers.

The workers in each camp co-operate to get out logs. Each camp is a unit in the producing organization controlled by capitalists. All of the camps of a lumber company co-operate to supply the sawmills. The production and distribution of lumber is carried on by the co-operation of loggers, railroad men and sawmill workers. These producing organizations are composed entirely of workers, either by hand or brain. Foremen, superintendents and general managers are all workers, as well as the men who do the actual manual labor on the job. To the extent that they take part in managing and organizing industry they are useful and necessary, but their remuneration is usually out of proportion to the value of the work they perform. In this way they are subsidized or bribed by the company to prevent them from combining with the other workers to take control of industry. These company officials are known as salaried workers and are usually part workers and part parasites. As a rule the higher officials of a company are also stockholders, and to the extent that they draw dividends they are parasites. The work of a general manager may be worth \$10,000 a year, but if he receives a salary of \$100,000 a year then he is 10 per cent worker and 90 per cent parasite. If in addition to his salary he draws dividends of \$100,000 a year then he is 5 per cent worker and 95 per cent parasite. Besides performing their useful and legitimate function of managing industry these officials, under the present system, play the part of slave-drivers to speed up the workers and produce the greatest possible profits for their masters. They are also used to spy upon the other workers and prevent them from organizing. But altho the workers are divided and some are used in a manner detrimental to the others, the fact remains that industry is run entirely by the workers.

How Industry Is Controlled.

Each camp is controlled by a foreman, who in

turn is controlled by a walking boss or superintendent. Each department of a sawmill is controlled by a foreman, and control of these is centralized in the hands of the superintendent. Logging and sawmill superintendents are controlled by the general manager from the head office of the company. The general manager is controlled by the board of directors, the members of which are usually large stock-holders; and the board of directors is controlled by the stockholders. Thus industry is run by workers and controlled by parasites. Under the present system all officials, from strawbosses to general managers, are rated by their ability to grind profits out of the workers.

Hundred Per Cent Parasites.

While a small amount of stock may be held by individuals who are part workers and part parasites, by far the greater part is held, and all control exercised, by one-hundred-percent parasites. For instance, a person may hold millions of dollars worth of stock in the Lumber Trust, but take absolutely no part in the management of the industry. His sole occupation is drawing dividends. He may never even have seen a logging camp or a sawmill. Such people live in million dollar mansions or swell hotels, surrounded by luxury and extravagance. They have residences in different parts of the world, and migrate from one to another with the changing seasons. They travel in palatial steam yachts, luxurious pullmans and high-priced touring cars.

When the lumber worker is wading thru snow with the thermometer showing 40 below zero, or slinging heavy rigging thru mud and rain, he may find some comfort in the thought that high rolling parasites who live off the product of his labor are playing golf at Palm Beach or sailing on the sunny waters of the Mediterranean. Or when trying to sleep in a filthy, unsanitary, vermin-infested bunkhouse, inhaling the stench of drying socks and the sickening germ-laden odor from the slime-covered floor, it may be an inspiring thought to the "timber-beast" that in a palatial mansion in a land of perpetual summer where the soft night breezes waft the perfume of roses and honeysuckle thru the open windows, tended by liveried lackeys, entertained by the entrancing strains of an all-star orchestra, sated with rare wines and costly foods, and surrounded by amorous, languorous-eyed females, his masters are holding a "brilliant society function." When a lumber worker is unable to keep his family in decency or is condemned thru poverty to a life of "single blessedness," let him ponder the fact that his labor makes it possible for some parasitic timber-thief to buy a diamond necklace for his lady friend's lap-dog; and that lack of organization on the part of lumber workers makes this state of affairs possible.

While the old financial pirates who stole the timber lands were men of criminal instincts and anti-social character, it cannot be denied they had shrewdness and ability. But the descendants of

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

these men who inherit their vast wealth, enjoy it without having made the slightest effort to gain it, and wield the enormous power it places in their hands, may be entirely lacking in ability of any kind—may even be degenerates of the Harry Thaw type.

How the Parasites Are Organized.

The capitalists are organized, not to produce wealth but to separate the workers from the wealth they produce. They are the robber class. By fraud and violence they have stolen the natural resources and the machinery of production and by fraud and violence they hold the workers in subjection and continue to rob them. In most industries the capitalists are organized into trusts by means of which they reduce competition among themselves to a minimum. Those industries, which are not trustified and in which the majority of the employers are small, such as agriculture, are controlled by trusts in other industries on which they are dependent, such as the railroad trust, the packing-house trust, the harvester trust, and the banking trust. These trusts, by controlling transportation, markets, supply of agricultural machinery, and credit, have reduced the farmer to a condition in which he is just as effectually exploited as a wage worker. The various great combinations of capital are all interlinked by means of common ownership of stock and interlocking directorates. While there may be many thousands of stockholders in the different companies which go to make up a trust, the control is centralized into the hands of a very few men who own large blocks of stock. By means of "rigging" the market these trust magnates are able to force the prices of stock down when it suits their purpose to buy, and to put prices up when they are ready to "unload." In this way they loot and plunder the smaller stockholders who are known in Wall Street as "shorn lambs." Another way in which the big stockholders rob the small ones is by forming subsidiary companies. For instance, the controlling stockholders of a railroad often form construction companies, and let contracts to themselves at profiteering prices.

There are many ways in which the interests of different groups of capitalists conflict. Where such is the case the advantage always rests with the biggest capitalists. They can install larger and more expensive machinery, manufacture on a larger scale, produce cheaper and so undersell their competitors till they put them out of business, or force them to sell out at their own terms. Great financial interests which control railroads are also engaged in many other lines of business, such as lumber and mining, and they can stifle competition by withholding cars from their rivals. Big capitalists can maintain the strongest lobbying committees at Washington and are better able to bribe Congress to make them presents of the natural resources of the country. Consequently the control of industry is constantly becoming concentrated into fewer and fewer hands, and in the near future we may expect

to see control of the industries of all countries concentrated into the hands of one gigantic world-wide trust.

Altho the interests of capitalists conflict in many ways, and big capitalists prey on small ones, their interests are all identical in maintaining the system by which they rob the workers. On this point they all recognize their community of interest, and display solidarity. To protect their interests as a class and to hold the workers in subjection they are united in commercial clubs, boards of trade, chambers of commerce and similar organizations of a class nature.

By means of their wealth the capitalists control the government, press, schools, colleges, churches, theatres and moving picture shows. They use these institutions to control the minds of the workers and prevent them from realizing their true position in society. By control of the press and the means of communication, such as telegraph and telephone lines, they suppress news of interest to the workers, or distort and color them to suit their own purpose. By false teaching and cunningly devised propaganda they make the workers think they are free and independent "sovereign citizens," while as a matter of fact they are dependent for their very existence on permission to toil for a master. By theoretically placing the ballot in the hands of all citizens they lend an appearance of truth to the outworn fallacy of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." By their control of schools and colleges they propagate the lie of "equal opportunity" and teach the economic falsehood that the interests of labor and capital are identical, and the requisites for success are honesty, industry and loyalty to employers. Subsidized churches preach the divine right of property, and counsel meekness, obedience and self-denial. Theatres and moving picture shows ridicule the revolutionary movement, glorify scabs, and show how the chief sucker on the job may rise to affluence by marrying the boss's daughter.

Literature is also prostituted to capitalism. The reading matter dished up to the "public" in the form of "popular novels" and magazine stories is of the cheap and trashy variety. The "heroes" of this intellectual slush are the kind that rise from poverty and win success by being good dogs for their masters and traitors to their fellow workers. The purpose of the detective story is to bluff the workers into submission by creating in their minds an exaggerated idea of the ability of "Sherlock Holmes" and all his scabby tribe, whose intelligence, in actual life, is of the lowest order. Such literary garbage is widely advertised and reviewed, and sold by the car-load, while books and writings dealing with facts are refused publication, or if they do get into print, are limited to a small circulation, being boycotted by the capitalistic press.

When fraud and deceit fail to hold the workers in subjection violence is used. The beast of capitalism throws off his cloak of democracy and shows

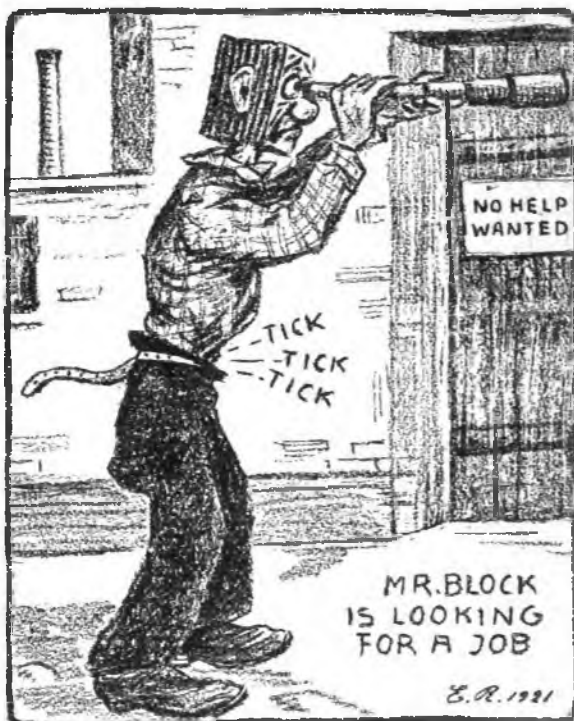
Mr. Block Has the Blues

himself in his true colors. The machinery of a servile state is called into action. Anti-labor laws are passed. Injunctions tie up union funds and prohibit workers from striking. Corrupt judges sentence workers to long terms in the penitentiary for the "crime" of being active in the labor movement. Police and detectives frame up on active union men. Mob rule is stirred up by the press. Union halls and offices are raided. Workers are kidnapped, beaten, tarred and feathered, deported and murdered. Private armies of gunmen shoot down strikers and rape, torture and murder their wives and children. All who dare to question the right of the ruling plutocracy are hounded and persecuted and terrorism holds sway.

The capitalists have organized the workers to produce wealth. They themselves are organized to rob the workers. And they have organized all society to protect their stolen property and privileges. They are strongly entrenched in power, but this is no reason for discouragement. The capitalists are strong, but not with their own power; they are strong with the power of the workers. Industry is the source of all wealth and of all human power. Only the workers can run industry, for only the workers have the labor power. Therefore all human power comes from the workers. Without workers, capitalists could not exist, but without capitalists workers could live as human beings, instead of existing as beasts of burden as they do today. The power of labor is the greatest in the world, in fact it is the only human power in the world. Without labor to produce food, clothing, shelter and fuel, human life could not exist. Without labor to feed, clothe, equip and transport them, armies could not fight; governments could not function; scientists could not study; professors could not teach; editors could not write. All human activity would come to an end.

Without the power to produce wealth there could be neither financial power, political power, intellectual power, military power, nor any other power. The workers do not control this power because they are not organized for that purpose. Lacking control of their own labor power the workers are reduced to the level of cattle, mere beasts of burden toiling to produce wealth for their masters, whenever their masters see fit to give them permission to toil. Organized in such a way as to control their own labor power, the workers can control the world.

To organize means to come to a common understanding as to the end to be accomplished, and then to work systematically together for the attainment of that end.



They laid me off. Ain't that a shame?
 I worked so hard. I'm not to blame.
 I never kicked when pay was small.
 I worked and worked and that was all.
 One day a Red came up to me
 And said: "Look here," says he,
 "It's wrong for you to work so fast,
 You'll lose your job; it will not last.
 When goods pile up in store and bin
 The boss will say with pleasant grin:
 "'Get out, you Block, and—very well—
 If you don't like it go to hell.'"
 I told the Red: "Don't talk to me,
 To hell with your philosophy."
 My boss he heard it and he said:
 "I'm awful glad you're not a Red.
 Speed up now, show your loyalty,
 Curse all the Reds and stick to me."
 The Reds I cursed, faithful and true—
 Now look at me, I'm feeling blue.

E. • R.

On the Threshold of the Great Work of Reconstruction in Soviet Russia

By Karl Radek

I.

THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN RUSSIA

WORK—that is the password that lives in the consciousness of millions of adherents of the Soviet, and which must be translated into knowledge and faith on the part of all the working masses of Russia. Indeed, all the differences arising within the Russian Communist Party grow out of the difficulty of grasping the complicated conditions in which the process of economic re-construction must proceed. In this article, which is to serve foreign comrades as a guide, these differences may best be presented by directing attention to the conditions under which the Communist Party has to execute the decisions of the Congress of Workers' and Peasants' councils.

Soviet Russia is a country with an 85 per cent agrarian population. The Soviet government is not a purely industrial government. It called itself from the first day of its existence a Workers' and Peasants' government. Many of its opponents and adherents believed that this was merely a nominal title in order to lure and quiet the naive little peasant; since the government is entirely in the hands of the Communist Party and since the left-wing social revolutionists have deserted it, this erroneous assumption seemed even more justified. But this was incorrect. Simply because no peasant party sits in the Soviet government, the millions and millions of peasants in Russia do not disappear. Without their co-operation neither the defense nor the reconstruction of Soviet Russia is possible. In the Red Army, which in its majority was a peasant army, the class consciousness of the peasant was made keener, and political intelligence was imparted to them. Altho they take no part in the government thru a separate party, the government is compelled to consider their interests and their sentiments. Now, when the peasants have the feeling that the danger of the return of the Junkers has disappeared, now when the government must demand fresh sacrifices from them, in order to bring industry into operation, thru the assurance of provisioning the city population, the government must naturally give the peasant class special considerations.

After three years of imperialistic wars, the industrial classes have bled and starved for another three years for the dictatorship of the workers. Tortured by hunger and cold, they have often wavered and hesitated. But always the Communist Party was able in the hour of danger to arouse in them the necessary energy to continue the work in the factories and to place a hundred thousand of them at the head of the administrative machinery of the state and at the head of the army.

Not only did they hunger for victory and fight for it, but they renounced a great part of the rights which belonged to them according to the Soviet constitution, and which needed to be sacrificed on account of the dire necessities of the war. Since their most energetic leaders were at the fronts and were sent on economic and administrative missions from one end of great Russia to the other, the proletarian mass organs of the dictatorship, the Soviet and the unions, were crippled. The working class was compelled to yield when, in place of their elected representatives, frequently revolutionary and non-revolutionary bureaucrats took matters into their hands, which must inevitably lead to special abuses in an impoverished country. They had to exercise patience, when all available clothing was reserved for the army, when bread went to the front, while they received herring-tails or raisins. Now the possibility of peaceful labor for a certain time appears to be at hand. If it was possible during the war to charge all abuses and deprivations to the account of the war, the masses must now be given the possibility to find for themselves the means for removing the abuses and diminishing the deprivations, and to convince themselves how much of their burdens can be removed, and what they must still bear for the purpose of overcoming needs. The dictatorship of the proletariat was not suspended, as the Mensheviks of the whole world shrieked, when the organs of this dictatorship were restricted. But now when, perhaps only temporarily, no war exigencies require the mailed fist of the proletarian dictatorship, the needs of the hour demand that the organs of the dictatorship be restored to that class the defense of whose interests constitute the real purpose of the dictatorship.

The trade unions, which the Bolsheviks had already captured under the rule of Kerensky, have fought during the three years of civil war side by side with the party, with the Soviets, in a true sense of the word, for the maintenance of the dictatorship. Not only did tens of thousands of members of trade unions go to the various fronts because of mobilization, but other tens of thousands went voluntarily and fought with weapons in their hands as soldiers or Red officers for the workers' dictatorship. When the Soviet Republic needed thousands of experienced men for the organization of provisions, the trade unions gave them. And when the hungry workers in the factories grumbled, when it was necessary to get seamstresses to produce 15,000 army coats a day, altho they were hungry, cold and bare-footed, these trade unionists went to the factories and to the homes of the workers in order to overcome their fatigue thru persuasion and explana-



Peasants listening to speakers from the propaganda train "Lenin" at the station of Sosovo, in Siberia.

tion and to make them forget their hunger. On them primarily the masses exercised pressure, and they who had been until now accustomed to the organization of the battle corps, for the improvement of the condition of workmen thru strikes, were compelled to make it clear to the masses that only thru work can the needs of a proletarian regime be met. Quite true, the trade unionists, oppressed thru too great a division of labor, are not even in Soviet Russia people with the broadest mental horizon. They have not sufficient leisure to think out all connecting issues, and yet they frequently take more sober thoughts than those leaders whose task it is to keep their eyes directed towards the entirety. As all of Russia, they were continually diverted thru the civil war from adjusting the problems of production, altho they recognized, ever since the first congress, held after the October revolution, the role which the trade unions must play in production. The trade unions comprise 7,000,000 workers. It is clear that under the conditions of Russian transportation, with the small number of trade unionists left by the war in the trade bureaus, they could not remain in sufficient contact with these masses. But that does not alter the fact that these seven millions of more or less organized trade unionists are the proletarian basis of the Soviet government, that the comrades conducting the trade unions and the 500,000 Communists in them are the connecting link between the six and a half-million and the Soviet government.

These premises are not grasped with sufficient

completeness in a first attack on the problems which confront the Soviet government and the Communist Party by all comrades or by all groups which have crystallized out of the party. Industry can only be built up when the independence of the working class is developed. The organs of this mass, if they are to be separated according to kinds of production, are the trade unions. Therefore, the control of production must lie completely in the hands of the trade unions—so declares a group of the unionists under the leadership of Comrade Schlapnikoff. The unions will succeed better with the problems of production than the best workers' bureaucracy, to say nothing of the civilian specialists who, accustomed to large means, are compelled to go slow in view of the poverty of technical equipment in Soviet Russia, even if they were able to handle the workers properly or to arouse in them the necessary enthusiasm.

This tendency overlooks a small fact. In a country with 85 per cent of peasants, the re-construction of industry is impossible without the confidence of the peasants that their interests shall be considered, that they shall not be plundered by the industrial workers. If the industrial economic plan can be accomplished thru an organization formed from representatives of the production unions, the general economic plan cannot conceivably be accomplished without the co-operation of the organs of the state, which have to put in order the agrarian question and that of matters of subsistence, and which are not constituted of trade unionists. Only

a general economic plan should be considered, because bread is as necessary for industrial production as coal and iron. This point of view alone makes it impossible to hand over the direction of industry exclusively to the unions. Also, there has accumulated in the general economic organs of the state a mass of experiences which cannot be discarded; for instance, the enrollment of the specialists, as long as they have not been completely assimilated by the unions, can be more easily done by official means than thru the medium of the unions. Then there is the further consideration that the unions—certainly not thru their own fault, but owing to the conditions under which they have functioned—are very little prepared for the direction of production. Their technical comprehension is small; even their production propaganda is in its infancy.

This last observation is the point of departure of the position of Comrade Trotzky and a group of very competent unionists like Holzmann and Kasior. The latter emphasize the weaknesses of the union and, besides, insist that in their present state the unions are still incompetent to conduct production. But yet they consider the direction to be the task of the unions in a proletarian state. Thence they conclude the necessity of reconstruction, of reorganization of the unions. Thence also comes their preoccupation with thoughts of production and their induction of new members who have learned in the economic organizations and in the Red Army to direct great enterprises unemotionally and energetically. Their point of view tends to reform, with all their powers, the unions from the top down, that is, to take away a part of their independence, in order that they may become in the future the directors of production.

What has been said above concerning the direction of producing thru the unions in the discussion of the point of view of the group of Schlapnikoff, we need not here repeat for the group of Comrade Trotzky. The same is true here. What should specially be considered in this case is the danger of his conception that the unions have no task but to increase production. One might perhaps accept this formula, for in a workers' state every organ of the mass of the workers must serve the principal task, and that is production. The points which make Trotzky's passionately maintained point of view dangerous are the following: In the unions we have only half a million Communists against six and a half million workers without party. This indicates how great is still the function of the union as the educator of the masses towards Communism and as the intermediary between the Soviet government and these millions. Trotzky is, indeed, quite right when he maintains that this educational function cannot be accomplished outside the demands of production, but he cannot deny that there is an independent problem, a problem which in the first place consists of the great task of persuasion, and not primarily of direction or command. When Trotzky declares that in a workers' state, not the

unions but the government must care for the material welfare of the workers, he tells only a part of the truth. Lenin is entirely right, when contrary to Trotzky, he declares that the Russian government is a government of the workers and the peasants. If weapons like strikes are inadmissible and unnecessary against such a government, there is not the slightest doubt that the state has an interest in controlling a mass organization which feels the pulse of the workers and which is always concerned in securing as much as possible for the workers from the state. One might complete the thoughts of Lenin to the effect that because no peasant party is represented in the workers' and peasants' government, which might represent the peasants' interests in the coalition by means of pressure on its partner, the battle between the workers and the peasants is conducted in the heart of the Communist government itself.

The latter has always before its eyes an 85 per cent peasant population and an industrial population of only 15 per cent. This may often lead to slips and errors of calculation. If the government wishes to retain under its feet its only secure basis, the proletariat, it is to its interest to be subjected constantly to the pressure of the unions, its constant controlling factor. The second danger in the attitude of Comrade Trotzky lies in the fact that the reconstruction of the unions from above may easily lead to their bureaucratization and militarization. Specifically, for this reform, there should be considered the tens of thousands of comrades who have during the last two years passed thru the great school of the Red Army. Now, Trotzky is entirely right when he calls attention to the fact that the Red Army was by no means formed solely thru compulsion, not even primarily so. Conviction, spiritual persuasion, played a great part in its formation, and the comrades who have formed the army are most certainly equipped to hold places of command and advice in every other post under the Soviet Republic. However, the differences in the methods of work on the field of attack and in industry are immense. Where every error may cause the death of hundreds, where one must decide the most important matters in a few minutes, coolly and unemotionally, and must carry them thru, the will to command is of more importance than the will to convince. Truly, the questions relating to the rebuilding of production require energetic attack; not an easy-going direction, but the will to have things moving in the shortest possible time. But since psychologically the consciousness of danger, due to delays in the factory, does not burden the masses as much as on the field of battle, every harsh attack would damage production, rather than promote it. Naturally, the Soviet government cannot renounce compulsory measures against comfortably negligent elements, simply because they hold the labor club, but its main method must be persuasion, agitation, which work more slowly but all the more surely.

II.

As in all discussions, opposed points of view are crystallized into catch-words, or are at least so characterized. Thus the position of Schlapnikoff's group is known as "Syndicalists." That of Comrade Trotzky has adopted the slogan of "Production Democracy," but is called by its opponents "Bureaucratic-Militaristic." That of Lenin is spoken of as "Worker Democracy." All of these designations have only very limited value. The tendency of Schlapnikoff acknowledges the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian state, which was never true of the Syndicalists. Those circles of the party grouped about Trotzky do not consist of bureaucrats nor of military blusterers. They represent, so far as their energy goes, by no means the least considerable portion of the Communist Party, and their military gruffness is of too recent origin to have a permanent effect on their characters.

Trotzky's own choice of a slogan, "Production Democracy," need not be contradicted on theoretical grounds. Democracy is the system of the bourgeoisie by which it rules the masses, giving them certain political rights but keeping in its hands all means of production. In speaking of a Workers' Democracy, the addition of the term "Proletarian" indicates that the tools of production and the power belong to the proletariat; in short, that the old political conception of democracy has succumbed to a gentle disintegration. The use of the concept "Workers' Democracy" has also the specific purpose of accentuating that the proletarian dictatorship is coming or seeking to come to the position where it will not only be supported by the working class, to defend their interests, but also to represent them thru the mass organization of the proletariat. Production democracy has no meaning at all unless it be an interpretation of the motto: "Who does not work shall not eat." In this is expressed a means to an end, but not the purpose of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But we may well drop these explanations of the history of dogma, for Trotzky is not concerned with the introduction of a new theory or the proclamation of a new policy, but rather with avoiding the accusations that he is developing production by militaristic-bureaucratic methods. He is concerned with the determination of a universally acknowledged fact, namely, that the Proletarian Democracy in Russia can only maintain itself by learning to produce.

And that it will do. It will do so because there is in the Russian working class, in the Communist Party, enough energy to make that Soviet republic, which they have defended on the field of battle, secure thru their labor. In this the entire Communist Party, enough energy to make that Soviet Republic, means are of such a nature that they could not grow into antagonisms, which might impede the increase of production. The Communist Party is completely in agreement that the unions must participate in this work in growing measure. Even their program declares this. As soon as the trades unionists re-



A deserter from Wrangel's ill-fated army. To judge by this fellow's appearance is it any wonder so many of Wrangel's soldiers deserted and revolted?

turn from army service and get back to the trades and shops, the increase of their participation in the direction of production will follow of itself. Nobody can or wishes to renounce their aid. That Schlapnikoff's demand for the transfer of production to the unions is not absolutely law and gospel is quite apparent from the simple fact that the great majority of unionists themselves admit themselves to be for the time being ill adapted to exercise this function. Should we then attempt to adapt them by throwing them into the great kettle to be stewed and roasted into condition under the direction of the military and economic cooks? The military comrades themselves must first adapt themselves to the new tasks in economics and they have not less to learn than the unionists, altho possibly in other directions. Is the party to renounce the persuasion of the unions? No one dreams of it. Anyone who reproaches a Lenin or a Zinoviev because they are basing themselves on the neutrality of those unions, which they have fought all their lives, makes himself ridiculous. Naturally, the party to whose discipline the comrades in the unions are subjected

as much as all others, will permanently control their policies, because the party is the most exalted instance of the labor movement, because it alone has a comprehensive theory of the labor movement. But it will do its duty to the unions with the understanding of the special tasks and methods of the unions. It will carry this out not in a spirit of guardianship but in the spirit of broad communistic guidance.

The influencing and adaptation of the unions to their new tasks are not new problems in principle but are new as parts of a program to the extent that they now confront the proletariat; and to these problems the party will direct all the forces available. Among these are the competent comrades from the army and economic organizations. But the party will say to them: You are not entering the unions as clever instructors for stupid unions, but so that you may adapt yourselves to the new tasks and learn to execute them. The union organizations daily take a great part in the conduct of production. The differences between the concrete proposals of the various groups of the party in reference to this participation are not at all great. Actual experience will have to show what must be added and what subtracted in this field. Inasmuch as the unions, in their entirety or possibly by special adjustments, become more and more incorporated into the direction of production, they will not become bureaucratic chancelleries.

For the achievement of their tasks they will not at all need to be officialized formally. Quite on the contrary, official government adoption would only hinder them in the execution of their tasks. So long as only a half-million of the seven million trade unionists belong to the party there is the proof that they are not yet filled with the spirit of communism, the foundation of the Soviet Republic. Under these circumstances the formal officialization of the unions would only impede the Communists in the accomplishment of their tasks. The unions will exercise governmental functions and the better the Proletarian State and the unions co-operate the sooner will reluctance to an official adoption disappear, but

the more certainly also will such officialization become unnecessary.

This is the status of the debated questions of the Communist Party in Russia. The bourgeois press and the Mensheviks have always prophesied that the Communist Party would perish because it had throttled the workers' democracy, the freedom of discussion in the ranks of the working classes and their organizations. Now that the party is discussing publicly the differences of opinion concerning the unions as it discussed those arising from the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and those concerning the organization of production, in order to arrive at a unified decision of this important question of the Russian revolution, the bourgeois and menshevik press is prophesying that the Communist Party of Russia will perish because it does not hush up its disagreements but discusses them. It is the strength of the Russian Communist Party and working class that they understand how to waive discussion when the moment of battle has arrived and that they discuss, and discuss thoroly, when preparations for new battles are the subject. The discussion has already polished off some of the rough spots. And when the party decision will have been reached the party will stand like a "rock of bronze" on which the enemy will break his teeth. The great task of economic organization will be completed even if our enemies disturb us. The congress of workers' and soldiers' councils has submitted to the Russian working class and to the world proletariat no plans which can only thrive in an idyllic world where the sheep and the wolves pasture peacefully together. The plans are battle plans against the bourgeoisie of the world. If we get a breathing spell these plans will be completely realized. If we are compelled to fight on with weapons in our hands only a part of the great plan of construction can be realized immediately; but the world bourgeoisie will have to repay for this disturbance of our labors. In a battle with arms we will secure the necessary conditions of a reconstruction, possibly somewhat retarded but all the more complete.

The Star is Risen

Russia is free! The Star in the East
Is risen. Nor scourge of czar nor priest
Shall e'er again with blight and sorrow curse
The children of our green-vald, native earth;
The banner sweeps o'er boundless northern plains—
Speed the glad message, Brotherhood now reigns.

The Alpine slopes take up the welcome cry—
They place the crimson signal in the sky;
While England's workmen answer from the sea,
And give the pledge that all men shall be free.
Far to the westward echo answers clear,
Awake, O Labor, for the dawn is here!

J. C. C.

Conference on Scientific Organization of Labor and Production in Soviet Russia

ON Jan. 20-28, an inaugural conference took place in Moscow for the scientific organization of labor and production. Over 150 engineers, professors, and highly skilled specialists, including representatives of various trade unions and industrial organs interested in the organization of labor, participated. The diverse political tendencies at the conference met on the platform laid down by the Communist Revolution in the field of labor and production.

The conference was opened by comrade Gvosdiev (ex-minister for labor under the Provisional Government), chairman of the Organizing Committee for convening the conference, who remarked that the conference was the first experiment of its kind on the organization of labor not only in Russia, for, as far as is known, such a conference has never taken place anywhere else in the world. The aim of the conference was to throw light on the fundamental questions of the scientific organization of labor in industry and to create a central organ able to exercise a daily influence over the building up of national industry in the sphere of the organization of labor.

In the exchange of greetings that followed from various labor organizations and the Socialist Academy of Science, one was recurrently reminded of Lenin's celebrated phrase to the effect that happy times are coming for Soviet Russia, when, instead of politics, our conferences will discuss questions of industry and production, and when engineers, technicians and savants will take the place of politicians. Verily, the whole proceedings of the conference confirmed this supposition.

Comrade A. Bogdanov, in his report, pointed out that Man's organizing experience, up to present times has not, as a whole, been scientifically systematized. This experience was accumulating and taking shape, but it was elemental and unconscious. All science handed down to us is essentially a systematization of the organizing experience in a given field. Under the capitalist system, this systematization has been developing in the direction of individualization with an utter disregard of the experience of other systems.

We know the science of the structure of an army and of a factory but we do not know the general organizational tasks which could lead to the attainment of a harmonious system in various fields.

In characterizing Russian industry as it stands today, comrade Bogdanov pointed out that, for organizing production in Russia in its present state, it is necessary first of all to carry out a careful census. Let us suppose that after such a

census we learn that we have such and such a number of the population, so much labor power of a definite degree of skill, and so much incapables, including here also the training of new men. We would then be able to calculate how much of one or other articles of consumption, raw material, or implements we need, and get the correct calculation of an economic entity.

Speaking of the importance of technical progress in industry, comrade Bogdanov asserted that the technical revolution, in spite of all difficulties, is possible of realization in Russia, even more so than in any other country. The progress of every technical revolution is obstructed by the vitality of the old enterprises, the reconstruction of which demands a great realignment of the economic forces. From this point of view, the technical revolution in Russia has a clear path; all kinds of improvement are applicable in all spheres of industry.

The main work of the conference was conducted in Sections, the conclusions and decisions of which are of tremendous importance not only in relation to the new "science of the organization of labor", but also for the industrial life of Soviet Russia itself.

Among others, Professor Chalpanoff, from the Section of Psychology of Labor, made a report on the function of psychology in the organization of labor. "Only psychology"—said Professor Chalpanoff—"can solve the still problematical questions of labor. It studies the influence that is exercised by exhaustion, will, effort, rest, etc., upon the productivity of labor. The function of psychology consists in discovering the factors which render it possible to produce the greatest amount of products with an expenditure of the same unit of time and effort. It should lay down the path of adapting the machine to the individual peculiarities of the worker, to his abilities, perception, mind, will and so on. It should define when the worker begins to feel tired, and how he is influenced by monotony and variety of work, etc. It must define the fitness of each worker for a definite specialty, it must go into technique and create a type of psychologic-engineers."

Doctor Granovsky remarked that the time had come to solicit the aid of technicians, economists, and physiologists in the question of the organization of labor. "The application of human labor in the industrial processes should be based on the systematic study of labor power from the point of view of biology and sociology, using for this aim the methods of natural history and social science. At the present time, the Commissariat for

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Labor is organizing a State Institute for the experimental study of human labor and investigation into scientific-concentration and education, which is to work in close contact with the economic administrative organs and the industrial organizations of the workers."

Professor Gredeskoul made a report on "Taylorism and Socialism".

Engineer Polynkovsky, speaking on the introduction of scientific methods of organization under present conditions, declared that we must accept the principles of the organization of the labor process outlined in the Taylor system. When this business was in the hands of the capitalists, it was the source of great evil, but now, when this process is in the hands of the workers themselves, the latter need entertain no fear of the scientific organization of labor. The bad aspects of Taylorism need cause no dismay if the working masses take the matter up in a practical manner. When the training of the working masses will have been accomplished a great industrial wave will sweep over the whole country.

At its last sitting, the conference adopted a multitude of proposals and practical measures put forward by the Sections, in the interests of the scientific organization of labor. Finally, the presidium proposed the following general resolution, which was adopted by the conference.

(1) By the scientific organization of labor should be understood, organization based on the careful study of the industrial processes with all the accompanying factors and circumstances. The basic method here is the calculation of the expenditure of time, material, and mechanical labor in terms of things, the analysis of all collected data for the purpose of securing the symmetrical and most advantageous plan of production;

(2) The essential basis of scientific organization is the work and deductions of psycho-physiology, reflexology, and hygiene in relation to the process of labor and to the endurance of the worker, this being the sole means to preserve economy of production and the interests of the workers themselves.

(3) While recognizing the merits of Taylor and his collaborators in the establishment of a scientific method of organization and a rational utilization of the technical factors of production, the conference considers the identification of the conception of "scientific organization of labor" and the "Taylor System" erroneous, in view of the fact that the latter conforms to the principles of the scientific organization of production only in the above quoted case; whereas it has unscientific aspects, aiming chiefly at the excessive augmentation of labor effort in disregard of the sum-total of energy at the workingman's disposal.

(4) In view of the extreme disorganization of the economic life of the republic, which individual organizers unacquainted with the method and accomplishments of scientific organization strive to alleviate, the



A Tartar coal miner of the Caucasus on the market.

necessity arises of paying special attention to the methods of scientific organization. These methods open up wide possibilities of a sure, rapid, and systematic improvement in the industrial position, and they should therefore be widely used and encouraged.

(5) In conformity with this an organ should be created which, basing itself on the workers organized in the industrial unions, would set up a symmetrical system of measures for the carrying out of the methods of scientific organization.

The chairman, Professor Bekterov, in closing the conference, made a resume of its work, and expressed himself as follows:

"Our conference, in my opinion, forms an historic event for our country. It not only spent its time on theoretical work, but it has even afforded practical results. Having made the first step to define the practice of the scientific organization of production, the task of the next conference will be to negotiate and reach an agreement with the working elements who will be fully represented thereon."

How Industry is Managed in Soviet Russia

THE MANAGEMENT of industry in the present time in Soviet Russia is as follows:

The Supreme Council of Public Economy is the central organ, defining the production program for separate branches of industry, and regulating and managing industry; in the provinces there are the local councils of public economy. Each branch of industry, in its turn, is managed and regulated by the Head Department in the centre, and by the corresponding section of the Provincial Economic Councils in the localities. Finally separate industrial enterprises or their combines are managed by the Shop or District Management.

All organs managing industry have as their basis the industrial unions. The apparatus of management is constructed wholly on this basis.

The guiding apparatus of the Supreme Economic Council is the Board, which at the present time consists of 13 persons, formed by agreement with the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions (A. C. C. T. U.). The Boards of the Provincial Economic Councils (P. E. C.) consisting of 3 to 7 persons, confirmed by the Board of the S. E. C., are elected by the local Executive Committee in agreement with the local provincial T. U. Council; the Chief Industrial Departments are appointed by the Board of the S. E. C. in agreement of the Central Committee of the corresponding trade union, and in the event of disagreement, with the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions. The District Management of enterprises is preliminarily indicated by the District Conventions of representatives of the workers of the corresponding enter-

prises, and is confirmed by arrangement with the Provincial Branch of their trade union, with the Chief Department of the corresponding branch of industry or with the Prov. Econ. Council according to what category the concern belongs to, the second or third. The management of an enterprise is appointed by the District (or by the Chief) Management.

The management of industry is thus based on the industrial trade unions, and the trade unions and their amalgamations take part in the organization of national economy just as they take part in organizing the apparatus for the regulation and management of industry. Hence, the trade unions and their amalgamations only formally take part in organization of the managing apparatus, i. e., they agree on one or another candidate put forward by the organs of the Supreme Economic Council; others apart from agreement also put forward their candidates which form the majority; and finally the degree of participation by a third class is deeper; they not only participate in the organization of the managing apparatus but also in the organization of industry itself, so forming an absolute minority.

In summing up the participation of the wide labor masses in the organization of industry, the Board of the Supreme Economic Council establishes the fact, that the participation of the workers in the organization of industry was business-like and creative. The following table characterizes the degree of participation of the workers in the organs of management:

Table Showing the Proportionate Representation of Manual Workers, Technical Experts and Office Employees on the Supreme Economic Council, and as Factory Managers.

Personnel of the Supreme Economic Council and Prov. Economic Councils:						
Workers	Per cent	Technical Experts	Per cent	Office Employees	Per cent	Total Personnel
908	61.6	451	30.7	58	31.0	188
Committee Factory Managers:						
Workers	Per cent	Technical Experts	Per cent	Office Employees	Per cent	Total Managers
726	63.5	398	34.9	87	26.4	142
One-man Factory Managers:						
Workers	Per cent	Technical Experts	Per cent	Office Employees	Per cent	Total Managers
74	51.4	31	22.2	19	1.7	1,143
Total:						
Workers	Per cent	Technical Experts	Per cent	Office Employees	Per cent	Total Members
108	57.2	22	11.8	114	7.7	1,473

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Here we have 61 % of workers, among whom are many prominent administrators and organizers, and 30 % of experts, with whom we cannot dispense, especially now, when wide industrial perspectives of peaceful construction have opened up before the Supreme Economic Council.

The labor management changed its character in the course of the work itself. At first, large collegiates stood at the head of the management in the centre, in the districts, and at the enterprises, a thing which made necessary to have representatives of all kinds, of departments to decide all questions co-ordinately. These collegiates also aroused the mistrust of the workers to the administrative-technical personnel and the officials, i. e., the department representatives. In proportion as the corresponding collegiates actually united the management in their own hands, the department representatives became superfluous; part of the workers became so familiarized with the work that they were actually able to conduct it themselves and the former distrust gave way. Parallel with these changes, there took place the transition from wide representative collegiates to narrow business direct-
orates of one-man management.

At the present moment, most of the factories and works have gone over from collegiate to one-man management; out of 2,483 enterprises 2,183 are under one-man management and 300 under collegiates.

It must be emphasized that in the practice of economic management at the present time the principle of automatic representation of separate institutions in the organs of management is already done away with, and we have at present gone over to the principle of organizing the guiding collegiates or appointing confirmation of the activities of each industry or its branches by the corresponding guiding organ of the State on the basis of business considerations. Owing to this, the possibility is avoided of friction or misunderstandings between the trade unions and the organs of economic management, in view of the fact that persons belonging to the organs of industrial management or the leaders of these organs, are responsible before the corresponding central committee of the trade union, and on the other hand the responsibility for the preparation in the execution of their tasks rests with the organs that appointed them, and with the trade union in agreement with whom they were appointed.

The Central apparatus of the Supreme Economic Council is split up into three groups of sections. First of all the Board of the Supreme Economic Council itself, six sections, with the aid of which it established the industrial plan for the current year and carries out the general leadership of industry. These sections are:

1. The commission for production which receives separate production programs for separate

branches of industry, which are examined and submitted to the Board for confirmation.

2. The Financial, Economic and Accounting Sections, which examine the balance sheets of both central and local economic organs and which finance industry.

3. The Utilization Commission, which establishes the plan of distribution of the products of industry (its personnel also comprises representatives of the Food Commissariat).

4. The Council of Supply and Distribution (in process of formation), which confines the program of the distribution of semi-manufactured products which require finishing, and conducts all the technical work of distribution and supply.

5. The Factory Statistical Section.

6. Section for Provincial Contact, which conducts communication with the local Councils of Public Economy.

The second group are production sections, there being 15 of them, in accordance with branches of industry. They directly manage and regulate the corresponding branches of industry, in respect to which they oversee the execution of the production programs and orders, they distribute the raw material, take account of manufactured products, subsidize the enterprises of the last group that are of special state importance. The contact of the production sections in the local organs of public economy is under the Provincial Councils of Public Economy.

The third group of sections are: 1. Industrial administration. 2. Inspectorate. 3. Juridical Section. 4. Editing and Publications, etc., which can be defined as auxiliary sections.

In each province, the local economic council is the organ directing and managing industry; i. e., the Provincial Council of Public Economy, organized on the same lines as the Supreme Council.

The local councils are split up into corresponding industrial sections: Metal, Textile, Chemical, Electro-Technical, etc., which are directed by the Boards of Economic Council on one hand, and on the other hand are likewise subordinated to the corresponding production sections, where they present their balance-sheets and whence they receive instructions and orders as to the management of the industry under their auspices and on their territory.

Enterprises of the second and third groups are under the management of the local councils. Thus the local councils subsidize the enterprises under their management, according to a budget, substitute and appoint directors, etc. At the head of the sections of the local councils are men confirmed by the Board of the Local Economic Council in agreement with the corresponding Trade Unions. In order to keep pace with the growth of work caused by the Federation of other Soviet Republics, local councils for public economy have been created. These now number 81.

From Berlin to Moscow

By E. Bouwman

I.

THE CONFERENCE at Berlin succeeded beyond our expectations, not only as regards the discussions that took place, but also as regards the number of those who attended it. Two important resolutions were adopted. First, that all the participants of the Berlin conference will be present at the congress of the International of the Red Trade-Unions in Moscow and that the Centrals of the various countries that were not represented at the conference be prevailed upon to take part in the congress to be held at Moscow; second, an agreement was reached on six points which will form the basis for the discussions at the congress for the participants of the Berlin conference.

We do not mean to imply that all who took part in the conference at Berlin were united on all points. This was by no means the case. As appears from the discussions (a full report of which was published in "De Arbeid") different tendencies were represented; the divergent opinions clashed, both as regards fundamental questions and questions of organization. Distinctly above all, however, sounded the parole: To Moscow! Not a separate Syndicalist International, but ONE single International of all the Industrial Workers of the World to be brought about in co-operation with the International of the Red Trade-Unions.

This was the message which Comrade Hardy of the I. W. W. brought with him from America. Our friend Barker from the Argentine and the Dutch delegation expressed the same opinion, whereas, of course, Comrades Jack Tanner of the Shop Stewards in England, Victor Godouncke and Jean Ceppe, Minority C. G. T. in France (which parties have already joined the International of the Red Trade-Unions) entirely agreed with us.

Only the German Syndicalists, represented by Comrades Fritz Kater, Max Winkler, Rudolf Rucker, August Souchy, Frank Barwich and Theodor Plivier, supported by the Deputy of the Swedish Syndicalists, Franz Severin, were in opposition on this point. This side repeatedly declared: "We are Syndicalists and what we want is a Syndicalist International," whereas it was clear each time again from the deliberations that especially the German Syndicalist movement has become fast-rooted in the anarchistic doctrines, as was formerly the case for a long time with the Independent Trade Movement in Holland. At all events the Germans wished to go to Moscow; with a resolution, however, that not only would have widened the breach between themselves and Moscow, but would also have made it impossible for them to come to an understanding with the different revolutionary Trade-Centrals that

have not yet joined the International of the Red Trade-Unions.

No one who is at all at home in the industrial workers movement will be surprised that on this point especially the Russian delegation, represented by Comrades S. Belinsky and Grebelskaje (who also represented the International of the Red Trade-Unions) came in conflict with the German Syndicalists. Belinsky maintained the standpoint that the first task of this conference must be to choose between Amsterdam (A. T. I.) and Moscow (R. I. I.). Between these two there is no midway, and therefore the formation of a separate Syndicalist International would simply increase the confusion still more in the international revolutionary trade movement than was the case at the moment. The representatives of the I. W. W., the Argentine, the Minority C. G. T. of France and the Dutch delegation were entirely in accord with this standpoint. The Dutch delegation aimed at striving to find a common working-basis for the revolutionary trade movement of the world to meet the International of the Red Trade-Unions on. On the other hand, the German Syndicalists and the Swedish Deputy placed themselves on the basis of the resolution passed by the Syndicalist Congress which was held in London in 1918, and that goes out from the idea of forming a Syndicalist International. Moreover, the condition was made that only the organizations that accept the federative standpoint could take part in the formation of this International.

By accepting this resolution it follows that a centralized organization like the I. W. W., which like almost all the Revolutionary Centrals in the other countries has organized in its ranks besides Syndicalists, also Communists and Anarchists, would not be able to work in the purely Syndicalist International as it is intended by the Germans.

The standpoint advocated by the Americans is, in our opinion, therefore, the correct one and agrees in all respects with that adopted by the Dutch Independent Trade Movement, namely, that we can no more form a Syndicalist than a Communist International. There must be room in our international for the adherents of all parties and all tendencies who accept the standpoint of the class war and who are prepared to join us in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. Therefore, all our endeavors should be directed towards the formation of the International of the Industrial Workers of the World.

It is a matter for real satisfaction for us that we were able to come to an agreement on this point, whereby the original plan of the Germans to bring about a purely Syndicalist International was frus-

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trated. And so is the fact that the conference fairly generally placed itself on the standpoint that the Centrals of each country shall be perfectly free to decide for themselves upon the form they adopt for their respective organizations. This makes it all the easier to come to an understanding at the congress in Moscow.

II.

Two other questions dominated the discussions at the Berlin conference. In the first place the question whether the trade movement (also therefore a revolutionary international trades-union) must be independent of political parties; and in the second place, whether or not the revolutionary trade movement had to accept the standpoint of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With regard to the first point the delegate of the I. W. W. declared that tho he had instructions to proceed to Moscow for the purpose of bringing about ONE International of the Red Trade-Unions, his organization maintained the standpoint that the international of the trade movement was in no wise to be placed under the control of the Communist III. International, or of any other political party. This standpoint was also expressly brought forward by the Argentine delegation, Holland, Germany and Sweden.

The delegates of the two latter countries laid somewhat too much stress on the anti-political standpoint. As tho by negating all political action the workingclass will be able to fight out the political struggle against capitalism. This obviously is impossible. The development of capitalism teaches us that as the class contrasts grow more intensified political and economic actions tend to flow into one until finally in a far-advanced revolutionary situation the dividing line between the political and economic sphere falls away altogether.

Belinsky quite rightly pointed out at the conference amongst other things that the anti-political standpoint had become obsolete, as it no longer adjusted itself to the revolutionary stage at this period. Moreover, it is not only extremely dangerous, but also impossible to separate the political and economic spheres of action.

Suppose, for instance, Russia—where the proletariat has seized the power—were forced to defend itself at the penalty of the annihilation of the proletarian revolution against the onslaughts of its own counter-revolutionary generals who were aided by the armies of the other capitalist countries, such a step would be a political action and only an un-revolutionary mind would say: "We have nothing to do with political affairs." Consequently a Syndicalist International would be compelled to take part in politics.

But, as Belinsky said, the relation of the Third International to the International Red Trades-Union is something different altogether. Here we have two separate bodies and it is misleading to represent the second as being under the control of the first, as is usually done on several sides.

The Third International places itself on the standpoint that organisatorily the trade movement should be completely independent; and in the preliminary statutes of the International Red Trades-Union there is no evidence whatsoever to the contrary. A spirit of union, however, we hold to be essential in the political and economic revolutionary organizations of the proletariat. This is necessary in order to force a united front against capitalism and its assistants. We, therefore, must not interpret the word "independent" in the narrow sense thereof, i. e., not in the sense that tends to isolate the trade movement from the political revolutionary movement, for it is quite possible, without following up the instructions of the political revolutionary parties, to work in harmony with them for the one great aim: the liberation of the workingclass from the yoke of capitalism and the realization of the communist state. The representatives of the revolutionary minority of the C. G. T. of France shared our views on this matter. Tho they have joined Moscow they are nevertheless of the opinion that the trade movement should not be dependent on any political party, but should certainly work together with the Third International and the revolutionary parties. The French comrades pointed to Zinoviev, who recently emphatically declared that the attitude of the Third International towards the trade movement differed altogether from that assumed towards political parties, that no doctrinal standpoint is taken up with regard to the trade movement and that in no way will the communist parties interfere with matters concerning the trade movement.

In connection with the above observations Comrade Belinsky proposed an amendment of Point 5, which, however, was rejected, but will be brought forward again for discussion at the congress in Moscow. It will, therefore, not be out of place to say something more about this amendment. Belinsky proposed to amend Point 5 as follows: "That the International Red Trades-Union shall be independently organized, but shall pursue its actions in deliberation and in co-operation with the Third International."

The acceptance of the amendment would not have made any intrinsic difference in Point 5 as drawn up by the commission. Belinsky, too, desires to bring about an independent International Trades-Union. But he further wants to obtain a more positive declaration by the revolutionary Trades-Union International of its preparedness to co-operate with the Third International.

Tho personally the writer of this article would have supported Belinsky's amendment, he voted in favor of Point 5 as drawn up by the commission, as it was more in accordance with the instructions which the Dutch delegation had received from the H. A. S. Board.

To be more clear: We, too, desire to see a revolutionary International Trades-Union that does not dance to the tune of the Third International, or of any other political party. But this does not do away

with the fact that in the present revolutionary period especially, we have to define clearly the sharp line of division that separates the reformistic from the revolutionary labor movement in the world. On the one side we have the remnants of the Second International and the A. T. I. who are one at heart; on the other side, the growing revolutionary Third International, which is steadily amalgamating into one International Trades-Union. Between these is no midway. Certainly we can expect that the advocates for the Second International will endeavor to carry on the old concern under another name and will so try to re-unite the parties that have deserted the Second International in the Right front of the labor movement and to smooth the way for co-operation with the A. T. I.

Both Troelstra (one of the well-known leaders of the Second International) and Oudegeest (one of the secretaries of the A. T. I.) spoke in this spirit at a recent Christmas meeting at Amsterdam held by the S. D. A. P. and the N. V. V. of Amsterdam, where Kleerekooper presided, and according to whom the meeting was a demonstration of the indestructible bond between the political fight and that of the trade movement. Both speakers intimated that the Second International must be superseded by an international with a tendency to orientate itself more in the direction of the Left (the A. T. I. was to work with it). But we know what to think of such statements when uttered by men who have hitherto gone arm in arm with the bourgeoisie. What does this amount to other than that the leaders of the Second International in conjunction with the A. T. I. are busy forming out of the more moderate and parliamentary labor movements a united front against Moscow?

Once more—There is no midway. One stands either on the one or the other side of the line. All over the world evidence is accumulating that the process of separation is gradually approaching maturity. In Germany the U. S. P. chose the middle way with the result that the breach was unavoidable; the Right wing was shoved more to the Right and the Left wing more to the left. The same thing occurred in the French Socialist movement. It wished to have nothing to do with the Second International, nor at first with Moscow; not till the congress held at Tours in 1920, when a change took place and by a large majority it was decided to join Moscow. The development of the trade movement in France is going thru the same experience. So far Jouhaux and his partisans have succeeded in keeping the C. G. T. tied to the A. T. I. Despite these attempts a strong minority in the French Trade Movement has gone over to the Red Trades-Union International, and unless the signs deceive us, this minority will in time become a majority ready to vote for Moscow against Amsterdam.

To vote for Moscow is to vote in favor of the trade movement and of forming **ONE single revolutionary International of the Industrial Workers of the World, which will not permit the Third Inter-**

national to dictate the rules to it, but will consult with it and work together, in short, will form a united front in the struggle against capitalism. This is the standpoint we have to adopt in this question and which we shall all have to strive to come to an agreement on at Moscow.

Point 5 of the resolution adopted at the conference in Berlin reads as follows: The International Trades-Union (R. I. I.) is entirely autonomous and independent of all political parties. In the event that the R. I. I. decides upon a certain action and political parties or other organizations declare themselves in accord with such an action or vice versa, then the execution of the decision can be carried out together."

This standpoint makes co-operation with the Third International possible; but at the same time presupposes the possibility of co-operation with the Reformistic International. We think, therefore, that this point is formulated too vaguely and prefer the amendment as proposed by Belinsky at the Berlin conference. This also was the opinion of the representatives of the Shop Stewards of England and the Minority of the C. G. T. of France.

III.

Extensive discussions followed on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the second day of the conference the two French representatives declared that the Minority in the C. G. T. (including also anarchists) expressed themselves in favor of the proletarian dictatorship. We are in favor of the dictatorship, they said, because we are revolutionists and all who wish to take part in the irreconcilable fight against the dictatorship of capitalism will have to acquiesce in the proletarian dictatorship for the period of transition. The representative of the I. W. W. shared this viewpoint. The I. W. W. people of America constantly propagate the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hardy, therefore, proposed that the Berlin conference express itself for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This proposal was supported by Belinsky (Russia), Tanner (England), Barker (The Argentine), and the writer of this article, whereas the German and Swedish representatives strongly opposed it.

The chief arguments against the dictatorship of the proletariat were that the time was not yet ripe for it. Rocker stated, they were for a dictatorship by the workers, but against a dictatorship of force by the state. Moreover, the term "dictatorship" did not originate with the working class; it was an instrument of the bourgeoisie and dates from the time of the French Revolution, when the Jacobins—the party of the petty bourgeoisie—made use of it for the first time. Later it became a source of conflict between Marx and Bakounine and we Germans agree with the latter. Severin of Sweden, too, placed himself upon the same anarchist standpoint against the dictatorship, for according to him

the word "dictatorship" presupposes: the power in hands of the state.

The Germans proposed that instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat the conference should express itself in favor of the Social Revolution.

Belinsky stated rightly that fencing with the words "social revolution" is a mere phrase. That these words say nothing at all is evident from the fact that the leaders of the International of Amsterdam recently carried resolutions with tremendous applause at London, so that these people too speak about "social revolution" and the "revolutionary struggle." But these words in themselves say very little as long as one is afraid to state with what means one wishes to bring about this social revolution.

What we want to know is that we cannot step from the capitalist into the communist social order. Between these two there is a period of transition during which the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable. Whoever refuses to accept the dictatorship of the proletariat is a reformist, for he infers that communism can only be reached by the road of democracy, along which the reformist social-democrats as well as the bourgeois democrats wish to lead the workers. We must not be scared of the word dictatorship, for we shall then make the same mistake that the bourgeoisie makes daily when it tells its readers again and again how fatal party dictatorship is, that in reality does not exist!

The same bourgeois press, of course, approved entirely of the Noake dictatorship, for the reason, in fact, that it was exercised in the interests of the bourgeoisie and the former rulers against the rebellious German proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat implies the exact opposite. The delegates of the German and Swedish Syndicalists and Comrade Barker (The Argentine) say: "Dictatorship of the workers themselves is all right," and by this they apparently mean by means of the trade unions! But if the trade unions, say, for instance, that of the Syndicalists, with its 32,000 members, were to exercise the power, would not that be a minority as well? And the Russian trade unions with 6 or 7 million out of a population of 180 million? Therefore, we need under the dictatorship of the proletariat a very wide organization. The proletarian dictatorship has no other object than to destroy the bourgeoisie.

On our side we stated at the conference, and we wish to repeat it once more in this article, that the opponents of the dictatorship of the proletariat omit to indicate another way by which to pass from the capitalist into the communist social order. Rocker's statement that the time was not yet ripe for the proletarian dictatorship is a presumptuous supposition by which in fact the idea is propagated that the proletariat is not yet ripe for the realization by means of it of communism. One is apt to forget, however, that under capitalism they will never be ripe, in the sense that the workers en bloc can con-

sciously bring about the social revolution, and therefore, one gives the workers a bill payable within eternity by constantly proclaiming that the proletariat is not yet ripe.

What does it matter to us who was the first in history to make use of the dictatorship? Whether it is a system, as Rocker said, that was first brought into practice by the Jacobins; or whether Marx was an advocate for proletarian dictatorship and Bakounine was not? Marx and Bakounine 60 years ago said many things that are still true in 1920, but as they lived under quite different social conditions, they also said things in those days that are no longer true in 1920. What we have to know is that present social circumstances will place us before the fact that the proletariat will have to have the courage to seize the power. It is not for us to fix the moment when this will happen; the historical development will make that out.

The assertion: "We are against the dictatorship by means of state power" is really a confession that one dares not accept the consequences of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against capitalism. For historically it is as sure as anything in the world that capitalism will not voluntarily resign itself to its doom, any more than it will, without offering resistance, permit the workers to seize the factories and the peasants to take possession of the land in order to found a communist state. On the contrary, capitalism and a whole army of satellites, including a large number of unconscious workers who have been set up against their own class by the most unscrupulous machinations, will impede every real attempt at realizing communism. Under such circumstances, i. e., in a proletarian revolutionary situation there is no time for speculations about state and liberty. What will be required then is a social organ representing the power of the proletariat and which, of necessity, is prepared to establish the proletarian power by means of force. Under such circumstances, when not only the bourgeoisie turns against the proletarian revolution, but when most probably a great number of individuals will try to profit by the disorder and "score a great hit," a rigorous dictatorship is absolutely necessary, especially in the beginning.

No one positively declared himself against the dictatorship of the proletariat at the conference. Besides Belinsky, Tanner, Hardy, Godonneche and the present author, Barker (Argentine) too, declared himself in favor of the proletarian dictatorship, while Rocker declared: "The dictatorship of the workers themselves is all right."

The dictatorship is feared only in the case when it is exercised thru force by the state or when it rests in the hands of a few leaders. These are the men who themselves maintain the narrow trade union standpoint and who believe that there the struggle of the working class ends. According to this point of view they see in the dictatorship by means of the trade union movement the true proletarian dictatorship from below. As if no objections

existed against the dictatorship in the minds of some, mostly conservative trade union leaders.

We ourselves have been working in the trade union movement for 18 years and during the last 12 years played a leading part. Our experience is that the daily practical and opportunistic work in the trade unions tends to make it thoroly reformistic. No wonder that so many trade union leaders become entirely absorbed in the practical work. (Work, let it be noted, does not even give a limited satisfaction to the workers nowadays, who take little interest or no interest at all in the great social struggle.) Let it be clearly understood: We have no intention to be malicious towards certain persons. We merely state a fact, namely, the fact that the trade union leaders, even the best and most revolutionary among them, are for the greater part engaged in work of an opportunistic nature. And in this connection we doubt whether the objections against the dictatorship of a few trade union leaders would not be at least as great as against a number of party leaders.

We are therefore just as much against the one as against the other. The chief thing is to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which can only be attained thru the temporary dictatorship of the working class. This cannot and may not be the dictatorship of a party, nor that of the trade union, but of the organization of labor in the widest sense of the word, i. e., of all who are concerned in the production.

Now, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" can be

replaced by "the power of the working class," and it was in this spirit that the conference at Berlin passed the resolution. Essentially there is no difference between these two ideas. It is fighting about a word. It were better to trouble less about words in these days of fast approaching capitalist decay and of intensified class contrasts and to pay more attention to the revolutionary struggle which must be directed towards the destruction of capitalism.

The German Syndicalists especially should realize this, instead of alarming the workers by the word dictatorship.

In these lines we gave an account of the discussions held at Berlin, and our opinion concerning the most important problems which will be treated at the congress at Moscow. In doing so we based ourselves entirely on the principles of the Independent Trade Union Movement in Holland.

The attentive reader will have noted that there still remain points of difference between these principles and those of the Red Trades-Union International. But these are also to be found in every federation of revolutionary trade unions in the different countries. The question is whether the various sections of the revolutionary trade movement in the world will be able to come to an agreement at Moscow. In our opinion this will be possible.

But then we must not go to Moscow to look for contrasts, but to co-operate earnestly in creating One Revolutionary Trades-Union International.

THE SEVEN AGES OF MAN.



AGE No. 1: THE POLITICIAN.

And He Never Grows Out of It.

The Australian Labor Movement

By J. Morris

THE LATEST and most authentic information regarding the development of the Australian Labor movement that has been received from that country is to the effect that the mining and transport departments of the One Big Union will become a reality in the very near future.

There are quite a number of interested persons in America who are under the impression that the O. B. U. of the workers of Australia has existed for some time.

Such, however, is not the case, and to all intents and purposes the forming of the two departments mentioned above is the first practical attempt to bring the O. B. U. into being.

If such is the case we are in a quandary as to the actual conditions prevailing in Australia at the present time.

That we may understand and estimate correctly the progress that the Australian worker has made it is necessary to have a general knowledge of the various unions and their activities in recent years. About 90% of the workers of Australia are organized, but as they are separated into approximately 365 different craft unions there is nothing wonderful about it. Even amongst workers of the same trade, such as carpenters, engineers, etc., you will find different unions mutually antagonistic.

There appeared to be no end to this tangle until in the latter part of 1913 the I. W. W. came along with their industrial union propaganda. Immediately a fierce fight began between the old and the new ideas which culminated in the extraordinary development within the rank of the working class that we are attempting to present in this article.

It is unnecessary for us to outline the activities of all the craft unions. We will deal only with the more important ones.

The Australian Workers' Union.

The biggest union from a numerical point of view is the Australian Workers Union, more familiarly called the A. W. U.

It has a membership of 100,000 and is organized in the pastoral and agricultural industries. A majority of its rank and file are migratory workers because of the seasonal character of the work.

They very seldom pull a strike, as most of the disputes are handled thru the Arbitration Court. Occasionally they indulge in a little job action and it is upon these occasions they display a militancy that is surprising. The officials of the union are reactionary and they do their utmost to

prevent the rank and file from conducting job activities.

Up to the time of my leaving Australia these officials had succeeded in bulldozing these workers into the belief that the O. B. U. is impractical, tho with a rapidly growing militant minority their influence is fast waning. They (the officials of the A. W. U.) are the backbone of the Australian Labor Party (the politicians of the "labor" brand), and are continually inculcating into the minds of the rank and file of the union the idea that by electing representatives to parliament they are doing away with the necessity of the strike.

This line of "bunk" is losing its punch, and to the very evident dismay of the union officials the workers are resorting to job action; in parts of Australia they have even gone so far as to create job committees.

Thru the official organ of the A. W. U., the Australian Worker, the officials are bitterly attacking the growth of the One Big Union idea.

The election of officers is conducted thru a machine that prevents the election of any worker opposed to the policy of the officials.

In order to counteract the propaganda of the industrialists they made the claim that they are the O. B. U. and in order to prove it pointed to the presence within their organization of a few workers belonging to craft unions now affiliated with the A. W. U.

They are trying to stampede the workers into their organization but must fail because of their reactionary attitude.

It was these officials who persuaded one group of workers to scab during the 1917 strike on the plea that "it will not affect the strike."

Coal Miners' Union.

This organization, with a membership approximating to 20,000, is the real fighting unit back of the drive for the O. B. U. The members of this union have a record of struggles with the coal barons that stamps them as a very militant and intelligent group of slaves.

They started the fight for the six-hour day and they appear to be winning out. Their favorite tactic is the "go slow" strike, or as they have it, the "Old Man" strike. Old men work slow, they affirm.

They are quick to rally to the support of any other union that conducts a strike; it was in pursuance of this policy of sympathy that they came in on the 1917 strike.

The union officials are fairly militant and they have for some time encouraged the creation of mine committees.

The union has the habit of so regulating the coal output that the boss is unable to build huge stocks of coal that could be used against the mine workers during a strike.

The miners at Broken Hill stayed out on strike for ten months on the six-hour day issue and improved working conditions. They lost out on the first demand but gained the last.

With this fighting union backing up the new move, success is assured.

The Australian Seamen's Union.

The seamen on the Australian coast are an exception to the general run of seafaring men. Taken as a whole they are very militant, but are too easily influenced by their leaders.

Particularly was this the case during the thirteen weeks' strike of 1919. At the present time the militants have control and they are supporting the miners in the new move for reorganization.

Like the miners they are continually striking over one thing or another. The last big strike of theirs gained very little for them. They have the six-hour day in port and an eight-hour day at sea. The many clashes with the bosses have been the means of developing their militancy. The idea of forming ship committees is gaining a foothold and upon one ship this committee declared a "go slow" strike whilst at sea. The union has a membership of 15,000.

The secretary, Tom Walsh, was sent to jail during the last strike because he refused to advise the men to refer their dispute to the Arbitration Court for settlement. He is a fine type of a man, thoroly understands the labor movement and is a first rate rebel.

The seamen, during this strike, ignored the government and refused point blank to have anything to do with Judge Higgins and the Arbitration Court. The Arbitration Court is a dead letter to them.

Altho they lost out on the six-hour day issue they are preparing for another fight and hope to win out by other means than the starvation strike.

The Waterside Workers' Union.

For many, many years this union was considered to be the most powerful union in Australia. At one time they undoubtedly had the boss where they wanted him. High wages and short hours operated for a long time. That was before necessity compelled the master class to organize. Now it is different.

With the growth of the population job competition became accentuated and the union closed its books to prospective members.

The union had preference on the waterfront and if one wanted work he had to carry the union card.

The action of the union in closing the books (at the beginning of the intensification of job competition they raised the initiation fee to a pro-

hibitive level and instituted a procedure of nomination for membership that practically amounted to a closing of the books) was based upon a desire to provide a continuity of employment to its members.

They would be precluded from doing this if all and sundry were permitted to join the union. At the time of the closing of the books they had a membership of about 10,000.

They were a militant bunch, that is as far as the job was concerned, and had a very peculiar habit of quitting the job unexpectedly. This tactic got on the boss's nerves and when the opportunity offered itself, he smashed the organization. The breaking of this union began with the 1917 strike. The waterside workers came out in sympathy with the railway workers.

The bosses began recruiting scabs and they used the condition created by the union's closing of the books as their main argument in order to entice those who had been prevented from joining the union to help them break this "pernicious organization" that had denied him, the worker, the right to work. The boneheads fell for this line of "bunk" and poured into the bosses' compounds by the hundreds. The bosses then organized them into a union, the "Loyalists' Union," and promised them work in preference to the old union men.

But the bosses discovered that the scabs were very slow and inefficient workers, and when the Waterside Workers' Union officials suggested that the bosses give preference to their members on the grounds of greater efficiency, they immediately complied.

The rank and file had suffered a great deal during the strike, and thru their suffering they saw the mistake of making a job trust of their union. The union books were thrown open and many hundreds of new members found their way to the wharves for work.

The old difficulty of not enough work had again to be met but this time a new tactic was adopted. The old system of loading a ship as rapidly as possible was abolished and no member of the union is permitted to work more than eight hours in one day.

In the days prior to the strike it was a common practice to work right thru, altho it usually meant working seventy-two hours at a stretch, until the ship was loaded.

But now the work must be more evenly distributed and to this end they elect a committee on every ship, on the basis of one delegate from each batch aboard ship and one from each gang working ashore. This committee regulates the speed at which the men are to work. Formerly they loaded or unloaded a ship at the rate of 90 slings of cargo per hour, now they are not permitted by the union to do more than 20 slings per hour.

This is a good start and is indicative of the

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

development within the organization. The rank and file are supporting the move for an O. B. U. and are very active in backing up the miners and seamen in their attempt to launch the Mining and Transport Departments of the O. B. U.

The Railway Workers.

These workers are divided into six different unions, one in each state; five of them generally manage to be working whilst the other is on strike. Most of their strikes were failures owing to the mutual scabbery that is the outcome of their manner of organizing.

Many attempts have been made to amalgamate them into one organization, but all have been abortive.

The militant members within the various sections are attempting to line these unions up into the Transport department of the new organization, and they are confident that they will eventually succeed.

The opposition to this move comes from the old men who are afraid they will lose pensions from the government should they assist in rebuilding and reorganizing their unions.

It was the militant element that forced the 1917 strike, whilst the old workers stayed in and scabbed. The union has a membership of 20,000. All the railways are run by the various state governments and it will be very interesting to watch how the labor politicians, who are in a majority in the State House of New South Wales, will act when these workers begin the offensive.

The Australian Meat Industry Employees' Union.

The meat workers were the first to organize along industrial lines. They have done much to break down the craft barriers within the labor movement. Butchers, laborers, electricians, carpenters, engineers, machinists, plumbers and painters were organized into one union and they functioned largely on the job.

If men required work they could obtain it thru the union office only, and no slaves were permitted to hang around the factory gates. No worker could be discharged without the sanction of the job committee. This policy kept the rank and file continually at issue with the bosses and developed a fighting spirit within the organization. The "go slow" strike was frequently resorted to.

The bosses made many attempts to smash the union and partially succeeded in the last attack. This strike is a very interesting one in that it shows how "labor" politicians, when they hold the reins of government, will act.

It happened that a labor government held office at this time and when the bosses in pursuance of a well laid-out policy, locked out the workers in the Alligator Creek meat works, Townsville, this bunch of "labor" politicians gave instructions to the police force of Townsville that the factories were to be protected against possible action by the locked-out slaves.

These workers drove the police from the factories and commandeered all the cattle and sheep for their own consumption.

Immediately, Premier Mr. Ryan, thru his assistant Mr. Theodore, organized a force of some 300 policemen and sent them to Townsville to cope with the activities of the workers.

The journey of some 200 miles to Townsville from Brisbane (the seat of government) had to be made by rail, but the railway workers refused to man the trains.

Did this act of the railway workers serve as a deterrent upon the "labor" politicians? Decidedly not!

Did it not occur to the labor government that their manner of "emancipating" the workers from their slavery was not in keeping with the ideas of the workers themselves on that subject?

Maybe it did, but they reasoned that whilst they were fighting for labor's "emancipation" they must not permit the workers to violate property or to run counter to the bosses' institutions.

With their consciences clear upon this point they manifested no mental perturbation during the process of organizing scabs to man the trains. When the police arrived at their destination they immediately proceeded to "hand it out" to the workers of Townsville. The strike was broken and the militants hounded out of the district. The union officials were sent to jail and many workers were shot down in the fights between the police and the residents of Townsville.

The workers, however, do not mind very much a few setbacks of this character. It helps to clarify the issues. It helps to breed a spirit of class hatred, the very essential precursor of solidarity. They are reorganizing their union, discarding its faults and collaborating with the railway workers and the miners on the One Big Union issue. The next strike will be conducted on different lines, more in the nature of a general strike and then, Mr. "labor" politician, your job as a lackey won't be a sinecure.

"Political Organizations."

Australia is blessed, or cursed, just as you conceive it, with very few political organizations. We have the labor politicians united under the banner of the "Australian Labor Party," the Nationalist Party, which is composed of politicians, confessedly reactionary, and rats from the A. L. P., and at whose head is the "Hon. William H. Hughes, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia" (rather a high sounding title but there is nothing to it, really), and a flavoring of farmers' candidates. The Nationalist Party holds down all ministerial jobs and is in a majority in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The "labor" politicians are without exception of the same kidney as Ryan, Theodore & Co. One of the most popular labor politicians, Frank Anstey,

is losing caste with the slaves thru the scabby tactics indulged in by him during the seamen's strike.

The party is but a huge grafting machine that fakes ballots thru its various branches and on all and every occasion seeks to disorganize the working class. When in session in Parliament, the representatives vote in favor of all restrictive legislation directed against the workers. Particularly was this the case during the war. They gave their support to the War Precaution's Act and the Unlawful Associations Act (this latter act is somewhat similar in its application to the Anti-Syndicalist laws of the U. S.).

They toed the mark again on the new Immigration Bill that takes the place of the War Precaution's Act.

Incidents like the Townsville affair are educating the slaves on the futility of parliamentary action, and they are turning more and more toward the industrial field as their only alternative. The daily papers (conservative) estimated that only 40 % of the workers voted at the last election.

The Nationalist or coalition party does not concern us very much. It is frankly and openly opposed to the working class.

It relies for support upon the farmers, capitalists and petty bourgeois elements, as well as upon the aristocratic or skilled workers, such as the masons, carpenters, etc.

It plays the usual game of politics and concentrates on such burning issues as "hanging the kaiser", war indemnity, etc. The profiteers, extremists and bolsheviks are their anathemas.

The Farmers' Party amounts to very little. The "rube" farmer firmly believes that with a majority in Parliament he could counteract the efforts of the big capitalists in their attempts to crush him out of existence. Like the rest of his kind he is dead from the shoulders up.

A particularly interesting move is being made by the Federal Government. A commission has been in session for the last eighteen months trying to determine a basic wage. It concluded its activities by presenting to the government a suggestion that \$21.00 per week is the lowest possible wage that could be given to the working class.

The government turned the suggestion down cold and is fathering a new scheme that works out this way:

The basic wage shall be arrived at by estimating how much it costs to keep a single man, and a married man is to be subsidized by the government according to the number of children he possesses. In other words, they've reached the culminating point in capitalist economics. This move marks the end of the day wherein a single man received the same wage as a married man, and it solves one of the many incongruities within the capitalist system, besides helping to speed the day of the collapse of capitalism itself.

The I. W. W. (Australian Administration).

The history of the I. W. W. in Australia is a history of the birth, development, and death of one of the most remarkable and extraordinary organizations that has seen the light of day in Australia. In the latter part of 1918 the I. W. W. was officially launched, and from that day on, right up to the end of 1918, when it went out of existence (as an organization) by virtue of the Unlawful Association's Act, it conducted a veritable whirlwind of propaganda. From the very start it met with a great deal of opposition, and to its eternal credit be it said it met every attack with an all-crushing counter-attack.

The members of the Australian I. W. W. overcame almost insurmountable difficulties, until today, two years after they ceased to function, their ideas are the driving force behind the labor movement in that country. Their advocacy of industrial unionism brought against them all the meal-ticket artists within the craft unions, but so soundly and thoroly did they expose these miscreants that their opposition had very little effect.

When we consider the fact that this group of rebels conducted most of their activities during the war period and at a time when the majority of the people were suffering from a war mania, the success attained by them is phenomenal.

When the soldiers had broken up all other meetings of socialists, pacifists, etc., etc., they turned their attention to the Wobblies. There they met unexpected opposition; here they met their Waterloo. The Wobs were better organized than the soldiers and it was only because of this that they continued to hold meetings right to the end of 1918. The Wobs made many mistakes, but they were quick to realize whether a tactic was efficacious or not, and did not hesitate to alter their ideas accordingly.

As a case in point we can state that many of them believed that that they could line the slaves up into their organization and thereby build the O. B. U. As a matter of fact they attempted to do this in the mines at Broken Hill, but when the officials of that section of the miners' union saw that if they succeeded it would mean that they, the officials, would lose their meal tickets, they squashed the attempt at its inception. If the I. W. W. has gone out of existence as an organization, what has become of its rank and file? Have they any secret organization? No! but within the ranks of the working class they, as individuals, continue the work of rebuilding and reorganizing the decrepit craft unions. Whatever action is taken by the rank and file of the Australian Labor Movement in the near future, we can rest assured that behind is that bunch of rebels who blazed the trail of industrial unionism in Australia.

"Communist Party."

Oh, yes! Australia has its Communist Party just the same as most other countries and like in all other countries it is of recent origin. It came into being near the end of 1920, and as within its ranks are united all or most of the various socialist factions that existed prior to its formation it renders unnecessary a detailed account of its component parts. The socialist parties included within the new organization are as follows:— Australian Socialist Party, International Industrial Workers (ex-members of the I. W. W.), Socialist Labor Party and part of Victorian Socialist Party.

Whether this new group will function effectively or not is problematical. Much, however, depends upon the understanding arrived at between the various parties in the new organization. The A. S. P. has very little time for industrial unionism, concentrating mostly upon the "political" field. The I. W. W. are a bunch of industrialists, disseminating their propaganda on the job, whilst the S. L. P. was wont to run candidates for parliament in opposition to their present stable mates, the A. S. P.

Quite a heterogeneous bunch, eh!

Conclusion.

No matter how inconclusive this presentation of conditions operating within the Australian labor movement at the present time may be, it is sufficient in itself to demonstrate the presence of a radical change in the psychology of the Australian worker.

Their outlook has broadened and the resultant activities bid fair to carry them quite a long way towards industrial freedom and place them in the vanguard of the movement for labor's emancipation.

Let us, then, study attentively the growth of the One Big Union in that country and let us apportion our credit or censure sparingly, with a thoro understanding of the fact that great objectives are not achieved, nor revolutions accomplished, in a day.

The Australian worker has a comparatively clear field to plow, no racial differences to overcome, no "open shop" difficulties to confront, and besides, having the advantage of possessing an elementary education that enables him to read and write, he can appreciate and understand much in the realms of politics and economics.

The future holds everything for the Australian workingman, and today he is preparing himself for the part he is to play in the building of the new society.

What Have You Done with The Old Men?

By Berton Braley

What have you done with the old men
You've broken by toil and time,
Once they were brave and bold men,
Now they are past their prime,
Now they're aged and useless,
Now that their race is run,
Now that they're weak and nerveless,
Tell us—What have you done?

Have you made their hard lives rougher
By turning them out, in truth,
To shiver and starve and suffer
In the world that was meant for youth?
Now that they cannot aid you
Nor earn their toiler's wage,
For all that their work has paid you,
How have have you dealt with age?

Once they were young and gay men,
Toiling to make you wealth;
Now they are bent and grey men,
Broken in strength and health,
Have you fostered these one-time bold men,
Or starved them as some men do?
As you have dealt with the old men
May Destiny deal with you.

"Let's Go Into Business"

By A Worker

MY DEAR GEORGE:

I RECEIVED your letter yesterday. I was very glad to hear from you. You suggest that you and I go into business and become independent of the big fellows for whom we have to work, and you ask me my opinion of the proposition. Really, I appreciate your wanting to take me into your confidence in such a venture, but the facts to be considered are such that it is impossible for me to be seriously interested.

Of course, little "cockroach" business enterprises sometimes succeed to grow, but I am an electrician and you are a metallurgist in the steel industry. I don't like the business of electrical contracting as carried on by those firms that employ ten, twenty or fifty men. It is a cut-throat game, and these contractors get only comparatively small work. They have plenty of trouble collecting their bills, because they are continually trying to cheat the customer by installing inferior equipment and cheap material. They are organized into associations, but are ever undermining each other. They agree on a schedule of prices in their associations and then go out and double-cross each other. I am, more or less, familiar with this phase of the business and I even know of cases where so-called "legitimate business men" in the electrical contracting business have bought material and equipment that they knew had been stolen from a fellow contractor. They try to subsidize representatives of the trade unions to try and get the unions to discriminate against big general contractors, so that they, the small contractors, can get work subtlet to them.

The small business man has outlived his usefulness, and for you and me to try and buck the tide of industrial development is impossible. Only here and there do we see a business where owner or a partnership of individual owners on a small scale survive. Peanut stands, shoe repair shops and sub-contractors are examples, and their "independence" is a libel on the name.

The corner grocery is giving way to the chain store, and the individual drug store is being displaced in the same way.

Even the bell-boys work for a syndicate, "the Tipping Trust."

In no way does the sub-contractor justify his existence as such. He contributes absolutely nothing to progress. Technically, materially and intellectually, he is a parasite of the most useless type. His knowledge of social forces is nil. His time and energy are expended in trying to double-cross his fellow-contractor, in trying to corrupt officials of the Building Trades Unions, in cheating the customer or owner by "raw-hiding" mechanics to the extent that good work-

manship is impossible. His social status among real industrial leaders and engineers might be compared to that of the hod-carrier's assistant among the old-fashioned aristocrats of labor, the brick-masons. Only (in fairness to all) it must be said that the hod-carrier's helper is a necessary factor and a useful productive worker.

I really like construction, George, but by that I mean to work in a real building organization. I like to feel that my work is being used to advantage in the most thoro and efficient manner possible.

Now, who can produce more efficiently in the building line, with less wasted time and material, big construction companies or a whole bunch of little one-horse concerns? It is obvious that the legitimate building organization produces better buildings in less time with much less overhead expense. The large concern has one organization instead of twenty. It has departments working like cogs in a gear; departments of mechanical trades, safety-first engineering, cost estimating, production (with chart schedules and progress sheets), time-keeping, receiving of material, etc. It has a system of tool checking and material checking. It has blacksmiths and machinists to keep tools, equipment and machinery in working order; it can buy in trainload lots instead of by the dozen, by the ton instead of by the pound.

With the possible exception of agriculture, all the basic industries: transportation, mining, public service (telephone, telegraph, traction, electric light and power), metal and machinery, are centralized, developed, organized for big production at comparatively low unit cost. The industry of building construction is well on the way. The day of the sub-contractor is past. His day was in the hand-tool age. Economic evolution has brought the machine age.

When we have our own little individual troubles in "getting by", our job to go to every morning, if we are so fortunate just now, we lose our sense of perspective, if we ever had such a thing. In buzzing around our little sphere of social activity we do not know our position in relation to society, the industries, the state or our fellow men.

Every once in a while we feel the seeming impossibility of putting up with our lot and we look around and see so and so apparently prospering in business. We don't look any farther. We feel the monotony of working for some one and know that we will never own the steel trust or the General Electric Co., but feel that we can at least build up a small business and become independent. It's natural, I guess—the ambition to become a business man, to become independent.

The days of a Carnegie or a Gary to grow up

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with a business are past. Those fellows happened to be there and on the job when conditions were ripe for a steel industry to develop from the scattered hand method and semi-machine method to the monopoly of organized, single ownership, all-embracing industry of steel and its allied industries.

The opportunity today is not to own but to understand the technical and administrative problems of inter-dependent industry. In the sense of real progress and result of human endeavor, the young man of today employed in industrial technical enterprise has opportunity unheard of in the whole history of mankind. Today in the public library I came across a book, entitled "Non-Technical Chats on Iron and Steel" by Laverne W. Spring, A. B. It is intensely interesting. It explains the history of iron and steel development from the days of pre-historic men down across the ages to the modern processes of today.

In the book are sketches and photographs of the simple, crude implements of the ancients, used in the extraction of iron from the earth, and of others used down the ages to the latest coke-ovens, blast furnaces, rolling mills, rail mills and wire mills that you no doubt are quite familiar with.

Large scale production is here. It is imperfect, of course, but it is infinitely farther ahead of a one-man or one-process business.

You can never own a steel mill and I can never own a power development system. But you can learn the management and technique of a steel mill and I can learn the construction of a power-house or any other building operation. We are both in a position where we can, with no cost to ourselves, learn to stand the combined experiences of the pioneers in our own particular line, and quite possibly apply an idea to improve this or that process or lay-out.

Society has reached a point where industry is not an individual affair, but an affair of society itself. Man is a social animal. He lives in communities and works in gangs because he is a social animal. For the same reason (mutual advantage) he displays the gang spirit in his union, his club, his church, his lodge, his school life, his country and most fundamental of all, on the job.

He produces not as an individual, but as part of an organization of producers. His individuality and initiative are brought out on his particular operation, on his particular part of the job. His is a very important factor. But that quality in him would never develop anything if it were not for the condition under which he works and experiments. For example, you are engaged in a shop where car wheels are produced. You hit upon an idea that is a big labor-saver. Were you not working in the shop, or were the shop not existing your idea would never have been conceived.

So you see, George, that wheel-making organization owes you something for a practical improvement, but you too have the shop to thank for the condition which furnished the background for your idea to fit. That is collective social progress. **The gang spirit in operation on the job.**

I take real interest in my work and feel pride in seeing the achievements of a construction organization. I feel a social pride in hearing the turbines hum in a power-house; cables carrying currents down from the switch-board into the ducts, thru the 'man-holes' to factories, where shoes and machinery and carwheels are turned out. Shoes for the fireman who keeps steam up for the turbines, and car-wheels for the gondolas that carry coal to him from the mines.

No, I don't want to go into business. I want to carry on in the building construction and possibly improve a system or a method. Particularly do I want to understand thoroly the already established operations and try with my fellow workers to be able to assume responsibility.

The fact that the ownership of industry is largely removed from the real producers,—the managers, unskilled workers, skilled workers, technicians and clerical forces, etc.—is only a passing state of affairs. The reason the producer doesn't get all the benefit of these efficient methods of today is because he is ignorant of the thing, he is a part of society and its evolution.

He wants to go into business. He is still thinking in the hand-tool age.

You are on the job. Get to understand the operation in which you are engaged in its relationship to the operations before and after the commodity passes thru your department. Your fellow-workers will either learn or they will die. The fellow who knows his industry will be at an advantage in every way.

His standard of living is higher because he generally is better paid.

He is able to jump into a position requiring executive or technical skill when such vacancy occurs.

He will fill a tremendously important position when the workers are called upon to assume responsibility.

He can feel that in knowing his industry he is responsible in a great degree for the labor-saving tools and methods, that some day will be a blessing for himself and his fellow-man.

So you see, George, if it happens to make the Steel Trust richer a bit, if you stick and improve a process, why worry about it? You and the rest of us will benefit by it some day when the Steel Trust (as a privately owned monopoly) will be where the Government of Kerensky is—along with the League of Nations.

The only thing left of it will be a memory.

Yours sincere friend,

Clemens.

Ship Committees - A Problem in Organization

By Card No. 804943

ALTHO seafaring-men, generally speaking, are dissatisfied with the conditions under which they work, no great attempt has been made by them to secure an improvement.

They have nothing but contempt for their various craft unions, and very rarely do they attend the meetings.

Charges of graft have been leveled at their officials. Some go so far as to assert that their unions are governed by graft, altho no concerted move has been made to back up this claim.

Supposing the assertion to be correct, it constitutes a reflection upon the intelligence of the rank and file which permits such a state of affairs to exist.

Our unions are abject failures. We cannot get away from the truth of that statement. Why are they failures? There are two reasons:

1) The lack of interest shown by the membership in their own affairs, and

2) The manner in which the unions in this industry are organized.

We know how impossible it is for a big majority of the rank and file to attend union meetings, did they so desire. Of what use is a union, constructed as at present, to workers who are at sea nine months out of twelve?

It has taken us a long time to recognize this.

It is unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the abominable conditions under which we labor. They are too well known to need any further elaboration.

Recognizing the faults of the present form of organization it is incumbent upon us to lay down a constructive program for a union of workers in the shipping industry. A union that is to be of any use to its members must be so organized that it enables the whole, or any section of the rank and file to act immediately the occasion demands it. The present unions do not make provisions for this. It is a common thing for seafaring-men to wait months at a time ere they reach the home port and place their grievances before their unions.

Even then there are, as a rule, so many complaints before the union that it is well-nigh impossible to get any satisfaction. As a consequence we have to suffer under these injustices indefinitely.

If by taking our grievances to the present unions begets us no satisfaction the only logical thing for us to do is to handle our grievances ourselves.

That we may do this we must organize on all ships, a committee, elected from the rank and file

of the crew. For effectiveness we must make this committee a real ship committee, that is, it must be thoroly representative of all the workers aboard a particular ship. The committee must, therefore, be comprised of delegates from each department, namely, the stewards, oilers, wipers and firemen, and the deck departments.

The committee shall negotiate during a dispute with the ships officers on behalf of the crew.

No agreements can be arrived at between the committee and the responsible ship's officers unless they have first been ratified by a mass meeting of the rank and file of the ship.

By adopting the above procedure we are enabled to overcome the old difficulty of attending union meetings. Besides, this would give to the rank and file a direct voice in their own affairs, which would permit them for the first time in the history of this section of the working class to absolutely control their own union.

One of the greatest faults of the old style unions is the permanency of its officials. The average union official becomes job-conscious after a while and hates like hell to have to relinquish office and go back to the daily grind of toil under a boss. He schemes to retain his job and stoops to the lowest depths in his endeavours. He plays to the ignorant in the union and eventually becomes reactionary and a menace to the welfare of the rank and file.

With the ship committee operating we will have no use for delegates.

When a worker signs on a ship he, along with the rest of the crew, takes part in electing the ship committee that is to function for him during the trip.

He sees that it is to his interest to support this committee in times of a dispute, and it will therefore be comparatively easy to line him up into the union.

The committee shall collect dues and contributions. Where, then, lies the necessity of delegates? We know that, the way it works out now, before a man can get a job on a ship he must first join a union. If he has not the necessary cash he cannot get the job. Consequently he starves, besides having a hatred of the union. When a strike is declared the boss finds it very easy to get this man to scab.

The boss is very clever in granting us preference, because it is a double-edged weapon in his hands to be used against us whenever we rebel.

He will threaten to withdraw the preference

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clause on occasions, and if this ruse fails he will call upon that group of workers who were prevented thru lack of funds from joining up, to assist him in breaking this union that had denied him the right to work.

Of course, these arguments are very plausible, but the fact remains that the bosses get by with them.

However, difficulties such as these will be thrashed out at meetings of the various ship committees, and the great benefit that will accrue from a discussion of issues similar to the above will manifest itself in the growth of understanding of the fundamental principles of the working class movement.

What a blessing it will be to do away with that army of officials now battenning and fattening on the working class! When they are back on the job, working as we have to work, they will soon drop that office-chair philosophy.

Of course, someone will say, "We must have some officials." That is certainly true, but as a great proportion of the work will be done by the ship committee, which, by the way, functions in an honorary capacity, very few officials will be required.

A general secretary and some assistants could do the secretarial work, while all disputes affecting the general organization could be handled by a special committee elected for that purpose.

In other words, we could elect a committee every twelve months who will constitute a general executive board of the union and whose function it will be to keep in touch with all ship committees and direct negotiations with the bosses during a dispute. This board or committee would not receive remuneration except upon occasions when they would be in session directing a dispute or doing work necessary to the general welfare of the union.

The election of this executive board and the general secretary, etc., should be conducted much in the same manner as the ship committee election, namely, by the vote of the rank and file of the workers on all ships.

The ship committee would direct the voting on each ship and would be the medium thru which all matters relative to the organization are made known to the rank and file.

The general organization should have its headquarters at the port where the majority of its membership are in the habit of signing on, and

branches should be established in all other seaports.

When we have abolished this hydra-headed unionism of today and replaced it with one union of seafaring-men we will be a force to contend with.

A body of men organized as we then will be, will have no need of going, cap in hand, to our "masters" begging for the right to live.

And when we have taken the step in this direction we will be able to perceive and understand that we are but a part of the transport industry, and there will be born within us a recognition of the necessity of further co-ordinating our forces by forming the One Big Union of Transport Workers.

Our real objective then shall be, not higher wages, shorter hours or better conditions on the job, but the complete taking over of the whole transport industry and conducting it in the interest of the working class.

We workers have starved so long in this land of plenty that we are beginning to think a lot. We have developed "a new mentality". We are no longer satisfied with what our masters are pleased to give us.

And we can see no other solution of this problem than the complete expropriation of these billionaires who have made their wealth out of the sweat and blood of us workers.

Aye, even if we "go down to the sea in ships" the profits still flow into "their cursed unsatiate tills."

But if we are to achieve the wonderful objective that we have in mind we must first make the initial move, namely, the forming of ship committees.

The fight will be a long and a hard one, but there are plenty of workers who, if they do not thoroly understand, at least are sympathetic, and if at the beginning we can bring together all intelligent workers we can do very effective propaganda work and give to the average worker a line of thought that will lead him out of the mental wilderness that he finds himself in. The shipping industry is practically a virgin field as far as propaganda is concerned and these workers are rotten ripe for a change.

The onus is upon us, and so let us begin at once by forming committees on our ships, which will be the nucleus of the One Big Industrial Union of the toilers of the sea.



The Story of the Sea

By Tom Barker

(Continued from the March Number.)

CHAPTER 6.

MARINE TRADE UNIONISM.

Ireland.

IN this "poor distressful country" our fellow workers of the Transport Workers Union command our attention and admiration. Their courage and heroism stand in marked contrast to the cowardly supineness of the British organization. Neither terrorism nor outrages deter them. The great majority are for scientific world unionism, and within their island they are perfecting their weapon to take their stand by the Brotherhood of the Seas and Docks, when it makes its advent. Organizations that live in the world of struggle must generate both clear-minded and intelligent men, men who are in the movement for the sake of their class and not for personal ambition, the degrees of capitalist universities or the thirty pieces of silver of the master-class press. You men on the Cork and Dum Langshaire docks, and you Irishmen who toil on the ships of the world, throw in your forces for establishing the dictatorship of the outcast seaman and the pariah long-shoreman.

Scandinavia.

It is regrettable to know that in Scandinavia the unions are as divided, and their outlook almost as reactionary, as in Great Britain. The late secretary of the Norwegian Seamen's and Firemen's Union recently received a gold medal from the King for something he had not done for his membership. The members "sacked" him. In Norway there is, however, a steadily growing spirit among the men for something better. Overseas they are the fighting spirit of unionism, and there are no better men than the boys from the fjords for letting the world know about the necessity for One Big Union. During the recent fights for unionism in the ports of South America, they were the backbone of the Union, ready to picket or strike at a moment's notice. The officers are, in the mass, more democratic, and there is not the air of "stand-offishness" that is so typical of other nations. In Sweden the seamen are in the hands of Charles Lindley. He is the same type of man as Havelock Wilson, and was the right-hand man of Herr Branting, the Social Democratic White-guard, when the latter was Premier. The question for the Swedish marine workers is whether or not they can afford to wait until Mr. Lindley is translated to the Kingdom of Heaven. The deep-water Swedes are good fellows and they are good organizers and aggressive.

Early in 1920 in Denmark the Firemen's Union

went on strike. Prior to that event there were separate unions for seamen and firemen. They were defeated in the bad old fashion, after being sold out by parliamentary bell-wethers. (The term "bell-wether" is a rather good one, and fits the average politician. A bell-wether is an educated sheep which leads the other mutttons into the slaughter pen, and then steps back to lead the next batch. The mutttons, which are very human in their instincts, will always follow their leader. They emulate their two-legged cousins by going into a long sleep after they have been beguiled and soothed by the bleats of their political misleaders). The Union was fined 400,000 crowns, but if the members would consent to work industriously and continuously, the government is willing not to collect the fine. While the strike was on, the ships were worked by scabs from the rural districts, and these gentry ran the ships to oversea ports where union men belonging to the Yellow Transport Workers Federation, handled the cargo. When I was in Kristiania, in April, 1920, the strike was just declared. The Danish motorship "Afrika" came into port. Her anchors were no sooner down than the seamen and oilers went on strike. They were taken off the ship and sent back to Denmark, probably to jail. The "Afrika" had cargo on board for Lisbon, and the officers and engineers worked her, the largest motor-ship in the world, and took her down to Lisbon without an able seaman of a motorman aboard her. So you see, fellow worker, what motor-ships are going to mean to you in the years that are going to come. They will not need you, that's all.

Long distance scabbery is one of the worst evils of our present state of disorganization. In July, 1919, the Finn barque "Lawhill" left La Plata, Argentina, with a scab crew. This was reported by the Marine Transport Workers to the Danish union. When the "Lawhill" arrived in Aarhus, Denmark, she was tied up, and her scab crew were chased ashore and afterwards heavily fined for their treachery. Isolated actions such as this case shows what a punch a World Organization could develop, as it would make it impossible for scabbery to exist in the marine industry.

In October, 1920, the politicians were ousted from the control of the Danish marine unions, and Fellow Worker Borgland was re-instated in the presidency. In order to avoid the fine, the industry is to be re-organized on Industrial Union lines, and there is to be a break-away from Havelock Wilson's machine. During the strike of 1920, the Danes did not get solidarity from the Yellow Amsterdam Federation.

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The Eastern Baltic.

On the Eastern shore of the Baltic, the Finnish Seamen's and Firemen's Union have their centre at Helsingfors. According to Fellow Worker Ahonen, the secretary, the Finns are in sympathy with the creation of a fighting international. I have found Finns in overseas unions to be a fine militant type, very determined and intelligent. Owing to the predominance of the White Terror, the wages and conditions are villainously low. The wages are equivalent to about £3.0.0 English per month. In Riga efforts are now being made to line the workers up, and matters are too unsettled in Riga and other ports to form any idea of the future.

Germany.

Marine unionism in Germany is in a deplorable state. That is due mainly to the fact that the greater part of German ships are now in Allied hands. The pre-war tonnage of 5,185,000 tons had been reduced to 419,000 tons in June, 1920. Thus the "Deutsche Seemannsbund" has lost about 90 % of its former influence. As a result of this the German workers are suffering tremendously, but the spirit that runs thru their publications is far ahead of many other countries. There have been many industrialists deported to Germany from the United States and other countries, and the slavishness that used to be characteristic of German merchant ships has almost ceased to exist. All the ships owned in the old Austrian-Hungarian Empire to the extent of 1,052,000 tons have been confiscated by the Allies, and are now under the Italian flag, and the blue-and-white striped Inter-Allied flag. Hence there are no unions in those district, outside of the Italian Union which has now spread to the Eastern Adriatic.

Holland.

In Holland we have another advancing body of dockers and seamen, who are fed up with Havelock Wilson and the reactionaries in control. Fellow Worker van den Berg, the secretary of the Netherlands Transport Workers' Federation, is a student of advanced forms of organization, and is anxious to see something newer and better. The men are not afraid to strike, but wages are very low and conditions are bad. During their strike of February, 1920, solidarity was extended to the Dutch workers in the ports of the United Kingdom and Argentina. Rotterdam is one of the most promising ports in the world for the new organization.

Belgium.

Since the war the Belgian Seamen's Union has been re-organized as a part of the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union of Great Britain. The Belgian section, however, has accomplished far more for its membership than Wilson's union has in its 33 years of uselessness. Indeed,

in 1919, Mr. Wilson had to issue a warning to the Belgians that they were going too fast. All the fishermen are also organized in the union. In the pre-war days, conditions were very bad out of Antwerp, and until quite recently the companies used to brand their men on the arm with a rubber stamp. The Belgian dockers are very militant, and a few months ago tied up three blackleg-loaded ships that came from Malaga in Spain. Antwerp is a very promising place.

France.

In France the organizations are weak and the wages low. A French officer does not receive as much wages as an American seaman. There is, apart from the official element, quite a good spirit growing up, as was exhibited when the captain of a French ship had the steward arrested in Hull. The whole crew struck and were taken, under escort, back to France for trial. They were sentenced, but speedy action and a strike procured their release. A large section of the men were colored, and from the French possessions. No action was taken in Hull to protect their French fellow workers, altho they are both in the Yellow International.

The Peninsula.

Portugal is in a state of chaos, and at the mercy of several unscrupulous political groups, who are always getting in and then thrown out in their turn. The unions are making headway, but the cabecillas—professional chiefs—are still a hindrance.

Spain is under the iron heel and the quarters of the fighting organizations are "clausurada por el gobierno"—closed by the government. La Sociedad Naval de Marineros y Fogoneros of Barcelona exists in secret in the foc's'les, but the leaders are lying in the fortress of Montjuich. The Spaniards are fine fighters for the cause, and right thru the main Spanish ports there are hosts of deportees whose propaganda for the One Big Union is making strides. In the Canary Islands the wages are very low for both marine workers and dockers, being less than half the wages paid in Bilbao and Cadiz on the mainland.

Italy.

The Italian coast-line is under the control of the "Lavoratori del Mare"—the Toilers of the Sea—with headquarters in Genoa. This latter port is one of the promising ports in the world movement. The revolutionary activity among our Italian fellow workers is too well-known to need any extensive description. More than any other nationality outside of Russia they have manifested their manhood, particularly by initiating the blockade on munitions to be used against the Soviets, and afterwards by insisting upon the unconditional release of the Red crew of the Russian Soviet steamer, "Rodosto". These are only two incidents out of many. Genoa is to be one

of the great ports in the reconstruction of the Red Marine International. It is the largest shipping centre in the Mediterranean for over-seas ships.

The Levant.

The only organizations in the Levant outside of Russia are the Greeks Seamen's Union and a small industrial International Union in Constantinople. Little is known about the Greek organization, but that little is good; the members do not stand for any nonsense from the employers. The Russian port and marine unions have been isolated owing to the blockade, but trade is sure to be soon opened up, and there are orders for at least 500 ships in hands of Vanderlip and Co., of the U. S. A. We may take it for granted that the Union in the Black Sea will be a model organization, and their living and working conditions as ideal as human ingenuity can make them. The Brotherhood of the Sea will receive an enormous accession of strength and militancy from their affiliation.

The Far East.

There are organizations lifting their heads in the ports of Japan, China, Burma and India. In 1914 Ping Yin, a Chinese, formed a seamen's union in Rangoon, Burma, which possessed a weekly newspaper in Chinese. Lately a union has been formed also in Madras and Calcutta. These things are encouraging, for whether we, the marine workers like it or not, we have to organize together, white and colored, for our common emancipation. We cannot let our race rivalries get the best of our common-sense. There must be one union, or unions that act as one, in Calcutta and Singapore as well as Glasgow and Antwerp. The Eastern people will be easily organized once the language difficulty is overcome.

Oceania.

The Australian Union has undergone a vast change in the past few years. The reactionary officials have been thrown out of their jobs. Wages are lower than on American ships, but conditions are better. One is now spared the odious sight of a seaman carrying his bedding about with him, and the company, in addition, must supply eating and other utensils. The food is good, and there are opportunities to pay off at almost any port that a man desires. In June, 1920, the seamen and wharf-laborers in Sydney, N. S. W., gave the Labor Government thirty days in which to release the famous I. W. W. Twelve, otherwise they would declare a general strike. Their action forced the release of ten of the men, including Peter Larkin, Tom Glynn, Donald Grant and others, after they had been in jail for nearly four years on trumped-up evidence. The Australian Seamen's and Firemen's Union recently issued a call to the marine workers to establish an international understanding, and such will be welcomed everywhere thru the

Island Continent. In New Zealand the seamen are still in reactionary hands, but the wharf-laborers are a militant section of New Zealand Transport Workers' Federation, and may be relied upon, in the main, to support a move in the right direction. In Westport, N. Z., the dockers used to commence their week's work on each Monday morning by having their union meeting starting at 8 A. M. After they had terminated their own business then they were ready to do the work for the boss. It is a good example to follow, fellow workers.

North America.

Organization of marine workers in the United States is divided between The International (?) Seamen's Union and the Marine Transport Workers of the I. W. W. The officials of the former union are well paid, and not worth the money. They believe that by lobbying around the Senate House in Washington, they will help the seamen. As a matter of fact, such work never altered anything of importance for the seamen. It is true that the conditions on U. S. ships are an improvement over those prevailing on ships of other countries, but we have to remember that the U. S. is a new-comer in marine transportation, and that she has been compelled to give good conditions in order to attract men to go to sea. It has been necessary more than lobbying that has accomplished things. The Marine Transport Workers are destined to grow and to bind together the marine workers in the United States. The warring craft and graft unions on the New York water-front must give way to the scientific form of organization adopted by their fellow workers in Philadelphia. In the Gulf and on the West Coast the ONE BIG UNION has to come, and the fighting vanguard of the I. W. W. will easily carry the day if they will but bestir themselves. More than the members of any other party or union, are the I. W. W. men scattered around the world. There is no corner of the world where one does not come across the "wobs". They leave a good trail behind them. It is all the easier to make headway because both the American Federation of Labor and the International Seamen's Union insist upon ignoring even the Yellow Amsterdam Federation. The U. S. is big enough and wide enough for the I. S. U.

Mexico and the West Indies.

In Mexico the I. W. W. has undertaken the organizing of the marine workers, and are establishing locals in Tampico and Tuxpan, both big oil ports. Cuba is becoming quite a red centre, where there have been many strikes of late. Trinidad and Jamaica have also had labor troubles, in which the marine workers were prominent. The world movement need not fear the workers in these countries being behind. They are ripe, when the right men blow along.

South America.

There are three great maritime nations in South America, the A. B. C. countries, viz., Argentine, Brazil and Chile. In Argentine the Port Workers' Federation is one of the most advanced and scientific organizations of its kind. The leaders are fervent industrialists, know what they want and how to get it. They have a fighting alliance with the Red Transport Workers' Federation, and the Marine Transport Workers, which since May, 1919, has catered for the oversea workers of all nationalities and unions who arrive in the ports of the Republic. The Federación Obrera Marítima—the Argentine Seamen's, Firemen's, Officers' and Engineers' Union—is reactionary, but with a big leavening of industrialists. When this organization is lined up with the dockers and the overseas union, then the coast of Argentine will be the closest organized in the world, and the international boss will have his work cut out. The M. T. W. doubled wages, abolished shanghaiing, reduced hours, and established job control in these ports, a thing that could be accomplished in every maritime country if the workers would only set to work to do it.

In Chile the marine workers are organized in the "Gente del Mar"—the People of the Sea—and the dockers and launch-workers (nearly all cargo is worked from the ships to lighters on the West Coast) belong to the Union of *Lancheros y los Estibadores de los Puertos Chilenos*. These are sections of the Chilian I. W. W., which possesses a membership of 28,000 members and is the bane of not only the Chilian, but also the "gringo" capitalist. In the last two years, the organization has spread to Arica in the North and down to Puerto Montt, Corral, Coronel and Talcahuano in the South.

The port workers in Brazil possess many radicals in their ranks, and during 1919 and 1920 many of their members were deported for agitational work in Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Santos. The conditions on Brazilian ships are scandalous and wages are very low. In many cases the shops are manned with navy men who are paid at navy rates. Since the war Brazil has obtained quite a large merchant fleet, mainly at the expense of Germany. Callao in Peru and Monte Video in the Eastern Republic of Uruguay are also important ports that have to be reckoned with in the business of organization.

Conclusions.

Something more than a mere International Transport Workers' Federation is needed to bring these workers together into one organization, or at least into such an understanding of one

another that they will act as one organization. The black shadow of Havelock Wilson has deterred the movement long enough. The isolated action that we have witnessed during the year 1920 is enough evidence of the present childish way of fighting capitalism. The Danes and the Dutch were both defeated simply on account of a lack of understanding. World Transport is the strategic point of International Capitalism. The marine transport industry is the most cosmopolitan of all industries. The proletariat can never assume control until it conquers the ocean routes and the ships that follow them. The present state of sectional, national unionism reminds one of so many mosquitoes attempting to push an elephant over. Let us consider the enormous power that we are fighting, and climb, for the moment, out of the dingy foc's'le or the grimy port where we work. When the dockers in Liverpool discharge the grain from a Norwegian barque, do they ever think of the brown-skinned Argentine workers who reaped it, loaded it to the railway, pulled it to the docks, and then packed it away in the corner of the hold where they find it? Or of the polyglot crew that has brought her thru the trades, across the Line and thru the mists of the Channel?

Let us, I say, rise out of our ordinary groove and notice our own share in the production and distribution of wealth. We are one of the links in a long chain, that stretches from the Argentine wheat field to the baker's shop in Swansea. From our combined labor springs all the wealth that we see around us. We produce the gorgeous banquets for our masters as well as our own meagre meals. Fine clothes for our masters and their over-fed cubs, and dungarees and shoddy for ourselves and our children! Our labor is much the same as that of our brothers in Shanghai, Sydney or Valparaiso. There is so little difference that it is not worth fighting over.

There are a thousand good reasons why we should be in one organization fighting the same fight against the same tyrants. Let us forget our nationalities, and remember that we are of the same class, and that our interests are the same. Let us counter the Giant Octopus with the fighting armour of One Big Union on the Sea and the Docks.

Let us, I say, build from the stocks up, a super warship of Proletarian Power, and wipe their cursed slavery from the seas. Let us erect Industrial Democracy in the foc's'le, and build the structure of that future administration that will control all the ships, and place them beneath the banner of the World Organization of the Toilers of the Sea.

"He who would be free, himself must strike the blow".

Defense News

By John Martin

THE PAST MONTH has not seen any great changes in the Defense situation in the federal cases. No ruling has as yet been rendered by the Supreme Court on our Petitions for Writs of Certiorari in the Chicago and Sacramento cases. In the Wichita appeal, we are still awaiting the decision of the Appellate Court.

Arrests, Convictions and Releases.

Fellow Workers John Murry and F. B. Kellar were arrested in Kansas City, Missouri, on March 4th and held without bonds for the federal authorities. Later, when no pretext could be found for federal prosecution of these fellow workers, a charge of vagrancy and trespassing was placed against them. On this charge they were found guilty and Kellar was fined \$25.00 and Murry \$125.00 because (so the judge stated) he was an organizer.

On March 5th, about twenty fellow workers were arrested on the streets of Florence, Kansas, but were all released later, with the exception of Fellow Workers Tom Foley and High Delaney, who were taken to the jail at Marion. We do not know at this time on just what charge they will be tried since the complaint against them charges both violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law and vagrancy.

Fellow Worker Sam Forbes, one of the Wichita defendants, has been released on bond and we are in hopes of having the bonds for Fellow Workers Morris Hecht, George Wenger and O. E. Gordon, other Wichita defendants, completed within a short time. Again we must call attention to the fact that we have very little time in which to obtain bonds for the fellow workers involved in the Wichita case, inasmuch as the Appellate Court may render a decision in their appeal in the very near future. Should the decision be adverse, these defendants would no longer be eligible to bail. We therefore urgently request all fellow workers and friends who have Liberty bonds, which they can spare, to place them at the disposal of the General Defense Committee, or to make cash loans to be used as bail for these defendants before it is too late.

In the case of Wm. Danton, our Petition for a Writ of Habeas Corpus was denied by the Supreme Court of Kansas. Fellow Worker Danton was arrested on July 1, 1920, in Rice County, Kansas, and charged with Criminal Syndicalism. Later he was released on a \$500.00 bond, which has been canceled since the decision rendered by the Supreme Court, and Danton has returned to the county jail at Lyons, Kansas, to await trial on the charge pending against him.

The brief in Fellow Worker Henry Tonn's appeal is nearly completed and will in the near future be filed with the Supreme Court of Iowa. Following this the briefs in the appeals of Fellow Workers Harry Breen, Wm. Murphy, Robt. Dilgar and Thos. Payne will be taken up and filed with the Supreme Court of Kansas as soon as completed.

We are just in receipt of a letter stating that Charles L. Anderson, Charles Clifford and Charles Carlson, three of the fellow workers sentenced to the Idaho State Penitentiary on charges of Criminal Syndicalism, have recently been paroled and released.

News from Other Countries.

From the Stevedores' and Dockworkers' Union of Mexico comes the news that the members of that union have voted to be assessed 25 centavos each for the defense of the imprisoned members of the I. W. W., and as soon as the collection is completed, the money will be forwarded to us. They further protest against the persecution of our members and send greetings to all imprisoned fellow workers.

From the Syndicalist organizations of Sweden, we have received word that they have collected 1,661 crowns for the General Defense and the money is being sent to us. The Swedish workers are also demanding the release of all wartime prisoners in America.

Watch for Our "Amnesty Special."

As previously announced in our publications, the General Defense Committee has decided to co-operate with other organizations in making April 13th Amnesty Day and will, as part of its program, publish a special edition for that date demanding the release of all industrial and political prisoners. In order to carry any weight, this edition must be gotten into the hands of people who have so far received little or no information regarding these prisoners. We must reach people outside of the radical movement and arouse their indignation against the persecution to which our fellow workers have been subjected.

Your Help Is Needed Now.

In order to make our Amnesty Edition the success it should be and in order to continue the defense of our fellow workers properly, we must have immediate and generous financial assistance. We fully realize that the unemployment prevailing all over the country makes it impossible for many of our members and friends to respond to our appeal and we therefore urge all fellow workers and sympathizers, who are not out of work, to take this fact into consideration and make their donations large enough to prevent the interests of our imprisoned fellow workers from being jeopardized.

Make checks and money orders payable to the General Defense Committee and send them to John Martin, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

We have just received word that our Petition for a Writ of Certiorari in the Sacramento case has been denied by the Supreme Court.

The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions

By A. Lozovsky

(Continued from the March Number.)

IN AUSTRIA the trade union movement is in the hands of the social-compromisers, but during the last year the Communists have done tremendous work. Communist fractions have been formed in all the unions, and a special bureau has been formed in connection with the central committee of the Austrian Communist Party for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of the Communist fractions in the unions.

In Hungary, after the victory of the reaction, the old social-compromisers came to the head of the unions and endeavored to continue their policy under the white terror, but the victorious counter-revolution does not even allow the social-patriots to develop. The ruthless white terror compels even the most backward Hungarian workmen to understand that it is necessary to choose between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In Czecho-Slovakia, a decree of the Government made it compulsory for every worker to belong to a union. With the aid of this decree the Government succeeded in crushing many revolutionary unions by the influx of backward elements into the unions. The majority of the official organizations stand for the Amsterdam Federation and the Second International. The minority stand rather solidly for revolutionary class struggle.

In Jugo-Slavia (Serbia etc.) the General Federation of Labor stands in close contact with the Communist Party and for the Third International.

The last trade union congress in Esthonia voted for the platforms of the Third International and in White Finland the general trade union center and the large unions also stand for the revolutionary class struggle.

The last conference of the Norwegian trade unions which took place in Christiania at the end of July, 1920, resolved to affiliate to the Third International. In Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and in all other European countries there are important minorities who stand for the revolutionary class struggle.

The position in America is very peculiar. The powerful American Federation of Labor is entirely in the hands of Gompers and Co. Side by side with this body there is the revolutionary organization—the Industrial Workers of the World,— whose influence lies chiefly among the unskilled laborers. The I. W. W. is undoubtedly a revolutionary organization, but its theory and tactics suffer from many serious defects, as a result of which it embraces only some hundreds of thousands of the millions of the American proletariat. In spite of the fact that the whole apparatus of the A. F. of L. is directed

towards crushing the revolutionary ferment in the American unions, the unions are nevertheless becoming revolutionary. Within the large trade unions a serious movement is growing up against the theories, and particularly against the practices, of the A. F. of L. and its leaders. Besides this there are many large unions in America which do not belong to the A. F. of L., and which are becoming revolutionary under the influence of the sharpening social struggle.

In Canada the strike movement of 1919 affected the whole of the trade union movement. It particularly affected the revolutionary unions, and in a number of towns during the strikes in April and May, 1919, the strike Committee became the only authority in the town. American trade unionism, which intellectually and organizationally had the Canadian movement in its hands, became discredited among a large section of the workers. The Canadian movement became not only formally independent of the American unions, but also intellectually independent of the bourgeoisie.

The trade union movement in Australia and other British colonies is divided, in some cases intellectually and in others organizationally, into two camps—for and against revolutionary class struggle, for and against co-operation of classes. This division has reached even such countries as Java, India and Japan, where the movement has only just arisen, where trade unions arise as a result of severe revolutionary strikes, and where as a result of the very conditions of the struggle the movement cannot take any other stand than that of revolutionary class struggle.

Thus the world trade union movement, which in the middle of 1920 united more than 30 millions workers, varies very greatly. Many trade unions are nothing more than organized representatives of the bourgeoisie with the labor movement, and the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations are the general staff directing the organized operations of the bourgeoisie against the trade union movement. It naturally follows therefore that the task of the day is not only theoretically to condemn the policy of compromise and class co-operation, and advocate affiliation to the Third International, but to give it form by setting up a revolutionary class center of the trade union movement. This was done in Moscow in July of the past year.

The arrival in Russia of British, Italian and other trade union delegates for the purpose of studying conditions in that country, served as a starting point for the negotiations with the creation

of a new trade union center. The preliminary negotiations with the representatives of the left wing of the British trade unions showed that there was common ground for reaching an agreement between the class unions of various countries. On the initiative of the Executive Committee of the Third International a meeting took place on the 16th of June, 1920, between the representatives of the British trade unions (Robert Williams and Alfred Purcell), the Italian Federation of Labor (L. D'Aragona and Joseph Bianchi), the Italian Federation of Metal Workers (E. Colombino), the Italian Federation of Agricultural Workers (Dugoni), representatives of the All-Russian Central Committee of Trade Unions (A. Lozovsky, M. Tomsy, G. Tsiperovitch, and V. Schmidt) and the President of the Executive Council of the Third International (G. Zinovieff).

The first meeting was held for the purpose of discovering to what extent there was unity of opinion on the fundamental questions of the international trade union movement. It became clear that the views of the Russians trade unions were only partly acceptable to the representatives of both the British and Italian movement. The differences arose on the following points:—(1) the relations between the future trade union center and the Third International, (2) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, (3) and the relations to the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions. Both the Italian and the British representatives assumed that the relations of the new trade union center should be decided at an early international congress of revolutionary class unions. It appeared also that the representatives of three countries present variously understood the theoretical and practical meaning of the dictatorship of proletariat. In connection with the Amsterdam Federation, Dugoni declared that "many members of the Italian trade unions did not belong to the Third International but to the Amsterdam International, nevertheless they conducted a severe class struggle against the bourgeoisie, and therefore to identify them with the yellow international would rouse a protest on the part of the Italian masses." Nobody, of course, desired to identify the Italian workers with the yellow international.

The fact that the Russian delegate described the Amsterdam Federation as "yellow" was undoubtedly a correct definition of its political character. If there was any opposition to so describing the Amsterdam International, it certainly did not come from the rank and file of the British and Italian trade unions, but from the central organs who still belong to that body.

In spite of a number of disagreements on principle, it was nevertheless found possible to agree on the following; (1) the necessity of forming a new center of revolutionary class unions, (2) to call an international congress of left trade unions, (3) to elect a committee to make preparations for the congress, (4) to work in close contact with the Third International. These four points served as a basis

for further negotiations after the departure of the British representatives.

In the beginning of July of the past year there were present in Moscow representatives of the Italian, Spanish, Bulgarian, Jugo-Slavian, and French trade unions, British Shop-Steward committees, the Syndicalists and Labor Unions (Arbeiter Unionen) of Germany, the I. W. W. of America and Australia. Official and unofficial negotiations and meetings with these brought to light a number of radical differences on points of principle, for the discussions at these meetings centered around (1) Dictatorship of the Proletariat, (2) Politics and Economics, (3) The necessity for a political party for the proletariat, (4) Relation to the Third International, (5) Proletarian government and the Soviet System, (7) Splitting off from or conquering the mass unions. These questions, as we see, touched the very foundations of the trade union movement, and it is essential to clear them up before anything in the nature of an international organization can be formed.

* * *

Dictatorship of the Proletariat was contested from two points of view. On one hand it was shown that in Western Europe Dictatorship of the Proletariat, i. e., the violent suppression of the exploiters, and the subjection of the peasants and petty bourgeoisie to the proletariat as was done in Russia, is impossible, and that it was still less possible to subject the less class conscious workers to the advance guard of the working class. Several representatives of the Italian Federation of Labor argued that the question on the dictatorship of the proletariat was not at all clear and for that reason this should not be made the central point of agreement between the revolutionary class union. This point of view was shared by Dugoni and partly by D'Aragoni. "Trade unions", said comrades in discussion, "are non-party organizations, including supporters and opponents of dictatorship of the proletariat, and it would therefore be better not to speak of it in the preliminary declaration, but to leave the question to the international congress." After a long discussion the Italian delegates proposed to formulate this point in the following way;—"to propagate the method of proletarian dictatorship as a final and transitional means of defense and consolidation of the conquests of the proletarian state against the bourgeois reaction." That it is necessary to propagate the idea of proletarian dictatorship is beyond the slightest doubt, nevertheless one of the most fundamental questions of modern labor policy must not be placed in this academic fashion. The German Syndicalists, the British and American representatives of the I. W. W., and the Shop-Stewards approached the question from quite a different point of view. They questioned the necessity of any form of dictatorship. They regarded the dictatorship, not as the dictatorship of the proletariat, but as dictatorship over the proletariat and categorically protested against establishing this prin-

iple. One must state that these representatives were not unanimous on the question. While the German Syndicalists and representatives of the Labor Unions would not hear of dictatorship in any form, the representatives of the I. W. W. and the Shop Stewards admitted the possibility of the dictatorship of "proletarian organizations", altho they thought that the revolution will be brought about by the industrial unions which will not have to set up any dictatorship. In vain did we point out that whatever kind of organization will overthrow the bourgeoisie it will nevertheless, for the protection of the working class, become a power to crush, not only the resistance of the exploiters, but also the resistance of the workers who follow it,—the industrialists and Syndicalists were firm on one thing,—dictatorship of the proletariat may be necessary for Russia, but it is absolutely unnecessary for Western Europe and America where the proletariat will be able to make its revolution and manage to protect its gains without it.

After four joint meetings with the industrialists and Syndicalists the latter proposed a resolution worked out jointly by them which was to be the basis of the new international trade union organization. The main points of the resolution are as follows;— "(1) Recognition of revolutionary class struggle as a fundamental principle. (2) The violent overthrow of the State and capitalism by adopting the dictatorship of proletarian organizations as a temporary and transitional measure for the attainment of Communism."

The insufficiency of these two points as a platform was quite evident. One must not limit oneself to the recognition of revolutionary class struggle, one must demand the practical application of it; on the other hand it was impossible to agree to the formula of the overthrow of the State unless there was a definite indication of what kind of State was meant, the bourgeois State or State in general. All this indefiniteness was quite natural, for the industrialists and Syndicalists not only could not agree with us, but they could not agree among themselves, so much were they divided for and against dictatorship of the proletariat, and they were therefore compelled to accept an indefinite resolution in order to satisfy everybody. As a matter of fact they achieved the very opposite, for their resolution satisfied nobody. In substitution of this indefinite formula the representatives of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions proposed the following point on the dictatorship of the proletariat;—"The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie must be opposed by the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transitional, but resolute, measure as the only means by which it is possible to crush the resistance of the exploiters, and secure and consolidate the gains of the proletarian government."

This formula was adopted by all except the syndicalists, and the representatives of the I. W. W. and the Shop Stewards.

The confusion in connection with the dictatorship

of the proletariat arose from the fact that the Syndicalists and industrialists approached the question from the standpoint of the old anarchists on politics and economics. In the first place they opposed dictatorship because they regarded it as politics, and they regarded it as politics because the dictatorship was carried out by a political party. This old dispute between Marxism and anarchism,—arose now because the representatives of some labor organizations (Syndicalists, industrialists, I. W. W.) opposed politics in the old anarchist spirit. "All politics," said the representatives of the German Syndicalists, "distract the workers from the direct struggle and should therefore be abandoned." "A political party by its very composition is foreign to the workers and strives to dominate them, and this represents a great danger for the social revolution. The industrial unions will make the revolution not only without a political party, but in opposition to it." The representatives of the I. W. W. judging parties by their American experience, stood for approximately the same point of view. For them also the weapon of the social revolution was the industrial unions, and it did not even occur to them that any other organization could play even an auxiliary role. The Shop Stewards' representatives took a middle course, and stood for the necessity of co-ordinating all the parties that belonged to the Third International, but they did not carry this to a logical conclusion. In reply to our argument that it is impossible to separate politics from economics, that there was not a single great economic conflict that was not at the same time a political conflict, that to divide the social struggle into an economic and political struggle meant the weakening of the proletariat, they said that the experience of Western European and American parliamentarism proves that politics corrupt the workers and that the political struggle distract them from their class aims. All the while they confused politics with parliamentarism. Comrade Rosmer, the representative of the French Syndicalists, adopted a healthy point of view. He pointed out that in the first place if the proletariat made a revolution it must be able to defend it; it must beat off all attacks of its enemies and finally crush them. For this purpose it is necessary to have a dictatorship. Secondly he pointed out that the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions must march side by side, and that only on such conditions could the victories of the working class be secured.

It was difficult to unite these conflicting tendencies,—from the denial of the necessity of a political party—to the recognition of the necessity of the inseparable connection between the party and the unions, on a single platform. It was still more difficult to reconcile the point of view of the Russian trade unionists on the supremacy of the party over the unions with the various views explained above. The discussion showed one thing, and that was that those elements of the labor movement which denied the political struggle, which denied the necessity of

a political party of the proletariat, and the closest bond between the communist party and the trade unions, could not enter the new international trade union center, because the whole idea of the international organization of the revolutionary unions lay in gathering all the economic and political organizations of the working class into one body—the Third International—for defensive and offensive operations against the capitalist class. This point of view was shared not only by the representatives of Russia, Italy, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, and Georgia, but also by Rosmer, the representative of the French Syndicalists and even by Pestana, the representative of the National Federation of Labor of Spain, an organization which stands entirely for

the anarcho-syndicalist point of view. Pestana said that he could not imagine such a relation between the party and the unions as existed in Russia possible in Spain, for the reason that in Spain the unions are a great force while the Communist party is only in its embryonic stage. He opposed the subordination of the unions to the party, but was in favor of the closest contact between the party and the unions on a national and international scale. Neither the representatives of the British Shop Stewards or the American I. W. W. objected to co-operating with the Communist party, but the German Syndicalists and the representatives of the Industrial Labor Unions were categorically opposed to any co-operation.

The Stranger

By Julia C. Coons

Night's curtain had closed swiftly down, o'er city, shore and bay,
And lines of eager workmen hastily trod the homeward way;
Among them was a stranger, with uncertain step, and slow,—
Who turned aside from the lighted street, to the tide's incoming flow;
The waves, o'er lapping forward, splashed the pebbles at his feet,
While gleams from distant firesides seemed to beckon thru the sleet.

November's chill was in the air; her winds brought sifting snow,
But the stranger, all unheeding, lived once more in the long ago;
Death's seal was written in his face, with its halo of whitened hair,
And looking out across the waves, he breathed a silent prayer:

"O, Thou unknown, eternal One, who holdest in thy hand
The tempest of the mountain, and the desert's shifting sand,
I am a stranger in this land, tho' it did give me birth,
For I am of that scattered tribe that hath no place on earth.

"In my youth a woman loved me, but she sank 'neath Christian scorn,
And faded as a lily might, if by the tempest shorn;
And then I wandered far away, to lands across the sea,
But the people of all nations have set a curse on me.

"Now, War hath sent across the wave a pestilential breath,
And Jew and Gentile both must fall before the sickle, Death.
My only son, my life and pride, lies 'neath the Flanders' sod,—
And I, ah, many of my race a blood-soaped path have trod.

"And I am come unto that door, whose portal, opened wide,
Doth look out on the dark, smooth sweep of an eternal tide;
'Tis said Thou loosed the Hebrews' bonds, and swept aside the sea—
'Tis said for love Thy only son didst die on Calvary;
And that Thou gav'st Thy word and law to men in times of old—
O, bring all of earth's warring sons beneath one crimson fold."

When, in the morn, a radiant sun had set the east aglow,
A workman found the stranger 'neath the newly fallen snow;
A faded, pictured woman's face was clasped upon his breast,
And the stranger, weary, heartsore, had found eternal rest.



GETTING READY TO TAKE OVER INDUSTRY.

The Story of a Hard Workingman and His White-Collar Son

By H. V. D.

CHARLIE was one of them fellers that believes in working all the time because he says that's the only way to save money. The only reason Charlie didn't work 100 weeks a year is because there ain't no more than 52. He worked in a lumber yard and the foreman Tim Mulligan used to say for years Charlie Higgins is the best man I got.

One day a little accident happened, a big lumber pile fell over. It would not been so bad except Charlie was in the way when it fell. When they drug him out they found that one leg and six ribs was broken and altho his nose was still there it had so little resemblance to an upright, respectable-looking nose that it was as hard to recognize it as the Soviet Government. Everybody said Charlie was the lucky dog because nobody couldn't understand why the big lumber pile hadn't killed him. Charlie agreed with them but when they took him to the horspital and the boneyard specialists started to poke around lookin' for the busted ribs and the splinters of his thigh bone he changed his mind and said it would been a darn sight better for his health if he had cashed in on the spot. Well anyway they kept him in the horspital for 5 months and then turned him loose again to face the crool world. But Charlie wasn't so spry now because one leg was shorter than the other and couldn't keep up with the longer one and so he couldn't move so lively.

He went back to work in the lumber yard and this time he was still luckier than before because no lumber pile didn't fall on top of him no more. But one evenin' as he was going home from work an ortomobile run over him because he couldn't get out of the way quick enough. Outside of breaking an arm and a leg in a different place from where it was broke before it didn't hurt him much but it give an awful jar to his nerves. So they took him to the horspital again and this time after 4 weeks he kicked the bucket. It was the month of May and it broke Charlie's heart to have to lay in bed when the weather was so fine for carrying lumber.

After they took the crepe from the front door Ma Higgins says to her only son Jimmy, who was then 17 years old, Well, James, people thought that the only reason Pa worked so hard is because he liked it but that t'aint all because he had another big idear in his head. He wanted to give you a good erdication so as you would become an office manager and then a vice-president of a big company and then marry into Society. But owing to the horspital and doctor expenses and the high cost of gettin' buried why there ain't no more than \$483 left in the bank, but all the same you start going to Business College Monday mornin' and some day you will marry into Society and then your Ma will be so proud of you.

And so Jim started to go to Business College and learn the difference between single and double bookkeeping and what kind of letters to send a debtor to make him come across and how to run a typewriter without running it into a repair shop too often and never to start a sentence with an and. Well as the old saying goes every silver cloud has a lining so when the \$483 run out and Ma Higgins started to go out washing Jim also got a job as assistant bookkeeper. The salary was only \$14 to start but as the ad said with opportunity for advancement to the right party.

An apple don't never fall very far from the apple-tree and so it come that Jim was as hard a worker as his father. In nine year's time he had worked himself up to be head-bookkeeper of the Firm. After he had been there seven years he married Mabel the vice-president's typewriter. Ma Higgins was satisfied in a way because Jim was a good boy and never got drunk and never played pool for money but she could not get over Jim marryin' Mabel. She claimed that Jim had oughta been the vice-president himself and had oughta married into Society instead of the vice-president's typewriter. But because when he married Jim got a raise of \$2 per wk that helped some to make Ma feel better.

Mabel is a good girl and they got along fine first off but in time Jim got very cranky and got to quarreling over nothin' and now Mabel gets to feelin' blue quite often. You see Jim he is been sittin' bent over a desk for so long that his shoulders is round and his chest narrow and there ain't no blood in his face as he don't get the proper exercise and all this makes him very irritable so that he flies off the handle over nothin' at all. Another thing that makes him sore is that altho he figures all them thousands of dollars every day he don't never get none of this money as the most he ever got was \$30 per wk and that sets him to thinkin' that he ain't gettin' a square deal from society and to worryin' and so he's got indigestion.

Jim himself is now got a kid 16 years old but he don't want him to learn nothing about single and double bookkeeping, not even to find out that there is such a thing as accounts payable. Jim wants Charlie (they called him that in honor of grandpa) to become an honest-to-goodness workingman and to make some money when he grows up, so they have apprenticed him to be a bricklayer. And Mabel don't want Charlie to marry into Society neither because she believes that Society meaning the 400 will soon be done away with and there won't be nobody left in the world but working people. She thinks that a good sensible working girl will be good enough for her boy.

A Real Love Story

By John E. Nordquist

MIKE and Maggie who live in the little cottage down in the hollow are a blissful pair, and they have reason to be happy. Who could possess their rosy-mouthed, crowing, blue-eyed, six weeks old urchin and remain sad for a single moment, I wonder?

This happy couple are not rich. Far from it. Mike is a common laborer and his wages are a mere pittance. Neither is Maggie extravagantly dressed, nor does she attend matinees thrice weekly and the movies nightly.

Mike and Maggie are working hand in hand for the realization of their Utopian dream. They are not allowing poverty to spoil their present nor meddle with their plans of future independence. As they work, they sing and smile at the seeming futility of their hopes.

Mike does not spend his evenings in the saloon with the boys, nor does Maggie waste her days gossiping with the neighbors.

Mike knows that his paltry wage will never bring them freedom, so each evening he studies along certain lines, and slowly but surely he is mastering the puzzle of education. Maggie, too, is a student. She is the lady of the garden. She furnishes the table with every variety of tasty vegetables and fairest flowers.

The happy pair are not selfish. Somehow they find time to help their neighbors, visit the sick and cheer the faltering. Not in a patronizing way, but in a spirit of real comradery that is contagious and inspiring.

Here's the secret of their unbounded self-confidence and hopefulness: They are both full-fledged Wobblies. That means that they not only have red cards, but that they are active in the movement. They never miss an opportunity to convert others to their Industrial Union faith, and when they have made converts they line them up at once, as both Mike and Maggie are I. W. W. delegates.

These real lovers, with their manifold duties and pleasurable errands, have no time for pessimism or sadness. Even tho the blues should gain the ascendancy in an unguarded moment, an appeal to the cooing arbiter of their happiness would soon adjust matters.

So you see this happy couple are not rejoiced at hopes of a better future, alone; they are laying the foundation of what is to be, and daily building a little of the super-structure. They dwell in a real paradise of work, love and laughter,—today. The "valley of sorrows" is a meaningless term to them. They have uprooted the thorns and briars and replaced them with flowers and garden greens.

I wonder, can there be a happier couple than Mike and Maggie and their little hopeful Wobbly?



"Papa, I want you to carry me!"

CALIFORNIA WORKERS HELP RELATIVES OF CLASS WAR PRISONERS.

The General Defense Committee is in receipt of a remittance from George Schafer, San Fernando, California, of \$90.75, being a collection taken up among the workers in a camp near Los Angeles, California, for the relief of the wives and children of class war prisoners, and wishes to extend to those who contributed to this its thanks and appreciation for their help and co-operation.

JOHN MARTIN,

Sec'y-Treas. of the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W.

A Socialist state can come into existence only as a net of production and distribution communes, which keep conscientious accounts of their production and consumption, economize labor and steadily increase its productivity, thus making it possible to lower the workday to seven, six or even less hours. Anything less than rigorous universal, thoro accounting and control of grain and the production of grain, and later also of all necessary products, will not do.

—Nikolai Lenin.

**A STATEMENT BY ZINOVIEV ON THE
RELATION BETWEEN ECONOMIC
AND POLITICAL BODIES**

Since the October revolution we have drawn onto our path all kinds of revolutionists in all sections of the globe. An important question arises before the trade and industrial union movements of the world: that of the relations between the revolutionary economic and political bodies of the working class. In this matter, we must not show ourselves too sectarian and too doctrinaire; we cannot and must not hold that we have a panacea suitable for all countries.

The party must in no instance mix in the internal affairs of the unions nor must it play the part of governess towards them. The party must give the general direction only, but we must at the same time state clearly with whom we are going into the congress called by the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions for the First of May, 1921.

I believe there is place for all unions that wish to participate in the coming conference. It is not necessary to exact from the participants recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, communism and the Third International. It is sufficient to place before them the question: Amsterdam or Moscow. There must come to Moscow only those who do not wish to go to Amsterdam.

At the same time we must say clearly to those that come to Moscow that the unions must constitute a section of the Third International. We must explain that the Third International is not simply an assembly of political parties from the entire world, but that it is an organization which unites in one body the soviet, the trade and industrial union, the co-operative and the cultural movements of the working class; that this organization is the synthesis of all aspects of the proletarian movement.

(From the speech of Zinoviev at the Congress of the Russian Trade Unions.)

From "La Vie Ouvriere" of Dec. 10, 1920.

**GREETINGS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY IN-
DUSTRIAL INTERNATIONAL.**

Shenandoah, Pa., March 13, 1921.

The Coal Miners' Industrial Union No. 220 of the Industrial Workers of the World closed the sessions of its conference with greetings and cheers for the Moscow Revolutionary Industrial International.

PRESS COMMITTEE:

Joe Brijunas,
F. Kalpokas,
J. Voliukas.

(Signed)

**RESOLUTION PASSED BY I. U. No. 210
AND I. U. No. 220**

March 11th, 1921.

Fellow Workers:

The following resolutions have been made at the convention of M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 and C. M. W. I. U. No. 220:

Resolution No. 32:

"To All Class War Prisoners:

The members of the convention of M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 and C. M. W. I. U. No. 220 now in session send our greetings to all Class War Prisoners, whose only crime under the present system of slavery was to try to overthrow the ruling of the capitalist class.

We are assuring you that members outside the prison walls understand the final aims for which you became the victims of the present system of Industrial Tyranny.

We also assure you that we will follow the road laid by many victims which ends in Industrial Freedom.

(Signed)

Convention of M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 and
C. M. W. I. U. No. 220.

Moved by Smith and seconded by Koskinen that we concur with Resolution No. 32 and that we give this to all I. W. W. papers for publication. Carried.

Resolution No. 33:

We, the members of the convention of M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 and C. M. W. I. U. No. 220 send our greetings to the members of the convention of the L. W. I. U. No. 120 and feel sure that you will put all energy and time to laying plans to build up the I. W. W. as a whole. That your industrial union will prove before the working class that the only hope to free ourselves from the capitalist chains of slavery is to fight under the banner of the I. W. W.

Wishing you full success in your work of construction; we are with you.

(Signed)

Convention of M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 and
C. M. W. I. U. No. 220.

Moved by Smith and seconded by Shank that we concur with Resolution No. 33, that we send it to the convention of L. W. I. U. No. 120 and that Resolution No. 33 be sent to all I. W. W. papers for publication. Carried."

Yours for the I. W. W.,

Tom Meaney,
Sec'y-Treas. of Nos. 210 and 220.

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"Received 'The Industrial Pioneer' O. K. and say that there is quite an improvement in the magazine from what the O. B. U. was. I got one of the local bourgeoisie to handle the magazine."

John Miller, District Sec'y of I. U. No. 120.
Missoula, Mont.

"I just received the 20 copies of 'The Industrial Pioneer' yesterday afternoon and by night had sold half of them. The fellow workers all say that it is some magazine. The make-up of the magazine is great. It reminds me of the old International Socialist Review."

Modern Book and Supply Shop, Denver, Colo.

"I am forced to compliment you all on the contents and make-up of the magazine of the I. W. W. and a delegate who can't get business with this class of literature to pave the way is in bad with the workers. Received the fifty in good shape."

Frank Blackstone, Delegate.

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Sioux City, Ia., March 8, 1921.

Whereas, The press is our most effective means of educating the working class along the lines of revolutionary industrial unionism, and

Whereas, Our press on account of the lack of sufficient funds is unable to publish and circulate the necessary amount of educational literature to educate the workers in any great numbers

Be it therefore resolved, That we, the members of the I. W. W. in Sioux City, in regular joint business meeting assembled, go on record as being in favor of each industrial union of the I. W. W. paying a per capita tax of 5c. for each due stamp sold, into a fund for the upbuilding and maintaining of a more efficient I. W. W. press.

And be it further resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be sent to all I. W. W. publications for publication.

(Signed) Card No. 213834 A. W. I. U. No. 110.

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