

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

JUNE, 1921

Open the Shops and Factories

By MARY E. MARCY

**“High-Spots” of the 13th I. W. W.
Convention**

Flashlights on Labor and Revolution

Unemployment and the Way Out

The Irish Labor Movement

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.

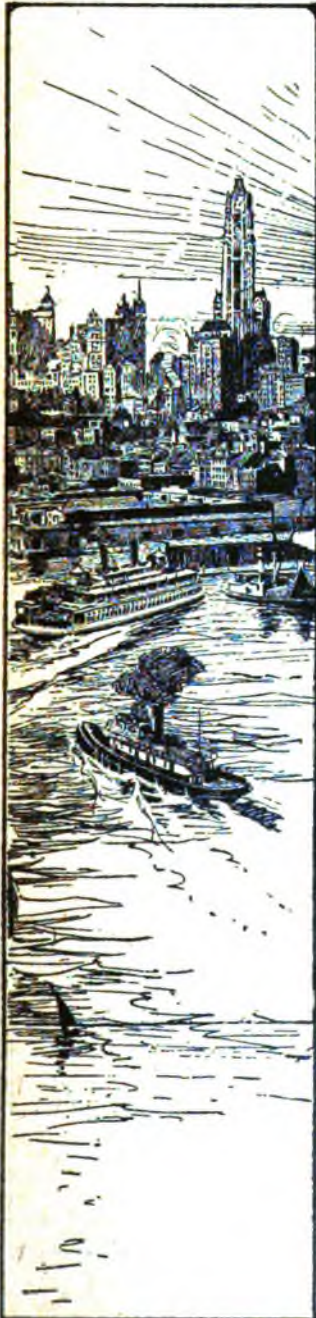
These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an 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.

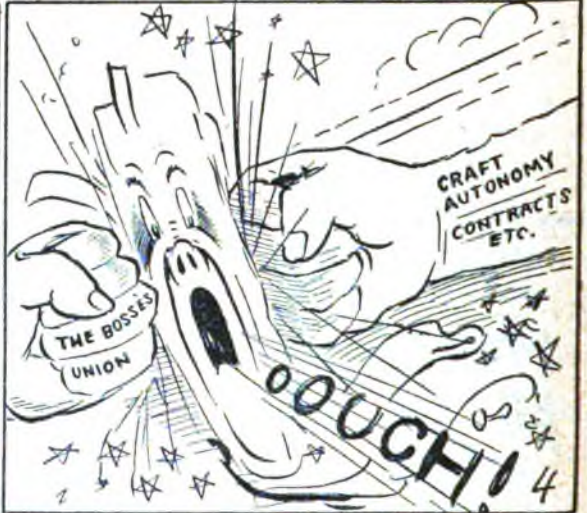
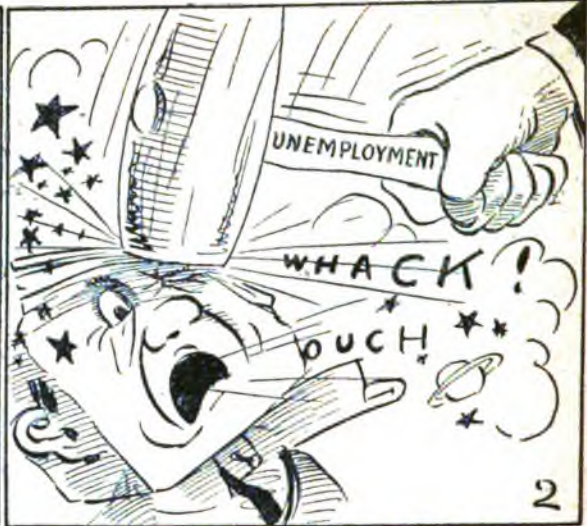
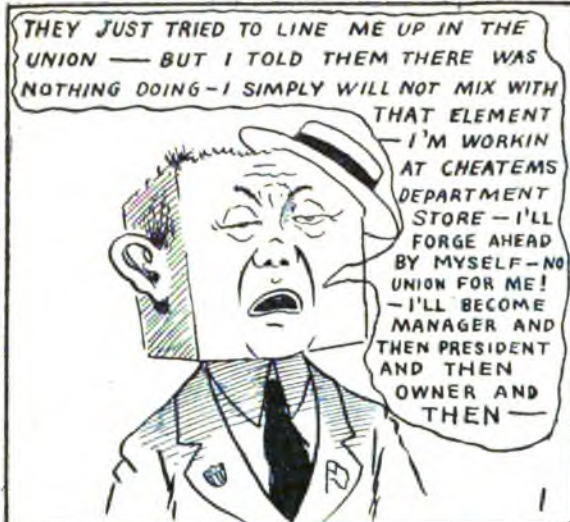
By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.





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TAKING THE "BLOCK" OUT OF "BLOCKHEAD."

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. 1, No. 5

JUNE, 1921

Serial No. 5

George Hardy's Report to the Convention

WHEN George Hardy, the General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W., was sent last fall by the General Executive Board to Europe to attend the Berlin conference of industrial and syndicalist unions, it was the intention of the organization that his trip would result in closer co-operation being established between the American and the European revolutionary labor movements. Fellow Worker Hardy returned to the United States during the first part of May, before the beginning of the Thirteenth Convention. He submitted to the Convention a lengthy report, covering 80 pages. In this report he takes up in detail everything that transpired at the Berlin Conference and at other conferences that he attended in Moscow.

But first let us consider the circumstances leading up to the Berlin Conference. This is taken from Fellow Worker Hardy's report:—

"Most of you know that at the last convention of the I. W. W. it was decided to call a conference of all revolutionary and industrial unions from all over the world, and bring them together for the purpose of creating an Industrial International free from all political domination, and that after the last convention, a Sub-Bureau of the Third International had already been established in Amsterdam, which had taken steps toward creating such an Industrial International. In view of this, the old Board decided to postpone the sending out of a call from the I. W. W. Due to the action of the Third International, this call was never sent out."

A preliminary conference of delegates from various industrial and syndicalist

unions all over the world was held in Moscow during the months of June and July, 1920. At this conference a tentative program was worked out and plans were made for enlisting the support of as many unions as possible. The readers of the Industrial Pioneer have been acquainted with what transpired at these conferences through the pamphlet by A. Lozovsky, which has been printed serially in our magazine. The first Congress of this Red Industrial International will take place in Moscow in the month of July of the present year.

The Berlin Conference

At the Berlin conference were assembled delegates from the industrial and syndicalist labor unions of the following countries: the United States, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Argentine, France, Holland, Sweden and England. The Italian and Spanish delegates had been prevented from appearing at the conference, due to their imprisonment. Denmark sent a letter of approval but could not be present, owing to financial difficulties. Altogether, the delegates represented a membership of over 1,000,000.

The conference was in session from December 16th to December 21st, 1921. The first problem to discuss was whether or not the delegates should go to Moscow upon the ending of the conference; in other words, whether the labor bodies represented in Berlin should make an attempt to form an Industrial International separate from the one initiated in Moscow in June, 1920, which was an outgrowth of the Third International, or whether they should become an integral part of the Moscow Industrial International. During the first part

of the conference all of the delegates expressed themselves in favor of going to Moscow, with the exception of the Germans and the Swedes.

It is not necessary to take up in detail the reasons that the last two groups of delegates offered for not wanting to affiliate with the Moscow International. It was apparent throughout the discussion that their actions were chiefly motivated by the failure of the Socialist and the Social-Democratic parties to serve the working class. They, therefore, wanted to have nothing to do with any organization that may be even remotely associated with a political party, in this instance the Communists. However, they at last came over to the point of view of the rest of the delegates and the resolution to go to Moscow was passed unanimously. The attainment of this unity of action was one of the chief successes of the conference.

The rest of the discussions were centered around a resolution setting forth a program containing six points. These points have been previously published in the *Industrial Pioneer*, as well as discussed at length by Bouwman, the Dutch delegate to the conference, and, therefore, need not be entered into here in detail. However, it is necessary to touch upon the more important ones.

The first point reads as follows:

"That the Revolutionary Industrial International be based on the class struggle and the domination of the working class."

Fellow worker Hardy has this to say concerning it:

"The German Syndicalists are idealists, and the Swedish Syndicalists were backing the Germans. They thought that a dictatorship of the proletariat is too ruthless a method to carry on a revolution. That is a peculiar thing to say, but nevertheless there were arguments put up to me by prominent men in the German movement as to why free speech should be allowed in Russia and why Russia should not imprison people . . . I personally said this for the I. W. W.: 'The I. W. W. has not officially gone on record for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the spirit of the I. W. W.

favors it. However, we would be opposed to any political party getting into control and fastening upon the workers some system that they do not want.' . . . Franz Severin of Sweden moved the amendment: 'The domination of the working class,' seeing that he could not support 'The dictatorship of the proletariat,' so 'The domination of the working class' was accepted, with Jack Tanner, delegate of the British Shop Stewards, voting against it and for 'The dictatorship of the proletariat,' because he was instructed to do so by his organization."

The second point was as follows:

"That the Revolutionary Industrial International shall fight for the destruction and removal of the economic, political and moral system of the capitalist regime and the state, and stands for the creation of a free communist society."

Fellow Worker Hardy interpreted the above resolution as follows:

"All I. W. W.'s will agree that it is all right. I think that it is absolutely in harmony with I. W. W. principles. We are trying to create a condition which shall make it possible for the workers to take over the control of the industries; we also know that if we get control of the factories we would have to create some means of protection against the capitalist class. Finally, however, society would be in such a condition that a state power would not be necessary. Even in Russia, with its present powerful political state, the workers admit that it will ultimately disappear."

A good deal of discussion was occasioned by point five, which reads as follows:

"That the Revolutionary Industrial International shall be an autonomous body independent of any political body, and in case the Revolutionary Industrial International has decided upon some question, and a political party or some other organization agrees to it, or vice versa, then the execution of the decision can be carried out together."

The passing of this resolution was a great step forward towards unity in the ranks of organized labor. Although the German delegates were the ones who offered the

strongest arguments against it, in no other country more than in Germany has there been in evidence the necessity of some kind of an understanding during critical periods in the class war between the revolutionary economic and political groups.

"The first thing that strikes one in Germany is the enormous amount of antagonism between the various organizations. In the 1919 Revolution investigation showed that the Syndicalists had no co-operation with the Communists. They called for the Communists to co-operate with them in the Ruhr Valley, but the Communists refused to do so. The Syndicalists then went into action and lost 1000 of their best men, killed by the bourgeoisie. The Revolution was lost."

"The Communists have three or four different groups: the Communist party, the Communist Labor Party, etc., all these disagreeing among themselves and saying: 'We are the real Communist Party,' the same as the Communists do in this country. There were also the Independent Socialists, a group which claims that it has the right program. So that when in 1919 the workers arose, they all lacked solidarity and a center for directing their Revolution. The Social Democrats were able to crush the Revolution out of existence, but the revolutionists are now getting together again. It was in consideration of conditions as outlined above that caused the delegates to pass this resolution."

The sixth point of the resolution appealed to all revolutionary organizations of syndicalist and industrial unions of all countries to send delegates to Moscow to the first Congress of the Industrial International.

After the conference was over, all the delegates felt that a great step forward had been taken for solidifying the forces of labor the world over. The results attained were especially significant in view of the circumstance that some of the delegates at first wanted to set up an International separate from the proposed Moscow Industrial International.

Hardy's Visit to Soviet Russia.

"Now as to the reason I went to Russia. When I got to Berlin, I learned the first congress of the Red Industrial International was to be held on the first of May, but later it was postponed to the first of July. I was to return to America immediately, but I found there was so much misunderstanding in Europe as to the I. W. W. position, as a result of the issue created by the O. B. U. Monthly, that I felt justified in going forward to Russia to see what had happened there and what they were thinking about the I. W. W."

It will be hard for some of our fellow workers to believe the tremendous amount of damage that John Sandgren had done to the I. W. W. by printing attacks in the magazine on the American and Russian Communists and the Soviet form of government. Wherever Hardy went in Europe, he was confronted by people asking him to explain the position taken in the magazine. He, therefore, had to take a very definite stand to counteract the evil effects of Sandgren's propaganda. Hardy also learned that some of those articles had been reprinted by the European bourgeois press and were being circulated as Anti-Bolshevik propaganda.

When the General Executive Board took office they worked out five rules to be followed by all I. W. W. editors, which they consented to do. One of these rules was that no personal, slanderous attacks of any kind or description be printed in our press.

"I asked John Sandgren why he did not stop attacking the Communists in the official press of the I. W. W. He agreed to do this, and when he received the Anarchist document from the Swedish publication "Brand" he reproduced it. It is a most misleading, slanderous article, and should never have been published by the I. W. W. In Berlin I met the Russian delegate Belinky, had a talk with him and convinced him that the I. W. W. does not stand for some of the stuff that was being printed in the magazine. I also told him of the official stand of the General Executive Board."

Fellow Worker Hardy met Shapiro, a prominent member of a Russian Anarchist group, and he denied the authenticity of the Anarchist document printed in the O. B. U. Monthly. He further said that in Russia great numbers of the bourgeoisie and bandits call themselves Anarchists in order to escape persecution by the Soviet Government.

Sandgren had also published that a committee of metal workers from Sweden, sent to investigate Soviet Russia, had sent in a report as being opposed to the Soviets. This is what Hardy has to say on the subject:

"A committee of metal workers from Sweden went to investigate Russia. There were eight, but one of them, Ingstrom, who had spend three years in Russia and who, they thought, might be favorable to the Soviet Government, was dismissed, which left seven. Five of these favored the Soviet Government and two, Carlson and one other, were against it. I cannot give all of their names as I lost my notes. The meeting held in Stockholm which was supposed to be a protest against the Bolsheviki can be dispensed with as a joke. I believe that the Swedish workers are for Soviet Russia."

It was therefore in order to set the Russians right about the position of the I. W. W. that fellow worker Hardy went to Moscow.

Interview with Lenin.

"In my interview with Lenin he said that I was the first to come forward for the I. W. W. and that he had been waiting to see an I. W. W. for a long time. In Lenin I thought I was going to see a man who was worried, with a big weight on his shoulders, but I found that while he is very sincere he is large-hearted, with bright eyes and smiling, and when he told me to sit down he drew his chair close and looked at me closely. I thought I would interview Lenin, but he interviewed me. The first thing he said was: 'Are you a Communist?' I answered: 'No.' He said: 'Do you believe in Communism?' I answered that the I. W. W. is an Industrial Communist organization, just the same as we used to say that the I. W. W. is an Industrial Socialist or-

ganization, but that now we are Industrial Communists and are working for the establishment of Communist society."

"He asked me what I thought of the Communist parties. I said: 'What I am going to say does not only apply to America, but to the rest of the world as well. The Communists are too busy coining phrases intended for consumption in Moscow instead of their own country.' He said: 'You are correct.' The Communists coined phrases thinking they sounded extremely revolutionary in Russia, but Lenin says that if a man cannot use tactics he is not a Marxian and does not understand Marx, and that the Communists are not using tactics in America."

Hardy's Address Before the Executive Council of the Third International.

When Hardy met Zinoviev, the president of the Third International, the latter suggested that he give a talk before the Executive Council of the Third International. Before doing so Hardy asked him if John Reed had not written the "Appeal to the I. W. W." Zinoviev answered "Yes."

"I asked Zinoviev what he expected of the I. W. W., as I wanted his viewpoint before going before the Executive Council. He said: 'We expect you people will take your place on the Industrial International.' 'How about the "Appeal"?' I asked. 'Do you not intend us to affiliate with the Third International?' 'Absolutely no,' he said, 'we do not expect that. If you take your place in the Industrial International, that is where you belong.' That was a surprise to me."

When Hardy appeared before the members of the Executive Council, he told them that it was impossible for the I. W. W. to co-operate, under the circumstances, directly or indirectly with the Communist parties of America, for the reason that they had rendered their organizations illegal, whereas the I. W. W. is an economic organization operating legally. He also told them that the I. W. W. had been persecuted by the capitalists more than any other organization in America, but that it was impossible for the I. W. W. to endorse

the armed insurrection clause in the "Appeal." He characterized the reference to the building up of a hundred percent organization as ridiculous. "There is no official of the I. W. W., or even any of its members, who think we can build a one hundred per cent organization, even though we state in our Preamble that we must 'build the new society within the shell of the old.' In fact, the working class of no country can be organized one hundred percent before the collapse of capitalism, and in America the chances of doing so are less than in any other country."

Fellow Worker Hardy also told the Council that the I. W. W. is in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, since the capitalist class of America had always used force, and it is reasonable to expect that the workers will have to do likewise in order to defend themselves.

The Drawing up of an Appeal to the I. W. W. and the American Working class.

"Zinoviev asked me whether I would consent to collaborate with two members of the Executive Committee in drawing up a document addressed to the American workers. This I agreed to do."

Since Hourwich of America and Rosmer of France, the two Executive Committee members who had been assigned to the job, were busy, it devolved upon Fellow Worker Hardy to draw up the document.

In discussing the subjects touched upon in the document with officials of the Executive Council of the Third International, their opinions on matters of great importance were brought to light. Fellow Worker Hardy found, however, that they agreed with him to a much larger extent than he had anticipated. In writing about the revolution in highly industrial countries, his stand was as follows:

"Those who control the economic organizations will control the revolution, and these workers will not submit to a bureaucracy. This latter would have to be driven out of existence. Economic organizations aiming at controlling industry will be the ones to upset the capitalist system and to institute a proletarian state.

"In this connection it was brought out that Zinoviev, Rosovsky, Tomsky and others, all agreed that the Communist parties of America, particularly in the matter of armed insurrection propaganda, had done themselves harm by rendering themselves illegal. Lenin said he would write to the Communists in America, in order to change their tactics.

"Tomsky is president of the International Council of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Unions, and he looks upon the I. W. W. as the revolutionary movement of America, and he wants also an independent Industrial International."

How Industry Is Administered in Soviet Russia.

In his report Fellow Worker Hardy tells about a number of visits that he made to different factories in and around Moscow. These factories are at present under the direction of the "Management Committees." In most cases these are composed of three members, one appointed for his ability to manage industry, one representing the Government from the Commissariat of Public Economy, and one representing the workers. They have for their aim the speeding up of production and the introduction of efficiency. Besides the Management Committees, every factory contains also what are known as Workers' Committees. To be elected to a Workers' Committee it is not essential for one to be a Communist. When any members on the Workers' Committee think that a change should be made in the management of a factory they go to the Management Committee, take up the various points in detail and effect the necessary changes, if such be advisable. They look after conditions as to housing, clothing, food, etc.

The industrial unions in Soviet Russia, which are known as "Professional Unions," number some six million five hundred thousand members. They do not function as organs for the prosecution of the class war but rather as organizations for the operation and co-ordination of industry. Of late a movement has arisen which has gradually gained in strength during the

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last year, for giving the unions a greater share in the management of the industries and in the responsibilities of the State. This question was taken up at great length in the April issue of the Industrial Pioneer, and therefore it will not be necessary to discuss it here in detail. The chief spokesmen for this new point of view, which corresponds very closely to that taken by the I. W. W., are Schlapnikoff and Alexandra Kollontai. Lenin takes a middle ground, and Trotsky maintains the necessity of strict discipline in the carrying on of the work in mines, mills and factories. Fellow Worker Hardy in his report comments on this new angle in Russia's internal affairs as follows:

"The railroad industry met in conference in Moscow and decided by 38 votes for the position taken by Lenin, 4 votes being cast for Trotsky and 4 delegates not voting.

"The miners voted 15 for Lenin's viewpoint, 8 for Trotsky's and 8 for Schlapnikoff's. The metal trades voted 8 for Lenin's, none for Trotsky's, and 57 for Schlapnikoff's. The above three industries contain large masses of workers.

"Schlapnikoff's scheme would not work in Russia now, and although I would like to see his plan go through I feel that the Russian workers are not ready to control industry. The best of the Russian working class went to the front and got killed, so they are lacking the necessary technical ability to go ahead. Lenin's plan has now been agreed to."

While in Moscow Fellow Worker Hardy met a number of I. W. W.'s from this country who are occupying positions of responsibility in the Soviet Government and in the management of industrial enterprises. He refers in particular to an I. W. W. foreman in a factory employing 500 workers, who is doing his share of the grand work of "building the new society within the shell of the old."

Educating the Children.

Fellow Worker Hardy also delivered several addresses at mass meetings and before the Technical Club of the Moscow Trade Unions, wherein he told the Rus-

sians about the struggles of the I. W. W., the persecution that we have been subjected to since the inception of the organization 16 years ago, and the prospects of lining up the American working class on the side of the forces struggling to abolish wage slavery. In his intercourse with the Russians—civilians as well as officials—it was made plain to him that the I. W. W. is generally accepted in Soviet Russia as the revolutionary working class organization on the American continent.

Fellow Worker Hardy, while in Moscow, visited the schools where children are taught according to a new system of natural pedagogy. The children are taken out in the fields and in the woods and requested to make original observations and to set them down on paper to the best of their ability. Through this method their powers of observation are sharpened, their senses quickened and their minds developed to a much greater degree than by the old fashioned method of instruction. The children are well taken care of, well fed and well clothed, and mortality among them has greatly diminished during the last year or so.

In referring to the much debated question of freedom in Soviet Russia, Hardy has this to say:

"We must understand that under the dictatorship of the proletariat we cannot let every Tom, Dick and Harry print anything he likes... They suppressed everything in Russia that did not agree with the proletarian viewpoint. They are not going to let anybody run anything in opposition to their system over there. However, this does not mean that free discussion is not allowed on the public platform, in unions and in other places of assembly. The Russian Press Review Magazine publishes every other day articles covering all the things that are pending in the trade unions of Russia."

Where Does the I. W. W. Stand?

"There are many members of the I. W. W. who do not understand their own organization, except from the American viewpoint, but there is no other organiza-

tion in the world having the same influence and looked upon with the same interest as the I. W. W., that is, from the revolutionary viewpoint... The I. W. W. should, therefore, lead the way from now on and look at things from a broader angle... We have the support of the Italian Syndicalist movement, which is stronger and better organized than ours, but it looks to the I. W. W. for leadership. The Germans are also looking to the I. W. W. The Scandinavian countries have squabbles among themselves as to which is the nearest to the I. W. W. Both the Danes and the Swedes claim to have a form of organization nearest to ours, but the difference between the two is that the Danes have a centralized organization using "boring-from-within" tactics, and the Swedes have a decentralized and a federalist form of organization."

Hardy's recommendation is that the I. W. W. should keep strictly on the industrial field and should not get mixed up in controversies with any political group.

Problems Confronting the I. W. W.

In his report Fellow Worker Hardy brings out some of the problems that at present are confronting the organization, among others the following:

The necessity of closer unity in the ranks of the organization; the creation of a Bureau of Industrial Research; better methods for spreading our propaganda; the question of how to deal with the colored workers, and a program for meeting the unemployment situation.

It will not be necessary to dwell here on the suggestions put forth by Fellow Worker Hardy in his report relative to the above questions, since they will be entered into in detail in articles and reports about what transpired at the Convention.

Fellow Worker Hardy recommends that all I. W. W. delegates to foreign countries should be credentialed by the General Organization, and not by any subordinate part thereof. While in Europe, he had found that a certain amount of confusion had been caused by members representing themselves as accredited delegates of the General Organization, whose credentials

had been issued by branches or by industrial unions instead of by the General Administration.

The I. W. W. Favors Soviet Russia.

In his report Fellow Worker Hardy makes the following recommendations to the Convention:

"The I. W. W. has always stood behind Soviet Russia in its struggle against international imperialism, but owing to certain things that happened in our organization, such as an unfavorable editorial in the "Industrial Worker" and the attitude of John Sandgren in the O. B. U. Monthly, it behooves this Convention to pledge itself to do everything in its power to help the Russian working class to maintain Revolutionary Russia."

Fellow Worker Hardy winds up his report to the Convention with the following observation, which should be given serious thought by all of our members:

"Now, in conclusion, I wish to state that I hope this Convention will be one of the most successful ever held in the I. W. W. Bring into existence a new spirit. Get rid of the insular point of view. Create discipline in our ranks, to the end that we may have a bigger and better I. W. W. This is the only way to help Russia and ourselves."

H. Van Dorn.

Notice to Branches

Elmer S. Smith, the Centralia, Washington, lawyer, who was one of the defendants in the Centralia case and one of those acquitted, will start on a speaking tour for the General Defense Committee on July 1st. Smith will deal with the inside story of the tragedy which occurred at Centralia on Nov. 11th, 1919, and also the farcical trial, which resulted in a 40-year sentence for seven fellow workers.

All branches wishing to arrange dates for the Smith meetings are requested to get in touch with Geo. Williams, Secretary of the General Committee, at once. Address: 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Flashlights on Labor and Revolution

An Interview with Jack Tanner

JACK Tanner has arrived in the United States as a fraternal delegate to the Thirteenth Convention of the I. W. W., representing the National Workers' Committee Movement of Great Britain. The desire uppermost in his mind is to develop the spirit of solidarity between the workers of Britain and the rest of Europe with their fellow workers of America.

"In union there is strength," but this union can only be achieved through mutual understanding. To this end the workers of one country should be informed of what the workers in other countries are doing and are intending to do.

Fellow Worker Jack Tanner has a long record of faithful service to the working class behind him. For the last thirteen years he has been a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which has a membership of 400,000, and of which Tom Mann was the acting secretary until April of this year. In 1913, Jack Tanner acted in the capacity of chairman at the first International Syndicalist Conference ever held, which took place in London, England. During the last four years he has been the editor of "Solidarity," the official organ of the National Workers' Committee Movement of Great Britain.

The Berlin Conference.

Jack Tanner represented the National Workers' Committee Movement at the Berlin Syndicalist Conference, held in the month of December, 1920. When inquiries were put to him as to the main differences of opinion that prevailed at that conference and that were brought out to some extent by Bouwman in a recent issue of the *Industrial Pioneer*, he offered information of which we had not previously been aware. The controversy about the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" was not caused so much by a difference of principles as by the interpretation of the clause; the German and Swedish delegates contending that "Domination of the Working Class" should be used instead, because in Russia the Dictatorship was exercised through a political party. Tanner brought out that the Swedish and German delegates should not be looked upon as being more conservative than the other delegates; as a matter of fact, they considered themselves the more revolutionary, if anything. To put it in Tanner's own words:

"The Germans and Swedes are inclined to be less practical, more theoretical, and greater disciples of Bakunin than of Marx. This is, of course, caused by them having been disappointed by the orthodox Socialist and Social Democratic parties, who have claimed for all these years to follow the teachings of Marx."

He also cleared up a point about the struggles of the German and French Syndicalists which is not generally understood in this country. The French Syndicalists number in the neighborhood of about 200,000 members, but they do not form an absolutely separate organization outside the General Confederation of Labor. They function within the ranks of the already existing unions, although, of course, they are linked together through committees—the Committees of Revolutionary Syndicalists.

The German Syndicalists, on the other hand, have formed an organization outside of the old German trade unions. They are of the opinion that these unions are so much under the control of reactionary leaders that it is altogether hopeless to try to bring them around to a revolutionary point of view. The Syndicalists number at present around 150,000 members, and have become highly influential in some industries, especially among the miners and the seamen.

When asked whether he was more in favor of separate revolutionary organizations being formed outside of the already existing trade unions or of propaganda being carried on, instead, within these unions, Jack Tanner had this to say:

"That depends altogether on the circumstances. In Great Britain it would be foolish for us to attempt to form other organizations, for the simple reason that 85 per cent of the workers there are already organized. It is impossible to tear them away from the organizations to which they now belong. This is the main reason why the I. W. W. has never made any headway in Great Britain. In the United States, however, where the great masses of the workers have not as yet been organized, it is only logical to attempt to line them up into Revolutionary Industrial Unions." In this he justified the tactics adopted by the I. W. W.

"Of course, the I. W. W., in my opinion, should also take advantage of any opportunity that may offer itself within the craft unions to switch them over into the organization. As I said, these tactics should be governed altogether by conditions. But propaganda must be carried on within the unions at all times."

The British Trade Union Congress.

When asked what other labor organization in Great Britain besides the Workers' Committee Movement would send delegates to the Congress of the Red Industrial International which will be held in July at Moscow, he answered that strong propaganda was being carried on within the different unions to have them send delegates there. To his knowledge, however, only the Fife miners so far

had definitely decided to do so. In connection with this propaganda, a peculiar misunderstanding has arisen. Practically all the British unions are affiliated to the Trade Union Congress. This Trade Union Congress is officially affiliated with the Yellow Amsterdam International. The trade unionists in England for a long time were under the impression that in spite of their affiliation with the Amsterdam International through the Trade Union Congress, they would be able to affiliate to the Red International. At present, however, separate unions cannot withdraw their affiliation from Amsterdam without withdrawing from the Trade Union Congress; this will meet in September of this year, when the whole matter will be thrashed out. Notwithstanding this technical difficulty, it is expected that quite a few delegates will be sent to the July Congress in Moscow.

The Red Industrial International.

Fellow Worker Tanner was highly enthusiastic about the ultimate outcome of the coming Industrial Congress.

"As a result of it," he said, "the prestige of the revolutionary minorities in all countries will be greatly increased. Think of the added strength it will give to the now numerically weak syndicalist minority in France! Instead of having only 200,000 members, they will, after the Congress, have a backing of about 10,000,000 workers all over the world. The reactionary unions in other countries will be more than anxious to get rid of their stand-pat leaders and to flock under the banner of the Red Industrial International. I have definite information that many unions numbering hundreds of thousands of members are only waiting to see what will take place at Moscow in July before throwing their reactionary leaders overboard and affiliating with the Red Industrial International."

Next I asked him whether, in his opinion, the Communist parties would play the leading role in all countries when the crisis comes. I pointed out to him that in countries like Spain, Italy and South America the Syndicalists at present play the leading roles and the Communists are an almost negligible quantity. To this he answered:

"It really does not matter under what name the militant minority may be known. Why should the members of the Communist parties be expected to be the leaders in countries which are already, at the present time, under the guidance of a revolutionary industrial minority? The main thing is to have a program, the necessary initiative, and a directing center to carry out this program to the letter. If the workers of the Latin countries prefer to do this through their industrial organizations, instead of through political parties, well and good. I see no reason why their form of organization should not attain the necessary ends the same as any other. This applies to the United States as well."

The Workers' Committee Movement.

When asked to point out what constituted the main difference between the British Shop Steward Movement and the Industrial Workers of the World, he said:

"The I. W. W. is a self-contained organization functioning as a labor union, it is separate and not connected with any other body. The Workers' Committee Movement is primarily a movement within other organizations; it is an extra union organization. Members of the Workers' Committees are at the same time members of their respective trade unions. In Great Britain they may be likened to the militant minority on the industrial field."

He further explained that the main function of the movement was the organizing of the workers on industrial lines by establishing shop, pit, factory and vigilance committees, etc. These shop committees are elected by all the workers in any shop and meet at stated periods to discuss problems affecting working conditions. Delegates from shops in the same industry within a certain district are elected to what is known as the District Council. These delegates again in their turn elect representatives to the Divisional Councils. There are National Committees for each industry, which appoints some of its members to sit in the National Administrative Council—which is similar to our G. E. B. The purpose of the work is to center the immediate problems affecting the workers into the hands of their own delegates, who are in close touch with conditions in their respective industries.

At present the Workers' Committee Movement is strongest among the miners, the transport workers, the engineers and the construction workers. Its influence is being extended more and more into other industries. A congress was held in April, 1921, at which a co-ordinated program was worked out and greater unity established between the different sections.

The Outlook in Great Britain.

When asked what he thought of the collapse of the Triple Alliance, Fellow Worker Tanner said:

"It is but another lesson to the workers for relying too much power in their reactionary leaders. The Triple Alliance has a membership of approximately two millions, distributed as follows: The miners, about 1,000,000; the transport workers, about 500,000; the railway workers, another 500,000. These unions, when united by a spirit of solidarity, are practically invincible. If the Triple Alliance had taken action, even if its demands had not been attained in full, the experience would have been worth a great deal to the British workers. The capitalist class in Great Britain is day by day becoming less able to manage the country. Several millions of men and women are practically on the verge of starvation, the Russian revolution has been a great inspiration to the British workers, and the capitalists realize the crash to be near at hand."

In Fellow Worker Tanner's opinion the main

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problem before the British workers at the present time is to get rid of their bourgeois-minded leaders. As soon as the affairs of the unions get into the hands of the revolutionary rank and file, we may commence to look for great things in Great Britain. The powers-that-be are making ready for that day, and at this very moment thousands of volunteers from the middle and upper classes are being prepared to meet an emergency call whenever it may be sounded. The workers, of course, on their side, are not idle, either.

It would, in Fellow Worker Tanner's opinion, be a mistake for the British workers to take too hasty steps for the abolition of capitalism until their forces have been more completely co-ordinated. The British capitalists are very well organized. The British Federation of Industries has a backing of around \$5,000,000,000. Capital's control over the industries has not as yet been impaired to any noticeable degree, but the economic condition of the people is getting worse day by day, and is bound to continue so, as no relief is in sight. Even should trade with Russia be started, it would only relieve the situation to a comparatively small extent. The British workers will soon have to take the destiny of the nation into their own hands, or suffer starvation and slavery. In Tanner's opinion, the revolution in Great Britain may come in the course of the next few years, if the revolutionists will concentrate their activities on the industrial field. When it does come, we may rest assured that the British working class will have taken the greatest care to make sure of its success. An intensive propaganda is at present being carried on in the army and navy. The British Isles are so situated that any part of them can be shelled by dreadnoughts. It is, therefore, self-evident that steps must be taken so that this shelling will not take place.

When I offered the observation that British labor must have done everything in its power to help the cause of Irish freedom, Fellow Worker Tanner sat up in his chair.

"I am sorry to say, to the eternal disgrace of the English labor movement, that the British trade unions have not helped the Irish in their fight for freedom. British labor has not, up to now, realized the importance of the struggle going on in Ireland. The signs are, however, that they are waking up. They are beginning to realize that if labor loses in Ireland, labor also loses in England; and that the same methods used to crush the Irish workers: scientific militarism, ruthless and brutal, will be used against the British workers."

What Tanner Saw in Soviet Russia

In the spring and summer of 1920 Jack Tanner spent four months in Soviet Russia. When asked what were his first impressions of the condition of the people and of the spirit manifested by them he answered:

"The thing that struck me most in Russia when I came in contact with people of all ranks was the

quiet determination to see the fight through to its bitter end. It would not be exactly accurate to describe this attitude of theirs as enthusiasm; they had got past the shouting stage. It was rather a deep-seated conviction and a determination that in their struggle against capitalist imperialism they would finally come out victorious. The term 'doggedness' would probably describe their frame of mind better than any other word that I may think of."

Fellow Worker Tanner further said that he was pleasantly surprised because the appearance of the people was much better than he had expected to find, judging from the information he had received. There was no lack of clothing in evidence anywhere, although the clothes could not be described as being "smart." "Lounge suits are not the fashion in Russia, anyway," said Tanner.

All the children are very well taken care of and educated on the most modern principles, which he saw by visiting many schools and institutions. They are well dressed, in that respect there being no comparison between them and the miserable barefooted waifs Tanner had seen on the streets of London.

In addressing workshop and factory meetings he found the workers quite on a par with the average British worker in physique and intelligence.

Although the Soviet Government is subjected to a good deal of criticism by the workers, this is not offered at all in a spirit of wanting to do away with it in order to substitute another regime in its place. The greatest critics of the Bolsheviks are the Bolsheviks themselves. The policy being worked out by the Communist Party has the solid backing of the large masses of the people in its general outline.

Preliminary Conferences of Industrial International.

While Tanner was in Moscow the initial steps were taken for the foundation of the Red Industrial International. The conferences started in June and were continued even after the adjournment of the second congress of the Third International. Tanner was in almost daily consultation with the delegates from different countries, as well as with the representatives of Russian labor, who played a leading part in the elaboration of the program for the council; such as, Lozovsky, Tomsky, Schlapnikof and others. At the same time he was in constant association with the international delegates to the second congress of the Communist International.

The discussions that took place at these conferences have been related somewhat in detail in Lozovsky's pamphlet on "The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions," the greater part of which has been published in past issues of the Industrial Pioneer. In Fellow Worker Tanner's opinion the interchange of ideas that took place did a great deal towards bringing about a better understanding between the Communists, Trade Unionists and Syndicalists in most countries.

The membership in the Russian Trade Unions is

at present in the neighborhood of six and a half millions, whereas the actual strength of the Communist Party is only about six hundred thousand. The movement of greatest significance in Soviet Russia at the present time, in Jack Tanner's opinion, is that embodied in the aspirations of the unions to have a greater share in the direction of the nation's destinies. This movement is little by little beginning to bear fruit. The labor unions are today playing a much more active role in the administration of industry than they were a year or two ago. This increases month by month as the workers gain more experience of industrial methods and confidence in each other.

Interviews with Lenin.

Fellow Worker Tanner gave a vivid description of the interviews he had with Lenin.

"If anybody goes up to see Lenin with the intention of interviewing him, he very quickly finds out that Lenin does the interviewing himself. All who meet him are forced to admit that he possesses a wonderful brain. Many have described him as being a genius, but I wouldn't apply that term to Lenin. Geniuses are usually persons who have a natural aptitude for doing certain and special work; some particular faculties of their brain are more developed, which gives them inspiration and extraordinary ability in a certain sphere.

"Lenin seems to have all his faculties well developed and in action; they work together in complete harmony, each helping the other.

"He can understand and appreciate the value of detail and its relationship to the whole. I never met a man who was so interested in what is happening in other countries, or understood so well when he was told.

"He is a glutton for information and can classify and retain what he absorbs.

"In telling him I was opposed to parliamentary action, he said: 'The workers' hatred of "politics" in its ordinary sense, was well founded. It is a real proletarian outlook. It may lead them to make some mistakes in tactics, but on the whole it is justified.'

"He particularly stressed the importance of the workers, especially in highly developed industrial countries, getting the support of the technical and administrative workers, and he pointed out the difficulties they had experienced in Russia owing to lack of it.

"You can win through probably without their help, but it's going to be much more difficult and will take a longer period. If you can't get their active support; you must break down their opposition—this is very important."

Russian Leaders.

Tanner met most of the prominent officials in the Soviet Government and the Russian Communist Party, Trotsky, Radek, Lunacharsky, etc. He also had several talks with Peters, who was the chairman

of the Extraordinary Commission immediately after the revolution. He has been likened to a wild and ferocious animal by the capitalist press.

"Peters struck me as being a very mild sort of man, and he seems to have shown more mercy than discretion on occasions.

"He gave me documents and information which, if I made them public, would put some of the British government's representatives in an unsavory position.

"At the time I was in Russia, very few of the Bolsheviks understood clearly the position of the industrial organizations in the English-speaking countries. Lenin was surprised when I told him of the power of the officials in the craft unions and the difficulties in removing them."

Besides investigating factories and workshops Tanner had an opportunity to study the conditions of the peasants. He made a trip on the Volga, visiting small towns and villages with the official labor delegation. He said hard things about some members of this delegation, his mildest expression being "bourgeois crabs."

Impressions of the U. S. A.

Although Jack Tanner has visited most countries in Europe and also in the East, this is his first visit to the American continent. Asked what were his first impressions of America, he said:

"I am certainly struck with the rushing and tearing tactics that are employed. The people seem to be so busy making profits for the bosses that they have no time to think about themselves, except perhaps how they themselves can become "bosses" in some shape or form. It strikes me that the workers in America can be more easily stampeded into a course of action likely to be harmful to them than the workers of most European countries.

"I am certainly not disappointed in my previous idea of what the country and its people were like."

Tanner was asked what, in his opinion, should be the best tactics to advance the cause of the revolutionary working class.

"That, of course, is a big question and can't very well be answered in a few words. It's a truism, of course, to say that we must get power. The workers must unite their somewhat divided forces against the common enemy. And I don't mean by this that we must compromise on questions of principle. It is a matter of being able to use tactics, to adapt ourselves to changing conditions. In our fight with the capitalist class we have not only got to use our physical or economical power, we must use our brains as well.

"The second day I was in Chicago I saw a parade on Michigan Boulevard of boys and young lads from different settlements, as you call them. The idea I gathered was that it was to propagate the need for 100 per cent Americanism. They carried great numbers of the Stars and Stripes. Every time

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one passed the crowd on the sidewalk lifted their hats in reverential awe. That quite impressed me, and I thought of the thousands of leaflets advocating 'armed insurrection,' which have, I am told, been distributed.

"Our revolution in England is going to be 100 per cent easier than yours here. We know how hard our work is now and will be, and the tremendous task still ahead of us. Nobody in England talked 'armed insurrection' even during the recent Triple Alliance crisis, in spite of the fact that the government had mobilized all the forces of the state against the workers. Although the parade I saw was a patriotic one, a large battalion of police was present, each 'officer of the law' armed with a bloody big club. This only goes to show that the capitalists have full control of the machine and are going to work it full speed in their interests.

"Courage and audacity are absolutely essential, but without a certain amount of power, more organization than exists at present, more ability to take advantage of conditions as they present themselves, the workers cannot hope to accomplish anything of a permanent nature."

Problems Facing the I. W. W.

That Jack it quite well acquainted with the history and present position of the I. W. W. was brought out when asked his opinion about the prospects of the organization for the future.

"Good, extremely good," he replied, "provided the membership's outlook keeps pace with the times. I think the I. W. W. is the organization for this country, but it must get into closer and more direct touch with the world movement.

"It has a deserved, world-famed reputation as an aggressive and revolutionary body. It has set a standard which is recognized in every country, and now that there is to be an Industrial International it must throw in its whole weight and influence. I hope and expect it will do so. Coming from England, where the labor movement is more deeply entrenched and solid, it strikes me that the I. W. W. has been too fluid in the past. It has taken in large numbers of members but has not held them, although its principles have not altered, its policy and tactics have, I think, too frequently—this, of course, from an organizational standpoint. More attention must be paid to educating the new members and holding them. This may be a difficult proposition, but it must be tackled successfully before the I. W. W. can get real power."

Regarding unemployment Tanner said there was no possibility in his mind of getting back to what could be termed normal conditions. "We've had it to contend with ever since the capitalist system be-

gan, and it will remain with us while this system lasts.

"Trade with Russia would probably somewhat ease the situation in England as well as in America.

"To organize the unemployed the practical problems must be tackled and a great deal of propaganda can be done at the same time, which would make for potential members of the organization."

The ideas and point of view put forth by Fellow Worker Tanner should give food for serious thought to all who have the future welfare of the working class at heart.

H. Van Dorn.

Proud of Our Class

By Covington Ami

Yes, we class-conscious workers are proud of class.
Why shouldn't we be?
It is the only class on earth that does anything worth doing.

Without it there would be nothing—
No wheat, no bread, no cotton, no clothes, no homes,
no transportation,
No science, no music and no education.

Yes, we are proud of our class.
Why shouldn't we be?
We are the salt of social life.
Without us society cannot move, breathe, live, have
or come into being.

Yes, we are proud of our class.
Why shouldn't we be?
Everywhere we have bested your class, the capitalist class—
In every field you dare no longer meet us brain to brain—
Everywhere you resort to violence and suppression,
Thus acknowledging us your intellectual and moral conquerors.

Yes, we are proud of our class.
Why shouldn't we be?
What if we haven't yet shaken off all our slave psychology?
We will do so tomorrow if not today.
If we do not, our children will.
We shall conquer, not only ourselves, but you and
all the Worlds.

Proud of our class?
Sure!
Why shouldn't we be?

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2nd Picture: Art and science are at present within the reach of the working class youth. Go to your school and develop your talent.

3rd Picture: Now the young worker and peasant is taught in his club all those sciences which will develop his mind and body.

4th Picture: Possessing a strong mind and healthy body, the workers are invincible. Up, youth of the working class, and to work! You must know how to defend your future!

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."



IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH.

LIVING conditions in America are fast becoming intolerable for the working class. As the days go by, more and more men and women find themselves without work—and without bread, clothing and shelter. A few weeks—or months—without a job, and what little money a working man may have laid aside will have been used up. And then—what?

Yes, there is the big question that keeps countless workers awake nights, trying to find an answer to it. "Then—what?" With things going as they are, how about next winter? And next spring? Where is the bread coming from to feed the wife and children? And the money to pay for shoes and hats, coal and rent?

And those who are still lucky enough to have work—are they making enough to provide their families with a decent living? Have not wages been cut much faster than the drop in living costs? And what guarantee do they have that to-morrow they will not find themselves in the ranks of the great army of the Unemployed?

There are no prospects of a betterment in the economic situation of the country.

For the workers, there is but one way out: To band themselves together in the One Big Union. Only through the exercise of their economic might will they be able to shake off the shackles of wage slavery, with all its evils.

In single-handed combat against the forces of capitalism, the workers are as helpless as new-born babes. In union there is strength.

DISCIPLINE.

FIFTY thousand men, each of them acting on his own initiative in accordance with his personal desires, constitute a mob; fifty thousand men, acting according to orders from a directive center, and disciplined to act in unison with each other for the attainment of like ends, constitute an army.

The difference between the two consists in that the former has no power, and the latter has. The strength of a mob of fifty thousand is the strength of each individual man. The strength of an army of fifty thousand is the combined strength of fifty thousand men.

If a labor organization is ever to attain power it must form itself into an Army of Labor. In the carrying out of its economic program, each member must act in harmony with his fellow members. Personal differences must not be allowed to interfere with the execution of the program. All members must consider themselves as acting under orders from a directive center, the rules for the guidance of which they themselves have formulated in the constitution and at their conventions.

It is absolutely essential that in order to effectively carry on the work of an organization such as the I. W. W., discipline be strictly enforced.

A Rallying Call to All I. W. W. Members

IN VIEW of the changed economic conditions confronting the working class today, it becomes imperative for the Industrial Workers of the World to re-affirm its adherence to the fundamental principles of its Preamble and to outline a program based on those principles in conformity with the requirements of the present situation.

During the war period an abnormal condition prevailed in the industries of this as well as other countries. The tremendous requirements for waging the war had to be filled, which gave employment to countless millions who otherwise would have had nothing to do. Work was plenty, wages were "high" and the class struggle was, for the time being, lost sight of.

Now the whole world in returning back to normal times: there is no "crisis" today. Unemployment, long hours, low wages, strikes, starvation, suffering, are the inevitable consequences of capitalism; in fact, they are part and parcel of it. And the class struggle is its very soul.

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. 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."

It is easily seen by the above quotation from the I. W. W. Preamble that the mission of the working class, imposed upon it by capitalism itself, can only be carried through by a **revolutionary economic organization**.

The need of the hour in America, therefore, is a strong revolutionary organization of labor which would serve as a center of mobilization for all the militant, class-conscious, aggressive workers in this country. No organization which has for its aims merely the bettering of the workers' living conditions can perform that function. The working class of America is beginning to learn that the **only way** to better

bad conditions is to destroy them; that the only way to cure capitalism is to **destroy it**.

Furthermore, besides being revolutionary that organization must also be industrial. The capitalists are our present masters by reason of their ownership and control of the industries, thereby controlling the means of life of the whole nation. The workers can become masters of themselves only by taking the industries away from the capitalists, and by operating them for use instead of for profit. To accomplish this they must be organized industrially on the economic field.

The only revolutionary industrial organization in America is the Industrial Workers of the World. For fifteen years it has waged a relentless warfare against the powers that be. Although it has been persecuted as no other labor body in American history—with hundreds of its most stalwart fighters confined today in the dungeons of capitalism—yet it emerges from that struggle stronger and healthier than ever.

Besides its traditions of revolutionary activity in the past the I. W. W. commands, as well, the moral support of the great unorganized mass of labor in this country. And its prestige is not confined to America alone: It is universally acknowledged as the one fighting, militant labor body in America by the workers of all countries.

Not only is the I. W. W. revolutionary in character, it is revolutionary in structure as well. Founded on the principles of industrial unionism, with the purpose of uniting labor in the One Big Union of all the workers, it is fitted by its very form of organization to wage war against capital more efficiently and with a better show of eventual success than any other economic labor body. On account of being split up into countless small groups, craft unions are utterly incapable of putting up a real fight against capitalism.

It therefore is apparent that it is the duty of the members of the Industrial

Workers of the World to become the vanguard of labor's army in the great fight for the abolition of wage slavery. But capitalism is still strong, its resources are boundless, its servants are a legion; we are few in numbers, and our strength is but a small fraction of the strength of capitalism. What, then, shall we do?

We must, first of all, push our work of revolutionary agitation to the utmost of our ability. We must consolidate our ranks. We must obtain unity of purpose and unity of action between the different parts of our organization. We must exert all our strength and sagacity, taking advantage of every opportunity as it offers itself, to increase our membership by enlisting in our ranks the most intelligent and militant workers. **Let the fighting minority of the American working class be the I. W. W.**

Capitalism is not going to collapse next month, and therefore, in order to be able to put up a good fight, we must have, as a final consideration, a powerful, numerically strong, organization. What immediate steps should we take to attain these ends?

Educational propaganda is the very life of an organization such as the Industrial Workers of the World. The toiling masses cannot join us unless they are first made class-conscious and know exactly what they want. We must therefore place our literature in the hands of every workingman and woman in the country. In order to do that means must be found to give greater financial support to our press; we must bend all our efforts to put out more and more papers, leaflets, pamphlets, of a kind that will "hit right home."

On the other hand, having found through bitter experience, that legal expense has in the past availed but little to keep our members out of prison, we should aim in the future to spend as little money as possible on this phase of the struggle, diverting, instead, the major portion of

these funds for educational purposes. But we should, however, in conjunction with other labor as well as liberal bodies start an intensive nation-wide agitation for the purpose of creating sentiment, leading up to determined action, for liberating all class war prisoners.

All these activities must help, in the final analysis, to strengthen and to build up the organization, which is the big task before us. We must cover the country with a network of organizers. Wherever the old conservative unions crumble away before the assaults of capital, as they are doing everywhere at the present time, we must step in with our program of revolutionary industrial unionism and become the directive force in labor's struggle for liberation. We must ever be on the alert to point the way to members of craft unions who become dissatisfied with their inefficient and bankrupt organizations, and we must be ready to amalgamate such other bodies into the Industrial Workers of the World should the local conditions make this action possible and advisable.

But our main efforts should be concentrated in organizing and assuming the leadership among the unorganized masses, especially within the pivotal industries, such as mining, lumber, transportation and the steel and iron industries. The sentiment among the workers for revolutionary industrial unionism is good and the conditions are rotten ripe.

The time for action has arrived. United with one purpose, the overthrow of the capitalist system of misrule, presenting a solid front and firmer than ever in our conviction of the correctness of our position, the Industrial Workers of the World appeals to the American working class to solidify its ranks in order to take the industries away from the capitalists and to inaugurate the new day of Labor's Commonwealth.

Open the Shops and Factories

By Mary E. Marcy.

WHEN I read the eulogies on our present "civilization" appearing in the daily newspapers, aiming to prove that the existing form of society is the best the world has ever attained, or could ever hope to evolve into, I feel an overwhelming desire to enumerate some of the fruits of "civilization" from which we suffer every day of our lives.

Even the capitalist class, and the bankers and financiers, who occupy a comparative point of vantage on the economic scale, are admitting that there are a great many new and disturbing conditions in all the "civilized" nations. But we have never found one of them who would admit that the whole trouble lies in the contradictory capitalist system of exploitation itself.

Even the capitalist editors know there has been a great world-war, and admit that in Poland, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, in all the little European nations, in Germany, and even in France and England, there are hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of working people who are actually starving at the same time when American farmers are facing ruin because they cannot dispose of their last year's crops.

And now and then we see it admitted in the capitalist papers that there are in every European nation vast hordes of men and women who can secure no work—millions upon millions of idle hands and empty stomachs; families huddled in one room, because of the housing shortage—on one side of the picture.

And thousands of factories, shops, mills and mines lying idle while people are dying for the things they could produce in them if given an opportunity to work—on the other side.

And every day conditions in Europe, as well as in America, are growing worse. In our own cities we see hungry, shabby men and women crowding before closed factory doors for a chance to work. We

see the final, the perfect flower of capitalism, or modern "civilization", in the masses of hungry workers who need everything that makes life possible and endurable, beside the idle tools of production they may not use.

What is the trouble? What sort of society is this which permits its sons and daughters to stand helpless before the tools that mean life to them?

What sort of a civilization is this that teaches democracy when you write your name on a ballot, and permits the autocrats of industry to say when you shall work and when you shall starve?

If this were the best man could produce after fifty thousand years of striving, it would not be worth the price. Life would be only a colossal failure.

But this is not the end. We mean to make it but the beginning of a new and orderly society wherein those who work shall reap the rewards of their own labor, and where it will not be the private profits of individuals that shall determine when things shall be produced, but the workers themselves.

We always knew that capitalism was torn by contradictions. We used to believe that the day would come when the capitalists of the various nations would have grabbed up all the "backward nations" and have the world markets salted away in their pockets. Then we expect to see long wars, fought in the interests of the various capitalist groups to seize the markets from their successful rivals, or to hold on to their own.

And we knew then that no matter which group won, capitalism would try to grow, to expand—for capitalism must always expand, always reach out, always find new industries in which to invest new capital—or it cannot be capitalism.

To meet these conditions we used to think it would be necessary for every class-conscious worker to carry on the work of

education in every quarter of the globe. We thought the day would come when capitalism would have no more new market-lands to conquer and that then the capitalists would close the doors of their factories, and unemployment and hunger would force the working classes to revolt.

But the new contradiction that has arisen in the old system is not going to give us time to educate everybody. It is, comparatively speaking, rushing capitalism to its final dissolution faster than I had ever believed would be possible. This new contradiction in the capitalist system is the failing gold supply. It is tying capitalism up in an unbreakable knot, and we had best realize this fact and do what we can to reach the workers; for our time is growing short.

Of course, you know that, as the population of a city (a nation or a world) increases, it requires more and more commodities to feed, clothe and shelter it. It takes more values. Capitalism requires an international medium of exchange, a universal measure of value. The one commodity that can serve this purpose under capitalism, is **gold**, and the gold supply has been decreasing for six or eight years.

Capitalism **must have gold** for the circulation of commodities. The more people, the more commodities—the more gold is needed for circulation. Capitalism not only needs more and more gold to circulate the increasing volume of commodities, it needs gold for building new railroads, more factories, shops and mills for new instruments of production and distribution.

Capitalism is growing more entangled in its own ruin, more helpless and inefficient every day. Gold production is growing less adequate every year. The bankers lend money only in their own interest, to industries in which they are involved, to their friends and—unfailingly—to those monopolistic capitalists who can afford to pay the very highest rate of interest.

Why does not industry start up again in Europe where the people need everything that Nature and the hands of men can produce?

Because the European capitalists have even less gold than the American bankers.

They all tried printing paper notes that were not represented by gold, which merely diluted the currency and forced prices up in proportion as money was inflated. But they found there was no help in calling ten cents a dollar. They found they just had to pay ten dimes to buy a real dollar's worth of anything.

And now the capitalist class is trying to get back somewhere within hailing distance of the gold basis again. They are trying to un-dilute the currency a little bit. This makes money **tight**. The bankers have to refuse credit to half the capitalists who want it, to continue in operation. And of course, the bankers discriminate against the little fellows.

There are two **vital necessities** of men which are already being affected by this policy of the bankers. These are in the matter of **houses and foods**. Housing distress is now with us—and growing worse. The food pinch is on the way. The bankers cannot (or will not) lend money at even **more** than the legal rate of interest—to the real estate capitalists who desire to speculate in building. They can get more interest elsewhere.

And the farmers, who can scarcely dispose of their products this year at the price of production, will **next** year be in a desperate condition. They will be less able than ever to pay **increased** interest rates on mortgages and on loans for the buying of fertilizer, seed, tools, machinery, etc., etc. In just a little while we will all be feeling the effect of the farmers' divorcement from the land in rising food prices, and even, if Europe begins buying again, in—perhaps—a scarcity of food supplies. For many of the American farmers are in danger of being pinched out by the bankers.

Now what are the capitalist "statesmen" doing to relieve this situation? Are they considering the welfare of the majority of working people and passing laws in an attempt to relieve them?

Certainly not! As usual our "statesmen" are waiting orders from Higher Up, and even the Higher Ups scarcely know how to proceed to their profit and advantage these days. Some of the new banking laws enable

a banker to lend twenty times as much money as he possesses. But it is impossible to extend these credits further without going back to currency inflation again, which only means endless additional inflation.

OPEN THE SHOPS.

Just now the capitalists who are temporarily in a somewhat secure position, are doing all they can to crush every semblance of unionism in this and many other countries. They are lengthening the working hours, and ruthlessly cutting wages. They mean to reduce the workers to serfdom if they can.

We need to realize that there are now innumerable workers who would turn toward class industrial unionism if we could reach them. I am finding the men out of a job more interested in knowing what we would do for the unemployed, if we had the power, than they are in some of our subtle theories.

A jobless man asked me the other day what the I. W. W. would do to relieve unemployment—if it had the power.

“Open all the shops, mines, mills and factories,” I replied. He appeared amazed and delighted. I fancy he thought we were too busy thinking about the Industrial Society of the future to be interested in his small problem.

John MacLean, one of the greatest revolutionary organizers in England, said a splendid thing at the time when he organized the miners to demand a six-hour day.

“Get the workers to unite and fight for something they want and which the capitalists cannot, or will not, grant them”—he said—“and you may see history speeded up a little.”

Open the shops ought to be our slogan today, and with conditions growing more desperate for the workers every week, we may be able to initiate a working class campaign that may blossom into something far bigger.

Besides we want our jobless friends to know that our first cry is to relieve the present desperate needs of our own class.

Agitate for the opening of shops, mills, factories, mines. Soak it into the mind of every jobless man and woman that work is the real remedy for unemployment.

If the capitalists close their shops and factories because they see no profit in present operation, what about the workers who built the plants and produced every commodity that ever came out of them?

Shall the lives of these jobless men and women depend upon the profits of the boss?

Are their lives less important than the dollars of the boss?

We have a great rallying cry. If we keep at it, we can soon send it ringing across every state in the union:

Open the shops, the mines and the mills!

For the lives of the workers must and shall come before the dollars of the boss!

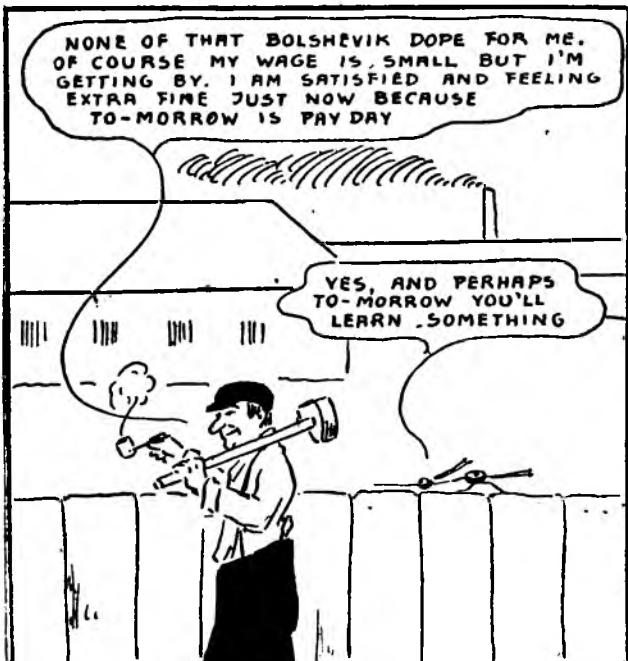


Mr. Working Class: "What's this? Another string on me? Well, well! One good pull will fix that!"

THE BOLSHEVIK BUG

"BACILLUS REBELLICUS"

HE MULTIPLIES FASTER THAN YOU CAN SHOOT, CLUB, HANG OR JAIL.



The Irish Labor Movement

By Thomas J. O'Flaherty

WHEN the Irish Trades Union Congress was established in 1894, the entire membership of the Irish unions did not exceed 11,000. Today there are 300,000 workers enrolled in the Irish Trades Union Congress. Organized labor in Ireland has not only increased numerically; in point of organization and goal it holds a commanding position in the ranks of the revolutionary working class of Europe. As far back as 1895 a resolution was introduced at the Cork Congress declaring for the nationalization of land and all the instruments of production, distribution, and exchange and that the co-operative Commonwealth is the only solution to the labor problem. This resolution was defeated by the reformers, but it received 25 votes at the convention. In the following year James Connolly, then twenty-six years old, started on his revolutionary campaign for an Irish Socialist Republic, which he continued to carry on in Ireland, Scotland and America until his death at the hands of a British firing squad on May 12, 1916.

Connolly's agitation did not have any immediate effect on the labor movement in Ireland. As elsewhere the workers were steeped in the superstitions of the past, and the thought that the present system of society was only a passing phase in world evolution appeared to them like a dream. They looked for relief to the Irish Parliamentary Party who were begging for concessions in Westminster. Under Home Rule everything would be fine and poverty would trouble them no more. They never thought that under Home Rule the Irish capitalists would have the pleasure of exploiting them under the cloak of patriotism while now they were somewhat handicapped by laws passed in favor of their English competitors. The Irish labor leaders acted in much the same manner as the leaders of the American Federation of Labor do today. They had their friends in Parliament who would every once in a while introduce a bill to improve the conditions of the workers and just as often get defeated.

Until 1907, there was no real labor movement in Ireland. Most of the unions had their head offices in England, and when they struck against the boss the labor fakirs on the other side of the channel paid very little attention to them. Jim Larkin came to Belfast in 1907. From then on the Irish labor movement took on a militant aspect. Jim talked and agitated. He did not advocate peace with the bosses. Larkin was an organizer for the National Union of Dock Laborers, with headquarters in Liverpool.

In 1908 there was a strike in the city of Cork at which considerable dissatisfaction was expressed with the policy of the executive committee of the

union in Liverpool. Scabs were shipped to Cork and paid thirty shillings per week while the Cork workers had to get along on 22 shillings and sixpence. Larkin went down there, settled the strike and formed the first branch of The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. At the same time the Dublin coal workers were locked out, and the Dockers Union executive ignoring them, Larkin raised money in Cork and sent it to the Dublin workers. For this he was hailed into court and convicted for misappropriation of funds. It was claimed that the money belonged to the Dockers' Union and that Larkin should not have given it to aid the Dublin strikers. During Larkin's trial in New York in April, 1920, Alexander I. Rorke secured a report of this conviction from Dublin Castle which aided him in securing a conviction from the jury. Larkin was sentenced to seven months' imprisonment for standing by the Dublin workers but labor secured his release in three months. His power among the workers was increased and from that moment The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union became the leading labor organization in Ireland.

The old and corrupt labor leaders detested Larkin, but the young men took kindly to him. His methods were new in Irish labor disputes. The struggle of any group of workers against the bosses was considered the business of the Transport Workers. He introduced the "sympathetic strike" into Ireland and by the guerilla tactics adopted, the Transport Workers demoralized the capitalist organizations until they at last determined to make a decided stand against any further advances by this fighting union.

James Connolly returned to Ireland from America in 1910 and was at once appointed an organizer for The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. He was put in charge of the Belfast office. Religious intolerance was always an obstacle in the way of organizing the Belfast workers, and so Connolly set himself the task of clearing away the differences that kept the workers apart. He succeeded in securing the same rate of pay for workers on the Belfast docks as were paid on the British Channel. Direct action was the method used in bringing the bosses to their knees. There were no long drawn-out parleys, but without a moment's notice the workers "downed tools" and pretty soon the bosses had to give in. It was this movement that the bosses set out to smash in 1913, when the employers of Dublin issued an order that all workers carrying the red badge of The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union should be refused employment.

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William Martin Murphy, boss of the industrial life of Dublin and publisher of many newspapers, one day called into his presence the dispatch staff of the Independent and told them that if they wanted to continue in his employ they must tear up their cards in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. They refused, and were fired. Next the news agency employees refused to handle the Independent, and his tramway employees, sore over the dismissal of their comrades, struck during Horse Show Week. Society people were shocked that the "lower classes" should thus interfere with their pleasures. However, the workers stood solidly by their dismissed comrades, and the battle was on. Police batoned the strikers who held meetings in the streets, and the workers retaliated by forming The Irish Citizen Army, and met force with force. From then on the bullets were flying both ways.

An incident of the struggle worth noting was the attempt on the part of a charitable lady to take the children of the workers to England and have them fed and clothed during the strike. This aroused the clergy of Dublin to a high pitch of fury, as they pretended to see in this move an effort to proselyte the children. Archbishop Walsh was more candid. He said that taking away the children to comfortable quarters would make them dissatisfied afterwards with their poor homes in Dublin. Thus the clergy, while deeply concerned over the spiritual welfare of the poor starving children, had no consideration for their starving bodies. As usual they lined up with the employers against the workers who formed the bulk of their congregations.

The struggle lasted eight months and ended indecisively. Some of the unions gave up the fight. The One Big Union, as the Transport and General Workers' Union was known, held out to the end. Larkin dwelt on the necessity of having all the workers in Ireland, regardless of industry, in one union. Today there are 150,000 members in The Transport Workers, and recently another organization was formed in the engineering trades with which the Transport Workers have reached an agreement for common action. The Transport Workers' Union is mainly composed of unskilled labor and until recently the skilled workers refused to join the unskilled. Failing to induce the engineers to join the Transport Workers, the latter organized the engineers into The Irish Engineering Union, and by a flank move accomplished their purpose. This adds sixty thousands more to the Transport Workers' Union, making the total membership now over 200,000.

After Larkin's departure for America in 1914, James Connolly was left in charge of the Union. The 1913 battle left many scars; the treasury was almost exhausted. Nothing daunted, Connolly and William O'Brien proceeded to systematically knit the scattered forces together. It was uphill work. The war in Europe was on and all the agencies of capitalism and imperialism were at work seducing the workers from their allegiance to their class

and dragooning them into the trenches of Flanders. A sign was hung over the Headquarters of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which read "We serve neither King nor Kaiser."

The Citizen Army, the armed wing of Irish labor, prepared for action, and in 1915 entered into an agreement with the Irish Volunteers to fight for an Irish Republic. In 1916 the die was cast. The declaration of Irish Independence was drafted and Connolly was made Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Republican Army. The outcome of that venture is too well known to need the relating of it here, but the consequences of Connolly's sacrifice are worth recording.

The membership of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union was only about 8,000 in 1916. Connolly's death sanctified the movement and the rank and file of the Irish workers, hitherto hostile to Connolly and the Transport Workers' Union, were convinced by his death that he was made of heroic mould, and were ready to make the greatest sacrifice for the faith that was in him. Not alone did they flock to the standard of the One Big Union in large numbers but they brought with them the fighting spirit which has enabled the Union to lay the foundation for the future industrial commonwealth—the Republic of Labor.

A few instances of the manner in which the Irish O. B. U. fights the bosses may be of interest to members of the I. W. W., which is organized on practically the same lines as The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. In 1918 the farm laborers of the County Meath had a dispute with the employers. The latter refused their demands. When the farmers proceeded to send their cattle to the English market, the railwaymen refused to handle them. The farmers then called in the drovers to take them on foot to the port of Dublin. The drovers, who are also members of the O. B. U., declined. The farmers themselves, in desperation, drove the cattle to Belfast, hoping that the Protestant workers would scab on the workers from the south. They were again mistaken. No Belfast workers could be induced to put the cattle on board ship. They brought the cattle back again to the plains of Meath. The result was the unconditional surrender of the farmers.

Another instance. In the little town of Knockalong, near Limerick, is located a creamery where butter and cheese are manufactured. The bosses refused the demands of the union for increased pay and shorter hours. The secretary of the union, who was an employee of the firm, was fired. The O. B. U. seized the factory, placed the union secretary in charge as manager, drove out the bosses, and flew the red flag and the flag of the Irish Republic over the factory, took down the sign of Cleaves Brothers, and in its place hung out in large red letters the name "The Knockalong Soviet Creamery." They paid the workers the scale of wages refused by Cleaves Bros. and shipped the butter and cheese to Belfast and other market

cities with the name Knockalong Soviet Creamery boldly displayed on the boxes. In a short time the bosses came back and asked for terms. They were allowed to take possession on condition that the union wages be paid, and it was made quite clear to them that the workers returned the factory only for the time being, the moment not yet being opportune for the final taking over of all Irish Industry.

Irish labor has consistently refused to handle shipments of ammunition, troops, or armed police, and it had the British military in such a dilemma that the latter were obliged to organize a transport system of their own. The English unions have to a great extent failed to co-operate with the Irish workers, and while they talk of solidarity they continue to ship arms and ammunition with which to shoot down their fellow workers across the channel.

The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union has sent a delegate to Moscow to attend the first Congress of the Red Trade Union International. Thus it can be seen that while the Irish workers in America are still steeped in the mire of craft unionism and are following the Gompersian parade, their comrades at home are occupying a forward position in the ranks of the revolutionary workers of Europe. The Irish Trades Union Congress is controlled by the One Big Union. The President of the Congress, Thomas Foran, is also President of the I. T. & G. W. U. The secretary of the Congress, William O'Brien (who voted for affiliation with the Third International at the last meeting of the Congress in Cork) is also treasurer of the Transport Workers, and the treasurer of the Congress, Thomas Johnston, is Secretary of the Transport Workers. Realizing that it takes a very long time to teach Marxian economics to all the workers the revolutionary leaders of the Irish labor movement face conditions as they find them, and have built the organization accordingly. In some Irish communities all workers, from schoolteacher to blacksmith, are in the O. B. U. Political action is used when considered necessary, and the military arm is not lost sight of. At the present time the political struggle in Ireland takes the centre of the stage, but the working class is only waiting for the solution of the national struggle to put its plans into operation. The revolutionary workers of England have recently declared their readiness to render assistance to the Irish workers in their struggle for independence, and this in our opinion marks the beginning of a closer relationship between the revolutionists of Great Britain and Ireland for the overthrow of the common enemy in both countries and the establishment of a Workers' Republic.

Labor League, with headquarters at 262 West 23rd St., New York City. "The Irish People" is the only publication in the United States upholding the cause of freedom for Ireland from the point of view of the revolutionary working class. It stands not only for freeing Ireland from British military and industrial domination but also for the abolition of capitalism the world over. "The Irish People" ought to be read by all true working class rebels in America.



"IS THERE AUGHT GREATER AND MIGHTIER THAN LABOR?"—De Tocqueville.

Editor's Note: Thomas J. O'Flaherty, the author of the above article, is editor of "The Irish People," the official weekly organ of the Irish American

Scenes From a Rank-and-File Convention

ALL kinds of rumors had been filtering through the ears of the Wandering Wobbly as to what the organization had been doing in the years since he began roaming around on the Eastern side of the earth.

"Every I. W. W. is in jail," said one report in a far away newspaper.

"The I. W. W. is smashed," was the triumphant headline in a second paper seen in another port. Further down in the text of the article was the statement that those who were not in jail were too busy trying to get the others out to be feared. Then, along came an old copy of "Solidarity," dated May of last year, in the pocket of a sailor, telling of a series of great strikes in the Rocky Mountains, and of further I. W. W. progress in several industries.

It was all very conflicting, and the Wandering Wobbly saw that the only way to get the facts was to return to the broad land he had left several years ago and to find out whether the job delegates were still active in the shops, mines and forests that lie between the surges of the Atlantic and the broad swells of the Pacific.

Arriving in a Western port he ran plump into a six foot lad with a bundle of "Industrial Workers" under his arm, and five minutes later was arm in arm with a job delegate who was keeping track of all incoming sea-faring men. The delegate took him around to the local headquarters, and he saw at once that there was something wrong with those newspaper reports, at least so far as this place was concerned. Here was a scene of activity, delegates coming in with reports and going out with literature and stamps. Some were off to the lumber camps, others out to construction jobs, and still others taking armfuls of literature for use in the lodging houses that roomed the unemployed.

By this time the Wandering Wobbly had time to read the "Industrial Worker" and get the news of the General Convention about to be held in Chicago, May 9th. The stuff sounded good to him and, as he had a small stake and was independent of the employment sharks for the time being, there was nothing to it but that he should take the first train for the convention and thus get an accurate line on the organization as a whole. Things surely were humming in the movement on the Pacific coast but he wanted to see what plans were being made for gaining power in the heart of American industrialism.

Lads from Far-Away.

This is the substance of the story told to the writer by one of the visitors to Phoenix Hall, as we stacked up together against the counter of the lunch room adjacent to the Convention floor, which three Wobblies are running for the convenience of the delegates. My new friend was just one of many wanderers from different parts of the world who

had come on cushions or by pick ups to get the lay of the land in the organization. It is typical of the I. W. W. that its rank and file have to see things for themselves. Sitting aside the writer at the table where we take notes, is a young fellow from Australia where the I. W. W. has been the rejuvenating force in the labor movement. He has just roughed it from New York, in three weeks of the hardest kind of traveling, to get a first hand report to forward to his fellow workers in the Antipodes. It did one's heart good to see his eyes brighten from day to day as the convention proceeded, and now he tells me that he is going on west to the harvest fields, the metal mines and the forests, where he can see the members functioning right on the jobs from which these delegates have come.

And right from their jobs at the posts of industry they have all come, except those who had temporarily lost their jobs in the unemployment shuffle. The men who draw their livelihood direct from industry make all decisions in I. W. W. conventions. Executives are allowed a voice but no vote. It is a case of the rank-and-file of the membership, from all parts of the country, meeting face to face to thrash out the policies and programs of the organization on a straightaway give and take basis.

From Forest and Mine.

Sitting around the long horseshoe table in Phoenix Hall are lumber workers from the virgin tall timber of the vast forests in the Puget Sound country and Oregon, and the short-log lands that run from Eastern Washington to Wisconsin. Then came muckers and miners from the Rocky Mountains, who have ranged with the job from the borings of Arizona and the shafts and tunnels of Nevada, to the damp corridors thousands of feet below the surface in Butte, Montana. These are followed by rangy migratory workers from the harvest fields of Kansas and the Dakotas, the construction camp men from the mid-western and far western states, and the men who pluck the golden oranges of California. They are a virile, deep chested crowd, with bold eyes, who are set straight ahead for the goal of industrial freedom.

It is a western outfit for the most part, but not entirely. There are some delegates from the docks, textile mills, metal fabricating plants and miscellaneous industries of the east, besides the railroad workers. These Eastern delegates are just as keen a lot, though of different physical make-up and manner, because they have been bred in the city instead of the camp and the field.

All for Action.

I wish that some of those students of modern sociology who love now and again to take a whirl

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at the I. W. W. and to point out their alleged abnormalities could see these lads collected together in Phoenix Hall. They are just a healthy and active body of workingmen, who think. The fact that they are more aggressive and possess more "pep" than most other thoughtful workingmen is because their ways of life have brought such qualities to the fore, and without this abounding energy and determination they could not have kept going through the terrific persecution of the last few years.

You very seldom hear these boys telling about what they did, but they tell what the organization is doing in their locality. And the reports back up their statements. What I heard a logger telling a visitor the other day is a sample of what is going on in many other places. He was telling of the I. W. W. organization in Spokane where the work is going right on in spite of the fact that the possession of an "Industrial Worker" or "Solidarity" may mean sixty days in jail, and the discovery of a card subjects one to several different kinds of charges.

"Men who are fighting through such conditions," he finished, "are fighting because they are heart and soul in the movement. They are not just emotionalists who come and who go when the thrill comes and goes, but men who are so determined that nothing can stop them.

This deep seated determination does not find expression in a lot of wild talk or revolutionary jargon. These men are too busy with the practical details of the revolution to fan the air with phrases. In fact the word "revolution" has been hardly mentioned in the convention, as indeed, why should it be? A war is not won by talk of "war" but by the systematic capture of trenches according to methods worked out by careful planning.

Organization the Watchword.

"Organization" is really the watchword of the convention. Everything else is subordinated to that in the minds of the delegates, because they have learned by experience that nothing else gets them anywhere. They tell me that the 1919 Convention was more or less of a defense convention. The delegates were thinking of getting the boys out of jail as much as of organizing the industries, and no wonder, with harrowing stories reaching them every week of the tortures inflicted in the revolving hell at Wichita and in the other prisons scattered over the land. And the 1920 convention, also, leaned very much in the same direction. But here and now in Phoenix Hall organization is supreme. The carefully prepared reports of John Martin and George Williams, Defense Secretaries, received due consideration in passing, and then the convention went on with organization work.

There was just a flash of the 1919 psychology the second day of the convention, when a delegate made a sudden motion that telegrams of good cheer be sent to all class war prisoners. But he was cut short, just as suddenly, by an impatient delegate who shouted:

"What's the use of burning up good money on capitalist wires. They can't eat it and we can't organize with it."

No telegram was sent, though the hat was passed for some physical comforts for the men in jail, and the organization business went on.

Phoenix Hall at present is like a mirror of the industrial movement because it has brought together from all parts of the country the rank and file who have nothing to conceal from each other. The outstanding characteristic of them all is this practical, hard-hitting attitude of mind. It is a pleasure to walk around from one to another, and to listen. I was talking the other day to a sturdy, gray haired lumber worker from the Pacific coast whose class struggle battles go back to his Massachusetts carpenter days in 1880. He did very little reminiscing. His conversation ran to the future. He was planning a march on the upper reaches of British Columbia with other job delegates. New timber lands are being opened there and he saw the necessity of building the organization up with the industry. Then another lumber worker came along with the facts about the wonderful forests of lower Oregon and Northern California where intensive development is about to begin and which the union, looking ahead, is already preparing to organize.

Industrial Strategy.

Then I listened in on the conversation of two copper miners who were debating as to whether the evidence showed the Coeur d'Alenes would be worked out in a few years or not. They wanted their foot-loose job delegates to go where permanent organization could be built. A lumber worker joined them, and they all agreed that the I. W. W. from now on should pay stricter attention to the actual facts of industry so that energy could be centered on the strategic places.

This emphasis on industrial strategy was shown by a Duluth chap, among others. He was not thinking in terms of herding a lot of workers together off the job, nor of having a society of rebels merely, such as a lot of off-the-job revolutionists think of, but of getting power through control of industry.

"Up there," he was saying, "we are in the iron mines. Now some boys are doing good work in the railroad lines that carry the ore away. When we have the mines and the railroads that carry the iron we have the steel industry by the neck."

Just the day before a big check had come from Duluth for literature.

A Textile Worker's Map.

Another day a delegate from the textile mills of New England was exhibiting a set of colored maps, prepared by himself, showing the location of the woolen and cotton branches of the textile industry. This is his method of convincing his fellow Wobblies that the headquarters of his industrial union should be located in the East where the industry is centered, rather than in Chicago. Whether he is wrong or right is not the question

here: the interesting thing is that he knows the I. W. W. well enough to waste no time in making any kind of an argument about industrial union tactics without the proper industrial data to drive home his point.

"Talk about volunteer bureaus of industrial research!" said one of the delegates who had been arguing that every union should have the basic facts on its industry, "look at that."

The actual carving out of the program of action for the coming year, which is being expectantly awaited, will begin this coming week. During these first six days of the convention the time has been largely spent in receiving and discussing reports of the work of the last year, and laying down measures of discipline. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the delegates made thorough work of what disciplinary jobs came up for action.

Two full days were spent in hearing all sides of the much talked-of "Philadelphia case" in which the General Executive Board, last December, suspended a branch of Marine Transport Workers for charging a twenty-five dollar initiation fee in violation of the constitutional clause calling for a universal two dollar entrance fee. The Convention voted by a large majority to sustain the Board.

Way Open for Return.

This decision to keep twenty-eight hundred water front workers, who load the ships along a full twenty-eight miles of Delaware River docks, out of the I. W. W. was not entered into lightly, and immediately after the disciplinary action had been taken the Convention went on record for the reinstatement of the Philadelphia branch as soon as it would agree to conform to the constitution.

These longshoremen, grain ceilers and checkers have been a part of the I. W. W. for years, and last summer went through a vigorous seven weeks' strike which is well remembered on the Atlantic seaboard. But the policy of turning the union into a "job trust" by a twenty-five dollar barrier against other workingmen, aroused such protests from so many parts of the I. W. W. that the G. E. B. felt itself obliged to act, and last October the local was notified that it must conform to the constitution. On the Philadelphians refusing to give up the twenty-five dollar fee they were automatically suspended until the General Convention should meet.

Similar action was taken with the strong little Italian baker's local of New York City, which has "job control" of some twenty bakeries and was suspended for insisting on a fifteen dollar initiation fee.

Seeing Their Job.

Turning from "job control" to the more essential matter of industrial control the Convention is

adopting, as this is being written, a resolution calling for a survey of industrial resources and the co-operation of the engineer and technician in preparation for the actual administration of industry by the workers themselves. The Lumber Workers' Convention held in April adopted a plan for a volunteer bureau of industrial research for that industry and the whole trend of industrial unionism today is towards a more definite industrial basis. Capitalistic production is breaking down and the intelligent worker is equipping himself for the crisis.

Another resolution declares that all I. W. W. propaganda, during the unemployment crisis, must be directed towards the control of industry by the workers.

Irish Workers Greeted.

So that's that, as the Wandering Wobbly said; but before this winds up let's see what the Wobblies think of Ireland. You know Fellow Worker Jim Connolly who led the armed workingmen of Dublin in Easter Week, 1916, was an I. W. W. organizer in the early days of the movement over here. And the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which he and Jim Larkin helped to bring into existence is now the most vital force in Ireland and is on a thorough going O. B. U. basis. And it is being persecuted with all the rigor used against our boys on the west coast. So what could the Convention do but give its endorsement to the "struggle which the Irish workers are now waging against world imperialism," to quote the special resolution brought in from the Butte branch and passed.

Jack Tanner Here.

The Industrial International and the question of knitting the revolutionary labor movements of Latin America with the I. W. W. will come up later. When the across-the-seas issues are on the floor we will hear something from a quiet English workingman who has been sitting in as a fraternal delegate. This is Jack Tanner, representative of the Workers' Committee of England, a live industrializing movement.

An interview with Tanner is found on other pages of the "Pioneer."

This will be all for the present, but if you read your "Pioneer" next month you will get the organization program which the boys are working out. It will be a 1921 application of the ever useful doctrine of "direct action at the point of production," and if you are not a Wobbly and able to guess what they will do just read and find out.

And now again, good-bye for the month, but first let me give you a tip, I'd still be talking if I were not so anxious to get back to the Convention floor with the boys who do things, those live wires, the Industrial Workers of the World.

A. S.

Siberian Reminiscences

By Capt. L. M. Beilin, M. D.

FIELD Hospital No. 4 of the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia was attached to the 27th Infantry. In the summer of 1919 we were stationed at Verkhne Udinsk, a town of about 20,000 inhabitants near Lake Baikal, about 2000 miles in the interior of the country.

Contrary to our expectations, the summer was very hot, with the mercury climbing up to about 100 degrees during the day, and coming down to 60 in the evening. Our camp was located on a hill amidst a thick, virgin pine forest on the banks of the Selenga River. It was an ideal spot for summer outings. This was the farthest point west reached by American forces and constituted "the zone of advance." Frankly speaking, none of us knew exactly why our post was dignified by such a high sounding name, nor where we were advancing to, and still less why we were there.

As the weather was extremely salutary, the Medical Staff of the Field Hospital, in the absence of "business," was merely marking time. The only busy spot in the hospital was the G. U. or Urological Department. Our Regiment consisted of old-time regulars from the Philippines, a large percentage of whom were infected with the so-called "Society Bugs," representing all the known varieties of diseases "peculiar to men."

Under our jurisdiction was the American Sector of the Trans-Siberian Railway, and the 27th Infantry was doing guard duty on the railroad. Our guards were stationed at the railroad depot, at the bridge over the Selenga River, the water works and other points of strategic importance, to prevent their capture by the Bolsheviki.

At first, when the game was still young, much expectancy and some interest were displayed by our men over the possibility of sudden attack or night raids by the terrible "Bolshies," which had been predicted by the men higher up, at headquarters, but alas! as time went on and these attacks failed to materialize, the Russian bear making no appearance, guarding lost much of its prestige and military significance, and our men had become prone to take their duties in a lighter vein.

Naturally, when a body of men have no real work to do and plenty of time to do it in, their so-called "morale" as well as morals suffer correspondingly. The C. O.—that is, the Commanding Officer—and our Regimental Padre, Chaplain W., exhibited grave concern over the rapidly deteriorating moral status of their flock, and were at a loss to find the proper remedy. A spirit of ever-increasing restlessness hung heavily over the camp; the usual cry of our doughboys, "I want to go home!" was heard everywhere.

News that a company of American troops (company "I" of the 21st Regiment) had mutinied on the Archangel front somehow reached our camp and created a profound impression. The situation was getting rather tense! We were all awaiting orders from headquarters, and no orders came. But vodka—to which our men had taken very kindly—and women who, in return, took kindly to our men—saved the situation.

Thus had Americans carried the Gospel of Democracy and Freedom to barbarous Russia. "O Tempora! O Mores!"

On July 15th I was ordered to proceed to Vladivostok in charge of a detail of sick men. At our Field Hospital we had only emergency equipment, and those seriously ill or chronically disabled were shipped to the Base or Evacuation Hospital at Vladivostok. There were twenty men, all "slightly damaged," who were going away for "repairs," and some for "discharge"; they were the "backwash of war." An old dilapidated coach of the fourth class—Russian railway coaches were divided into four classes—was commandeered by us. We had improvised a cook stove and drew our rations for sixteen days. We placed the very ill into lower "berths," while the two upper tiers were taken up by the others. This "sanitary" coach of ours was attached to the rear of a long procession of box cars carrying Russian refugees, Japanese, Czecho-Slovaks, Cossacks, soldiers and other travelers de luxe. In better days, this trip of 2000 miles would have taken about five days to make, but at this time the road was badly crippled and we were expected to be at least two weeks en route. The prospect of this extended journey was accepted by our men with mixed emotions, though most of us were glad to break the monotony and weariness of camp life, and were looking forward with pleasant expectation.

The Siberian summer was at its height. Our "ark" rolled along at a rate of 15 miles per hour. The side-door Pullman, as our car was christened by the men, squeaked and jerked as it rolled over the rusty rails. It is difficult to appreciate the beauty, the immensity and the possibilities of Siberia unless one travels over this vast territory. This part of Siberia is thinly populated by about one million people, mostly Cossacks and Russian colonists. We traveled for hours and hours without seeing a living soul, with here and there an occasional village station, a straw-covered hut or a log cabin. We passed through vast, limitless steppes, grain fields, grazing lands and rich virgin forests. We zigzagged around mountains and hills whose tops were covered with everlasting snow. We passed



Group of Russian Peasant Girls.

through numberless tunnels. As we rode through the Gobi Desert we saw long caravans drawn by camels or oxen, laden with raw materials—hide, fur, silks, and other merchandise from Mongolia and China. The air was charged with oriental lassitude and sweet, infectious languor. Space and time had ceased to exist.

Here and there we could discern in the distance the framework of a lone, neglected mine. Some foreigner, a Frenchman, German or Belgian, had perhaps attempted to explore these vastly rich mineral deposits, but war and revolution had halted his efforts. Untold quantities of platinum, gold, silver, iron, tin, aluminum, copper, lead, petroleum and coal lay dormant in the ground. What wealth was lying here beneath our feet, waiting patiently for a better day, for someone to rescue it from the bowels of Mother Earth! In our minds we gazed upon these wondrous gifts of Nature, and contemplated the hidden treasures with mixed feelings of sadness and regret.

Reality, indeed, is stranger than fiction, and facts are often more complex than theories. Russia is a land of paradoxes and Siberia is a country of contrasts.

Here, amidst these wondrous riches of Nature, we saw everywhere misery, poverty and desolation. On rocks of gold man built his decaying civilization. Misery, in fact, was so universal here that it had lost its novelty and sting. The masses who always had been poor were stripped of their last worldly possessions by war and revolution.

People everywhere were dressed in worn, torn garments, and were often shoeless. Their facial expression bespoke ages of misery, of suffering and of pain. Immense crowds of refugees were seen at every depot, railway yard and station. With their clothing, bedding, food and the inevitable tea-kettle strapped to their backs they passed in endless procession, riding box-cars, passenger trains, on mule or ox-driven carts, or on foot. In a constant, never-ending stream they went on and on, whereto we did not know and, alas! they often did not know themselves. It was a huge human wave surging without apparent aim or destination. The Civil War was on and they were driven back by

the retreating Kolchak Army. They left behind them their worldly possessions and many perished on the way from hunger and exposure. It was a great mess of "just folks" who were longing for peace and the opportunity to cultivate their strips of land. The majority of them were old men and women, since the young and able-bodied men had gone to war. This was the great, patient, long-enduring Russian people.

In the glorious sunset they often gathered in small groups crooning their old Slavic folk-songs or chanting Gregorian hymns. Here and there along the roadside we saw figures of peasants bending over the earth and cultivating it in the same primitive manner as their forefathers had done some thousand years ago.

"After all," we sadly mused, "the mills of God do grind, but they grind exceedingly slow," for here we saw civilization practically at a standstill.

Our engine moaned and groaned as it pulled up the hills. We stopped at every little station and cross-roads, and changed our engine at every division point. We were talking a "close-up" of the country and its people. Everything was enveloped in war clouds. The evidences of the class struggle were present everywhere. We met many of the old "intelligentsia" who had sacrificed their youth and their lives for the promise of a happier Russia, paving the way for the present revolution. They were the advance guard of the army of revolt, the few remaining survivors of the party of "People's Will" of the middle Seventies. They were the torch carriers of the new freedom, the real Nestors of Revolution.

On closer observation we soon discovered that most of the peasants we met had organized themselves into fighting bands, which came to be called Partisans. The Partisans, as a rule, were very poorly armed, badly officered and scantily clad. They were not a regular fighting body, and from the military standpoint could not seriously be considered as constituting an army. They were engaged mostly in guerilla warfare and knew nothing of modern military tactics and organization. They had but



Ataman Semenoff (In the Centre) and his Staff.



"Navigating" Across the Gobi Desert.

vague acquaintance with the Bolsheviks and their principles. In fact, they were often openly antagonistic to the communistic schemes and were opposed to the nationalization of the land. However, the majority of them, though not Bolsheviks, were in full accord and sympathy with the Soviets.

To our Yanks all this was quite a revelation. Ignorance of world events and international politics is characteristic of Americans. They were victims of the Allied campaign of calumny and "Schrecklichkeit" and of our unconquerable "Schadenfreude"—the will to believe the worst.

Siberia was passing through the pangs of parturition, and her two self-appointed accoucheurs—the Japanese and the Cossacks—were administering Twilight Sleep.

The Siberian Cossacks—the marauding bands of Russo-Mongol hordes—were a law unto themselves, recognizing no superior but the wild, young relic of Genghis Khan, the picturesque, brutal brigand chief—the Russian Villa—Ataman Semenov. The Cossacks were crowding the big cities, theatres, cabarets, and were parading down the streets in their freshly imported English and Japanese accoutrements. They never went near the front, and served as the "rear guards"—the guardians of law and order. Their cruelties and inhumanities beggar all description. With their guardian angels and protectors, the Japanese, they were torturing and terrorizing the civilian population.

The Siberians we met, notwithstanding their characteristic multiplicity of contrasts and contradictions, were all in unison on one point. They were all united by a common hatred for the Japanese. This hatred was at times so intense, that it almost simulated religious fervor. It was not a

matter of racial or religious antipathy, since they lived in perfect harmony with their other neighbors, the Chinese, Koreans and others. The indignities and outrages of the late Russo-Japanese war were not yet forgotten by them, and now, like a serpent, like a boa-constrictor, Japan had encircled in her ghastly grasp the prostrate giant, and had crushed his very back. Japan's present *modus operandi* is quite simple—those who seem undesirable to the Japanese are declared to be Bolsheviks or Korean revolutionists, which is synonymous with being outlawed. We witnessed wholesale executions by the Japanese at Khabarovsk, Spasskoe and Blagovestchensk.

In some places the Japanese compel the suspected Bolsheviks to dig their own graves, before beheading them. Punitive expeditions, singly or in co-operation with the Cossacks, scour the country, leaving behind them a trail of death and desolation. The terrorized population would take to the hills, willing to meet death in an unequal fight with the cruel Siberian elements, in preference to the iniquities and inhumanities of their persecutors. The Nikolaievsk massacre is but an echo, a natural outcome of the pent-up fury and hatred of the natives for the Japanese.

To the Japanese, Siberia evidently is not a Russian problem but an integral part of their Far Eastern policy. It is a field for the realization of high ambitions.

At the time we departed for America life in the Far East was dying away completely. The railroads were not functioning because the railway men were being terrorized, abused and brutalized by Japanese soldiers. The workers quit the factories and fled to the hills, in order to get away from the horrors that were reigning at the places occupied by the soldiers. They preferred death to servitude to Japan.

On May 9th, 1920, all Socialist organizations at Vladivostok issued the following appeal:

"We appeal to you, workers of the world, to help us bring our revolutionary fight to a victorious end. Japan, together with other interventionists, has sent her troops to Siberia. The Governments of all these countries that participated in the intervention bear responsibility for the horrors that we are enduring here at the hands of Japan. Demand of your Government energetically to interfere and compel Japan to withdraw her troops, thus sparing the population of the Far East the terrors of the Middle Ages."

FACTS

WE OF the I. W. W. must always unflinchingly face facts. There has at all times been a tendency among us to lose sight of facts in our advocacy of theory. We must realize that all real theories are products of facts, proven by experience and experiment. We must accept no theory that has not been so proven. And when the facts show that some particular theory which has been generally accepted in the past will no longer hold good in the light of present day facts that theory must be discarded or amended to jibe with the facts. Otherwise we cut the foundation from under our own feet and render ourselves objects of ridicule.

The science of chemistry is based on theories which are the result of experiment; that is, it is based on facts. Many of the theories held by chemists twenty years ago as infallible have in late years been discarded or amended, as new facts, resulting from continual experiment, were brought to light. A true scientist follows his work with an open mind, guided by all theories which have been demonstrated to his satisfaction, but bound by none of them; never trying to force facts to fit into a pet theory.

Let us examine a few of our most quoted theories and see if they follow logically from demonstrated facts.

Many of us in the last two years have proclaimed that the capitalist system will fall of its own rotten weight and that the task of the I. W. W. is to educate and organize the workers so that when this collapse occurs the workers can take over and manage and operate for themselves the mines, mills, factories, etc., that comprise the industrial life of the capitalist system. The implication, sometimes spoken, sometimes left unsaid, is that we have no intention of forcibly overthrowing the capitalist system, and that such a change can be accomplished without bloodshed.

This is a very comfortable assumption, based rather upon a demonstrated theory than present day facts. Marx has shown that the capitalist system contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Add to this our own belief that the structure of the new society can be formed within the shell of the old, and it is easy to deduce that our chief task is to continue the work of education and organization among the slaves until the time comes for the capitalist to step out and the worker to step in. This would presumably also make us a "legal" organization, under the capitalist laws "theoretically" free to do business without being interfered with or persecuted.

A brief quotation from an article in *One Big Union Monthly* for October, 1920, by Sandgren, on "Solving the Social Problem through Economic Direct Action," is a case in point. In this I am not

singling out Sandgren, for the writer himself on several occasions has implied this solution of the social problem. The quotation follows:

"The very presence of social organs like the ones we are building will in the final crisis be sufficient to make desperate people turn to the solution we offer. If people keep their self-control and adopt our program, no political revolution such as contemplated by the "communists," is needed. Any set of fools can make a bloody revolution, but it takes a sensible man like the I. W. W. to attempt a complete economic revolution without bloodshed."

In stressing this idea, this theory, are we sure of our facts? If the theory follows logically from proven facts, then the present day crises (I. W. W. strikes, demonstrations, etc.) should be as free from bloodshed, arrests and other trouble, as the "final crisis" promises to be. What do we find? Deportations, beatings, arrests, killings, lynchings, Lawrence, Bisbee, Tulsa, Everett, Butte, Centralia. And why? Because, as far as lies in its power, the capitalist system will not allow any organization of workers to exist which even remotely threatens the existence of the capitalist system. That it is not able to prevent the growth of the I. W. W. and other radical organizations, does not change the fact. The capitalist system uses and will continue to the last to use force to maintain itself, and therefore any organization of workers presuming to pit itself against this system which maintains itself by force and violence, must be an organization prepared to fight its way from the start, and prepared to face capitalist force with a superior force when the final crisis is at hand.

In presenting this, I am not swinging over to the communist theory of political mass-action. Neither am I advocating that we discard the work being done at present in the line of educating the workers so they will have as nearly as possible a complete knowledge of the industries in which they are working. This line of work is of great present and future value, and should be continued and enlarged upon as rapidly as funds and circumstances will permit.

There is no dispute as to the Marxian theory that capitalism contains within itself the seed of its own disintegration, and must eventually collapse, whether overthrown by superior working class force, by its own inability to continue operation of the industries, or by the crash of its pyramided financial system. I would like to be fully in accord with our Preamble that "by organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." But if, in the face of the bloody struggle which the workers in all organizations are today engaged, we fool ourselves by claiming that we can afford to wait for the collapse of the

capitalist system and by that time be ready to peaceably take possession of the industries, as far as the I. W. W. is concerned the new society within the shell is apt to die of inanition before the shell is ready for the pecking.

Theories and blueprints of our future operations are all very well and the academic discussions arising therefrom are very interesting. But the I. W. W. is a fact today because from the start its members have been fighters. Our history has been militant and we have at all times shown our greatest strength when hardest pressed.

In our battles we have made mistakes, a good many mistakes, and through these mistakes we have benefited. The lesson driven home to the rank and file of our members during strikes and persecutions is that the workers must build up and concentrate through industrial unionism, a force sufficient to overcome the force of the boss in a local or general contest, and sufficient to overcome the force the capitalists have at their disposal when the "final crisis" is upon us.

The "war" between the capitalist and the worker, the class struggle, started with the coming into power of the capitalist system. It has been for the most part guerilla warfare, with occasionally a pitched battle. When the I. W. W. came into existence it provided for the workers in America their first real opportunity to fight the boss with weapons nearly as efficient as his own. Of late other organizations have been formed which put forward theories and claims that they equally as well or better than the I. W. W. function as the fighting organization in which the rank and file of the workers can offer battle to the boss with the best material results for themselves.

And the rank and file of the workers will not be won over by theories, blueprints and academic discussions. They intuitively sense the class struggle, and they will instinctively go to the organization which proves by its everyday acts that it is best fitted to fight and win the workers' battles. You cannot fool them as to the facts. The boss knows that any organization of workers he cannot absolutely control is against his interests, and he will fight that organization, either openly by force or covertly in the attempt to gain control. The workers in the basic industries know that they are being robbed in their fight for existence and, even if only vaguely, know that robbery is committed at the point of production. Education among these workers is necessary but the education that will bring the best results for the I. W. W. is the acknowledgment by the workers in general that the organization is committed to a continuous tactical and physical struggle against all that the capitalist system represents—off the job, on the job, day after day and year after year, until that "final crisis" gives them the op-

portunity to take over for themselves all they themselves have created. Peaceably?—Not while there is a remnant of the capitalist class capable of fooling simpletons into fighting its battles. Then, as all the facts point the way for us, by a force superior to the force of the capitalist.

As an organization we have much to lose and little to gain by glossing over the facts of the class struggle. With our heads in the clouds of theory as to the future development of the organization, our eyes may be unable to discern the pitfalls spread at our feet. Let us keep firmly on the basis of the class struggle, ready at all times to fight the battles of the workers. Our organization will take form as we progress as a fighting organization. Any attempt to make the organization appear "legal" will be of no avail. If it is pronounced "legal" by the capitalist system through their courts, it will be in fact "illegal" for the workers, for it will then have passed under the control of the boss. When we fight, we grow, in spite of prosecutions and persecutions. And as we continue to fight we will attract to our banner the best of the militant workers who have not yet thrown in their lot with us.

By Card No. 56763

Spring and Hope

Beautiful night
Full of delight
Moon shining bright
In sky so blue.
Twinkling stars, too,
Wonderful hue.
Balmy winds blow.
Trees whispering low
Send aroma aflow.

Oh, what peace, Oh, what bliss
We've been waiting for this.
The world glistens anew.
Nature's calling to you.

Awake, Oh, ye workers,
Be happy again.
'Tis not for the shirkers
Whose life is in vain.
'Tis for you, all for you,
So be hopeful and true,
So be joyful and do.
Do claim it, yes, do.
'Tis for you, ALL for you.

—Violet Kaminsky.

A Convention of the Union of Union Officials

Reported and Illustrated by Our Special Correspondent I. Shothemup.

ARRAYED in gaudy garments (with the Union Label conspicuously sewed on their coat lapels) the delegates from the "Conglomerated Mixture of Union Employees" met in the Soup Slopper's Auditorium on the first...no, dear reader, not the first of May, but on the much more appropriate date, the first of June.

Among the delegates present was that old battle-scarred war-mule, Mr. Dandruff Bumpers. It is said by malicious persons that he is so fond of scrapping that the economic world with all its terrors cannot provide him with sufficient pastime, and so he has again delved into the unknown quantity (the land of matrimony) in order to have his pugnacious appetite somewhat appeased. We wish him success. We know, Mr. Bumpers, it will be recalled, was lately

re-elected to the munificent position of President of the Ancient Federation of Button Pushers. His striking success in the election was partly due to the singular fact



Slimy Waters, Secretary-Treasurer of "Dishwashers' Helpers Union."



Dandruff Bumpers, President of the "Ancient Federation of Button Pushers."

that he was—whether there is any documentary evidence to substantiate the claim we do not know—the only candidate for the office. It has been alleged, presumably by persons of a slanderous turn of mind, that the "Slugging Crew" (whatever that may be) used exceedingly persuasive methods in inducing all other would-be candidates to withdraw in favor of Mr. Bumpers. The election, it is said, indicates the popularity of Mr. Bumpers in his union—with the "Slugging Crew."

On glancing around the hall, I was much surprised to notice the celebrated Mr. Slimy Waters. Mr. Waters has just recovered from an acute attack of "Exageratus Dishwashitis," received while performing his bounden duty of collecting



John Crokem, General Organizer for the "Door Knob Polishers' Union."

dues—and over-dues—from his constituency. The miserable conditions under which his "lambs" labor are so gruesome that Mr. Waters was really overcome with grief and nausea. He has promised to poke his nose into the business of the Hotel Owners and see if things cannot be remedied—as dues are coming in pretty slow and the expense of keeping his spirit toned up to the proper pitch becoming to a man occupying his exalted station in life is rather high. The Eighteenth Amendment has certainly turned upside down many an orderly man's life.

No one who had known him in childhood would have believed that some day John Crokem would rise to the position of General Organizer for that famous army of public servants, the Door-Knob Polishers. Here is a brief summary of Crokem's philosophy as told by himself, and which, as a matter of fact, is told every time he has occasion to address his fellow union members, which occurs as often as there is a meeting:

"Say, you guys, if you think dat dis union ain't like it aught to be, you jes get up here an' say so. When I was a kid down at der stockyards, we dint take no guff from nobody. We jes says, says we, dat tings is all O. K., and der guy wot don't tink so too, don't ever tink any more, no, an' he don't do nuthin' else any more either. See, get me? We's running a reglar union and anybody wot don't like it can get out."

The next delegate to attract my attention was Mr. Dennis McCrackin, made famous by George McManus of "Bringing up Father" fame. Dennis is neither eloquent nor elegant, but Lor' love us, when it comes to fixin'-up those "unortherized strikes," Dinny has no equal. He just expels all the unruly agitators and replaces them with loyalists. His supporters claim that Dennis is a credit to the Irish race, but I have it on the authority of a son of Erin fresh from the old country sod that the Sinn Feiners would proclaim him a native of Zululand by a unanimous vote.

"The idea," says Dennis, "of those divils



Dennis McCrackin

Recording Secretary of the "Hod Carriers' Helpers Union."



Bluffem Moore, Candidate for Congress on the "Friends of Labor Party" Ticket.

breakin' their sacred coneract when it took me and Paddy Murphy, Mr. President, a week to arrange it. There'll be no stroikes unless I say so."

We take pleasure in mentioning the presence of Mr. Bluffem Moore. Knowing how inadequate our power of description is, we will let Mr. Moore speak for himself. The following is a stenographic report of a speech delivered by him at the opening of the Convention:

"Mr. Chairman Bumpers and fellow citizens:

As I glance over the intelligent countenances of you assembled delegates (loud applause) I boil with enthusiasm for the great cause of labor. (Hear! Hear!) I have always felt a deep sympathy with you down-trodden workers; in fact, I am one of you. (Highly emotional applause.) Your cause is one of righteousness and justice, and your unions are doing a grand and noble work (outbursts of cheering and hand clapping), but unless you send me



Sacrificial Savant, Editor of "Labor's Friend."

to Congress to safeguard the interests of the weary toiler, I am afraid all of your heroic efforts will have been in vain." (Long and continued clapping and shouts of "Good old Bluffem, the grand old man! We'll elect you, old pal!" etc.)

We have heard of some wonderful acts of self-abnegation, but never of such a one as that of Mr. Sacrificial Savant, the editor of "Labor's Friend." Mr. Savant is a member of the aristocracy, and was once very prominent in society. He held the dignified position of editor of a well known Furniture Catalogue but gladly gave it up in order to become editor of "Labor's Friend."

He is an altruist of the first water and religiously believes that the working class will only be saved when "Society," meaning the 400, will condescend to come down to its rescue.

Unemployment and the Way Out

By Jan Rus

UPON one thing the employers of this country are united, and that is the dissolution of the trades unions and other labor organizations by fair means or foul. To bring about the demobilization of the workers in specific incidents the employers do not fail to use whichever method promises most. In this they are aided by the governments, state and federal, and by national detective agencies; the former by means of injunctions, repressive laws and by furnishing troops as strike-breakers, and the latter by playing both sides of their own peculiar game against the middle. These are two fields the employers have learned to cultivate. With labor once beaten to the ground it will be an easy matter to reduce the workers to a state of peonage. By the creation of unemployment periods, of industrial depression and panic, by forcing the men and women who keep the wheels of industry going, into accepting any terms, the employers already are well on their way to realize their undertaking.

The workers find themselves in the position of outlaws in their own land and more and more it is being demonstrated that they have no country they can call their own. Dispossessed long ago of any permanent stake in the country of their birth or adoption they turn in vain to leaders who shall realize for them their hopes. Their unions, for one reason or other, fail them. Promises go by the board and disillusioned in that direction they easily fall prey once again for the political pimps and prostitutes, who, in turn, are swayed hither and thither by pressure exerted by the real rulers of the nation, the men who control its industries and commerce.

The fetishes of nationalism serve to draw attention from the primary cause, the accumulation of profits. Now and then the stake becomes too big for the conjuror and his mystery is shown up for what it is—trickery. The first exposure the people forget; the second, forgive, but the next one, when they see they are being victimized, will prompt them either to refute the conjuror and substitute another or else to turn from this diversion to realities and the more potent issue of attending to their own miserable plight.

These controllers of the nation's produce, mines, mills and transportation are at present making a great appeal to their staunchest supporters, the members of middle-classes, those deluded beings who see as their only hope for happiness in the world the accumulation of wealth. That being so they cannot fail to see in every move the money-possessors make the only salvation for a superficially peaceful nation in a turbulent world. And

the banner under which they are being urged to march is inscribed "The American Plan." Others recognize it as the "open shop," still others as the closed shop, closed to organized workers.

This plan, ostensibly appealing to the "fairness" supposed to be inborn in all native Americans, is making greater inroads into the American labor movement than most of us think. It has the endorsement of all the chambers of commerce, of the banks and the trusts, the Sherman and Lever acts notwithstanding. Now, with the increase of unemployment due to the closing down of shops and factories, it is a comparatively easy task to compel the workers to accept wages far below the standards of living set by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Once this is gained the next step is to refuse to employ union labor. What is the result? The unions, weakened by the non-payment of dues and a decrease in membership, find themselves in the position where they are unable to control conditions, let alone dictate them. How can they function in industries only partially unionized? And that is what the employers are after; to weaken the labor organizations so that they will fall to pieces of their own accord. When the labor power of the country is no longer a unit, or composed of several interlocking units, the way to a complete subjection of the worker is simple.

There is not an industry of importance in the United States that since the war has not suffered a general reduction in wages. There is not an industry in the country that is not squarely facing unemployment. There is not an industry in the country in which the "open shop" issue is not to be met. The employers are organized through the banking system to fight labor to a finish. And the workers are not organized.

Were unemployment the general thing, rather than the exception—for after all 4,000,000 is a small minority of the nation's population—there might be some grounds for expecting an overthrow of capitalism and the rebuilding of society upon an equitable foundation. But the fact is far otherwise. With the workers forced in the long run to accept wage reductions the submission gives the capitalists the weapon they need, a telling argument against starvation and the futility of the strike. This is being well illustrated in the case of the railroad workers.

Representatives of the railroad workers from time to time appear before the United States Railroad Labor Board to argue against any wage reductions. Their main line of argument is that the present living costs do not warrant any cuts, inasmuch as before the war wages were by no means commen-

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

surate with the cost of living. No decisions as yet have been made but a striking example of what the carriers may do in the event of, for them, adverse decisions, is the Atlanta, Birmingham and Atlantic Railway.

The A. B. & A. over a month ago posted up receivership notices and an order signed by a judge of the United States District Court in Atlanta announcing that wages had been reduced; this after the Railroad Labor Board had ruled it could not act in the controversy. This may be regarded in the light of a test case, especially in view of the threat of General Atterbury of the Pennsylvania railroad that the roads of the country were facing bankruptcy. And figures submitted by directors of the A. B. & A. showed that trackmen in the South are getting 90 cents a day.

Wages in the steel industry, employing over 200,000 men, have been cut. Coal mines in many places are closed. The Seamen's International is facing a crisis. The building trades are practically at a standstill, contractors preferring lockouts rather than continue to pay \$1.25 an hour to mechanics, a by no means high wage. In the cotton belt imported Mexicans are starving.

The garment workers in the East are on strike, have been for several weeks, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers face damage suits running into millions of dollars, filed by the manufacturers on the trumped-up charge of restraint of trade. Forty-thousand clothing workers in Chicago a month ago were compelled to accept a revision of wages downwards by a decision of the impartial chairman of the joint board of manufacturers and union representatives. The packing industry, it is safe to assume, will face a cut next fall when the packers will apply for the abrogation of the three-cornered agreement between them, the workers and the government. So bad have conditions become in Arizona that in many of the towns in that state men are offering themselves for three meals a day, willing to forego remuneration of any kind rather than face starvation.

International May Day found 315,000 men in important industries in the United States out on strike, as follows: Merchant marine workers, 140,000; paper mill workers, 25,000; printers and allied trades, 50,000; and building trades, 100,000. Wade H. Skinner, acting director-general of the United States Employment Service has this to say on unemployment:

"Despite popular belief that unemployment throughout the country has gradually lessened over the April period, actual figures compiled by the United States Employment Service of the department of labor reveal that conditions at the close of April are four per cent worse than at the close of March."

Iron and steel dullness has been practically responsible for much unemployment in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Plants show a decrease of employment of 30,055 or seven per cent for the month. In

many cities continued stagnation in building trades, due to combined high costs of materials and unsettled wage controversies between employers and workers, has affected large numbers and in general retarded increased activity in other lines. This same dullness in building has been reflected in either suspended or part-time operations in western coast lumber producing regions.

According to William Green, secretary of the United Mine Workers, 150,000 miners are out of work, and 300,000 working only two or three days a week besides.

Yet while hundreds of thousands of men go hungry and beg for bread it is a fact that the country is richer than ever before. The per capita money circulation of the nation, according to recent statements put out by the treasury department, is \$55.60 as compared with \$31.71 on March 1, 1913. That represents an increase of 63 per cent, and in 1913 unemployment was the exception. Why, then, when the vaults of the United States treasury are bulging with gold and when there is more money in circulation than ever before, should men, women and children go half-starved and unclothed?

The case of the seamen will show that the very life of the unions is being threatened. Not only are the shipowners bent on breaking the backs of the unions but the government, of which Admiral Benson, as chairman of the United States Shipping Board, is the mouthpiece, is directly behind them.

Secretary of Labor J. J. Davis held half a dozen conferences in the first week of the struggle which began May 1 with the leaders on both sides. Admiral Benson, with 47 years of training as a naval officer, was not much interested in mending the break he had caused between the organized seamen and engineers and the shipowners. It was he who later announced that he would take over every one of the ships belonging to steamship lines that signed up with the unions at the old rate of wages. This hostile move of Benson's can be construed only in one way.

President Harding has not called upon the shipping board to be even neutral in the dispute, nor has the president undertaken seriously to settle the strike. He permits Benson, on the one hand, to try to smash the union by boycott upon fair employing companies, and on the other he permits Secretary Davis to plead with the Marine Engineers and Seamen to submit to a reduction in pay and a lowering of standards in the industry. If President Harding wants the strike settled on terms which will permit the unions to live he can settle it by a word to Benson at any moment. If he withholds that instruction it is because he chooses to experiment in breaking the maritime workers' organization; after the maritime workers who may be next to feel the mailed fist of "normalcy?"

Is there a remedy for conditions like these? Yes, if the workers are prepared for still harder times. A way out is indicated by District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers. John Brophy, president of

District No. 2, is issuing pamphlets advocating workers' control of the coal industry of the nation. Workers' education is one of the essentials, although to be sure, the workers may be the most highly educated persons in the world, culturally and industrially and socially, without thereby gaining control of industry. There is only one way, and the people of America must face the fact. Only the seizure by them of land and the industries can bring Americans back into their own. All the rest is opportunism, dabbling, compromise. How then are the workers to put themselves in the position of seizing and retaining what they seize?

More solidarity in the ranks of labor is the desideratum. When this is attained injunctions will be useless, and injunctions even now in Kansas are not the terrible instruments they are, say, in West Virginia. And the reason is not far to seek. The miners in Kansas have a closer organization. Another difficulty at present in the way of a workers' democracy in the United States—and it is one labor as a whole does not care to face—is the cumbersome machinery of trade unionism, splitting the unions into as many parts as there are crafts.

Individual strikes should not at present be undertaken. Only when labor as a unit is willing to throw down its tools will a strike accomplish anything really worth while.

What does the strike do now beyond embarrassing the employers? It does nothing of a constructive nature. And therein lies the weakness of trade unionism. Trade unionism is on the defensive.

It is the unification of unionism that is wanted in America today. This, and a plan of action are the prime necessities. The mapping of industries, a knowledge of cost accounting, markets; these are some of the things with which labor must acquaint itself if ever it is to administer the nation's business intelligently.

Again, this information can only be obtained where an interlocking system of organization is possible. These are some of the preliminaries to the taking over of all the industries that shall be operated by all the workers.

Let every workingman and woman in America therefore do everything possible to help build the One Big Union of all the Workers.

Organize!

By G. Mills.

IN WORKING class history it is a well-recognized fact that both employed and unemployed have been decidedly apathetic and ignorant.

For these failings the workers are not entirely to blame. Environment and economic pressure, through the capitalist machinery, and chloroform, through the press, are mainly responsible. This, however, is no excuse why the workers should any longer continue in this strain.

What is needed is organization to assist them in obtaining their emancipation as workers. However poor the average worker's education is, there is ample opportunity for our class to raise itself far above the mental and organized status that is in existence today.

It is obvious to the eyes of the workers that conditions socially and economically are decidedly at fault. Nothing short of a complete change in the constitution of international society will alter the worker's condition.

We must sacrifice all individualistic theories and aims to the cause of human betterment and universal emancipation. We must, when and where we can, constantly urge and agitate for a stronger and more substantial system of co-operation in our efforts. We of the unemployed must remember, if ever we obtain work again under the present

system of society, that the question of our dehumanization is far from being obviated. We must not think that because conditions are temporarily better, that we have solved the problem of the poor, the idle parasitism of the rich. Unemployment must ever exist under capitalism. Often we reach a state of self-satisfaction and are thereby placing our ideals and visions of a natural life, further beyond our reach. We must not, however, think that even the most complete form of organization is the ultimate object. It is, rather, one of the means to an end. When once the workers have learned the secret of building a sound theory for the future on the ruins of their mistakes, nothing can impede their progress.

Here then lies the potent power of working class energy. Do not let us have any scruples in considering the capitalist tyrants who dominate our lives from the cradle to the grave. Remember: at all times these parasites of humanity have never had one tiny scruple regarding the lives of our comrades in the huge army of industrial wage slaves.

Then, fellow workers, let us make one final rally for the cause of justice, liberty and true freedom, with a system of society representing emancipation of a crushed and down-trodden class.

A Heart to Heart Talk with Railway Workers

FELLOW WORKERS!

DO YOU remember what happened in the railroad yards and the railroad shops of the United States in the Spring of 1920?

It was just about a year and a half after the signing of the Armistice, which marked the end of the World War and the beginning of the collapse of world capitalism. The United States was still, as it is today, in the throes of what the capitalists call "reconstruction". Prices were the highest they had ever been, and they were going higher every day. The end was not in sight.

Did wages keep pace with the high cost of living? You, who drew the family pay envelope and paid the family bills, know they did not. Every time you went to the butcher shop to buy a mess of pork chops, every time you bought a new pair of overalls or a new jumper (you probably couldn't afford a new suit of clothes), you found that a little bit more had been tacked onto the price. But when pay day came, your envelope was just the same.

Meanwhile, your wife doubtless was going around with last year's dress and year-before-last's hat while Johnny's shoes were sticking out at the toes and there were holes in Mary's stockings.

What was the natural thing for you to do? Ask the Boss for more money, of course.

All through the war, you and your families had been getting along the best way you could, scimping and doing without the bare necessities of life, "borrowing from Peter to pay Paul," and going into debt, besides.

When you had hit the Boss for a raise in war time, as some of you did through your unions, he had appealed to your "patriotism"; he had begged you to "help win the war" by keeping on at the same old scale. You were told to "manage somehow," save all you can," and "buy more Liberty Bonds."

Being good citizens, you did as the Boss told you in this case. You did manage somehow to scrape through those two trying years.

But the war was over. Conditions in industry were "getting back to normal," but the long predicted drop in prices had not come. Instead, prices of everything—foodstuffs, clothing, shelter—were going higher all the time. It simply couldn't keep on much longer. Something had to be done.

The railroads were doing the biggest business in all their history. It is to be supposed that they were making more money than they had ever made before. With wages still practically what they were before the war, they must have been making the biggest profits they had ever made.

And so, having helped to win the war, having

bought your quotas of Liberty Bonds, you decided to take the Boss at his word and, now that the war was over, hit him once more for a raise. (He had implied all through the war that, when the war was over, Labor would get its dues.)

You were union men. You believed in the power of organized labor. Naturally, it was through your unions that you proposed to put it up to the Boss.

But in most cases, you never got to the Boss. You never got any farther than your union heads.

What did your union chiefs tell you?

"We have contracts with the roads. Those contracts are sacred. We cannot violate them."

That is what they told you.

Most of your contracts had been made, either before the war, or before the after-the-war rise in prices and the cost of living, and most of them were long-time contracts. It was in vain you workers pointed out that conditions had changed since those contracts had been entered into, that prices had soared almost unbelievably, and that it was a practical impossibility for you to eke out any longer even a bare existence on the wages you were then receiving.

"We are sorry," your chiefs replied, "but there is absolutely nothing we can do. We cannot violate our sacred contracts with the roads."

The rank and file of your organizations wanted to strike. There is no doubt of that. But your "leaders" refused.

"There are more ways than one of killing a cat." If you couldn't strike, one thing you could do—you could at least quit your jobs. There was no law against that—though, it is true, under our modern system of legislation by court injunction, it is coming to be illegal for a man to quit his job, when the Boss, with all the weapons of a boss-controlled government and all the forces of "patriotic" prejudice at his command, wants him to go on working.

And so, that is just what you did do. You began, one by one, to quit your jobs. That was all the thing amounted to in the beginning.

The yardmen in the Chicago district started it. They began walking out, one by one, at first, then by hundreds, then, as the fever spread, by thousands.

"If we can make a living railroading, we'll make it some other way." That was what you heard on every side. Remember? Hundreds of your number did get jobs at something else. Hundreds of this day never have come back to their old jobs.

As the walkout spread, with yardmen and other railroad workers leaving their posts all over the country, the capitalistic newspapers at once came out with scareheads about the "strike," which was variously referred to as "outlaw," "runaway," "un-

authorized," "rebel," "illegal," and even "renegade" (though just what a "renegade" strike is, it would be hard for even a boss-press prostitute to explain.)

The renegades in the case were your brotherhood chiefs, the men whom you had chosen to voice your interests, but who, as you now know, had steadily betrayed them from the first. It was not long before the labor world was afforded the edifying spectacle of "labor leaders" casting in their lot openly with the bosses and using every means in their power to defeat the men who were fighting for the right to work and the right to live.

As the walkout, which soon became a real strike, progressed, the brotherhood chiefs, after conferring with the bosses to whom they had sold out, would send out daily, often hourly, bulletins to the kept press, "playing down" the strike, asserting that its "backbone is broken," that the men "are returning to work in increasing numbers," that "the strike will end by tomorrow night," etc., etc.

It was then you realized how completely you had been betrayed. You had known for some time, however, that your brotherhood chiefs were not playing square with you. Indeed, it was only when you had lost all hope of bettering your conditions through the efforts of your delegated representatives that you had quit, first your jobs, and then the "old-line" organizations.

At one of your strike meetings, held in Chicago, a speaker, referring to W. G. Lee, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, said:

"Bill Lee isn't working for you any more. He quit working for you long ago and signed up with the railroads."

The stand taken by your "leaders" was expressed by A. O. Wharton, secretary of the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

"The American Federation of Labor stands by its contracts. Its affiliated organizations will take no part in unauthorized strikes. The eight international unions composing the railway employees department are working under contracts and we expect to fulfill those contracts as we expect the railroad companies to fulfill theirs."

At this point, Mr. Wharton might have been asked one or two pertinent questions:

1. Why shouldn't the Boss keep his side of the contract, when he has the best of the bargain?
2. How long would he keep it, if he didn't have the best of the bargain?

Is the case of an employer breaking his contract with labor an unheard of thing?

One thing we workers usually forget is the fact that the Boss never guarantees us a job. The most he ever does is to guarantee us a certain wage, provided he has a job to give us.

All contracts between us and the Boss, fellow worker, are onesided. Certainly, such unforeseen circumstances as the almost unbelievable rise in the cost of living attendant upon the World War are

enough to justify us in breaking our contract with the Boss, when that contract calls for us to go on working at a wage which does not meet the new conditions and on which we can scarcely exist.

The right to live and the right to work, the right of the worker to a living wage are fundamental rights. They take precedence over all other rights and contracts. As John Grunau, "outlaw" leader, told his followers:

"You simply quit your jobs because you weren't getting enough to live on. The demands we have made are not unreasonable, because for us living costs have been advancing and the wages of other workers have risen, but we have not received enough to live on."

Having quit your jobs, you rail workers began resigning from the brotherhoods. That was your next logical step. Then came the question: Since we are no longer members of the old brotherhoods, we are no longer bound by their contracts: why, then, should we not form a new union of our own and call a strike?

And so, the C. Y. A. (Chicago Yardmen's Association) was born.

By this time, your walkout had become nationwide. The transportation system of the country had been practically tied up; a general paralysis of industry was threatened; food and fuel supplies were endangered. On this point, the Boss Press was becoming more bitter every day. Finally, the thing which might have been expected happened. Forced by "public opinion"—that is, by kept-press opinion, which is nothing more nor less than boss opinion—the United States government—in this case, President Wilson and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer—intervened.

You know what happened then. Were you surprised? You shouldn't have been.

"Federal intervention," in one form or other, a logical outgrowth of the anti-strike injunctions which started individually with one or two high-handed judges, has now become so common as no longer to create surprise in the minds of the working class. They feel that it is scarcely worth while to voice a protest any more. It is something they have come to expect in their war with the master class. They know that, in that war, the boss is going to use every weapon at his disposal, just as they themselves will do, if they are wise. They know that, under a boss-controlled government, every weapon of that government—the policeman's club, the militiaman's bullet and bayonet, the court injunction—everything up to the treacherous Federal Board of Arbitration—is going to be used against them.

And so, you yardmen probably were not very much surprised when you heard that Federal warrants had been sworn out for thirty leaders of your "outlaw" strike. Twenty-three of them were arrested in Chicago. The charges preferred against them were: violation of the Sherman Act, through

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interference with inter-state shipments; and violation of the Lever Act, through interference with the food and fuel supply of the nation. The Chicago "raids" followed a conference held in Washington between President Wilson and Attorney General Palmer, following which Special Assistant Attorney General Harry Mitchell was dispatched to Chicago. The latter, on his arrival in Chicago, gave out this statement:

"These men have interfered with the health of the entire nation by causing its food shipments to be delayed and stopped. They have caused industry to stop because of a lack of fuel, and we are convinced there was a conspiracy to aim a blow at the government."

Because, with your families to support, you had refused to go on working for a wage on which you could not feed and clothe them, but had decided to find better paying work elsewhere, you were, according to Mr. Mitchell, "aiming a blow at the government" and were guilty of "conspiracy." The essential falseness of the government's position in the whole matter was evident from this absurd charge.

Any one who demands anything that may mean a reduction of the Bosses' profits is a "conspirator" these days.

After all the others had been released on bond, seven of your leaders who were still being held were released without bond by United States Commissioner Lewis F. Mason, who told them:

"I am about to do an unheard-of thing. I have heard today that you are good American citizens, that in the present walkout you have endeavored to prevent violence, and that you have conducted yourselves as gentlemen throughout. This conduct urges me to leniency."

What Commissioner Mason says he had learned is true. Despite the lying headlines with stories to match in the prostitute press, there probably never was a strike conducted with less violence.

The real reason, however, for Commissioner Mason's act was that the government was not sure of its position in the matter.

It was not until some four months later—in August (the walkout had occurred in April)—that a Federal grand jury returned indictments against a number of your leaders.

By this time, you had virtually won your fight. You had at once won and lost. The yardmen's strike was won as most pitched battles in the class war are won: The workers gained, by great loss and sacrifice, a few hard-earned concessions from the enemy.

The "public" was beginning to be afraid it would go hungry. Bosses in other lines were losing some of their precious profits. And so, pressure was brought to bear upon President Wilson to rush through the long-delayed appointment of the railway labor board, which Congress had authorized. Even so reactionary an anti-labor organization as the Illinois Manufacturers' Association urged the

newly appointed board to "consider the demands of the rebels."

The result was, railway workers all over the country were eventually given a retroactive wage increase. It was not what you had asked, it was not what you desperately needed, but still, it was something. In this sense, fellow workers of the yards, your strike was a victory.

Your leader, John Grunau, issued a statement declaring that the strike had resulted in a "great victory." But was it a great victory?

You accomplished much. You forced President Wilson to do several things he did not want to do. You received your increase before the time set by law. But—

In each district you went back on the best terms you could secure. Most of you were not given your seniority rights at first. Some of you the bosses of the roads would not take back on any terms. These, as usual, were the ones who had been a little bit too prominent during the strike.

If you are one of the fortunate ones who went back at the increased rate of pay and who have by now, perhaps, had your seniority rights restored, don't forget the men on the blacklist, many of whom are now walking the streets, looking for a job. They were the men who were responsible for your raise.

Fellow workers of the roads, are you going to sit down quietly and be satisfied with this sort of "victory"? What are you going to do when wages and working conditions again become unbearable, as they are sure to become, sooner or later? What are you going to do when the next fight comes? For there will always be a next fight. As long as men work for a boss, there will be a constant war between the workers and the Boss. You are enjoying a truce at present. You and the Boss have signed an armistice. But it won't last forever. It can't.

What was it defeated you in this strike—for, after all, weren't you defeated?

It was not alone Federal "intervention," or the interference of boss-controlled government, which led to the doubtfulness of your victory, though that was a powerful weapon, as it always is, in the hands of the Boss.

In the first place, you were betrayed by your own constituted "leaders" in the old-line craft-union brotherhoods. (Do you know that some of your chiefs were receiving salaries as high as \$15,000 a year in addition to the graft which many labor leaders find it so hard to resist?)

You were betrayed, too, by "organized labor," which has not yet learned that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

But most of all, you were betrayed by your fellow workers in the same industry. As always in the history of strikes, where workers are "organized" along old, out-worn craft-union lines, we saw members of one union scabbing on another. Though their fortunes are bound up with the strikers, the leaders of one group, and only too often the

rank and file, are almost always ready to turn fink on another. This for the reason that they are actuated by a selfish desire to grab for themselves whatever petty crumbs they can from the bosses' table, not stopping to think that some day the tables will be turned. And so it goes, around and around, in a vicious circle, labor getting nowhere, and the Boss always getting the best of it.

The Boss knows this will happen. He counts on it. It's a part of his game to play off one union group against another.

The thinking vanguard of labor long ago discovered the truth of the principle, "In union there is strength." The result was the craft-union labor organization. The thing which a large percentage of labor—including "organized" labor—has yet to realize is that—

The greater the union the greater the strength.

Here, fellow worker, the Boss has beat you to it. There was a time when he was afraid of "organized labor" (that is, craft-unions). He's not very much afraid of such organizations any more. He has learned how to beat the game by going you workers one better on organization. The Boss has learned the lesson of the **One Big Union**, and that is the lesson you will have to learn. Capital today is organized along the lines of national and international solidarity. How long will it take labor to find out that it has got to organize on the same lines?

What is meant by the **One Big Union**? It means that all the workers in an industry must be organized in the same union, and that there must be a solid, democratically centralized organization of all the workers in all industries.

It means, to take your own case, that if the switchmen and yardmen go out on strike, or quit their jobs and walk out as a body, the engineers and firemen must do the same. So must the conductors, brakemen, shop craftsmen, machinists, blacksmiths, boiler makers, electricians, carmen, telegraphers, maintenance-of-way men, railway clerks, freight-handlers, signalmen, stationary firemen and oilers, sheet metal workers—all the workers employed by the road or roads.

It means, too, that if any of these groups or any of their members stick to their jobs, they are scabbing on the others.

It means, finally, that no group or individual can dicker with the Boss as to terms of going back, until all are ready to go back.

How long, fellow worker, do you think the Boss could hold out against such a strike as that?

How long do you think the boss class could hold out, if the solid working class went out on strike?

Such a strike, in an industry or on a larger scale, would be a supreme test of strength. And there would not be much doubt as to the eventual outcome, for you, the workers of the world, possess the economic strength of the world, a strength greater even than that of the Boss.

In your strike, railway workers, what would have happened if, for example, the shopmen alone had stuck it out with you? As it was, some of them went out, only to accept the Bosses' bribes and go back. Others considered going out, but they, too, fell for a few crumbs in the way of concessions and promises—chiefly promises. The same was true of the railway clerks, the telegraphers, and other groups.

Why, fellow worker, you might just as well try to fight it out alone and single-handed, as the wage earners did in the old days, as to rely on such an undependable weapon as the craft-union form of organization. The latter was all right once, but it has served its time. It's out of date now. You might as well take a rusty old rifle and go out and try to fight a battalion of modern machine guns.

The Boss is wise. He's not taking any chances. He's got the latest, most up-to-date weapon, the **One Big Union of Capital**.

Workers, arm yourselves industrially!

If the Boss can't beat you by the easiest way, that of pitting one craft-union against another, he'll beat you from within by betraying you through your own officials, who will "outlaw" your strike. It is a comparatively simple and easy thing for the "leaders" to betray the workers in a single craft. It is an altogether different thing when it comes to betraying all the workers in an industry—much more, all the workers in all industries. For **One-Big-Unionism** means constant democratic rank and file control.

Why is it, fellow worker, that the Boss is so anxious to have you believe all sorts of stories about the I. W. W. (the Industrial Workers of the World)? Why, through the lying boss-press, is he always trying to make out that the "Wobblies" are such terrible fellows, accusing them of everything from murder and treason down? Why is he always appealing to your patriotic prejudice in an effort to crush them, as was manifested particularly during the war?

It is simply the principle of **One-Big-Unionism** for which the I. W. W. stands. The Boss is deathly afraid of that. He knows that, if the workers once get that into their heads, it is the beginning of the end for him.

The Boss doesn't want the workers to arm themselves with his own weapon.

However, fellow worker, a little reading of I. W. W. literature, a little acquaintance with I. W. W. organizers and the rank and file of the organization, and above all, membership in the organization would soon serve to open your eyes.

Already, you've got the **One Big Union** bee in your bonnet. You may not know it, but you have. Already, if you listen closely enough, you can hear it buzzing around in the yards and the shops.

Already, there has been some talk of the C. Y. A., the machinists and some other groups that have

had the A. F. of L. blinders struck from their eyes, uniting to form a One Big Union of their own.

But why another O. B. U., when you've got ready to hand an organization which for years, under almost insurmountable obstacles, has been functioning with marvelous efficiency?

That organization is the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. welcomes into its ranks any member of the working class or any organization of such members that can subscribe to its principles.

But, you say, if we join the I. W. W., it will give us a bad name.

Suposing it does, fellow worker. Could you have had any worse name than you had during your "out-law" strike? Could you have had a worse deal, if you had been members of the I. W. W.?

After all, which is more important, to keep a good name with the Boss and get kicked out of a job every time you ask for a raise, or to get a bad name with the Boss, if necessary, but to GET WHAT YOU WANT?

Think it over, fellow worker.

On the South Side

By Jan Rus

BEHIND the mills on Carson Street and reached by way of an iron bridge spanning the railroad tracks and an unlighted tunnel is situated a settlement of workers, employed for the most part either on the railroad or in the steel plants. The closely built wooden houses and hovels are altogether hidden from civilization (if this can be called civilization, this grime and filth) fringed as they are on the one side by the low-lying, ragged, barren hills and on the other by the high railroad wall and roundhouse wherein the engines emit their foul smoke which hangs between the streets and the sky like a pall, dimming the sun by day and the stars by night. Even those living on this side of the tracks are strangers to the settlement, which is regarded as a kind of No-man's-land, the iron-way seeming to form a barrier which is never crossed; a veritable Great Divide. Indeed, as most of the inhabitants are of foreign birth, they form a community whose ways are alien to American ways. Ask an American for directions to a particular street there and he will reply: "Gosh, don't ask me; them furriners name their streets after themselves." These Poles and Czechs and Slavs live apart.

The settlement itself by night and by day is ugly. The streets are narrow and unpaved, boardwalks serving as a protection from the unevenness of the ground. Built against these forlorn-looking hill-sides the shacks ramble in all directions. It seems as if the most advantageous spot had been selected and there a foundation laid upon which the structure itself was dumped. The houses are continually overlaid by the soot from the engines and particles of steel, sparkling like so many diamonds in the sun, deposited by the vomiting stacks. They are like so many anthills, inhabited as they are by innumerable children and their elders and boarders.

An inspection would reveal that the beds are never unoccupied. As soon as those on "dayshift" leave, their places are taken by men returning from work. The womenfolk are constantly on the go providing for these breadwinners. Only the children know the meaning of play as they frisk about like so many intractable young animals and shout to one another before bedtime.

It is at night that the loneliness of the settlement, dropped here on the outskirts of a hive of a city, becomes most apparent; that its aspect of being shut off altogether from the larger world that embraces the totality of its existence in steel and iron and coal is revealed in its strange hideousness. Should it be approached from the hilly background, from above the dirt and smoke, the city on the other side of the river would be seen to be stretched out in row upon row of twinkling lights, beckoning, alluring, picturesque, although the initiated would know that these lights indicate mean, narrow streets and hide grime-covered buildings and homes. Trailing slowly down the stream, oily and discolored, a moving ribbon of light, with here and there a speck of green and red, dimly outlines a stern wheeler. On the bridge the street cars are seen to pass in a broken procession. Over on the Northside a sky-sign flashes its message in the dark. To the south the lessening array of twinkling lights is proof that the suburbs are being reached. Closer still, on this side of the river, the Southside, where the bigger mills are situated, the steel industry is in full blast. Huge tongues of scarlet and yellow flames seem to lick up and up into the serene, star-spangled sky; they die down and in a moment spring into life. All this is attended by the noises of furnace and engine, the attuned ear being able to detect even the various processes thru which the metal is passing.

Then the descent begins. First the lights on the far bank are lost to sight. Less and less is seen of the flames. These, too, vanish. Further down the rickety wooden steps, which with the exception of an upward trudging figure carrying a tin dinner pail, will be traversed alone; the darkened houses beyond the railroad grow scarcely discernable in the fog that clings to the ground. Only in the distance will be seen the stacks that everlastingly pour forth their filthy, pea-soup colored smoke. Here, below, the first sign of life is the barking of a cur straining at its chains as it hears the shuffling of feet on the boardwalk. The baying is the signal for a general chorus and the stranger's steps are heralded to the very end of the pathway and the straggling houses that are prevented from extending themselves by the unprotected iron rails along which a creaking freight train is being shunted to the accompaniment of hoarse shouts and whistles and the waving of lanterns.

If the evening is still groups of men squatting on their doorsteps are passed. Their speech for the time being is stopped as they turn their heads to see what the stranger is about. Such an intrusion on their privacy—one feels that it is privacy that is being violated for here no evidences of public ownership are to be found—is unknown. The group is perhaps approached and information as to where so-and-so lives asked. The men glance at each other as if seeking to find from a companion's eyes what this portends. It is almost as if a feeling of fear were being engendered by the question. Sign language is brought into play and with a few words whose accents betray the speaker's nativity directions are given. Further on and from behind shuttered windows comes a babble of many tongues. A woman leans from an upper story conversing with a friend who stands aside to let the visitor pass. His presence has a dampening effect on their talk, which ceases until he is well without earshot.

From some of the dwellings issue the smell of decayed garbage and the fetid odor of stale food and yesterday's cooking. Behind and around hangs an atmosphere of depression and gloom. Always there is the distant boom and throb of the mills. They are the mainspring of the community. The only link with the outside world is the corner grocery. There are men who never have crossed over to the city from one year's end to another. Humans in

this place are so many units. They do their allotted tasks for the most part uncomplainingly. To earn sufficient to keep body and soul together; that is the only thought that urges them on. For the rest . . . They hardly, if ever, move out of their small world. Their wives buy all the necessities of life from the grocery; their children seldom deviate from the orbit between home and school, home and church, school and home, church and home, unless it may be now and then to visit a movie. Life is a monotone of gray. It is less than primitive.

Once, in a decade, a strike is called, by whom they scarcely know. Why? They will tell you it is to get more pay. Yet a strike, tho it be lost, as it invariably is, takes these toilers, these foreigners, to another mode of existence. For a whole month, if they hold out so long, they know the meaning of home-life and its comforts, such as they are. They can play with their children; they can talk long hours with their friends. They live—for a time! What trifling savings had been accumulated are eaten up and hunger drives them back to the unending grind.

Or perhaps the evenness of events is interrupted by a scandal. A woman runs away with another man, most likely with a boarder who had been doing "dayshift" while her husband worked at night. Then the women gather and expostulate, forgetting even their pressing household duties in the enjoyment of another's daring. The children for the time being are left to themselves. Tiring of the amour the woman may return; and the family life is resumed as if nothing had intervened. Failing this the man will take to himself another wife, legally or by mutual consent. In any case the community life proceeds, birth and death raising hardly a flurry in this harrowing environment, altho each furnishes some with its own excitement. More disturbing still will be the sudden news that one of the have claimed another victim and the mills have men has met with an accident. The railroad will ended the activity of another unit; their places are immediately filled by eager souls waiting for the opportunity to step into another's shoes, heedless of attendant dangers.

On the other side of the railroad after the damp, stench-filled tunnel has been negotiated and the bridge crossed the high railroad wall shuts all from view. For the casual passer-by the settlement is non-existent.

The Ownerless Slaves

By Lester.

THE gaunt wolf of unemployment is stalking throughout the length and breadth of the capitalist world, leaving starvation, misery and death in its train. In every city of the North American continent, in Australia, in Britain, and in all capitalist Europe the hideous creature exists. Men and women are walking around like ghouls, asking charity, and processions of workless men and women are to be met everywhere, begging, "by permission of the police."

A few weeks ago, in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia, a meeting of unemployed numbering 1,000, were asked to vote for a resolution which reads as follows:—

"That this meeting of unemployed desires to protest most emphatically against the proposal of Lloyd George, to bring large numbers of the unemployed of Britain into this country. We consider the unemployed problem in Canada should first be solved, before any attempt is made to bring more immigrants, etc."

The unemployed refused to vote for the resolution, and when it was submitted, it was unanimously turned down. The cry was: "Let them all come. It will make no difference to the problem whether they are here or there, for it is an international problem."

This was the correct stand to take, because capitalism is international, and under capitalism, unemployment is inevitable.

What is the cause of the trouble?

Everybody knows that the British working man is free. He feels that every time he sings "Rule Britannia," and so he is—free from property. He doesn't own anything, and in order to live, he sells himself. He can call himself free if he chooses, but what was there ever to slavery anyhow? The slave owner could command the services of his slave and take from him what he produced.

Is there any difference now?

When the master's voice calls in the shape of a steam whistle, you know that means you, if you are wanted.

The capitalist can command your services, and the failure to comply means death from starvation. The moment you step on the job you begin to deliver what you have sold: the energy of your body, and when leaving the place where you have been employed, you leave the wealth you have produced in the master's possession. It is plain that you would not get the loan of a job if the employer couldn't make something out of you. You must produce more than your wages, and so you do, much more.

Notice all those people who live in wealth and affluence without working. They are never employed, and yet they live on the best. It all comes out of your hide. The capitalist, however, cannot do exactly as he chooses; he is in business for profit, and profits are not made until goods are sold. If you produce four articles and only get enough money to buy back one, three of those articles must remain on the market unsold.

This is the position of Britain.

The goods produced by the working class cannot be sold to the working class, because it has not received enough in wages to enable it to buy back what it has produced. Foreign markets have previously enabled the capitalist class to keep going; but it is becoming harder and harder to find foreign markets, because as soon as they are found, they become competitors, owing to the fact that they start the same system in these foreign countries.

There was a time when Britain was practically the only capitalist country, but look around you now; France, Germany, the United States, Japan, and a host of others have all become capitalist countries, and they are all seeking foreign markets, and although a great war has just been fought as a result of the fact that all the capitalist nations had to expand and there was not room for them to expand except at each other's expense, the problem is just as great as ever.

What is to be done?

It is either war, war, and more war, or revolution. The capitalists want war; the class-conscious worker, revolution. A revolution is a transformation. It does not necessarily imply bloodshed, but it means a fundamental change in wealth production and distribution. We must bring about the change or perish. This is the historic mission of our class.

If you go on to any job where large numbers of men are employed, you will see that every man is co-operating with every other man to produce wealth.

There is a co-operative production today. When the wealth is produced, however, it is not the property of the producers. Those who obtain possession of it have to sell it because it is no good to them personally, and on the market they are in competition with each other. "Our goods are the best." "Buy from us," etc. In the workshop and factory, co-operation; on the market, pandemonium and anarchy, with war as the result.

"The forces of production have risen in revolt against the forces of exchange."

The revolution that is necessary, is to bring the forces of distribution into harmony with the co-operative methods of production. The working class will be compelled to take power from the hands of the master class in order to effect this fundamental change. The line of demarcation between the master class and the working class is ownership. This is the class struggle, and this is where you can line up with your class. The capitalist keeps the worker in bondage because he owns those things that are necessary to the worker's existence. The class-conscious working man, therefore, whether employed or unemployed, whatever his race or color, is lined up with every other worker who stands for the "working class ownership of the means of life." Line up with your class!

Great Britain was the first country in capitalism, and the impotency and helplessness of her statesmen is a sign that the end is near.

Another factor is this vast army of workless men and women. Against the united advance of the working class, the capitalist class is absolutely helpless. The battle cry is: "All power to the working class," and the signs of the times indicate that in this generation the worker will enter into possession of his own. The working men in all countries are uniting for the last great struggle. Workers of Great Britain, you are lagging behind! Forward! Your place is in the van.

Capitalism is played out.

The end is at hand.

Let the working class of the world now strike one united blow at its enemy, and capitalism is down and out forever.

Reprinted from "Out of Work," published by the London District Council of Unemployed.

"Go Find a Master"

A FAIRY TALE FOR WORKING GIRLS

By a Rebel Girl

HUNT the Thimble" is an old game, as old perhaps as thimbles themselves—and it's quite probable that before the days of thimbles it was known to prehistoric children as "Hunt the Bone"—who knows?

It has always been the children who played "Hunt the Thimble"—or "Hunt the Bone"—but when they grew up and felt too old and dignified to run around after thimbles and bones they still wanted to hunt something because it was the one thing they had really learned well when they were young, so the grown men got together and invented a new game called "Hunt the Job"—that is, the men called it "Hunt the Job" and the women called it "Go Find a Master."

At first the men took it all as a joke, and only played at it sometimes, when they felt like it, but presently some of them began to take it quite seriously and to play all day long.

Then one day when they were all sitting in front of the cave smoking and talking and the women were inside the cave making soup for supper, one of the men said:

"'Hunt the Job' is a good game, but none of you take it seriously enough. Why not learn how to play it properly. Let's take half a dozen clever men and let them be masters all the time—then they'll learn how to run fast and play all sorts of tricks and we'll have lots of fun chasing them, and in order to make it worth their while to be chased all the time we others could easily get together and pay them handsomely for their trouble."

This man's name was Crafty, and he had a little body and a big head, and they all looked up to him because they thought he was so much cleverer than the rest, and when he saw how pleased they were with his suggestion, his little black eyes began to shine, and he licked his thin, red lips softly with the tip of his tongue like a cat, and said:

"If you chaps really think it's a good idea, I'd be willing to do you a kindness and be your first master."

So they all shouted with pleasure and said what a fine fellow he was, and beat their hairy hands on the backs of their bone plates and made no end of a fuss of him—all except two men whose names were Courage and Foresight, and they knocked Courage on the top of the head with a stone battle axe, and put a knife into Foresight's heart, and that was the end of them!

Then one man whom they called Pinhead because he had a little head and a big body, got up and said:

"Gentlemen"—the ladies were not included in those days, they came later—"Gentlemen, I'm sure we all feel most grateful to dear Crafty for offering us his services. I suggest that we accept his kind offer and make him our first master, choosing three or four other worthy men to act in a like capacity, and that each man amongst us give a portion of everything that is his to pay our masters for their trouble."

Then they chose the other masters and made speeches and got horribly drunk to celebrate, and

the Chief Stenographer in Heaven took it all down in shorthand, and sat up all night reading it off to the Chief Recorder, who took down an enormous book marked "Mankind" and, resting it up against a cloud, wrote until he had horrible cramps in his hands and arms, which were of course partly due to the dampness of the other cloud he was sitting on. However, it was the biggest entry he had yet made in that book marked "Mankind."

Now for some time the men had a great time playing "Hunt the Job" or "Go Find a Master." Then they began to grumble amongst themselves. Lots of them thought it would be much more fun to be masters themselves, but when they mentioned this the masters just laughed and said that was quite impossible, because there was only room for a very few such highly specialized persons.

So day by day the masters grew fatter and craftier, and somehow their children looked prettier and seemed cleverer because they never had to do any work, and it began to be a terrible burden on the others to pay them enough for their services. So the Men killed Pinhead because he had first approved of Crafty's suggestion, but that didn't do a bit of good because by this time they'd got so used to playing "Hunt the Job" and "Go Find a Master" that they couldn't live without it, and so they went right on grumbling and playing, and playing and grumbling, and always giving the masters the biggest part of everything they had.

At last the masters got so proud of themselves that they moved to another cave with their wives

and all their children and belongings, and after that the two sides never talked to each other except when they were playing, and their children never spoke together at all until they got old enough to join in the game.

Then at last the women looked up from the soup pot they were always stirring and began to ask questions. Then they told the men they had muddled things badly, and that they could do ever so much better themselves, and because the women were right the men got very angry and said:

"All right, if you know so much better than we do, come on out and help us play 'Go Find a Master' . . ."

* * * * *

That is why I have been going from office to office this week, listening to the same old phrase:

"No, we have no vacancies. If you care to fill out an application form . . ."

Girls, Working Girls, we haven't done any better than the men! Let's talk to them about it. Let's realize once and for all that tho. in the work we do our hands may stay white and clean we are no less slaves than the man who sweeps the crossing or who tends the machine till his hands are black with grease and dirt and covered with half-healed wounds and jagged scars. Let's add our voice to theirs. Let's throw in our strength with theirs. Let's get together, men and women, boys and girls, and put an end forever to the oldest, cruellest and most ruthless game that was ever played.

The Truth

WITH the press, platform and pulpit resounding to the lies which are told to deceive the people, it is well that we should consider the truth.

What are the vital things for us?

We are not concerned about who won the war; we are far more concerned about who is getting the butter.

We are not concerned about indemnities which will not go into our pockets, but will be used to still further increase misery and unemployment at home, while adding to the luxury of the rich idle class.

How can the unemployed question be solved? That is one of the most vital things to us.

This is the truth, and it is worth remembering.—

Unemployment will never be solved until the working class takes control of the country—of the whole of industry—and runs things in its own interests.

There you have the plain, blunt, honest truth, and nobody can get around it.

If we are wrong in stating this, the capitalists can easily show that we are wrong by solving the unemployment question. There is the chance for them.

We claim that they are so greedy and corrupt and that their industrial system is so rotten, that it condemns thousands of our class to unemployment and misery and the rest to toil and insecurity.

The capitalists are in control. Let them reply to our challenge by dealing with the problem if they can.

They will not even try. Congressmen cannot deal with unemployment. Individually they are too greedy to do anything except through fear; collectively they admit their incapacity. They will not respond to our challenge to solve the problem which their system has created.

WOBBLES

PATTY McQuick was telling us the other day that he got a job working for a Seventh Day Adventist, and got "bowled out" for reporting to work on Saturday. Patty thinks the Adventists have the greatest religion on the earth, and is setting out as a missionary among the employers.

Go to it, Fellow Worker! We're with you to a man! We are not only going to convert the employers to a five-day work week for the workers but for themselves as well!

**

At the Trade Union Congress in London a few weeks ago two delegates were overheard in conversation.

One, an electrician, said to the other, a miner: "Your program is all "ums", you have maximum, minimum, and datum, we've only got one."

Said the miner: "What's that?"

The electrician: "— um."

**

Have pity on "ye poor editors"! Here is part of a letter received from a fellow who writes bad prose about sex and insanity and dubs it "poetry." In our opinion it is the choicest piece of writing he has produced so far:

"But what's the use arguing with a dumb ass and counter-revolutionist like yourself? One of these days I'm going to pull your damned bourgeois hide off and tack it to the barn-door for the flies to peck at."

**

A rich New England real estate dealer, noted for his high-handed way of doing business, died recently and a monument with the following epitaph was set up at the head of his tomb:

"Strangers, behold, as you pass by,
As you are now, so once was I,
Where I am now, there will you be,
Prepare for death and follow me."

A week later somebody had written underneath:

"To follow you I'm not content
Until I find which way you went."



JOY RIDING

Don't boast that you use your head instead of your hands. Woodpeckers do that right along.



"High Spots" of the Thirteenth I. W. W. Convention

Compiled by Roy Brown.

THE Thirteenth Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was called to order on May 9th, 1921, at 9 A. M., by Roy Brown, the Chairman of the General Executive Board.

Seating of Delegates

E. W. Latchem was elected temporary chairman and J. J. McMurphy temporary recording secretary, after which the Convention went into the general routine of electing a Credentials Committee and Rules Committee. The Convention then adjourned until the Credentials Committee could bring in its report.

The afternoon session was called to order at 1.40 P. M. to hear the report of the Credentials Committee. The following is the report:

List of uncontested delegates and vote of each:

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110
Albert Bare 28 — Ed Donnelly 28 — Thos. Connors 28 — Tom Wallace 28 — J. H. Snyder 28

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120
Nels Olson 59.6 — Dan Murray 59.6 — Chas. Craig 59.6 — W. Smith 59.6 — J. J. McMurphy 59.6

Metal and Coal Mine Workers Industrial Unions No. 210 and 220

Thos. Bones 50 — Ben Decarso 50

General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310

Ed Archibald 27.6 — Jesse Sigal 27.6 — W. W. White 27.6 — P. Ryan 27.6 — Roy Leonard 27.6

Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330

John Jackson 8

Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440

Fred Bowerman 22 — Wm. Stockinger 22 — Frank Peterson 22

Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450

Mm. Kinsberg 4

Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510

J. Michaelson 14

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520

E. W. Latchem 14 — M. Carlson 14

Public Utilities Workers' Industrial Union No. 650
A. J. Carroll 2

They were all seated with the exception of A. J. Carroll of the Public Utility Workers' Industrial Union. Carroll was not seated on account of not being a wage worker.

Then came up the proposition of whether or not they would seat the three delegates representing the Philadelphia Branch of the Marine Transport Workers. On motion they were given a voice but no vote in discussing the matter of the Philadelphia Suspension.

Election of Committees

After this the convention went into permanent session and elected the temporary chairman E. W. Latchem as permanent chairman and Tom Wallace as permanent recording secretary.

The Rules Committee reported that they had drawn up a set of 21 rules to govern the Convention, practically all of which were accepted, with the exception of a few, which were amended. The rest of the day and most of the next day were taken up in the election of various committees to attend to the business of the Convention.

Collection for Class War Prisoners.

On the afternoon of the second day a motion was brought up to elect a committee of three to send telegrams of cheer to the class war prisoners. Upon argument that the prisoners could not eat the telegrams and that this would only be giving good money to the capitalists, in paying for the telegrams, the motion was made to take up a collection for the benefit of the class war prisoners, which was carried. The sum of \$53.00 was collected to buy little necessities for the boys in jail.

The Suspension by the G. E. B. of the Philadelphia M. T. W. Branch and of Bakers' Local No. 46 Sustained by the Convention.

The next question on the floor was the suspension of the Philadelphia M. T. W. Branch. The Philadelphia Branch was charged with violating Article 6, Section 3, of the Constitution, by charging a \$25.00 initiation fee. There was a lengthy debate on this question, it being argued from every angle from the afternoon of the second day until the morning of the 4th day. The motion was made "that we sustain the General Executive Board for suspending the Philadelphia Branch of I. U. No. 510 for not living up to the Constitution". The motion was carried with 20 yeas and 3 nos. On the demand of a roll call vote, the motion was carried by 774 yeas and 96 nos,—26 votes not voting.

The same action was taken with regard to the New York Bakers, known as Local 46. They were also charged with violating the constitution with regards to high initiation fees, which were \$15.00.

Report of Defense Secretary.

John Martin, Secretary of General Defense, gave a review of the past activities of the Defense. He reported that a large number of fellow workers were still in penitentiaries and that funds were needed to give those fellow workers and their families relief. He also reported the denial by the U. S. Supreme Court of a review of the Chicago case, and that the defendants who were out on bond had been ordered back to the penitentiary. He stated that "Out of the 46 fellow workers who had been released on bonds, all reported at the penitentiary with the exception of the following nine: Wm. D. Haywood, Vladimir Lossieff, J. H. Beyer, Herbert McCutcheon, Grover H. Perry, Charles Rothfisher, Leo. Laukki, Fred Jaakola and George Andreytchina. Haywood, according to the reports received, has left the country and it now in Russia. His reasons for leaving the United States are unknown to me as I had not the least knowledge of his departure, nor even of his intention of taking such a step, until the day I was informed by a Federated Press reporter that he was in Russia. The whereabouts of the others above mentioned are not known and it is to be expected that the government will in the near future forfeit their bonds".

Owing to Fellow Worker Martin having to return to Leavenworth, George Williams was appointed as his successor to the secretaryship of the General Defense Committee. Williams reported the following:

"According to a list compiled by Fellow Worker Martin from accounts of former secretaries, a total of \$41,342.27 was collected as loans to the Bail & Bond Fund and a total of \$23,228.91 refunded. In addition to the above amount of \$23,228.91, the sum of \$16,789.45 was put up as bail in the form of cash and Liberty Bonds. This amount (\$16,789.45), as near as I can tell by the records, represents cash originally collected by the Defense Committee and used to buy Liberty Bonds for bail and distributed in the following manner:

E. J. McCutcheon	\$ 4,000.00
J. H. Beyer	10,000.00
Laukki and Jaakkola	600.00
V. Lossieff	564.45
Wm. D. Haywood	1,625.00

Fellow worker Williams offered the following suggestions for reimbursing the bond money:

"That the General Executive Board, after the approximate shortage has been definitely established, shall be empowered by this Convention to issue a compulsory assessment stamp, of whatever denomination would be advisable under the circumstances, and the funds from this source be kept exclusively for the purpose of paying back anyone holding receipts for money loaned to the organization as bail on the Chicago defendants and that all money collected over and above the amount needed to meet our obligation on the Chicago case

be used as directed by the next Convention.

"That cash refunds be made on the basis of sixty per cent and a further receipt be issued against the fund that is to be collected by the G. E. B. In connection with this, it is, of course, understood that any money left over in the present Bail & Bond fund, by being uncalled for, would be reverted to the fund to be collected by the G. E. B. mentioned before. However, the matter of paying back Liberty Bonds cannot be handled in the same way, because those holding receipts calling for a specific Liberty Bond with a certain number is their personal property and cannot be held after it is demanded. Those who hold receipts for bonds which were placed on those defendants who jumped bail will have to be paid from the special fund mentioned before at their face value.

"Another thing which should be considered by this Convention is a setting of a time limit on the repayment of all cash and Liberty Bonds. It is certain that some cash loans and even Liberty Bonds, will never be called for, and therefore, if no time limit is set for collection by those holding receipts, the residue of the present Bail & Bond Fund would be carried for years. In view of this possibility, I suggest that a limit of six months from the date of the release of bail be set, and after that date all cash and Liberty Bonds received as loans and remaining still uncalled for, be turned over either to discharge obligations pending against the organization for bail, or be turned over to the Defense Fund, or to the Rehabilitation Fund.

"A point has been raised as to our responsibility to those individuals who have furnished bonds for those who have skipped. There are some who think that inasmuch as those who jumped bonds were members of the I. W. W. that we are in duty bound to stand good for losses of this character. About this I have no suggestion to offer. But a declaration of policy concerning this is needed to settle any argument that may arise in the future.

"There are many other problems which will perhaps arise concerning the Bail & Bond Fund, but I think if the matter is handled according to the suggestions made herein, we can terminate the whole matter to the satisfaction of everybody concerned.

"There remains to be dealt with the matter of the future policy of carrying on the Defense work. There is no doubt that in the past there has been both a waste of money and effort in carrying on the work. This condition is not the fault of any individual but it arises, I think, from the loose manner in which relations are maintained with different parts of the country. The present branches of the Defense Committee, with a few exceptions, work entirely independent of the General Defense Committee and in some cases there is a decided hostility between the

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branch and what is supposed to be Headquarters. Of course, much of this can be traced to certain conditions and feeling existing between individuals. It must be apparent to anyone that much waste of money has been borne by the organization in handling its affairs. Each branch generally hires its lawyers without regard to the fact that other lawyers could be secured who are already on the payroll of the General Defense Committee. A systematic handling of legal talent by a centralized committee would, no doubt, remove much unnecessary expense from the branches and the organization as a whole. The lawyers are the heaviest expense, and something should be done to cut down the outlay for counsel fees, etc., by adopting an intelligent, systematized method of handling the legal end".

He also suggested the plan of establishing a Rehabilitation Fund for the purpose of taking care of fellow workers upon the expiration of their sentences, in order to give them a chance to recuperate after their long terms of confinement.

Report of the General Executive Board.

Next the members of the General Executive Board reported their past activities in behalf of the organization. In regards to sending out the referendum to endorse the Third International, they stated that the previous Board had endorsed the Third International and that the last Convention had endorsed the Board's report. Consequently, the present Board was at a loss to know where the membership stood, but after the question had been thoroughly discussed in the organization press, the ballot was declared void.

The Board then brought out the necessity of establishing a Bureau of Industrial Research and stated that it had endeavored to do so, but that owing to a lack of finances the work had to be postponed.

The rest of the report dealt principally with such past activities of the organization with which the membership is already familiar. The important thing in the report was the emphasis laid on the necessity of eliminating inefficiency and wastefulness within the organization to as great an extent as possible. To that end the Board offered the following suggestions:

"In order to have a successful fighting and efficient organization, order, system and discipline are absolutely necessary, and to make this possible we hereby present for your consideration the following recommendations:

"(1) That all Industrial Union Headquarters be centralized in General Headquarters.

"(2) That each Industrial Union be in charge of the Chairman of the General Organization Committee representing said Industrial Unions. Each Industrial Union having a Chairman who will operate the affairs of the organization.

"(3) That financial transactions be taken care of by the General Secretary-Treasurer, who will employ such assistance as is deemed necessary to properly handle the accounts of the Industrial Unions. The accounts of the Industrial Unions be kept separate, indicating just what they have to work with.

"(4) Through the perfection of the present system of handling the accounts of the Small Industrial Unions, the burden of accounting will be taken off the shoulders of the Organization Committee, allowing them more time to function on organization matters.

"(5) The selection of Secretaries of Industrial Unions can be eliminated, as the General Organization Committee would control the Industrial Unions and the Chairman would be left in the office to handle organization work.

"(6) The Chairman of the General Organization Committee should be the member of the General Executive Board representing his industrial union. This would result in the G. E. B. being in close communication at all times, and be under the control of the Industrial Unions.

"(7) The General Executive Board would hold monthly meetings and in case of important issues coming up, a special meeting could be called, for immediate action to be taken thereon.

"(8) The office of the Chairman of the G. O. C. should be located at General Headquarters.

"(9) The Chairman of the G. E. B. would be selected by the members of the G. E. B., as is done under the present system, and the alternate of the member selected as Chairman of the G. E. B. should serve as Board member and Chairman of the G. O. C.

"(10) The General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. should be selected by the G. E. B.

"(11) The duties of the General Secretary-Treasurer should be to manage the General Office and supervise the accounts, and he should have the qualifications necessary to efficiently carry on this work.

"(12) All branches to function direct with General Headquarters and all delegate and branch accounts be accurately kept at all times.

"(13) To give efficient and prompt service to distant districts ordering supplies, etc., it may be found necessary to establish supply stations. These stations, however, would not keep any accounts. By shipping literature and supplies in large enough quantities to go by freight, transportation cost would be reduced and would permit the branches in such immediate vicinity to be promptly served.

"(14) The One Year Service Clause for officers will have to be abolished in time, and the sooner the better. An executive position requires executive ability".

Reports of "The Industrial Pioneer"

The afternoon session was taken up in the reports of the manager and editor of "The Industrial Pioneer". The manager, Harry Feinberg, reported progress in regards to increased circulation and finances, and concluded with the following:

"The Industrial Pioneer" is the only magazine in the country that advocates clearly and uncompromisingly the ideas of revolutionary industrial unionism, and with the co-operation of the membership there is no reason why it should not be made the most influential labor publication in the country."

The editor, Henry Van Dorn, reported that he was employed to assist John Sandgren on the magazine and that after Sandgren was discharged he was selected by the G. E. B. to take the editorship of the magazine. He reported, in part:

"In the course of the next few weeks we found that it would be essential to make several far-reaching changes in the magazine if we were to continue to issue it at all. Money was not coming in as fast as it should, and many of the branches had positively refused to handle the magazine, especially the December issue, on account of its reactionary attitude. We had to do something to create favorable sentiment and to improve the finances.

"The first step taken in that direction was the changing of the name to "The Industrial Pioneer". This had to be done, as the magazine could not be sold any more under the old name".

He also made a statement in regards to getting the magazine out in a more elaborate and economical manner, as well as the following:

"As far as the policy of "The Industrial Pioneer" is concerned, I have tried to get away from all personal attacks and controversial squabbles, and to print educational propaganda along the lines of pure I. W. W. principles.

"The magazine still continued to point out the fallacies of revolutionary political organizations as represented by the Communist parties, but this was done in a scientific spirit for the purpose of educating our readers, instead of in a spirit of personal and unjudicious attack.

"One of the changes in the policy of the magazine was to lay more emphasis on the necessity of militant direct action and less on the evolutionary exposition of the class struggle. In my opinion what we need at the present time is not philosophy but ACTION. Evolution is not going to get us anything unless we get it ourselves".

Communication from Christensen

A communication from the Defense attorney, Otto Christensen, was read before the Convention in which was stated that the Organization was in debt to Christensen to the extent of \$9,000.00 or \$10,000.00. The communication was turned over to the Grievance Committee.

Following this the G. E. B. members made verbal reports, all of which were accepted.

Telegrams from Philadelphia and R. T. U. I.

A telegram was received from the Philadelphia branch of M. T. W., reading as follows:

"Impossible to hold meeting. Instruction of body if not reinstated after Philadelphia controversy: Return home at once. Body knows change means suicide. Answer requested".

At the morning session of the 6th day a telegram from the American Bureau of Red Trade and Industrial Unions was read, as follows: "In the name of the R. T. U. I. we send greetings to the 13th Convention of the I. W. W. We feel confident that out of this Convention the I. W. W. will emerge with full solidarity with those workers that have already affiliated under the banner of the R. T. U. I."

The greater part of the morning session was taken up in discussion over the past activities of some of the G. E. B. members.

Report of "Tie Vapauteen"

In the afternoon session Rosa Knuuti, the business manager of "Tie Vapauteen", our monthly Finnish magazine, reported that the vast majority of the Finnish membership wanted the magazine taken from New York and placed in the General Headquarters in Chicago; and that since this was done it has proven to be a good move both financially and editorially.

She stated in part:

"One of the substantial reasons for the above action, was the effort to undo the antipathy that the publication had created by publishing articles either too critical of the 3rd International, on the one hand, or lacking discretion in lauding the aims and purposes of political enthusiasts, on the other, which seriously threatened the existence of the magazine. The circulation of the publication, which at its best ranged from 5,000 to 6,000, came down scarcely 3,500. It was at this figure when the G. E. B. took it over; since then it has recuperated and now with the May issue reaches the 6,500 mark. This is apparently due to the changes made in editorial policy, and the moral backing of Headquarters, which has increased the circulation in general.

"In connection with the printing of the publication at Headquarters, very little trouble or handicap has been experienced.

"As to the future of the magazine: The importance of a monthly publication as a propaganda medium among the Finnish workers cannot be over-estimated. The very life-blood of the organization lies in its current public actions, and emphatically so, in regard to its foreign issues. The philosophy of the I. W. W. is gaining more ground every day, and its literature is not only accepted, but it is being demanded by the workers as logical and consistent teachings for the solution of their social-economic problems.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

"*Tie Vapauteen*" has not as yet become the interest of the whole I. W. W. membership, to the extent that it should, but it is the wish of the Finnish Press Committee, under whose charge and supervision the magazine is edited, that the membership at large take steps toward increasing the circulation, aiding it with articles and taking a real interest in their own publication".

Resolutions Passed.

The rest of the afternoon was taken up with resolutions, most of which were turned over to the various committees. The following were carried:

"Resolved, that any member who accepts nomination for an official position and declines after name has been placed on the ballot, shall not be eligible for any office for two years, unless good cause is given, such as sickness or being in jail.

"Resolved, that the G. E. B. shall see that all I. W. W. papers are pursuing the same editorial policy of Industrial Unionism.

"Resolved, that we preach the general strike as the only means for the liberation of class war prisoners.

"Resolved, that in the future all speakers for the I. W. W. shall be routed by and bear credentials from the District or the General Organization Committee, or from the G. E. B. of the I. W. W.

"Resolved, that all I. W. W. agitation must be towards the control of industries, more so during periods of unemployment, as at present."

This being Saturday the Convention was adjourned until Monday, May 16th, which was the 7th day.

Greetings to Irish Fighters for Freedom.

Immediately after opening the morning session a resolution was adopted, which read:

"Resolved that the 13th Convention of the I. W. W., assembled in Chicago, Ill., in May, 1921, extends greetings of good will and encouragement to the valiant Irish men and women who are putting up such a splendid fight for the abolition of wage slavery".

Resolutions About Bulletin, International Affiliation and Press Fund.

These other important resolutions were passed:

"Resolved that the G. E. B. be instructed to issue a bulletin once a month to contain matters pertaining to charges, internal affairs and personal disputes, which are of no interest to non-members. No articles of this nature to be published in any other I. W. W. publication".

"Resolved that any international affiliation of the I. W. W. that may be decided upon shall be ratified by a referendum vote of the membership, before becoming effective".

"Resolved that each industrial union of the I. W. W. pay a per capita tax of 5 cents for each due stamp sold into a fund for the upbuilding and maintaining of a more efficient I. W. W. press".

The G. E. B. Sustained in Removing John Sandgren.

During the afternoon session, John Sandgren, the ex-editor of the *One Big Union Monthly*, was given the floor to explain his position. After a thorough examination of all parties concerned, the G. E. B. was sustained in removing him.

More Resolutions.

During the morning session of the 8th day, the following important resolution was concurred in:

"Resolved, that we proceed without delay to an inventory of all industrial equipment, embracing its productive capacity, its sources of raw material, and the transportation avenues by which the raw material comes, and the finished product is distributed. That there be a parallel inventory of all the workers necessary to operate this equipment, with a view to organizing production and the distribution of the product to the producers, and, be it further

"Resolved, that we compile the entire process of the production and distribution of the food supply of the country, and as an immediate step, be it further

"Resolved, that the delegates ask their district organization to ascertain at once:

"A. The supplies of such staple products in their districts as meat, fish, flour, milk, butter, eggs, potatoes, and all staple vegetables and fruits, canned goods and fuel.

"B. The extent to which each district supplies its own wants.

"C. The source of the rest and the means by which it is transported.

"D. Local records of all warehouses, where food is kept or whence it is distributed, and, be it further

"Resolved, that the general organization be instructed to take up an inventory of packing houses, flour mills, canneries, etc., which produce food on too large a scale for the local investigators."

"The committee of Branch 1, N. Y., I. U. No. 440, elected to draft this resolution, also recommends that the Convention instruct the general organization to ask each local to choose a member to serve on the committee to undertake detailed organization of this work."

The afternoon session of the 8th day was taken up by the report of the Constitution Committee. No action was taken on the constitutional resolutions.

Resolutions Concerning Defense.

The morning session of the 9th day was taken up with resolutions concerning defense and bond matters. After the Ways and Means Committee brought in their report, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolution No. 1: The Committee of Ways and Means considers the I. W. W. honor bound to pay back those who loaned the organization money and bonds, so therefore, we suggest that the G. E. B.

shall be empowered by the Convention to issue a special voluntary assessment stamp of \$1.00. The funds from this source to be kept exclusively for the purpose of paying anyone holding receipts for money loaned to the organization as bail on the Chicago defendants, and that all money collected over and above the amount needed to meet our obligations on the Chicago case be used as directed by the next Convention. This fund to be handled by the G. E. B.

"Resolution No. 2: Resolved that owing to the shortage in the Bail and Bond Fund the paying back of all cash loans be made on the basis of 60%, and another receipt issued for the remaining 40%, same to be paid out of the fund to be raised for the purpose of paying off the shortage.

"Resolution No. 3: Resolved, that on and after January 1st, 1922, all funds remaining in the present Bail and Bond Fund, and still uncalled for, shall revert to the Rehabilitation Fund.

"Resolution No. 4: Resolved, that the General Defense Committee be instructed to handle only cases arising out of organization activity".

The afternoon session was taken up with the report of the General Secretary-Treasurer's office and the report of the international delegate, George Hardy.

An account of the report of the international delegate will be found elsewhere in this magazine.

Report of General Office.

The report of the General Office follows, in part:

"The financial statement for the fiscal year (April 1st, 1920 to March 31st, 1921) will be found in the General Office Bulletin for April, 1921, on page 2. You will find therein total receipts amounting to \$79,653.30; total expenditures, \$50,508.98. The difference of \$29,144.32 was used to advance the publications and the International Printing Company. This account is the real account of the General Organization.

"The total receipts from publications, International Printing Company, General Recruiting Union and Small Industrial Unions, personal deposits, etc., amount to \$187,186.75, and the total expenditures, including withdrawals and advances to the various publications, small Industrial Unions, etc., amount to \$183,595.30, leaving balance of \$3,591.45.

"Cash on hand April 1st, 1920, was \$4,690.30, which leaves a balance in the bank April 1st, 1921, of \$8,281.75. At the end of the fiscal year there was \$9,581.32 belonging to the Small Industrial Unions, the General Defense, publications and personal deposits, which leaves the General Organization a deficit if \$1,249.57. The cause of this deficit is on account of various publications and industrial unions, and the International Printing Company owing a large debt to the General Organization.

"You will find our total resources, which takes in the inventory, such as supplies and literature on hand, to be \$8,803.28, and the actual debt owing Headquarters from the Industrial Unions, publications and the International Printing Company, amounting to \$64,927.73, and the balance on hand in the bank and petty cash, \$8,306.75, making the total resources \$82,037.76. This total includes the cash on hand of \$8,306.75, less \$25.00, petty cash, leaving \$8,281.75 which does not belong to the General Organization, but, as previously stated, belongs to the Small Industrial Unions, Defense, etc. You will find that we have entered this in our liabilities of \$9,531.32, which leaves an actual debt due the General Organization of \$72,506.44.

"The supply account was the actual cost of supplies delivered to the Industrial Unions. The General Organization does not make a cent profit on supplies. Due books were previously sold to the Industrial Unions at 20 cents each, which is practically the actual cost. Since the International Printing Company had machinery installed to manufacture these books they are delivered to the General Organization for 10 cents, to which we have added 3 cents for overhead expenses, such as numbering, stamping, shipping, etc. It is up to the Convention to decide whether the General Organization should stand the full loss of supplies in the field, or whether or not the Industrial Unions should stand for the loss. The General Organization does not get any supplies on credit, but pays the actual cost on delivery. You can readily see by studying the financial report that when Unions do not pay the per capita, the 50% of the assessments, and the cost of supplies and literature owing the General Organization, it cramps the General Organization to such an extent that it takes practically all of the receipts to cover the actual expenses it takes to maintain the General Organization, leaving nothing for education or organization work, which is the function of the General Organization.

"You will find under the caption "Indebtedness of Industrial Unions" that there is owing to the General Organization \$12,383.20 for per capita tax alone. This is for dues actually collected by the Industrial Unions from the membership since January 1st, 1920, and \$7,839.75 for General Organization assessments that were actually paid for by the membership during the same period.

"When the members pay dues they are expecting the per capita tax to go to the General Organization, also when they buy an Organization Stamp they expect the 50% to go to the General Organization, and without this the General Organization cannot accomplish anything in educational and organization work. Again, if the Industrial Unions do not pay for supplies received, the General Organization has to take from whatever per capita



Do you think that labor, in the long run, will be benefited by "going into business", as has been done in St. Paul, Minn., and other places by some labor unions?—J. S. P.

We can best answer this question by first seeing how these business ventures, on the part of labor unions, operate. Let us take a concrete example. The St. Paul Building and Loan Association solicits deposits from working people on which an interest of 5½ per cent is paid. This money is then lent to prospective home owners at the "current rate of interest." The People's Construction Company takes some jobs on a profit basis, and others on a time and material basis, and pays the workers the current rate of wages.

Thus we see that these enterprises are managed the same as any others under the capitalist system. The men employed by the company will be expected to work harder than if they were working for a private contractor, under the pretext that they are working for "themselves." These companies are as much liable to go bankrupt as any others, in which case the deposits of these poor workers would go up in blue air.

If these enterprises should happen to be successful, it would be even worse, from the point of view of the class-conscious worker. Instead of making for the eventual abolition of capitalism, the investors, that is to say, the workers whose savings have been deposited, would have a tendency to become bourgeois-minded.

For the workers, it is impossible to fight capital by the use of capitalist institutions. As weapons, big union treasuries, legislatures and congresses, and capitalist courts, are utterly useless. Likewise, it is ridiculous to even attempt to fight the big

contracting corporations by the workers themselves turning into contractors, that is, employers of labor guided by the capitalist code of rules. It is impossible to fight fire with more fire.

The sooner the working class cuts loose from all such half-baked, bourgeois notions for improving its conditions, the better off it will be.

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What is meant by normalcy?—Miss M. S.

"Normalcy" is derived from the adjective normal, and denotes a state of society where everything is "normal"—from the point of view of the capitalist.

"Normalcy" and "civilization" are synonymous. By these signs you shall know them, wherever you may set your foot:

Millions of men and women working ten, twelve and fourteen hours per day.

Other millions, with gaunt figures and sunken cheeks, walking the streets looking for an elusive "job."

Barefooted, undernourished children, clothed in rags, working in factories or playing on dirty streets, robbed of the life-giving balm of nature's presence.

Starvation wages; mothers praying to Heaven to ease their troubled and despairing hearts.

Robbery, arson, murder—these are the choicest flowers of capitalist civilization.

Graft, degradation, prostitution—these are the finest products of bourgeois democracy.

Big dividends, brazen-faced "society," scabs and thugs, suicides, bread-lines, despair and death—behold, oh, behold, the beautiful, the enticing picture of "normalcy"!

and assessments are paid in to cover the cost of the supplies rendered to the Industrial Unions.

"The literature debt to Headquarters is light compared with the other accounts. It is \$1,614.01. You will find in this statement that the Industrial Unions owe the General Defense \$20,957.12. A great portion of this debt they should be given credit for on account of different branches and districts of the Industrial Unions remitting defense assessments and donations to some of the local

defense committees, and the Industrial Unions, not rendering any statement or receipts of these transactions, did not receive credit, but the rest of the statement of indebtedness is accurate".

A complete financial statement will be printed in the complete minutes which will be distributed to the membership .

Owing to going to press we are forced to close this article; the balance of the Convention will be reported in the next issue.

The Premier's Dilemma

By Francis Davis

THE truce in England has come to an abrupt end and the workers and owners, the latter supported by the Government, are again at war.

By the re-entry of the railway and transport workers into the fight, the recent Lloyd George victory has been turned into a sharp defeat and that gentleman, speaking for the private owners, is now in a desperate position. Checkmated in his attempt to split the force of the workers by the solidarity which the rank and file is showing, in spite of the leaders, Lloyd George is now making frantic efforts at settlement. On the first of May he reopened the wage conferences and has now offered a fifty million dollar Government subsidy and is even reported to be considering granting the profits pool which is demanded by the miners.

If he does not grant the profits pool, the premier will have civil war, for the miners have rejected any other settlement, and starving men burdened with starving families cannot be kept in a conciliatory mood for long. There are over one million miners involved in the lockout and the total army of unemployed is reported to be more than two and one half millions. This means that approximately one man in three is idle in England. The others are largely working part time. Who will feed the forty-five million people in Great Britain if the lockout lasts? The nobility. The Bank of England? The merchants? If the workers are not fed, they will very shortly step out and take the industries and feed themselves, and if they move to take the industries there will be open war.

The miners do not want war. They ask only a living wage and assurances that in a few months they will not lose it. They ask a national standard and, to guarantee payment, they ask a pool of all profits. Today there is no standard and no guarantee against reductions. The wage is placed at the lowest level which the miners in the poorest pit can be forced to accept. The reduction which the owners are attempting to force will cut wages to a level nearly fifty per cent below the actual cost of living and far below the pre-war level. The miners do not want war, but the ridiculous demands of the owners may force the workers not only into war but to the seizure of the industries as a matter of self-protection.

The Government has made a great gesture of generosity in offering a subsidy, but the offer is full of weasel words. The subsidy will last only until August and it is conditioned on accepting the owners' terms and on abandoning the national scale and the national pool of profits which will guarantee the payment of that scale. The workers have had enough hollow victories. They have had nothing

but hollow victories since 1912. Astute politicians have always tricked them out of their demands. But now it is the workers who have turned astute, and by the power of their numbers and the force of their unshakable solidarity they are after what they want without condition, and they are determined that in this settlement no politician will laugh at their expense.

The owners say that profits cannot yield, but the workers know that the owners lie. They know that all the coal properties of Britain have been paid more than twice over out of the earnings they have surrendered in "profits," and they are waking slowly to the conviction that if profits cannot yield there shall no longer be any profits.

And who can break them?

The owners? The mines cannot operate without workers and as long as the Triple Alliance stands firm, supported by the dockers of Belgium and Holland and other countries, the pits will be idle and the American and Silesian coal in the harbors of London and Liverpool and Bristol and Glasgow will lie untouched and useless. Dependent factories will one by one be closed and industry will be at a standstill.

The politicians? They have been reduced to helplessness by the stiffened front of the workers. A million laws cannot force the miners to return to wages which will not guarantee them the food, clothing and shelter they require. They have worked long hours under revolting conditions long enough. They have never done anything else but toil for their noble masters and they have reached a point where the word of the masters and the word of the law, which amounts to the same thing, no longer hold any qualms for them. They will not be broken except by overwhelming power.

The army? Everything hinges on the army. It always does, for when the master's word and the lawyer's word lose force, rifles can be counted upon for action. The workers of Britain are beginning to see that if they are ever to pull themselves out of the mire of their present condition, they will some day have to face the bayonets and machine guns.

But the army is discontented; the morale is crumbling. Reserves which were called up for home duty have suddenly been sent abroad for service in Germany and Poland. They are through with war in Germany and this action angers them and their fellows who remain behind. Moreover, the pay is halting. The Government is finding difficulty in the sixtieth day of the strike in meeting the one million dollars per day which the regular home army is costing, and the reserves are already in arrears. Even the loyal middle class is swinging



A farewell meeting held in Chicago on April 24th, 1921, which was addressed by I. W. W. class war prisoners on the eve of their departure for Leavenworth Penitentiary. Among the speakers were fellow workers Dan Buckley, James Rowan, Harry Lloyd, Charles Plahn, Giovanni Baldassi, Pietro Nigra and Clyde Hough.

to the side of the miners. The arming of the Island, an old policy for India, is a new one for the faithful at home and it is beginning to alienate the affection of the plain folks who have to bear the discipline and pay the taxes. A few weeks ago Lloyd George could call up thousands of reserves and clamp down war time restrictions at will, but the times are rapidly changing and if he orders hostilities today, it is quite probable that he will find the rifles turned on his own walled-in Downing Street.

Something is going to crack in England. The tension has reached a point where a crisis is apt to be precipitated at any moment and where a compromise seems no longer possible. If profits do not

yield quickly and concede the miners' entire position, the miners are apt to lose patience and seize the pits and the factories and precipitate a war to the end. There is a growing conviction that it may as well come now as ever.

Whatever the result of the next few weeks may be, the workers of the Triple Alliance have gained a new confidence in the power of their numbers and they are gradually becoming conscious of this fact—which is hopeful—that British industry and British politics and the continuance of the empire rests entirely upon their decision and that the empire itself is theirs for the taking.

Special Notice to Branch Secretaries and Delegates

The Thirteenth Convention of the I. W. W. in session at Chicago, Ill., adopted on May 19th, the following resolution:

That all defense and relief stamps, donation lists, receipt books (for donations) and Bail and Bond books now in circulation (issued prior to May 19, 1921) be declared void and called in.

Job Delegates and Branch Secretaries are requested to turn in all matter as described in the resolution adopted at the Convention as quickly as possible. A new stamp of one dollar, of a different color and design, will be issued immediately.

**Geo. Williams,
Defense Sec'y.**

Defense News

By Geo. Williams

ON MONDAY, May 16th, the bonds put up on Wm. D. Haywood, Vladimir Lossieff, J. H. Beyer, Leo Laukki, Fred Jaakkola, Grover H. Perry, Herbert McCutcheon, Charles Rothfisher and George Andreytchine were declared forfeited by the Circuit Court of Appeals of Chicago.

The amount of bonds forfeited is about \$65,000.00, of which about \$20,000.00 is sustained by the organization.

The problem of raising this amount to repay those who have loaned us their Liberty Bonds and cash has been settled by the General Convention. A Special Voluntary Assessment Stamp of one dollar denomination has been ordered printed at once to raise the money needed. (Read the special notice regarding this in another section of this paper). The policy regarding this stamp will be to call it in as soon as sufficient funds are collected.

It has been reported that parties are already in the field with spurious lists soliciting donations to make good the loss on Bail. No such list has been issued by the General Defense Committee and none is intended. Anyone meeting parties who are attempting to raise money to pay Bail losses in any other way than the sale of the Special Stamp mentioned before is urged to act promptly and effectively. The policy of the General Defense Committee will be to eliminate the Donation List as much as possible, if not to do away with it altogether. All Donation Lists and Receipt Books issued prior to May, 1921, are called in. All future lists and receipt books issued by the General Defense Committee will bear date of issue and will bear the seal of the General Defense Committee. Donate on all others at your own risk.

It will require from a week to ten days from

the time the bail is exonerated on those who have returned to Leavenworth to get it in shape to pay back. A large amount of checking will have to be made with the accounts to clear up matters so that the repayment of loans can be made without mistakes.

An article was published broadcast by the capitalist press quoting a fictitious person named Rey Martin as Secretary of the General Defense Committee as saying that Haywood was responsible for a shortage of \$35,000.00 in the accounts of the Defense Committee. This is an absolute falsehood and hardly needs a denial. Neither John Martin, the former secretary, nor his successor, have found such a shortage, and none exists.

Nineteen Wichita Defendants to Be Released.

The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in a decision handed down on May 14th, 1921, has thrown out the first count in the notorious Wichita indictment. Their release will be effected about the first of June. Under ordinary circumstances where criminals would be involved this action would mean the immediate release of the men involved in the case. But U. S. District Attorney Robertson is throwing every legal obstacle he can in the way and therefore more red tape is necessary to send the liberating order to Leavenworth. The next meeting of the court to settle all matters will be on May 31st.

Every possible effort should be made by job delegates everywhere to push the sale of the Special Voluntary Assessment Stamp to pay off the bail shortage. These stamps will soon be in the field. We must pay back everybody who has loaned Cash and Liberty Bonds for bail. Every member should have at least one of these stamps.



A GROUP OF I. W. W. CLASS WAR PRISONERS.

Picture taken just before they returned to Leavenworth Penitentiary.

Top row, left to right:—Ralph Chaplin, Wm. Weyh, Joe Gordon, Walter T. Nef, J. Graber, Francis Miller, E. F. Doree, Thomas McKinnon.

Bottom row, left to right:—Jack Walsh, Wm. Lewis, Harrison George, Jack Law, Chas. Ashleigh, John M. Foss, Pietro Nigra, Ben Fletcher, (M. J. Smith).

Special Notice

TO THOSE WHO HAVE LOANED CASH AND LIBERTY BONDS TO THE BAIL AND BOND FUND:

The following action was taken by the General Convention of the I. W. W. in session at Chicago, on May 18th, 1921—

“That the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. shall be empowered by this Convention to issue a special voluntary assessment stamp of one dollar, the funds from this source to be used exclusively for paying anyone bonding receipts for money loaned to the organization as bail on the Chicago defendants.”

“That owing to the shortage in the Bail and Bond fund the paying back of all cash loans be made on the basis of 60% and another receipt issued for the remaining 40%, same to be paid out of the fund to be raised for the purpose of paying off the shortage.”

“That on and after Jan. 1st, 1922, all funds remaining in the present Bail and Bond Fund and still uncalled for shall revert to the Rehabilitation Fund.”

The above matter means that those holding receipts for money loaned to the organization will be paid 60% of their loan from the present funds on hand and will receive another receipt for the additional 40% payable by the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. as soon as funds are secured from the special stamp to be issued for that purpose.

The probable loss from defaulting of bail will run close to twenty thousand dollars (including the Northwest Bail and Bond) and the payment of 60% was decided on so that loans could be repaid back on the most equitable basis possible. Those who hold receipts for money loaned to the Bail and Bond Fund and who can afford to wait a while longer will do the organization a great favor by delaying their demand for repayment as long as possible, not forgetting, however, the provision set forth by the Convention that they must present their receipts before Jan. 1st, 1922. After that date all loans still uncalled for will be placed in the Rehabilitation Fund.

Anyone holding receipts for loans made to the Bail and Bond Fund who wishes to donate whole or a part of the loans to help meet the existing shortage can arrange this by communicating with the General Defense office; or money can be donated from loans to the Rehabilitation Fund which has been started. This Rehabilitation Fund is for the purpose of furnishing the Class War prisoners who are released from jails and penitentiaries upon the expiration of sentences with enough money to get on their feet and recuperate from their health-breaking confinement.

It is impossible at this time to tabulate a complete list of the Liberty bonds lost by default. As soon as the list is completed and checked those who have Liberty bonds coming will be notified. Those whose Liberty bonds are included in bonds defaulted will be given receipts on the General Executive Board, who will in turn either replace the bond lost or reimburse in any other way suitable to both concerned.

Those who have receipts for bonds and money loaned to the Bail and Bond Fund are urged to leave them with the Defense Committee for use in cases now pending. If you wish to leave it with us write in at once and we will give another receipt.

GEO. WILLIAMS, Sec'y-Treas.,
General Defense Committee.

Book Review

By S. P.

Empire, War and the Workers.

"The American Empire," by Scott Nearing, New York, 1921; The Rand School of Social Science. 50 cents, paper; \$1.00, cloth.

THOSE of us who were of a thinking age at the time the present century was a-borning, should have little difficulty in recalling exactly when, how, and by whom the word "imperialism" was first injected into common American political parlance. The Spanish-American war had been fought and won; our benevolent "protectorate" over Cuba and the other West Indies had been established; and the Philippines had been gently gobbled up "for their own good"—Aguinaldo and his followers to the contrary on this latter point. * Imperialism, insidiously nourished under the republican forms of a capitalistic government, had by this time attained to such proportions that it was no longer possible to ignore it, save for those whose supreme interest it was to do so.

It was, it will be recalled, the silver-tongued orator of La Platte, whose attention has since been diverted to graver pursuits, such as the demolition of Demon Rum and Darwinism, who first made "imperialism" a catch-word in American politics. With Bryan and his following, however, it was merely a convenient cockle-burr to place under the saddle of a Republican administration, one which might possibly cause the steed to turn broncho and ditch the rider.

The imperialism which they had in mind was not the imperialism which is visioned by the modern Marxian. The ailment as they diagnosed it was essentially political, the danger which threatens the cherished institutions of any republican people who have come to extend their sway over other peoples to whom they will not or cannot grant the autonomy which they themselves enjoy. The "Great Commoner" had not been the first to sense this danger. It had been pointed out before him by Goldwyn Smith and, earlier still, by James Anthony Froude, in connection with the downfall of the republic of ancient Rome.

The imperialism, on the other hand, which is viewed by the great proletarian economists of today, is not essentially political, but economic and financial, one which has its roots in the same exploitation, the same cancerous greed for gain which enslaves the working class the world over. This is the imperialism which provides the subject matter for Scott Nearing's latest book, "The American Empire."

This is a book which "left-wingers," "centrists," and "right-wingers" may read with equal interest

* "The Philippine War was the last political episode in the life of the American Republic. From February 4, 1899, the United States accepted the political status of an empire.—Nearing, p. 72.

and profit. Indeed, one need not be a radical at all to start with; all that is required for its reading is that rather rare intellectual phenomenon, an open mind, and the ability to assimilate the material which the writer presents. Herein lies the greatest value of the book, its propaganda value; for, after all, they that are converted need not a messiah. "The American Empire," with its opening section on "The Promise of 1776," starts off as orthodoxly, to all appearances, as a school history. With a little amplification and a little condensation, it might be made into a radical text-book on the subject.

The orthodoxy with which the book opens is, however, only seeming. The first clause, "The genius of revolution presided at the birth of the American Republic," should be enough to put the wary bourgeois heretic-hunter on his guard. It should prepare him somewhat for the cumulative kick he is bound to receive as the treatise progresses. But what can one expect of a college professor who has been outlawed for speaking the truth?

Beginning with the wholesale theft of a continent from the Indians—the original "100-per-centers"—Prof. Nearing traces the stream of American exploitation thru Negro slavery and the Mexican war to its flood tide at the close of the Spanish-American war. The rise of American plutocracy and the building of a great industrial empire is depicted. The author points out how the principle of the divine right of kings, overthrown by the American and French revolutions, has come to be superseded by the principle of the divine right of property. The world war, with its economic and financial aftermath, and the alignments of international imperialism following the war are outlined. This brings us to the crux of the whole matter.

"This monstrous thing called war will occur again!" Read the passage, lyrical in its intensity, on pp. 241-2. This passage was quoted in a recent issue of the *Industrial Pioneer* and need not be reprinted here. It alone is worth the price of the volume. "Again the truth-tellers will be mobbed and jailed and lynched"—how well we know what this means!

That those who drenched the world in blood for the sake of a route to Bagdad are preparing to repeat the ghastly performance for the sake of a few oil fields or a few trade routes in the Pacific, and that they will do so, unless the working class of the world, rising in revolution, prevents them, those who read the signs cannot doubt. And the thing is not far off. In another place, Prof. Nearing tells us: "The American people committed themselves to an imperialist party when they elected Mr. Harding to the presidency." Premier Briand was not far from wrong when he said: "International politics today are oil politics."

The words of Kameneff, in an address to the Sec-

ond Congress of the Third International, may also be recalled:

"The danger of a new world war is imminent. It will be for the control of the Pacific Ocean. The conflict will be between the ancient allies, England and America. Japan will be on the side of England. It may be foreseen that all the capitalist nations will become involved in this new conflagration. Only the action of a world proletariat can prevent this disaster."

It is on this note that Nearing ends his book:

"If the United States follows the course of empire, the workers of the United States have no choice but to pay the price of empire—pay it in wealth, in misery, and in blood. But there is an alternative. Instead of going on with the old system of the masters, the workers may establish a new economic system—a system belonging to the workers, and managed by them for their benefit.

"The workers of Europe have tried out imperialism and they have come to the conclusion that the cost is too high. Now they are seeking, thru their own movement—the labor movement—to control and direct the economic life of Europe in the interest of those who produce the wealth and thus make the economic life of Europe possible.

"The American workers have the same opportunity. Will they avail themselves of it? The choice is in their hands.

"Thus far the workers of the United States have been, for the most part, content to live under the old system, so long as it paid them a living wage and offered them a job. The European workers felt that, too, in the pre-war days, but they have been compelled—by the terrible experiences of the past few years—to change their minds. It was no longer a question of wages or a job in Europe. It was a question of life or death.

"Can the American worker profit by that experience? Can he realize that he is living in a century whose rulers have adopted an imperial policy that threatens the peace of the world? Can he see that the pursuit of this policy means war, misery and death to millions in other countries as well as to the millions at home? The workers of Europe have learned the lesson by bitter experience. Is not the American worker wise enough to profit by their example?

Is he? One wonders. Certainly, waiting until we get a majority of the working class to vote a political ticket seems a futile means of averting the imperialistic cataclysm. Waiting until we get a majority of the workers lined up in One Big Union seems almost equally futile, at times. Still, there is Russia, with her lesson of the militant minority and the opportune moment. Who knows?

Prof. Nearing's book ends where another vital volume might begin. We are told that only the worker can avert the deluge. We are not told how he can do it. It is to be doubted if the technique of revolution is precisely the same in America as in Europe.

Still, it is just as well, perhaps, that the writer stops where he does. By so doing, he keeps his book altogether out of the realm of revolutionary dogmatism, confining it to the presentation of historical and statistical data. Such generalizations as are made are so obvious as to be almost indisputable.

The material of the volume is not highly original. Much of it—in far less accurate form, of course—has been the staple thunder of the radical soap-boxer for years. As a compilation, however, as a really needed text-book on the subject of modern imperialism, it is extremely valuable.

The author's literary style leaves much to be desired. He impresses one as writing at a fairly breathless speed. For one thing we should be thankful: it is not in a professorial style. It is popular, almost oratorical at times.

The make-up of the book, due, perhaps, to an effort at compression, is rather heavy and uninviting. A compensating feature is the price, which might well serve as an example to other publishers.

**

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May 14th, 1921.

To the Thirteenth Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World.

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We, the undersigned Auditing Committee, elected by you to audit the accounts of the General Office, wish to report that we have audited the accounts of the Industrial Pioneer from January 1st, 1921, to April 1st 1921, and have found same true and correct. Have found all receipts to cover all expenditures O. K., and the accounts found in fine shape.

Signed:

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ERWIN LEISCHER, Br. Sec'y.

* * *

Permit me to congratulate you. The May number is at hand and has been read and re-read. It is superb. I at first thought to give special mention to the best features; but, I find it hard to choose between different examples of near perfection.

JOHN McSLARROW, Everett, Wash.

* * *

But The Industrial Pioneer is something par excellence, for education or the funny side of life, it absolutely cannot be excelled. It is a very hard matter for me to laugh, it is an effort, but believe me, it's no effort when we have the Pioneer. My wife and I laugh our heads off and should be produced on the screen. Keep up the good work. Wishing you success.

E. McINTOSH, Hoquiam, Wash.

* * *

The Industrial Pioneer is getting better every issue, it's a pity money is so scarce.

H. H. DETWILER, Br. Sec'y.
Pittsburg, Pa.

We also received one I. W. W. magazine and the February, March and April numbers of the Pioneer. We return thanks so much more heartily, as we find the contents exceedingly interesting. Particularly the essay on Marine Transport Industry by Tom Barker is highly clever. That's the way to learn from one another.

DEUTSCHER SCHIFFFAHRTSBUND
Hamburg, Germany

* * *

You have made a great improvement in The Pioneer over the O. B. U. Monthly, not only in editorials and articles, but in its style and appearance. In your article "For a Concerted Plan of Action" you have hit the keynote, and said something which should be seriously considered and adopted by many radicals.

W. J. LEMON, Mexico City, Mexico.

* * *

I can find no words of praise for this month's issue, for my vocabulary is too poor to express the praise I have for it, so keep up the good work and I hope we will be able to achieve the thing we are fighting for. I like most of all the Question Box.

A. DACLIN, Delegate, St. Louis, Mo.

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