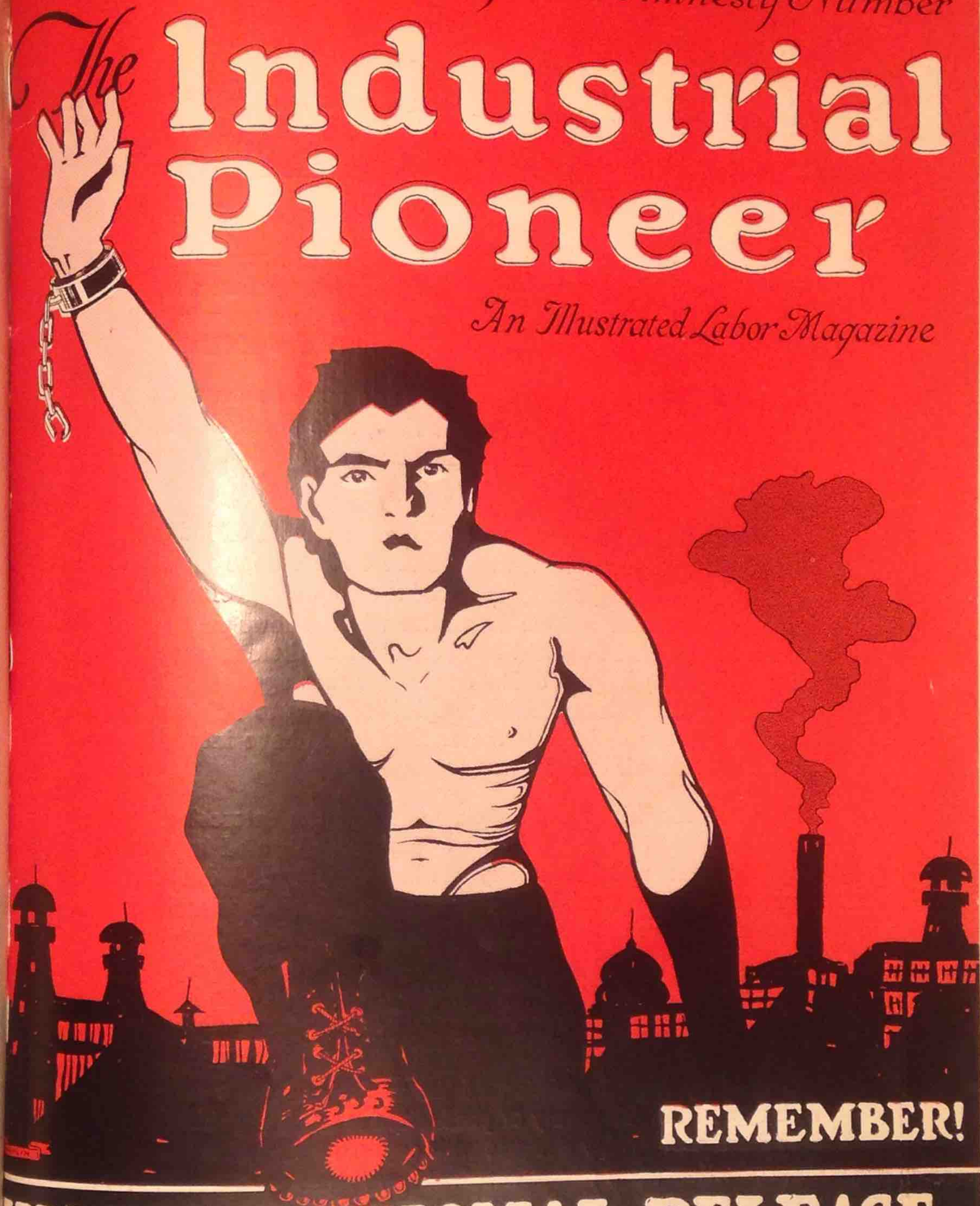


Special Amnesty Number

The Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine



REMEMBER!

**UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE
for POLITICAL PRISONERS
CHRISTMAS 1923**

PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of 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.

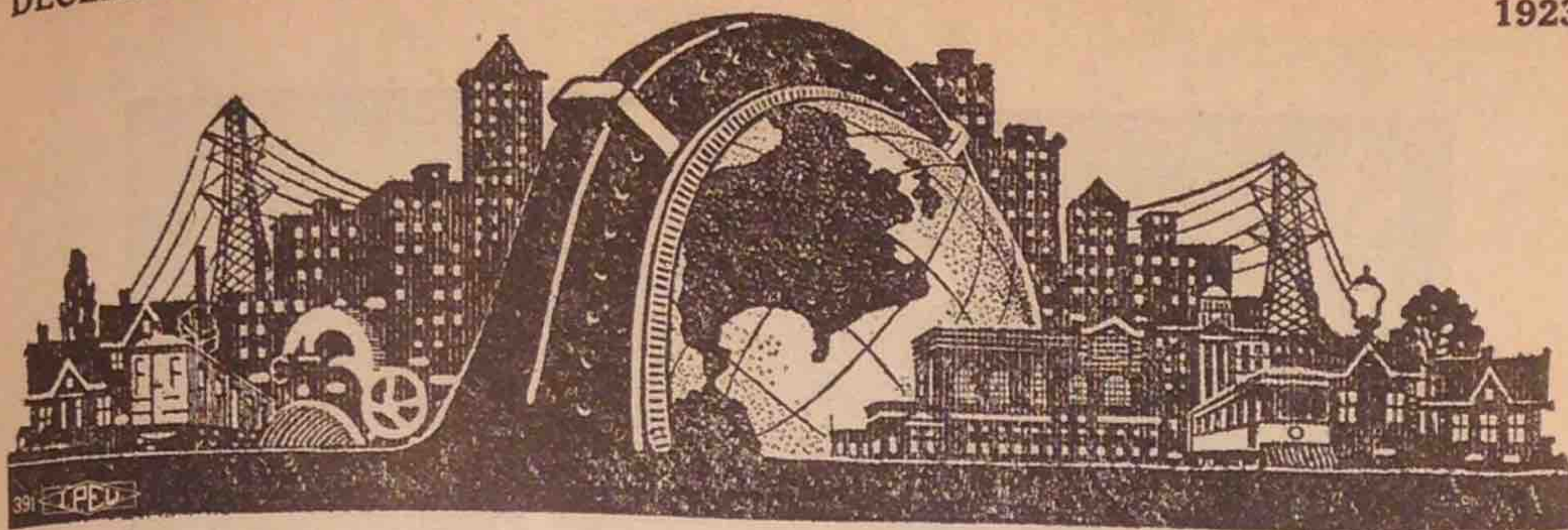
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the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

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

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the 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.





Vol. I.

The Industrial Pioneer

No. 8

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

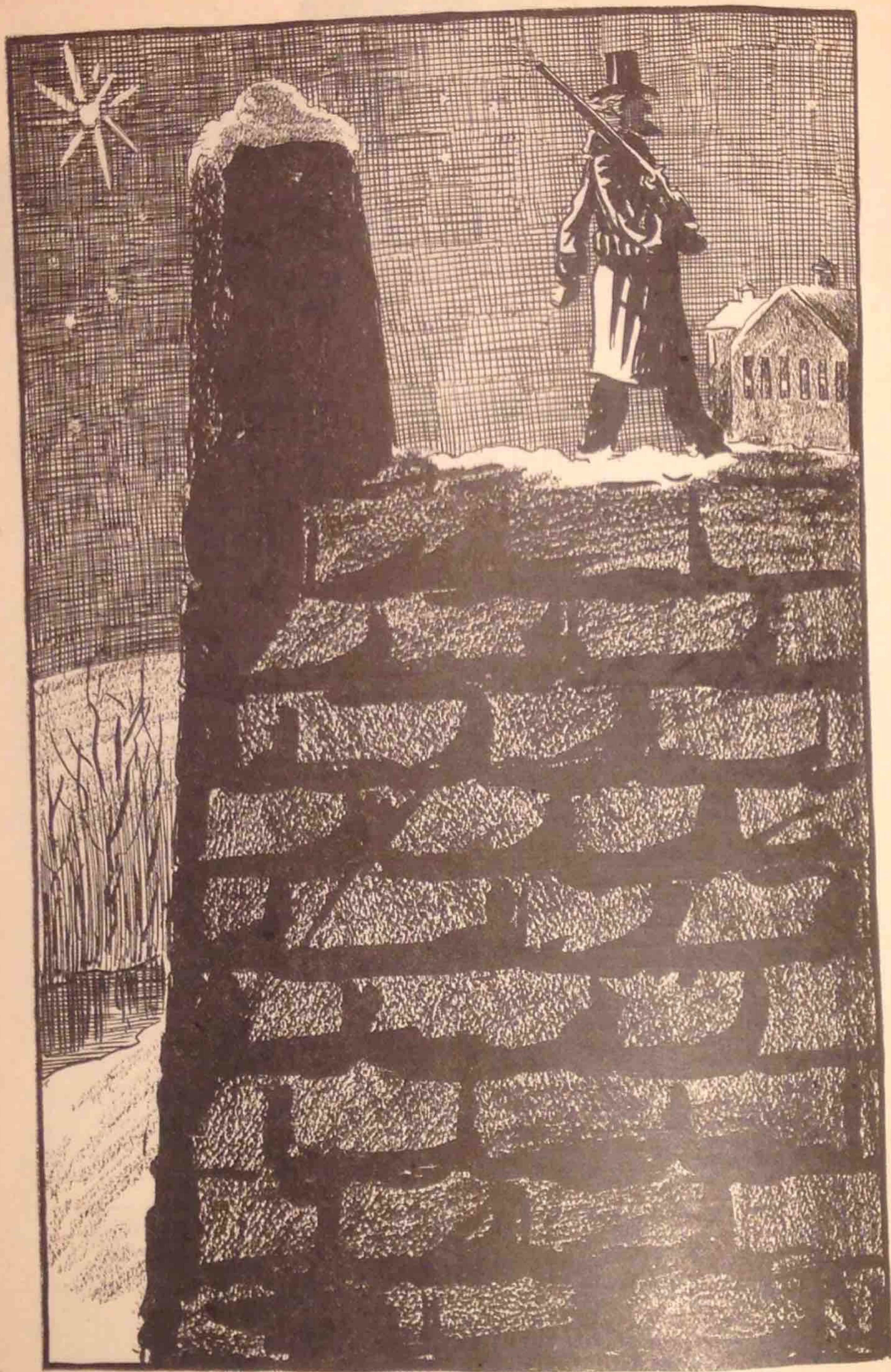
TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Amnesty By Christmas	8
California, Beautiful and Damned	5
Nailing Christ To The Cross Again. H. George Weise	6
Hypocritical California	7
Centralia Conspiracy	9
Apples	11
Out Where The Oregon Rolls	12
Steinmetz: A Genius Who Was A Friend of Labor	13
Fairy Wand of The Ages	15
I. W. W. In Convention Assembled	16
Modern Industrialism	17
Boss Florists' Industrial Union	21
Wreck of The Silk Special	23
Revolution In The Air	27
A Farmer Sees America First	28
Situation In Germany	29
Retrenchment In Hollywood	33
Russia, Europe's Savior	34
Conveyor Makes Shoe Worker Appendage	35
The Lynching of Bud Williams	41
Winter In Working Class Families	47
Workers Education: Now Or For Future?.....	49
As Pioneer Readers See Things	51
Last Letters of Joe Hill	53
War and Christmas	55
A Worker's Wanderings	57
Gompers And Deportation	59
Christmas In Cleveland	63

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Drawn by M. T. Callaghan

"PEACE ON EARTH"

IS THIS THE 1923 INTERPRETATION OF THE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT?

THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Vol. 1.

DECEMBER, 1923

No. 8

Amnesty by Christmas!

Let The Cry Ring Out from Coast to Coast, from the Lakes to the Gulf!

All Factions, Liberals And Radicals Alike, Join In Demand That Jails Be Opened And Men Set Free Who Dared To Stand For Free Speech And Industrial Democracy.

Sunday, December 23, is Day Set for Giant Demonstrations All Over the Country. Arrange One For Your Section. Make It A Rousing One! Begin Arrangements Now!

THE General Defense Committee of the IWW has issued the following proclamation:

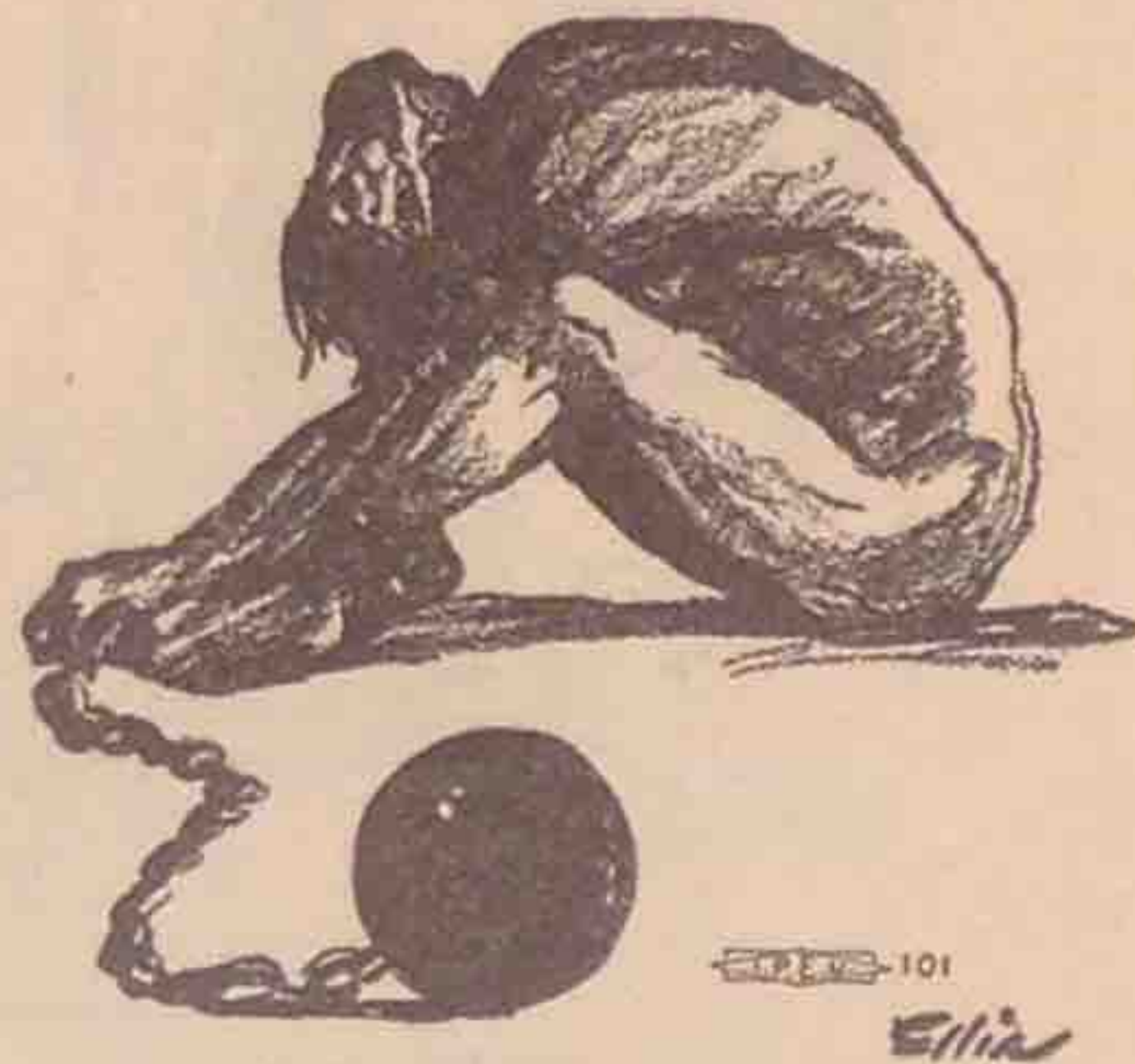
Well into their seventh year of unjust imprisonment our members in federal prisons have failed to win from the government authorities that consideration which has been extended to conscienceless profiteers who grafted upon the government, the spies of other governments, and malefactors who scuttled ships, wrecked warehouses and blew up munitions factories. Evidently, the government holds crime to be less offensive than the holding of opinions that do not accord with those who control it.

Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania, one of the acknowledged legal authorities in the United States, expressed the opinion openly to the late President Harding that the conviction of the IWW prisoners was not warranted by the evidence. He urged their unconditional release as a matter of legal justice without any humanitarian considerations whatever. He spoke as a lawyer, not as a man.

More than ever, then, does it become our duty to stir the consciences of the people of the United States, in whose name the President becomes a party to the legal crime committed by withholding from



STILL IN THE DARK AGES
—Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.



IS THIS TO BE THE STORY OF
FREE SPEECH IN AMERICA?

these men release from cells in which they should never have been incarcerated.

Fellow Workers, wherever you are, try to get in touch with persons of influence in labor unions, civic and religious organizations, women's clubs and fraternal societies. Endeavor to have them arrange for meetings of protest against the inactivity of the government authorities in the cases of these innocent victims of wartime passions and prejudices, who have suffered the tortures of a prison hell for seven years.

Have resolutions demanding the release of these prisoners by Xmas passed. Only if, and when the nation resolves to wipe away this stain upon the reputation of a country that stands preeminently for freedom of opinion will the rulers of the United States attempt to repair this crime which has robbed these honest men of seven useful years.

These men are our fellow workers. They were condemned to living deaths for us. They must be freed. Let us say so with no uncertain voice on Amnesty Day—Sunday, December 23rd. Write in for literature.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
1001 W. Madison Street.

Three



BARS TO FREEDOM

Yesterday, Today, the Future

By HAL BROMMELS

TIMES of the kings are gone,
 Their days are numbered;
 They ruled with bloody hand
 While people slumbered.

Lords, dukes and royalists
 No longer chain us;
 They used to rob and rule,
 They've jailed and slain us.

Now we have gods of gold,
 Coal, steel and lumber,
 Greater than kings of old,
 Fewer in number.

Present-day emperors,
 Giants in power,
 Slave us in industries
 Even this hour.

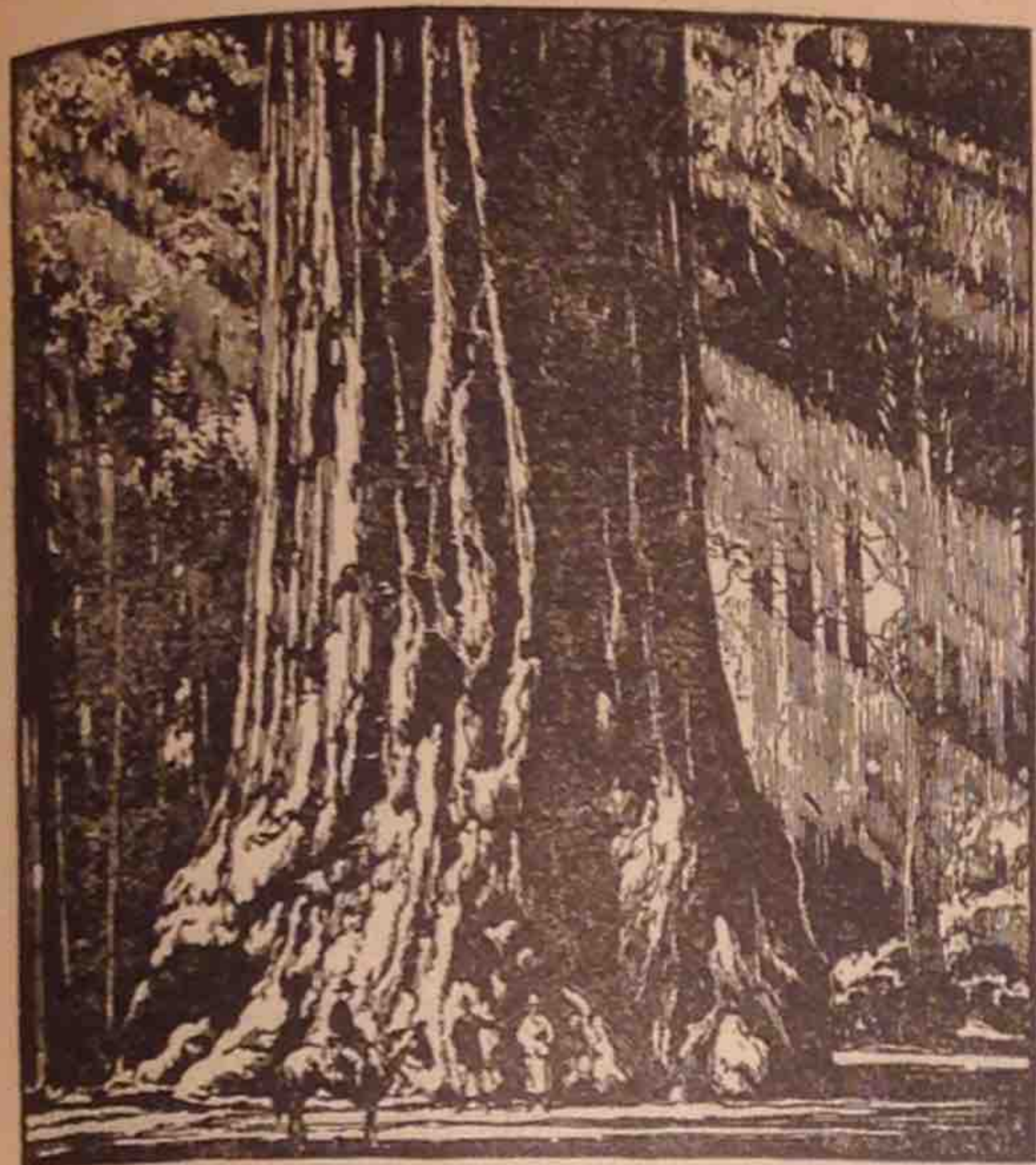
But right today there form
 Means for our freeing;
 Labor is rising up—
 Thinking and seeing.

Someday the end shall come,
 Labor will fight free;
 Earth then shall bring for all
 Gladness and plenty.

GOLDEN RULE OF MODERN BUSINESS

Dollars and dimes; dollars and dimes,
 To be without money is the worst of all crimes:
 To keep all you get and get all you can
 Is the first and the last and the whole duty of man.

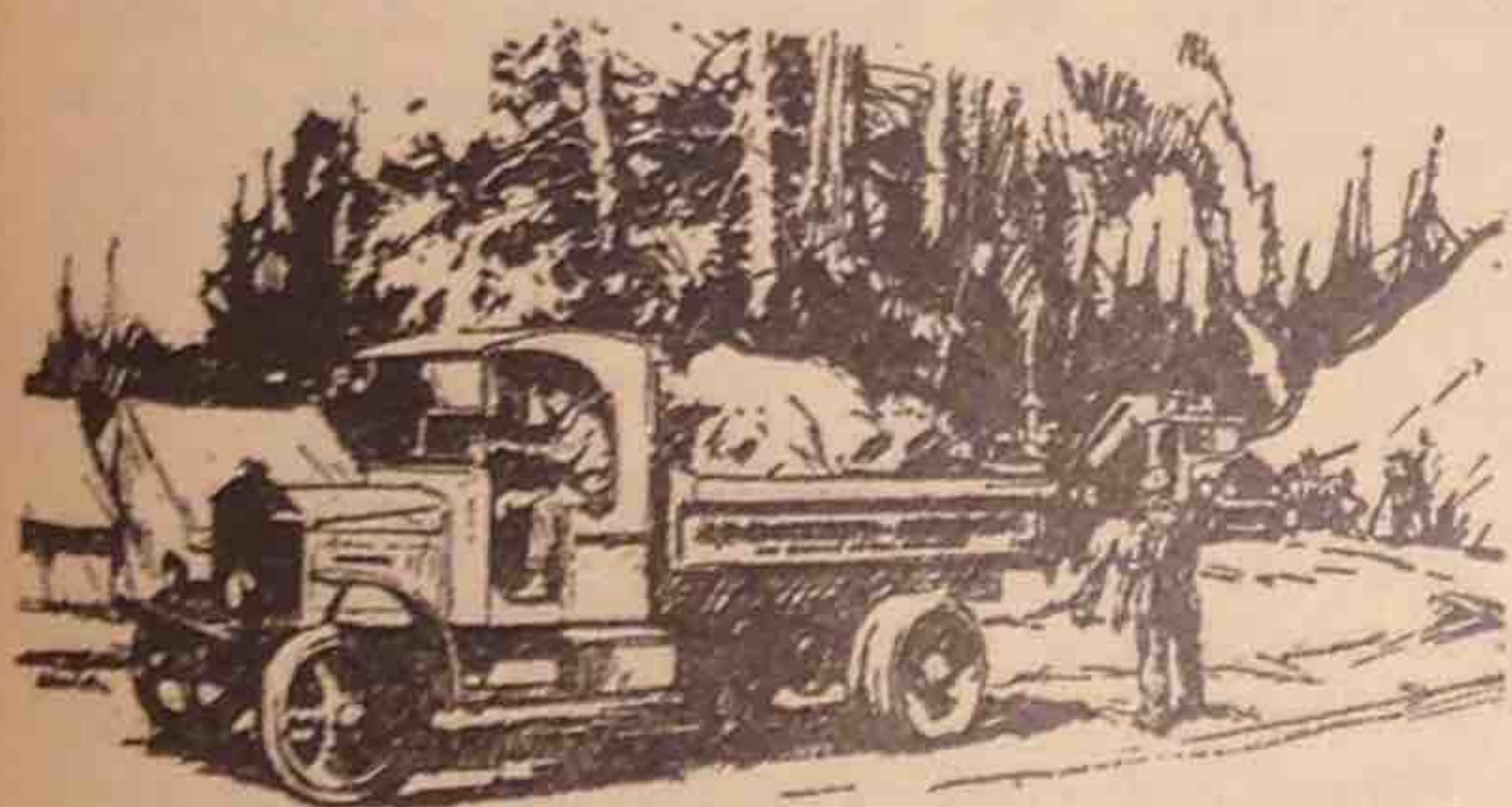
—R. F. Pettigrew.



In the giant redwoods of California, lumber workers are arrested for organizing against the lumber trust.

At Eureka and other points loggers find their constitutional rights vitiated by pernicious state laws adopted during war hysteria.

The hydro-electric monopolies of California do not want any labor unions to interfere with their profits or powers. They



want unrestricted control, not only of natural resources, but also of human resources. Dirt movers, construction workers, power house employes—all the laborers who make possible their greatest achievements—all these must be without rights to organize and subject only to monopolistic manipulation.

DECEMBER, 1923

California the Beautiful and Damned

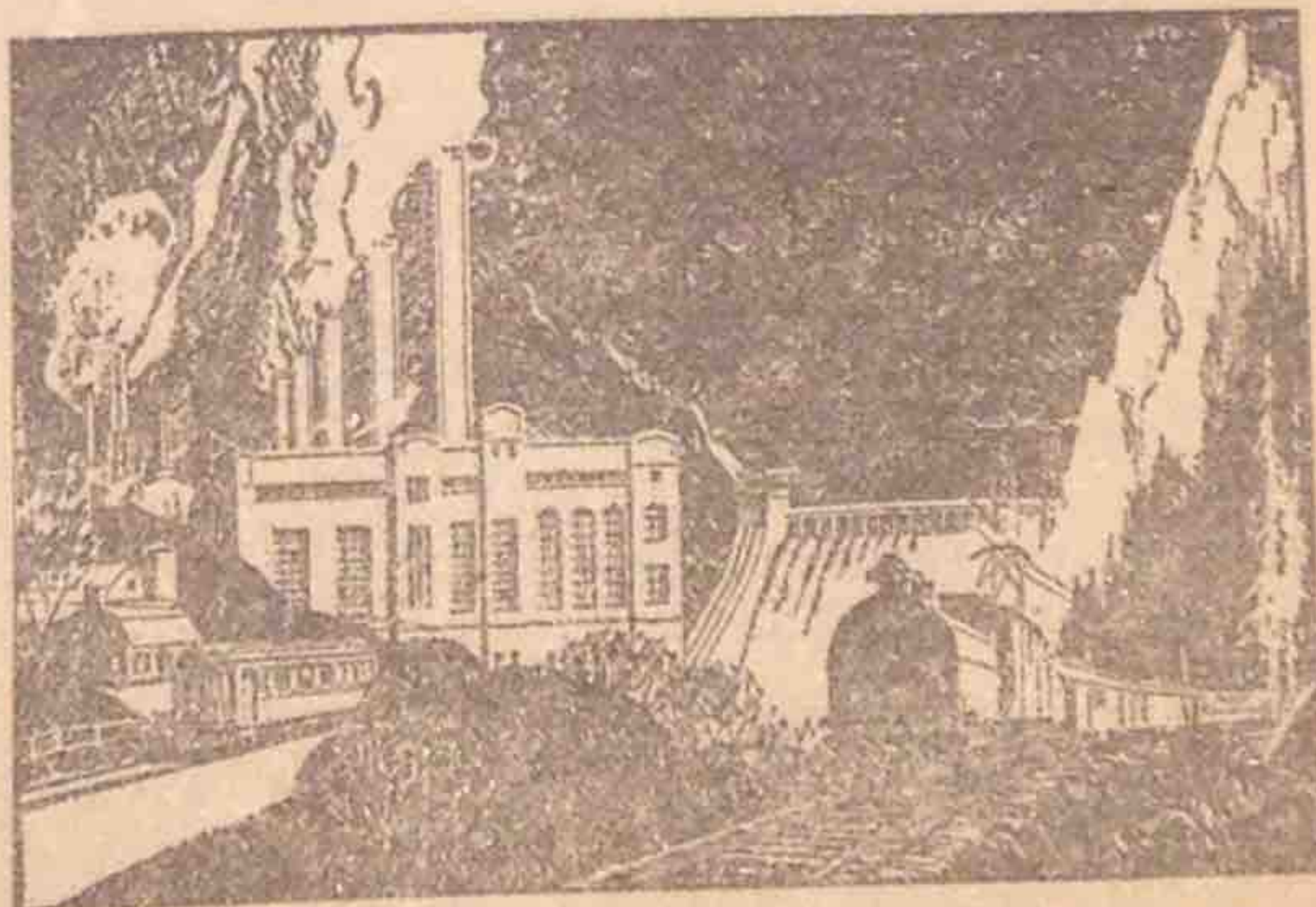
Sends Workers to Prison for Being
Members of a Labor Union

Destroys Workers' Right to Organize
and Strive for Better Conditions
and A New Era



It is these monopolies, in conjunction with lumber and shipping trusts, and manufacturers' associations, that are back of the infamous criminal syndicalism laws and persecutions of labor unionists in California.

Boycott California. Arouse it to the injustices perpetrated in its fair name.



Five

Nailing Christ to the Cross Again

Poems by HENRY GEORGE WEISE

But they shouted, saying, Crucify, crucify him. Luke, 23rd Chapter, 21st Verse.

THEY have men behind bars in San Quentin
today
For dreaming of justice and truth;
They have men behind bars, shut from freedom
away,
For talking and telling the truth.
They have men behind bars who dared look on the
stars
And follow them upward and on;
They have men in "black holes" for the saving of
souls
And voicing the coming of dawn.
They have men—do you hear it?—By God, I say
men!
Hemmed in by their stone and their steel.

And sweated in jute shop and beaten and starved
Because they WERE men who dared feel
The woe of their fellows, the pain of their brothers,
The hunger, the misery, the vice,
The robbing of children, the selling of mothers,
—The value, the profit, the price!

Go blazon it wide for the smuggest to hear,
Go shouting it over the earth,
That men are in prison for daring to sing
The song of the world's rebirth!
Go thunder it forth from the mountain tops,
Go spreading it over the plain,
That Jesus the worker, the toiler, the slave,
Is nailed to a cross again!

Standing Fast!

Written after paying a visit to Fellow Worker Pat Ryan confined in San Quentin penitentiary, California.

SAN Quentin stands in the shade of the mount
And the bay sits at its feet,
And the white road winds thru a landscape fair
Where fragrant blossoms scent the air
Till it comes to the house of dark despair
And bars and beauty meet.

Ah, Christ, I saw my brother there,
And clad in grey was he,
And the look of the chained was in his eyes
And the something of life that never dies;
He smiled, but I heard the thousand sighs
Thru the lips of misery.

They marched him in and they sat him down
One side of a form from me,
And the warder raised in a seat on high
Ran over us all a vigilant eye,
For there was a hundred as he and I
In that pose of infamy.

We did not talk of his tortured nights
Nor his days of endless work;
We did not speak of his longing pain
To walk as a free man once again;
He spoke no word, for words are vain,
Of cells of deepest murk.

He only asked how goes the fight
This convict clad in grey.
He only said I'm standing fast
For truth and justice till the last.
Tell all the boys—the hours past,
Guards came, took him away.

San Quentin sits in the shade of the mount
And the sun shines on the bay,
And the gardens green run along the shore
And the riot of blooms are running o'er,
But they blossom outside the prison door
That shuts the damned away.

Ex-U. S. Senator, R. F. Pettigrew, South Dakota, defines capital as "stolen labor and its only function is to steal more labor." He also says, "The remedy is simple and plain—the same remedy you apply when a man breaks into your strong box and takes your money. You capture him and take the stolen property away from him."

Tokio press correspondence places loss of life by Japanese earthquake at 300,000. These figures are disputed by non-natives, who believe the officials have "doctored" them for "reasons of state."

Hypocritical California

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

GOLDEN sunshine; high blue sky; rolling hills in the distance; the sea singing its sullen, plaintive song near at hand; drab grey walls and steel-barred doors and windows; the "mill" shop, yard and power house—this is San Quentin. Perched atop the wall, in a small box-like tower stands a guard with a ready rifle poised, as if daring the inmates to attempt escape.

Sultry heat; angry sun in the heavens; smiling landscape, dotted with fruit orchards in the distance; four dreary, dirty grey walls; windows and doors steel-barred and fortress-like—this is Folsom. Guards everywhere, atop the walls only too anxious to begin shooting, steal behind the prisoners to hear if they are plotting escape or breaking some petty rule of the prison.

In this highly civilized country, in this land that boasts that it opens its doors to the oppressed of other countries, in California, a commonwealth of that country, men are sent to prison for daring to organize in a labor union for their mutual protection. And yet that does not quite tell the whole story. The men who have gone to prison for violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law are more than Labor union organizers. They are men with a broad social vision. They want more than just a pittance; a share of what they produce. Their philosophy embraces more than the regulation of wages and hours. They want what the seers and sages of all ages demanded for the workers. They want the full social value of the product of their toil. They believe that evolution is pointing the way to a system of society wherein all those who toil shall receive their just reward.

The Men of Marysville

This brings us to the court room in Marysville where Judge McDaniels presides. The trial is over and two of the prisoners are found guilty of interfering with the profits of the industrial owners. The other defendant, by some queer twist of fate, is ac-

BOYCOTT

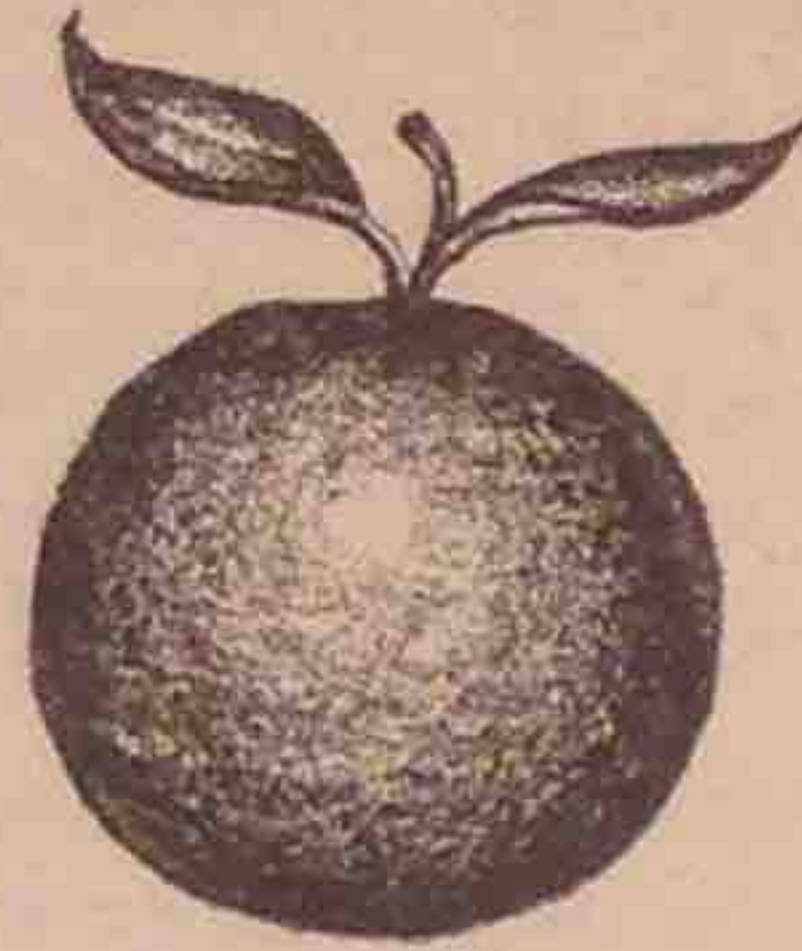


CALIFORNIA CANNED GOODS

UNTIL THE INFAMOUS CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAW IS REPEALED

UNION MEN ARE BEING IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL IN CALIFORNIA

BOYCOTT



CALIFORNIA FRUIT

HELP MAKE CALIFORNIA SAFE FOR THE WORKING CLASS

quitted. The names of the men found guilty are Fred W. Thompson and Ed Dawe, Malcolm Fullerton was not found guilty. And in passing I want to say that the report published in a Marysville paper that Fullerton renounced the organization to escape imprisonment is false. He stoutly maintained that his fellow workers were as innocent as he. Perhaps it was a compromise verdict.

Fred Thompson and Ed. Dawe are agricultural workers, sons of the soil who help to fill the world's bread basket, and often times go hungry themselves. (Oh! this paradoxical, insane system, wherein the ones who supply the world with food are forced to hunger, wherein those who make the clothes are clothed in rags, wherein those who build "palaces fairer than dreams" are outcasts.) They are young men, not yet thirty years of age, brawny men filled with a fierce hatred of injustice, intelligent men who know what is wrong and know, too, the remedy.

Malcolm Fullerton is a sailor, a "jolly tar" with sturdy frame and bronzed cheek. He, too, is a young man, about twenty-four. He has seen the vision and become a proselyte of the new freedom.

Judge Holds Law Is Bad

Judge McDaniels discourses on the Criminal Syndicalism law. He gives it as his opinion that the law is unconstitutional. He believes that everyone has the right to express their opinion whether by spoken or written word. That the law should be repealed. But in view of the fact that the supreme court has ruled it constitutional he is helpless. The judge said that he did not place any faith in the testimony of the star witnesses for the prosecution—Coutts and Townsend. It was his opinion that Coutts was a criminal and unworthy of belief. Townsend, he said, was many times a deserter from the army and navy and that his last discharge was a dishonorable one despite the wording which was "undesir-

Seven

able" on account of his previous desertions from the navy. The judge hoped that the jury disregarded the testimony of these two wretches. He also said that had he been on the jury, he might have voted "Not Guilty."

The judge then entered into a long dissertation upon the principles of the IWW organization. He said that if you admit certain premises, to wit: that "labor is entitled to all it produces" the logic of the adherents of the organization is faultless. But that labor does not produce all wealth, Nature produced that. Capital is not stored up labor power. (He did not say what capital is.) He said that although the IWW were wrong in their contention that labor produces all wealth, that people have the right to be wrong.

Let us see whether Labor produces all wealth or not. We will grant that Nature creates all the raw material, but that is not wealth. All the timber in the world will not make a tooth-pick until labor-power has been applied. The whole smiling prairie land from Alberta to Missouri, from the Rockies to the Alleghenies will not produce one loaf of bread until the farmers and wage workers add their social labor to it. Until the grimy hard-working coal miner delves into the bowels of the earth with his pick and drill and powder no coal is forthcoming. Still the coal would be useless unless the railroader hauled the coal and distributed it. My lady's diamonds are bought with the blood of Kaffirs, and the sweat of the sturdy British miner. Iron ore that has made possible the gigantic industrial system, through the manufacture of steel, cannot be mined by Nature or by the wish of any capitalist; labor power must be applied. The clothes the honorable judge wears are made by the tiny, tired hands of children slaving in the cotton mills of the South, the woollen mills of Massachusetts, and the silk mills of New Jersey. His food passes through countless hands before it is served on his table. Every article that the judge uses has been transformed from raw material to a commodity of utility or art by the "magic touch of labor."

Perhaps the judge has a glimmering of the truth, but he is distressingly ignorant of economics. In this respect his education has been sadly neglected. No economist in the world, living or dead, would dare deny that labor produces all wealth. Adam Smith, Ricardo, Karl Marx, Walker, Roger Babson all admit, willingly or unwillingly, that labor produces all wealth

The Shame of it All

The judge knows in his heart that he is sentencing innocent men. He knows that the men whom he is sending to San Quentin are intelligent, sincere men, whose hatred for injustice and hypocrisy compelled them to unite with their fellow workers in an effort to change conditions. It is very probable that the judge even knows that the predatory masters are the real criminals. But like Pontius Pilate he hearkens to the voice of those who rule. He has not the moral courage to release these men.

It is a far cry from Adam Smith's "Wealth of

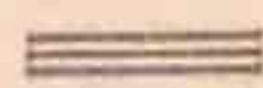
Nations," Ricardo's "Iron Law of Wages," and Marx's "Das Kapital" to Castle Despair on the shore of San Francisco Bay; and yet, not so far either. The men in San Quentin and Folsom have studied economics and understand surplus value, they know how wealth is produced, and know that those who produce that wealth are robbed of it by the ones who do no useful work. And knowing this they have gone into the industries and preached their doctrine of Industrial Freedom to the workers in those industries. This is heresy in California. It does not matter that the masters have secured control of the industries through exploitation, intimidation, bribery of state officials. They have got them. That is enough. In California possession is ten points in law. Dare to advocate a change in the economic system, or even ask for better conditions and the prison doors will open to admit you. The Criminal Syndicalism law is an ever present threat to those who want better living conditions for those who do the work of the world.

The smug, hypocritical judges fawn at the feet of Mammon and look with solemn cynicism at the suffering of the wage slaves. Swift and terrible is the punishment meted out to the industrial rebels who dare protest. One would almost think that Goldsmith was a prophet and had in mind this land of witch burners when he wrote:

"When I behold a factious band agree
To call it freedom when themselves are free,
Each wanton judge new penal statutes draw,
Laws grind the poor and rich men rule the law."

The struggle is harsh and stern here in California. The ranks of the men in prison grow larger each month. Ninety-seven of our gallant soldiers of freedom have gone through the portals that lead to the dungeons of the masters. They have gone with the love of freedom in their hearts and songs on their lips. Their adherence to the principles of the IWW is sublime, almost fanatical.

If you want to see their spirits unbroken and their faith in their ideals unsullied and unquenched you will fight for their release.



THE WAY

By COVINGTON HALL

IF, O toiling millions, you suddenly should cease
To labor with your hardened, skillful hands,
Folding your arms quietly, deliberately, in peace,
Ceasing thus to toil in every land;
If you should say to those who rule,
"Our best beloved you keep
Behind stone walls and locks and iron bars
And we shall never work for you
While in your dungeons deep
They bear for us the marks of prison scars";
Then would oppression stand aghast
And tyrants quake with fear—
Awake! Be conscious, workers, of your power;
Organized, united, your demands made strong and
clear,
The prison doors shall open in that hour.



CENTRALIA VICTIMS—Standing: Bert Bland, John Lamb, Britt Smith, and James McInerney. Sitting: O. C. Bland, Ray C. Becker and Eugene Barnett.

The Centralia Conspiracy

How did the Lumber Trust Succeed in convicting men of murder who merely defended their lives and property from a mob? Some of the facts are known; others are coming to light daily.

By RALPH CHAPLIN

THERE is lots of justice in the United States—if you have money to pay for it!" This cynical and unadorned remark was hurled in the face of an IWW prisoner in Leavenworth by an admitted and brazenly guilty German spy. It was occasioned by the innocuous statement that, "Some day the IWW cases will receive justice and the country will be ashamed of what it has done." Less than a month afterward the German spy was released unconditionally. He was not even deported. The American workingman to whom the remark was made is still in the tentacles of the law. It is barely conceivable that money didn't release the spy nor the lack of it keep the wobbly in. But the fact remains that, in a lawsuit, the goddess of Justice is always on the side of the biggest money-bags. A man is arrested, charged with a criminal offense, and taken to court. The far-famed Constitution guarantees him a speedy, fair and impartial trial before a jury of his peers. The profiteers violated the laws flagrantly and under the

very nose of the government. Yet very few of them were hailed before "hizzoner." These good citizens misappropriated millions upon millions of the people's money, yet it is safe to say that not a single one of them is in prison at present. Yet workingmen, accused of violation of the war-time laws in 1917 were arrested upon the flimsiest of excuses, held, in some cases, two years and over awaiting trial and then given a speedy, fair and impartial conviction. And thirty-two of them are still behind the bars! Even more significant was the trial of the IWW loggers at Montesano.

Perhaps it is not true that, "justice is a purchasable commodity" and that, "there is one law for the rich and another for the poor." But if these things aren't true then they are lies that are mighty hard to answer. At all events money, in America, is one of the mightiest factors in determining the innocence or guilt of a person accused of crime. Even if justice cannot be purchased at so much per, public opinion can be purchased that way. In the last

Nine

analysis the ends of justice are shaped by public opinion, which is only making the purchase at the side door instead of at the front. That is why inconceivably huge sums are spent at election time, that is how the people of this country were stampeded into participation in the late unpleasantness, that is how a considerable number of IWW members found themselves in prison just about that time. Money spent to influence public opinion isn't a direct bribe nor an open purchase. Big business looks upon it as a safe and sane investment; which, no doubt, it is.

Fear A Factor

At the trial of the intended victims of the Armistice Day mob it is doubtful whether money was used to bribe the jurors. It is still more doubtful whether these jurors would have accepted it. The fact is bribery was not needed. Every juror and every witness was coerced by terror and this terror was paid for out of the swollen coffers of the northwestern lumber barons. And the terror did its work. How would YOU feel, if you were on a jury in a town like Montesano and all your friends and some of your most influential neighbors, their minds inflamed by lurid articles and suggestive editorials in the newspapers, advised you, "give the damned IWW's what's coming to them?" Of course you would want to be fair; but, at the same time, fairly comfortable; and, of course, you would not be particularly anxious to leave your home town—in a hurry. The jury in the Centralia case had a hard job. Doubtless not a single one of them would themselves have acted otherwise than the men they found guilty. Doubtless the majority of them would admit it to you in confidence if you were to ask them. Yet they brought in the verdict that sent six innocent men to prison for from twenty-five to forty years! You can gauge the success of the lumber trust's investment by this one fact.

There were other things purchased besides the deadly publicity that poisoned the minds of the great mass of the citizenry of the northwest. Oh, yes, there were many things bought and paid for by lumber trust money besides the four dollar a day soldiers in uniform who gave color to the courtroom. The machinery of the prosecution ran far smoother than machinery does when it isn't oiled a little! And the Judge, if not subtle was at least stubborn.

An Invented Legend

The prosecution, in order to cover up the crime of the real culprits, sought to press the absurd charge in court that the loggers had fired into the ranks of peaceful paraders. The evidence was all against them. Thanks to the capitalist papers however, the legend existed. It was a valuable asset to the prosecution—bought and paid for with lumber trust gold. And this legend was used to the limit to produce the passion and prejudice that would assure the unjust conviction. Only two deductions were possible: either the loggers fired in self defense or they fired with the intention of committing wanton murder. It happened that the

loggers were members of the IWW. This fact alone, in connection with the gravity of the charge and the atmosphere of hysteria that surrounded the courtroom, made a fair trial impossible. If the "evidence" of the prosecution would not convince, the admitted shooting and the admitted membership in the IWW of the men who did the shooting would be sure to convince. Then there was the terror to be considered, the obvious and determined bias of the Judge and the machinations of the prosecution lawyers who "framed" the trial.

Framed

Perhaps you think the word "frame" is too strong a word to use in this connection. Perhaps "framing" is not the right word. But if the ends of justice can be thwarted in an American court by powerful interests determined to convict workmen in spite of evidence and facts, then it is time that someone invented a word to designate the process properly. Whether it is called "framing" or not, the thing smacks of the dark ages. It is medievalism superimposed upon the machinery of justice—the processes that are supposed to determine the guilt or innocence of any of us who ever happen to be charged of committing unsocial acts. It makes the courtroom a place where common men and women are not tried, but found guilty. It makes fair play and justice impossible and places any workman at the mercy of any group of capitalists who wish to send him to prison. Read the facts and judge for yourself.

The defense admitted that there was shooting on Armistice Day in Centralia, that legionnaires were killed and that the union loggers were armed. But the defense claimed—what everyone knew to be a fact—that the loggers had armed themselves as a measure of self-protection against a certain number of men who were bent upon murder and destruction. All things considered, in view of the repeated attacks upon the union hall, there should have been a verdict of "justifiable homicide in self defense." But the trouble is, all things were not considered—in fact, were not permitted to be considered in court. The Judge, subservient to the will of the lumber trust, ruled out, as inadmissible, all evidence that the union hall had been raided in 1918 and that the intention of the leaders of the Armistice Day parade was to raid it again. The Judge sought religiously to keep from the consideration of the jury all evidence of the conspiracy to raid the hall and of the complicity of Warren O. Grimm and others in this conspiracy.

Jurors' Way of Thinking

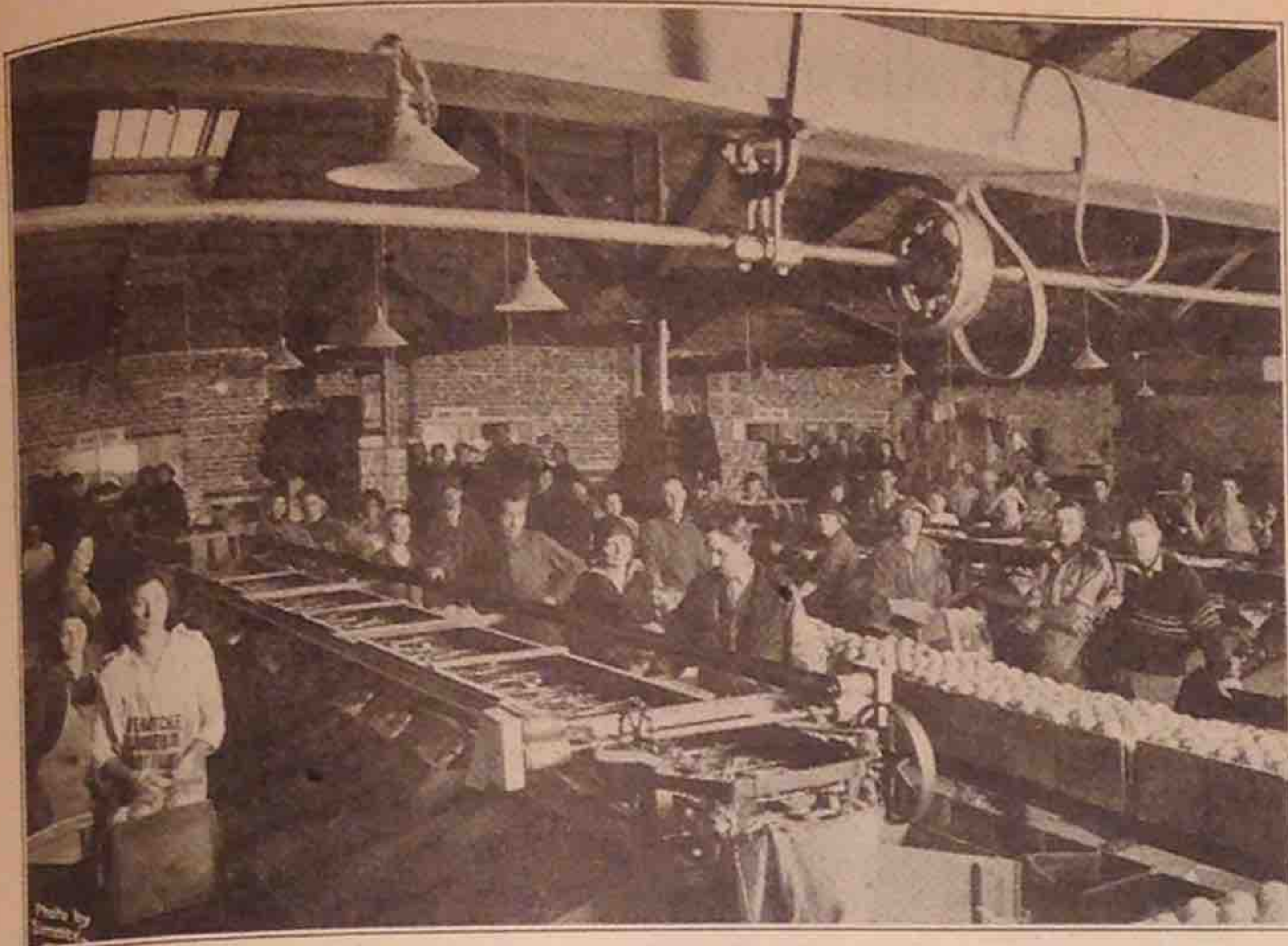
After listening to the evidence on both sides, the jury was no doubt in a frame of mind something like this: "For some reason the union loggers fired at the legionnaires and killed some of them. The Judge, at the last moment, instructed us to return either a verdict of second degree murder or one of not guilty. We feel that there are lots of facts withheld from us that we would like to know about. The Judge's attitude and the state of public opin-

(Continued on Page 60)

Apples

By AG-1351

A SORTING AND PACKING SHED AT WENATCHEE, WASH.



WENATCHEE, Washington, a main street town of 6,000, lies snugly in a crook of the Columbia River, one hundred and sixty-five miles east of Seattle. It is important only because of being the center of a large apple district—"the world's famous apple orchards." Wenatchee has 3,500 acres of orchard, along the valleys of the Columbia, Wenatchee and Okanogan Rivers, from which to draw its support. This does not include the Yakima district, which has approximately the same acreage of fruit.

The State Horticulture Department's conservative estimate is that 18,000 cars of apples will be shipped from the Wenatchee district this season. Each car contains 756 bushel boxes.

Big Migratory Employment

Aside from the local people and farmers' work, at least 4,000 migratory workers are required to help harvest the apple crop. The local chamber of commerce looks after the publicity and advertising required and for several weeks prior to the harvest the daily papers of Spokane, Seattle and other nearby towns carry advertisements asking for workers to come to Wenatchee. The result is that when the migratory agricultural workers arrive they find about 6,000 men and women workers thrown into a district that cannot furnish jobs for over 4,000.

This is intended and desired by the employers. The Fruit Growers' Assn., which is nothing more than the Orchard Owners' Union, sets the wages and determines the number of hours in a working day.

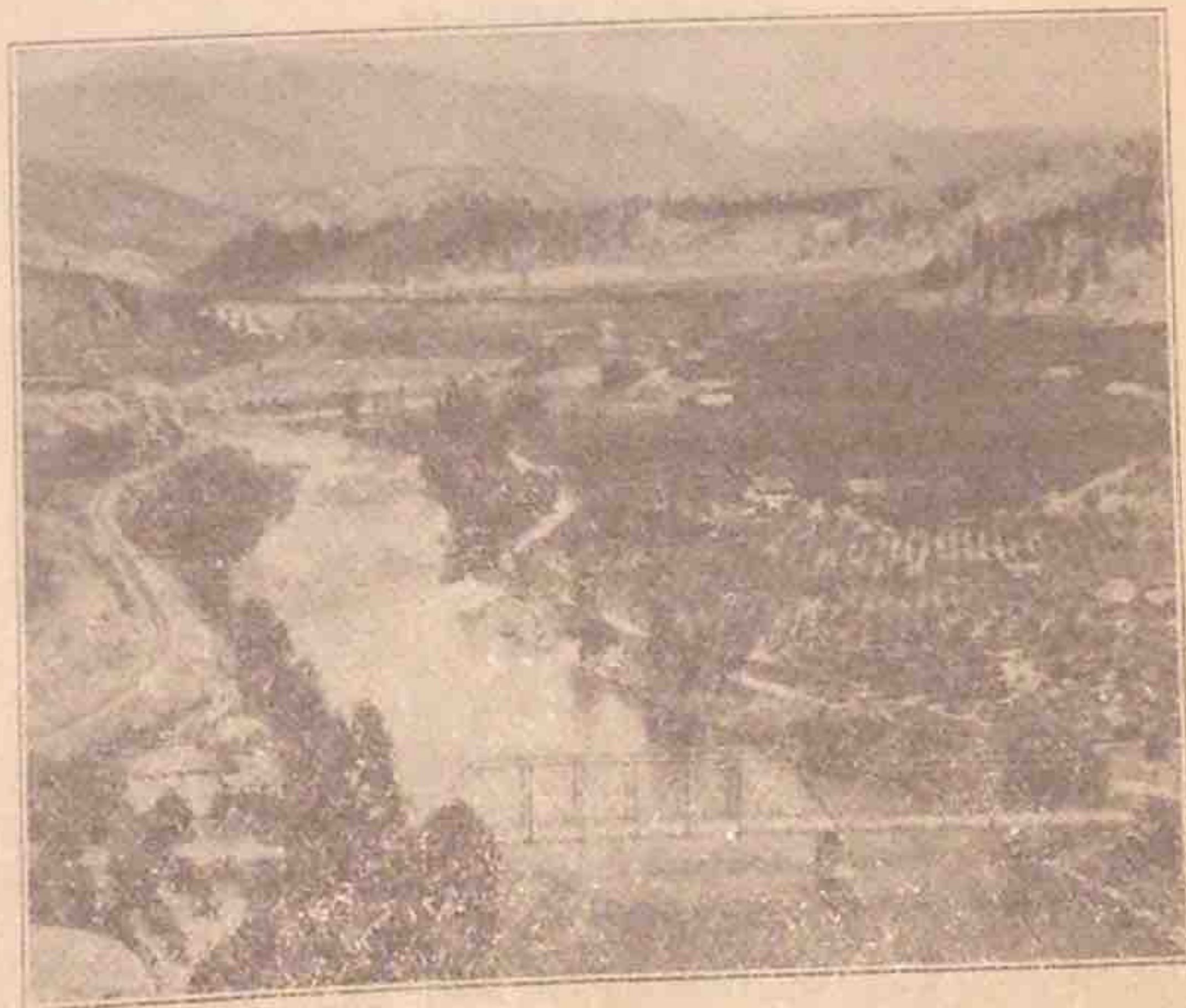
The Auto Tramps

Hiring is done through the government free employment office for the propertyless workers. The auto tramps drive over the district until they find a place to work and then make their camp. With more workers than jobs and only a minority organized, they become easy prey to the organized employers, who have previously held a business meeting, at which they set wages and hours.

The 3,000 or so auto tramps were given preference since they had their own camp equipment and

could live very cheaply. Many stated that they could live on fifty cents per day for each adult. Many of the strictly migratory workers were forced to leave without going to work. This later proved to be very undesirable to the orchard owners, as there was evidence of an early winter and the auto tramps commenced to leave the valley, when the crop was only half gathered. Whether they went east or west, they were forced to cross a mountain pass, which closed early on account of snow.

All work is done on a ten hour day basis for workers employed by the day. But on piece work the pickers pick from daylight to dark and the packers work from ten to fourteen hours. Even the nailing on of the lids and making of boxes is piece work. Picking is mostly paid for at the rate of five cents per bushel box and this proves a great incentive to the unthinking workers, who set a speed that they themselves cannot even maintain. If a worker picking in good sized apples can earn what is considered a living wage, then the ones picking small fruit will be paid at the same rate. The workers who work at the highest rate of speed, for the long-



WENATCHEE VALLEY ORCHARDS

Eleven

Out Where Rolls the Oregon

By FRED PUGH

PICTURE to yourself a steep hillside in the forest, a rock crusher, a quarry, trucks coming and going, hauling rock to build a highway for profit.

It is night. Four or five electric lights, such as they use in a ten-cent flop-house, a bonfire, fifty workers sweating, toiling, to load the cars. The roar of the huge crusher. The tit-a-tat of the air drills, the cries of the "Boss": "Come on with the car."

Suddenly a cry, "Look out," from the darkness. Overhead comes upon us a huge mass of rock. A mad scramble. The cries of a wounded fellow worker. "My God, men, pick me up." A huge boulder has rolled over his legs, crushing them! Another is taken from under a car where he was also crushed. Still another comes out, his arm hanging limp, broken in two places. They are all taken away.

The workers gather in groups. Soon the Boss cries, "Come on, men; bring the rock in."

A few minutes later the shift is finished. They come down to the camp. They gather in groups under the stars. From the office come the cries of injured. The call has been sent to the distant town for the ambulance and a doctor fifty miles away.

Hours pass. Finally the ambulance arrives. It is a dilapidated truck with cots, which have to be fastened together with hay wire. The driver is

a volunteer from the garage. No doctor, no nurse. They are loaded in. Back they go through fifty miles of darkness.

In the morning, word comes that the fellow worker with crushed legs is dead, a victim of the system. Murdered that a master class may live in plenty.

At the same time, the powers that be are holding a celebration over the building of a railroad, so the timber barons can market the lumber they have robbed the workers of.

What care they about the worker who was murdered. There are plenty more meek and submissive slaves to take his place.

Fellow Workers, will you never wake up and stop this slaughter? You sweat and toil for a few miserable dollars, while the master lives in luxury on the product of your labor.

Remember, there is no compromise; no half-way point. We must force the master himself to become a producer. Do away with the system that murders the worker for private profit and that places the worker in jail for organizing to better his condition.

Don't for the Love of Pete, be just a card packer! Wake up! You have nothing to lose. Everything to gain.

Yours for the I. W. W. and the California Boycott.

est number of hours act as a plumb bob for the owners when they meet to set the rate of pay for all workers employed by them. Many workers object to doing two men's work, when there are men who cannot find jobs, while others find it impossible to turn out a large amount of work on account of their mind's being bothered about union men being in jail for organization activities.

Pickers' Average

The pickers average about eighty bushel boxes per day, and while apple picking is not considered dangerous work, much of the picking is done from high ladders, and the piece worker, if he is to make a wage, does not have time to adjust his ladder securely to hillsides and irrigation ditches. Then, too, there is the time lost when it rains, and as most of the jobs are of short duration, this necessitates looking for another boss about every week. The campers, after picking ten hours, and sometimes more, go to their "jungle" home and cook their own meals.

The packing is all piece work. The bench packers pack apples that have been sorted into three grades, but have not been sized. These workers are paid about seven cents for each bushel box, as they have to take time to determine to which of the five or six different sizes the apple belongs. They pack an average of eighty boxes in ten hours. Each ap-

ple is wrapped separately. The ones who pack apples sized by a machine are paid five cents per bushel box and pack an average of one hundred and ten boxes.

The sorting is all speed-up work. Machine sorting is especially hard. Ten hours of feeding apples into a machine that never stops except an hour at noon! The bench sorters are always given more than they can do. Then they not only have the foreman driving them but the piece work packers are always crying for more apples since they can pack more boxes if the bins are kept full all the time.

Some of the active job delegates for the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. are discussing a constructive plan of action for next year. They consider that this is a fertile field for agitation against the piece work system and for an eight hour day. Conditions are bad and they hope to improve them by pointing out these things to the workers alongside of them on the job and combining with them to take better living conditions and shorter hours, the much despised philosophy of misery notwithstanding.

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INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

A Genius Who Was a Real Friend of Labor

THE working class lost a great friend when the electrical genius, CHAS. PROTEUS STEINMETZ, died. "An unreplaceable superman," he was ever sympathetic to all labor movements. A great technician, he bridged the chasm between men of his type and common labor by practical co-operation and understanding. All this is especially reflected in his support of the much-hated I. W. W., to whose defense and educational funds he was a liberal contributor, as he was also a subscriber to its press, getting two copies of Industrial Solidarity weekly and having his subscription to Industrial Pioneer paid up six years in advance.

Unlike Robert Owen, Karl Marx and Peter Kropotkin, geniuses who were born in the manufacturing, middle and aristocratic classes, Steinmetz seems to have been of working class origin. A poor immigrant, a refuge from Bismarckian tyranny in Germany, he was in danger of exclusion on his arrival in this country. His rise to pre-eminence, apparently, never caused him to overlook his own proletarian beginnings.

Steinmetz was called "the electrical wizard." His achievements made possible the long distance transmission of power, the protection of transmission lines with lightning arresters, the making of small machines which will do the work of larger and more expensive machines; artificial lightning; and the alternating current which makes possible, in turn, the present gigantic power systems which interchange power and have become a copper network across thousands of square miles.

His powerful influence was felt in practically every branch of the intricate and complex electrical industry.

Steinmetz was a many-sided personality. His friend and co-worker, C. M. Ripley, describes him as "draftsman, electrician, inventor, philosopher, engineer, supertest man, trouble shooter, mathematician, astronomer, naturalist, author, lecturer,

after-dinner speaker, entertainer, educator, sociologist, economist, socialist,—and at the same time an optimist, kindly friend to the struggling, inspiration to millions of young men, unassuming, patient, simple in tastes and dress."

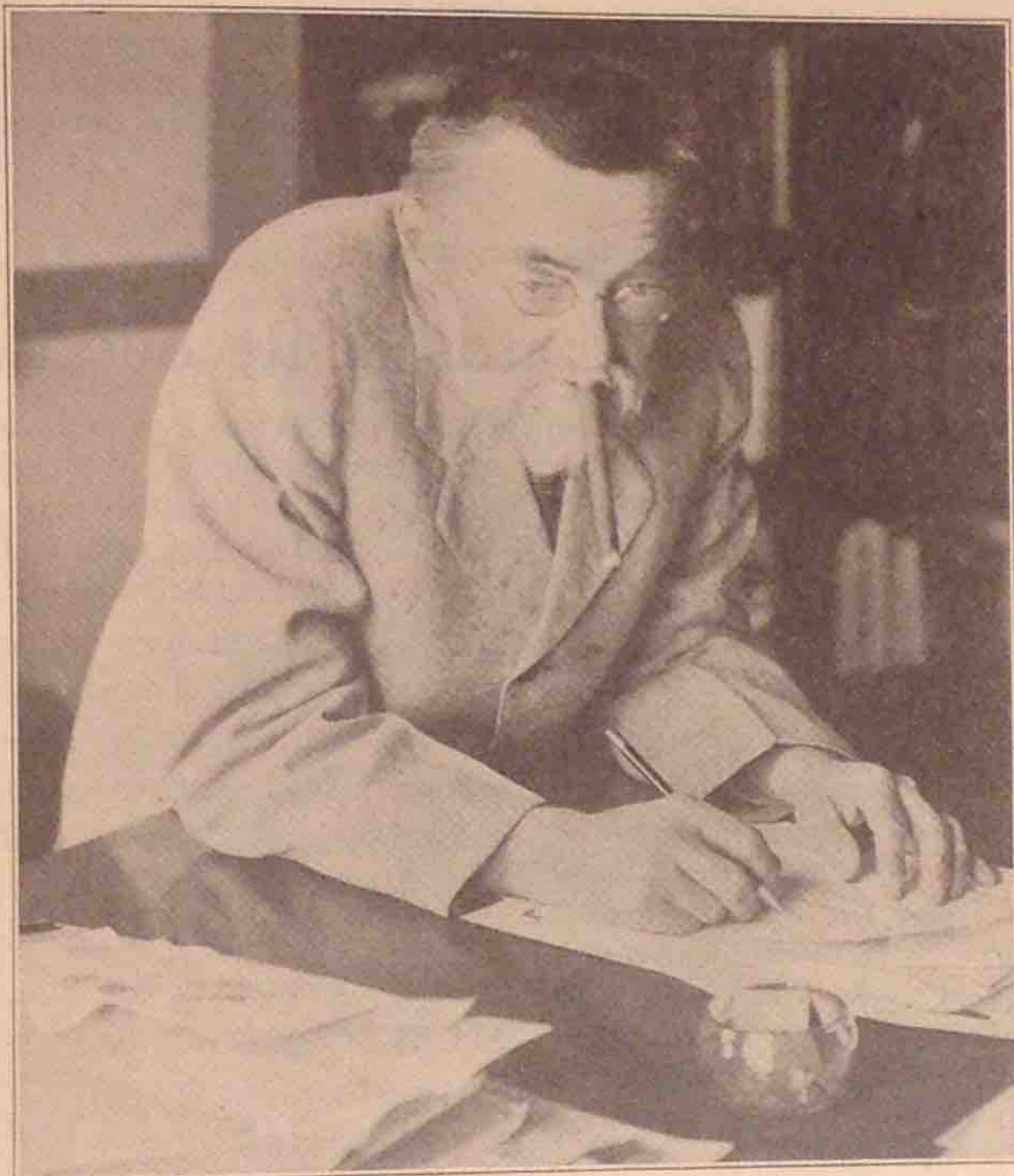
Other men, well known in the engineering world, also praise Steinmetz.

Walter N. Polakov, another technician, is, like Steinmetz, a socialist also. He pays what is probably the greatest tribute to the latter in *The Nation*.

Therein, under the title, "The Curse of Work," he says:

Charles P. Steinmetz is dead. The big heart in the ill-shaped body has ceased to pulsate. Work killed the brain. Such is the symbol and the last lesson taught us by this engineering genius of the age.

"Work is a curse! The chief aim of society should be to abolish work." Such was the slogan of the "wizard of Schenectady," as the newspapers called him, and it is indeed the aim of every engineer worthy of the title to reduce the drudgery of work, to relegate it to beasts and machines, and to emancipate man, placing him on the dignified



CHARLES PROTEUS STEINMETZ

Photo by
G. E. Co.

level of a human being.

Steinmetz was known and loved far beyond the boundaries of this country. His name carried with it the implication of more than an "engineer." He was a man—therein lay his greatness. Because he was a man, he could not fail to be a socialist, and latterly he freely contributed of the treasure of his knowledge to building up Russia and its promise. Because he was a man and socialist he worked as an engineer. He often stated that the aim of engineering is to control the forces of nature for the well-being of mankind. What are these "forces of nature"? Are they limited to "non-human nature," or do they embrace as well the forces of "human nature" On this point Steinmetz never wavered.

In interviews that were broadcasted across two continents he sharply defined the goal of success

Thirteen

for the engineer—"to find out how human forces work." "For only then," according to Steinmetz, "can we expect any great human progress." That is why he became such a warm supporter of Korzybski's theory of man; that is why he was so persistent in his condemnation of a form of society which "is organized about property instead of human life."

His engineering work was clearly guided by this lucid vision of man liberated from the drudgery of daily toil. It was the system that considered men as "factory hands" that he indefatigably sought to discredit in the popular mind. It was the ideal of man as time-binder, as a creator of the world of ideas, as a director of the incarnate forces of nature which was the compass of his striving.

Mathematics and electricity were his tools. Mathematics, because it is the only natural method of thinking for mankind. It does not depend on fickle emotions and deceiving senses; no potentate or

dictator can legislate the laws of mathematics and nature out of human life. Electricity, because its immaterial field so subtly penetrates our life, because its power is so serviceable to mankind, because it replaces with ease the ponderous mass of old, clumsy mechanical devices requiring so much human toil. With these tools he hoped to see the work-day reduced to four hours and to give to the man in the street and the man in the mill time to become truly human.

Steinmetz's achievements are many and mighty. Merely to enumerate them would be beyond the limit of this brief tribute. It may safely be said that at least one-third of the practical attainments in this branch of engineering within the last twenty years was directly or indirectly due to his researches or to his method of reckoning possibilities.

A beast may leave to his children a will: "Do as I did." A man like Steinmetz gives a command: "Do better."

The Electrical Wizard: A Recollection

SEVERAL years ago, 1916 I think it was, I had the pleasure of working at Schenectady, under the direction of Dr. Steinmetz on one of the experimental transformers in which he was interested at that time. Steinmetz would come around several times each day to see how the work was progressing.

The clearness with which he could see difficulties likely to be encountered and accordingly change plans, was amazing. There were perhaps thirty changes made while the work was going on and each one was for the better. The experiment when completed was successful and the doctor thanked the men in this manner: "It's mechanically perfect and also electrically perfect. Fine job! Now I know what the next step is. Take her down, boys; it has served its purpose." And with a smiling nod he went back to his blueprints.

Steinmetz was not only a great mathematician and scientific electrical wizard. He was something few scientists are. He was also a thorough-going mechanic. The ease with which he could tell a man a better mechanical way of doing a certain piece of work was uncanny. I remember in the course of that job several occasions on which he demonstrated the right to be termed a crackerjack mechanic. Higher praise than this is not possible from a "working stiff" like the writer. A kindly man, a capable man and withal a real human being, one who could unbend and meet with cordiality the lowest paid worker in the plant, Steinmetz' death is one of the greatest losses the world has suffered recently.

Card No. 416897.

EDISON APPROVES

Another electrical expert, Thomas A. Edison, has indorsed the opinion of Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz that electrical power applied to industry will reduce the average workday to four hours some time in the future. Following a luncheon given in his honor, Edison said:

"The time will come when full automatic machinery will be so largely introduced that production will not require a man's working more than four hours a day. Some hold that this may not be a good thing; idleness is rather objectionable to the average man. But from the standpoint of the old man it will be a good thing because then old men need never work. The young can work and support the family."

READ THE I. W. W. PRESS

Consists of 13 publications in 9 different languages. The latter are English (3), Hungarian, Italian, Bulgarian, Roumanian, Czecko-Slovak, Spanish, Finnish (2), Russian and Croatian.

For sample copies and more information, address The Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Sent to any part of the globe. Write at once.

The number of children in industry has increased amazingly. The recent survey, by the Children's Bureau, of 30 cities located in the United States, shows an increase of 36.8 per cent in the first half of 1923 over the latter half of 1922.



The Fairy Wand of the Ages

The city beautiful, no less than the products of the soil—all that symbolizes man's ingenuity, his manufactures, arts and sciences—his marvelous flights of fancy all are impossible without the fairy wand of Labor.

Only with Labor's brain and brawn are all things possible of production and realization.

With Labor dumb (or stupid), denied the right or the opportunity of development, civilization, in its best sense, is impossible and the race stagnates.

More fascinating than the novelist's tale or the historian's record, is the recital of Labor's achievements and struggles throughout the ages. Sometimes they rise to the crest of the waves of progress; and now they are in the trough of reaction.

But rise they will again, for Labor is growing conscious of its progress; it is beginning to realize now more than ever before, that it produces all wealth and is entitled to all that it produces.

And with the momentum born of that increasing consciousness will it again sweep the seas of capitalism progressward, that is, towards the realization of its own ideals and the ideals of the race, namely, peace, plenty and happiness for all, instead of a few.

The I.W.W. in Convention Assembled

SINCE the appearance of the last issue of *Industrial Pioneer* many of the industrial unions of the Industrial Workers of the World have held their annual conventions. Their deliberations covered a wide range of subjects of interest to the working class, and reflected an intelligent determination to grapple with all the problems affecting the industrial union organization of the latter.

International co-operation and the organization of the unorganized, especially in the giant industries of the East, were among the many problems acted on. So also were the defense of class war prisoners, increased dues and initiations, adjustment of dues and initiations to international conditions, and industrial and branch autonomy. Nor was the California boycott forgotten.

The reports printed below are brief condensations of more detailed reports printed in *Industrial Solidarity*. The reader is referred to the latter for more details.

110 CONVENTION

At the October Fargo convention of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, No. 110, general strikes, greater efficiency in the field, support of halls at Minneapolis and Chicago, and delegate instead of mass conventions, were promoted by the adoption of various motions.

Five delegates were elected to the general convention.

Co-operation with agricultural workers' organizations in other countries, was also voted.

A sliding scale of initiations and dues, to range from \$1 to \$5 for initiations, and from 50 cents to \$1 for dues, was also favored in the instructions to the general convention's delegates.

The Fargo convention went on record to concentrate the energies of No. 110 in California during the coming months and to vote in the general convention for a pledge against violence, such pledge to be taken by every new member when joining.

\$2,500 were also voted to the California defense.

310 CONVENTION

At the November General Construction Workers' Union, No. 310, convention, held in Chicago, it was decided to place on a referendum ballot various forms of internal organization proposed for the Union, such as branch organization, district form, clearing house, supply stations, etc., for the membership to decide.

Every effort was made to do as much constructive legislation as possible and to push organization.

330 CONVENTION

The third annual convention of the Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, was held in Chicago, November 5th to 7th inclusive. It was judged the most successful held by 330. A referendum for proposed by-laws and the function-

ing of the industrial union under its own officials, through the election of its own general secretary-treasurer, was adopted.

Two hundred and fifty dollars was voted to fight the California criminal syndicalism cases.

The 330 convention publicity committee emphasizes the fact that:

"The membership have not overlooked the situation that confronts us in the Eastern states; they sent resolutions and suggestions on the necessity of a great organizing drive in the large Eastern industries and are calling upon the General Organization to use all efforts possible to get organizers and literature for the manufacturing and especially, in the basic industries; they realize that our coming strength lies where the millions of the workers are suffering from capitalistic exploitation, but do not as yet realize that their might is in an organization such as the IWW."

Other measures adopted provided for a \$1 convention stamp, a daily IWW paper, which was left to the GEB, the adjustment of dues and initiations in foreign countries to meet living conditions there and the pushing of the boycott against California products.

440 CONVENTION

An enthusiastic convention of Metal and Machinery Workers' I. U. No. 440, was held at Cleveland, Ohio, November 5 to 8 inclusive. The delegates were greatly elated over the progress made since the Toledo conference. (The details are given in last month's *Industrial Pioneer*.)

Two scholarships in the Work People's College at Duluth, Minn., were voted by the convention. The latter also favored the enlargement of the IWW Educational Bureau.

A resolution, extending greetings to all class-war prisoners, and pledging the union to carry on the work for which our members are incarcerated, was heartily endorsed by the delegates. Also, one was passed, its contents calling for making the boycott of California-made products more effective.

It was decided that the delegates from 440 to the General Convention should confine themselves chiefly to plans for future organization work among the workers, and do their part in helping to shorten the convention. Internal organization matters were regarded by the delegates as secondary to the great problem of how to "Organize the Unorganized," especially in the great manufacturing centers of the East.

510 CONVENTION

One of the largest Chicago conventions was that of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, held October 29th to November 3rd. Delegates were present from New Orleans, Galveston, Norfolk, Philadelphia, New York (Manhattan and Brooklyn), Buffalo, South Chicago, San Francisco, and Portland.

(Continued on Page 50)



A GROUP OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS, U. S. A. —From The Nation's Business

Modern Industrialism

Lecture Delivered Before Chicago Open Forum

By JUSTUS EBERT

IT may seem presumptuous on the part of the lecturer to talk about Modern Industrialism before an open forum conducted by The Industrial Workers of the World. Industrial workers are believed to know all about modern industry. The very fact that a man works in industry is believed to endow him with an almost canny knowledge of modern industrialism and to cause him to reason in terms of that industrialism exclusively, and also to make him consequently the only one fit to assume its management and control.

It is, of course, true that being a part of modern industry causes a man, consciously or unconsciously, to reflect its existence and operation. It is hard to conceive of an Esquimeau, for instance, with the intelligence of a modern industrial worker. It is also true that many workers, because of their interest in industrial affairs, are aware of the nature and importance of modern industrialism.

But as far as the vast armies of workers are concerned, it is safe to say that they know little of the system which absorbs their mental and physical lives, to the exclusion, almost, of everything else.

Most of them live in a bygone age, mentally and ideologically. They have to be told what modern industrialism is, why it is, how it operates, and with what results and prospects it does so.

This fact has been forced on the lecturer's attention by a wide and varied experience in modern industry. He has found, by means of questions and through arguments, that most workers are unaware of their part in the industrial process. This is evident from their individualistic attitude and their refusal to organize. Both this attitude and

this refusal are impossible with workmen possessed of a knowledge and a consciousness of the part they play in modern industrialism.

The lecturer believes that some of these men may be here this evening and, so believing, has undertaken to lecture to even an open forum of The Industrial Workers of the World on "Modern Industrialism."

* * *

So much by way of introduction. Now for the subject proper.

It is always best to begin a lecture on a subject with a definition. Let us begin by defining what we mean by modern industrialism.

What Modern Industrialism Is

Professor Frank McVey in his book, "Modern Industrialism," defines modern industry as the massing of men, machines and capital in the creating of goods. A simpler definition would be "the massing of labor and capital," for men represent labor and machines capital. What is intended in the McVey definition is to put forth the idea of labor (men, women, and children), fixed capital (land, buildings, machines, etc.), and working capital (cash and credit) as the important elements of modern industry.

The basis of modern industrialism is the corporation. This is a legally authorized organization, composed of men who invest their capital in its ventures. Their ownership is certified by certificates, known as stocks and bonds. Because of their investments and their stock and bond possessions these men are variously known as capitalists, stockholders and bond holders. They hold meetings and

elect a board of directors who, in turn, elect the officers such as president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, etc. These officers, in their turn, are placed in charge of various departments; each and every vice-president, for instance, having charge of a department such as finances, accounting, transportation, sales and so on. Under them are trained technical staffs, who plan, engineer, invent, conduct research, manage and superintend.

Carrying On

Together with these staffs the officials carry on industry. That is, they purchase land for factory or plant sites, erect buildings, install machinery, secure raw material and employ labor to utilize and convert the whole into commodities for use and exchange. All for the profit of the capitalists, stockholders and bond holders that own the corporation. Such is modern industrialism, viz., an institution operated primarily by many technicians and laborers for the profit of its few owners.

Because the capital invested in modern industry is owned by private individuals called capitalists, and is used by them to exploit labor primarily for their own private profit, modern industry is also known as capitalism. Further, because it gives labor only a part of that which it produces for the capitalists, in the form of wages, and binds the workers through capitalist ownership to the control of the capitalist class, it is also called wage slavery. And thanks to its introduction and extensive use of machinery, driven by power and displacing both labor and skill, modern industry is also called machine production.

Discussing modern industrialism in detail, Dexter S. Kimball, Dean, College of Engineering, Cornell University, declares, in the technological journal "Management and Administration:"

Many Phases of Modern Industry

"One of the most striking features of modern industry is the increase in the size of factories and other industrial enterprises. A few years ago a plant employing 1000 men was considered a large concern. Today, factories employing 5000 men are common, factories employing 10,000 men are not unusual, and a few plants have employed as many as 25,000 men within the confines of a single yard." (It may be stated, parenthetically, that such a plant exists at Hawthorne, a suburb of Chicago, where the Western Electric Company employs 27,000 men and women "within the confines of a single yard," in the manufacture of telephones and telephone supplies.) "A number of large corporations owning several industrial plants in different localities employ much greater numbers of workers." (The General Electric Co. is an example of this type. It has plants in nine states and 25 cities, with 75,000 employes.) "Statistics show that the number of corporations as compared to privately-owned enterprises and partnerships tends to increase, thus indicating a tendency towards mass financing and constant growth in the size of industrial undertakings.

"There is a general tendency, also, toward specialization of industry. A few years ago it was common practice for manufacturing establishments to produce a very great variety of products. Today the general practice is to confine the activities of an industrial plant to a somewhat restricted range and in many of the newer industries a very limited number of products are produced. There are a number of reasons for these noteworthy tendencies.

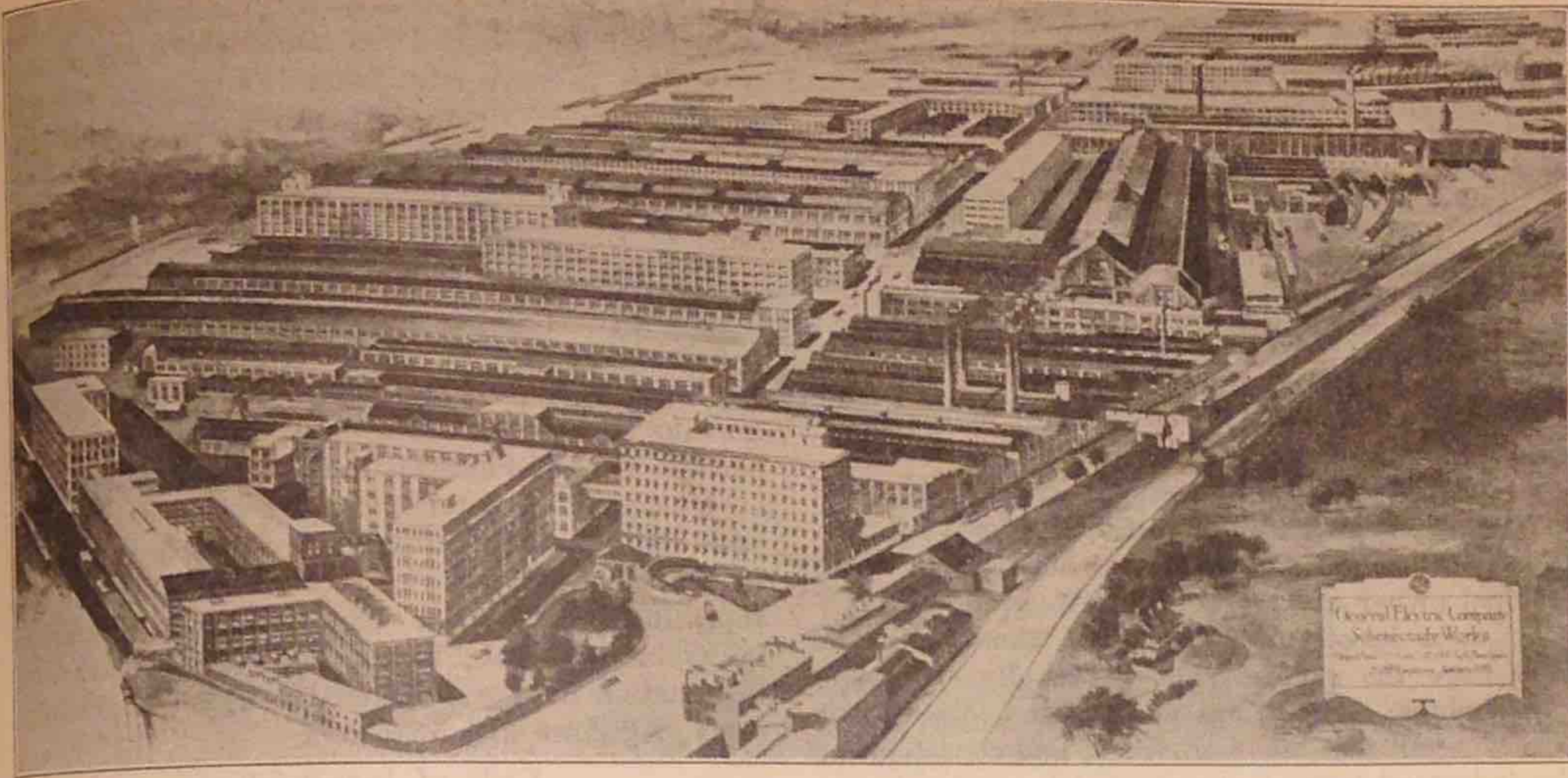
"Industrial enterprises tend to increase in size in one of three ways. The first is by natural growth in size of a single plant or by **aggregation** as it is sometimes called. The second method is by **integration**; that is, by extending the control over the supply of raw materials or the disposal of finished products by acquiring the methods and processes that are concerned in these operations. The third method is by **consolidation**; that is, by combining industrial undertakings of a similar character under one management whether these undertakings are single plants or integrated industries. The economic reason for this tendency toward growth and expansion may be conveniently divided into two groups: First, economies that lead to reduced cost of production; second, economies that give greater competitive power."

There is still one step not mentioned by Dean Kimball in the above. That is called co-ordination, in which all industrial enterprises are formed into a giant combination to exploit the world.

Illustrations

The growth of single plants by aggregation is noticeable on all sides. Illustrations of integrated plants are to be found in the steel industry. Therein such corporations as the U. S. Steel control ore mines, coal mines, coke ovens, lake steamers, blast furnaces, rolling mills, selling agencies, building construction, export, banking and other companies necessary from the source of raw supplies to the consumer. An example of consolidated industry is the General Motors Company. Therein many types of auto cars, trucks and products are made in many widely divergent and differently located plants, under one corporate ownership and control. Co-ordination is exemplified by such organizations as the American Steel and Iron Institute and the United States Chamber of Commerce. The first is an example of co-ordination within an industry, as it is representative of the combined interests of all the steel and iron corporations. The second unites all of the many varied employers' industrial, commercial and banking corporations and associations into one gigantic whole. Corporations are also made one by means of interlocking directors, of which more later.

There is much discussion as to which is the most essential or basic industry. Some cry out "Agriculture is the basis of prosperity. It feeds the world and without food man is nothing." Others shout, "Steel is the backbone of modern society. Without steel there would be no autos, skyscrapers, machinery, tools, locomotives, railroads, bridges



—From "Life In A Manufacturing Plant"

A BIT OF MODERN INDUSTRIALISM
 General Electric Company Works at Schenectady, N. Y.
 21,000 Employees—Scene of Steinmetz's Achievements.

and aeroplanes. Even agriculture, in a modern sense, is impossible without steel. Steel rules the world." Then we are told that finance or credit is the prime factor and that he who controls credit controls the life blood of the nations.

We also hear such arguments as this: "Oil is the basic industry. Oil controls civilization, and the nation that dominates oil will dominate the world." Finally, we hear it argued: "Textilers are most necessary. Without them to clothe him, man would freeze to death. Even the blanket stiff would be impossible. For without blankets there could be no blanket stiffs."

"An Interwoven Fabric"

On the subject of the "basic" industry, Charles Fitzhugh Talman, writing on "The Fabric of the Industries" in "The Nation's Business" for October has this to say:

"The industrial world of today is commonly regarded as a mosaic of distinct though contiguous industries. This conception, though useful for statistical and other purposes, is, to say the least, inadequate. If the industries constitute a mosaic they also constitute an interwoven fabric. The strands of one run far and wide through the others, so that it is impossible to say where one begins and the other ends. Because the industries thus interpenetrate one another, each depends on the other for its prosperity, if not for its very existence."

We might express this same idea more plainly by saying:

In modern industry, raw material is taken from the earth, passed through smelters, mills and factories where it is changed into articles of sale, and then distributed to domestic and foreign markets by way of selling agencies, railroads and steamships. The whole transaction is made possible and

facilitated by means of money and credit—by banks and banking. So that modern industry is a working together of agriculture, mining, lumbering, manufacturing, transportation, communication, commerce and finance. Without the constant co-operation of millions of laborers employed in these various sub-divisions there can be no industry in the modern sense.

Industrial Internationalism

The interwoven and interdependent nature of modern industrialism is further shown in its international ramifications. Raw materials and manufactured articles are shipped from and to all parts of the world. The Standard Oil Co., International Harvester Co., Ford Auto Co., Bethlehem Steel Co., and other big corporations have connections abroad. The Ford Co., for instance, has plants and subsidiary corporations in no less than seven different countries. The Bethlehem Steel Co. owns immense iron ore deposits in Chile.

The international character of modern industrialism was most strikingly shown in the beginning of the world war. In its September, 1914, letter, the National City Bank of New York, the largest in this country and a Standard Oil institution described the havoc caused in these truly impressive words:

"The whole world has tended to become one community with a network of interests and state of interdependence similar to that which exists in a single country. A few weeks ago men were buying and selling, lending and borrowing, contracting and planning, with little attention to national boundaries when suddenly the whole co-operative system was disrupted. Raw materials were cut off from factories accustomed to use them, factories from markets, food supplies from consumers, and millions of men were summoned from mutual helpful indus-

tries to face each other as mortal foes. An outburst of primitive passion in a corner of Europe wrecked the painfully developed structure of modern civilization.

This network of interests the world over is now greater than ever before. American capitalism is invading Europe, via investments, South America via trade and commerce, and Asia Minor via oil concessions.

Industry an Evolution

All this is a result of evolution—of a slow growth, requiring centuries.

Previous to modern industry, there was no great massing of labor and capital for the profit of capitalists; nor was there extensive machinery. The individual owner and worker, who took all the products, most largely prevailed, and hand tools and skill were the general rule. Gradually firms, co-partnerships, corporations and trusts evolved, each absorbing all that labor produced, and consolidating the industrial types that preceded it. All this was due to the invention and introduction of machines that displaced labor and skill, and required more capital than individuals possessed or cared to risk! Hence arose also the need of massing the small capitals of many into large capital. Where at first merchants had supplied the needed capital, now stocks and stock exchanges are required, assisted by banks, trust companies and such fiduciary institutions as the life insurance companies, all dominated by banking groups controlled by a few giant capitalists and financiers, like Morgan and Rockefeller.

This gives rise to the greatest phase of modern industrialism, namely, the financial phase. In this phase, modern industrialism passes under the control of financiers. Louis Brandeis, now U. S. Supreme Court Justice, in his book, "Other People's Money, and How the Banks Use It," shows how finance is concentrated and the total credit of the country is exploited by allied groups of private bankers headed by Morgan-Rockefeller. Woodrow Wilson, when Governor, declared in 1911, "A great industrial nation is controlled by its system of credit."

The Money Trust

Brandeis quotes the Pujo Committee report on the Money Trust. This committee found that the Morgan-Rockefeller allied groups of private bankers held:

"In all, 341 directorships in 112 corporations, having aggregate resources or capitalizations of \$22,245,000,000.

(This includes all of the strategic capital of the country, namely, the railroads, public utilities, "basic" industries, etc.)

"Twenty-two billion dollars," continues Brandeis, "is a large sum—so large that we have difficulty in grasping its significance. The mind realizes size only through comparisons. With what can we compare twenty-two billions of dollars? Twenty-two billions of dollars is more than three times the assessed value of all property, real and personal, in

all New England. It is nearly three times the assessed value of all the real estate in the city of New York. It is more than twice the assessed value of all the property in the thirteen southern states. It is more than the assessed value of all the property in the twenty-two states, North and South, lying west of the Mississippi."

These words were written in 1914. Since then the Federal Reserve Bank has been established. But it does not change the actual conditions. The Money Trust is now more powerful than ever before. Thanks to the war, which caused this country to become a world-financial factor, the American money trust reaches 'round the globe. In co-operation with other national financial groups, it is a factor in Mexico, Central and South America, Middle Europe, Russia and Asia. Thus modern industrialism, in its last analysis, means the dominance and determination of world affairs by organized combinations of finance and financiers.

Evils of Industrialism

Let us see what this means—that is, what are its results to humanity.

The results, briefly, are two-fold, namely, the creation of class war and international war in human society.

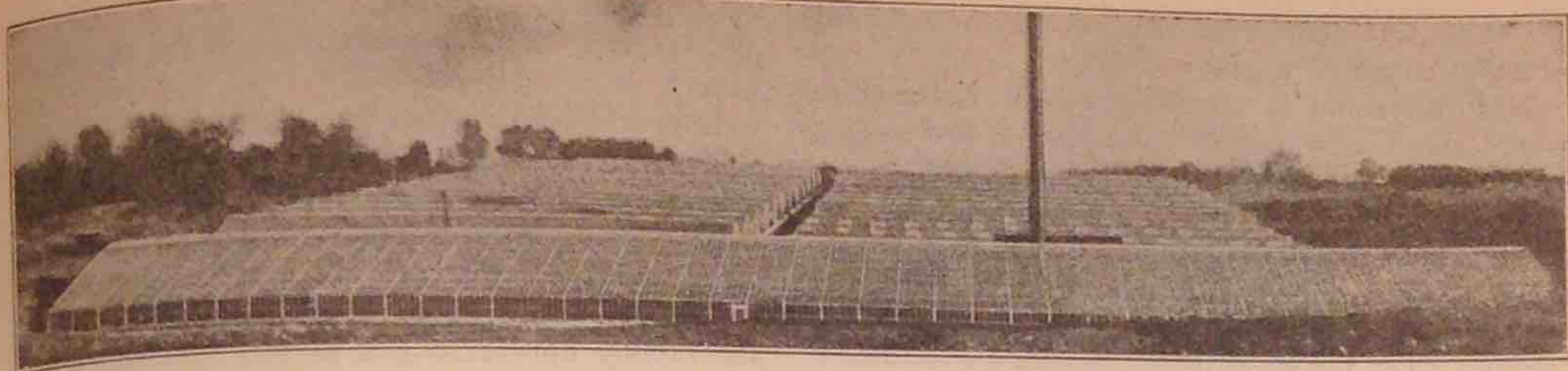
As already indicated in the above quotations, corporations are composed of armies of workers on one hand and a few capitalist owners on the other. Ford, for instance, employs 120,000 persons in his various enterprises which he and his son own absolutely. The U. S. Steel Corporation has 250,000 employees, with a few big bond and stockholders, like the Rockefellers, Fricks, Carnegies, etc., in control. Twenty-five men control 82 per cent of the steam railroad systems operating 211,280 miles and employing the vast majority of the two million railroad employees in this country.

Between these two classes of employees and employers an irrepressible contest is being waged for control and supremacy. The employees want more wages, less hours, better conditions, more control and final emancipation, with themselves as the owners and rulers. The employers want more profits, greater investments, more luxury and sumptuous living, greater economic power and world dominance. And so they lock horns in great strikes, like those of the textile, railroad and mine workers last year, when 1,000,000 men struck and the nation was nearer revolution than at any time in its existence. Unless all tendencies fail these strikes will grow more extensive in the future; or else their place will be taken by wide-spread revolts on the part of the unorganized. The result, in either event, will be a paralysis of society and the precipitation of civil war, with its many-sided horrors.

World War

But still more threatening than class war is international war; the late world war should leave no doubt of that. Then civil liberties were suppressed and the militarization of the nation took place. And war was engaged in, to the destruction of tens of

(Continued on Page 40)



THE MODERN FLOWER INDUSTRY

The Boss Florists' Industrial Union

By AARON WEBER

IN Hartford, Connecticut, on August 21, 1923, a meeting was held of the representatives of the Boss Florists' Industrial Union, namely, "The Society of American Florists and Ornamental Horticulturists." To read the list of its members, is to find therein the majority of greenhouse men, wholesalers, retailers, nurserymen, college professors and even their students.

Slowly many colleges are offering courses in floriculture and kindred lines and their graduates are the future owners or superintendents.

Before I complete this article I shall give details of how this union is built up and finally becomes, in turn, a part of the dictator of dictators, the United States Chamber of Commerce.

I believe most all of the florists connected with this organization would very much resent having the organization called a union, but that is all it is.

The slogan, "Say it with flowers," advertised so extensively, has stimulated the buying of flowers to such an extent, that the industry is now doing bus-

iness to the sum of over a billion dollars and is growing by leaps and bounds.

The florist industry is young compared with many although flowers have been grown since man has become civilized.

The old greenhouse; narrow, low, dark,— a one-man affair—has almost gone. Today we have extensive ranges, such as Pohleman Brothers of Morton Grove, Ill., which employs over 500 men and women.

Florists' chain shops are also rapidly springing up; Breitmeyer of Detroit has almost a dozen in that city alone.

How Organized Locally

Let me now begin and tell how this Society of American Florists and Ornamental Horticulturists gets its members from all parts of the country. It is composed of units, but all so interwoven that they present a solid front economically.

First we have city organizations, known as clubs. These members are mostly recruited from the retail florists, some growers among them. The Chicago Florist Club, The Cleveland Florist Club, yes, nearly every city has its florist clubs.

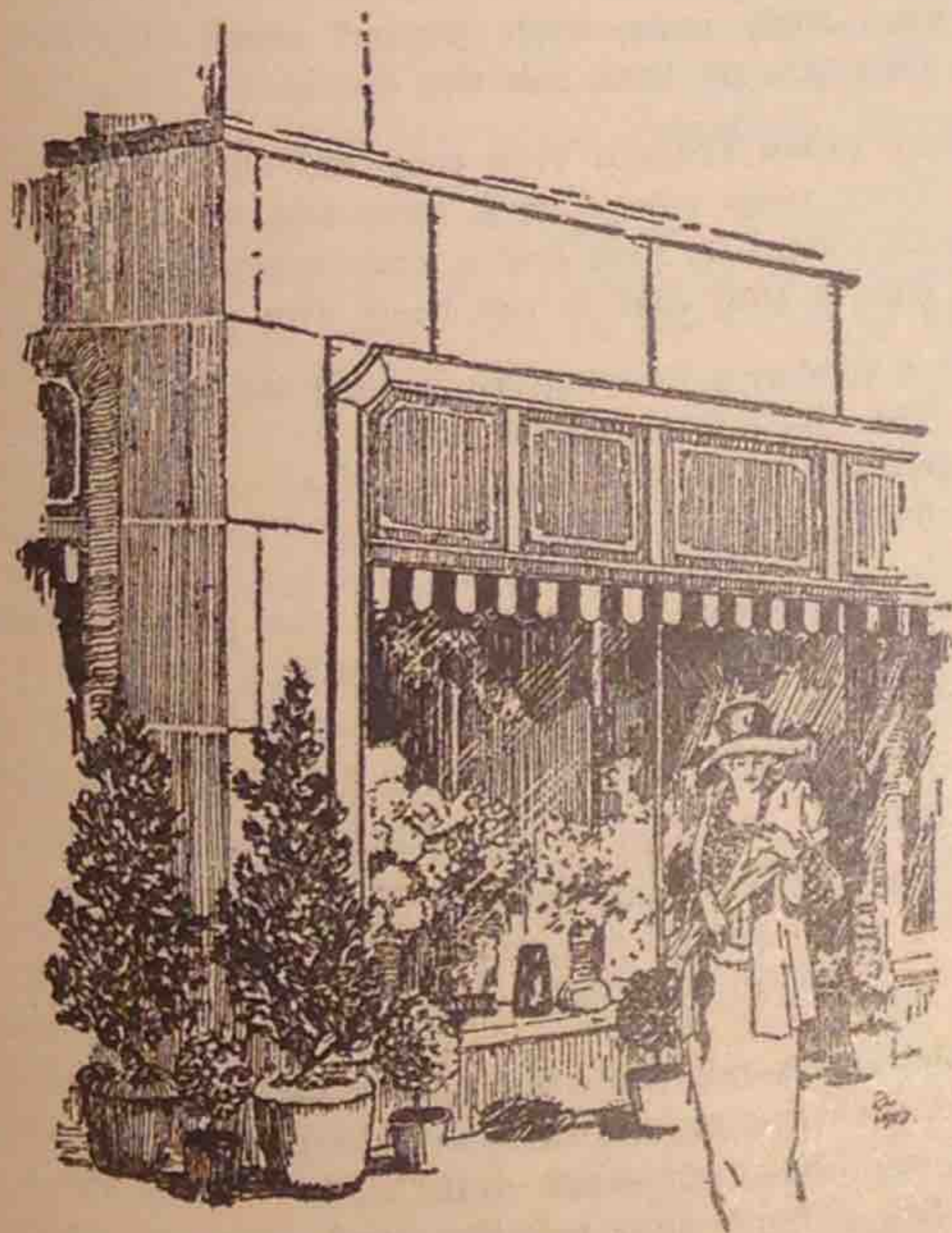
Second we have state organizations composed of growers and retailers together, which develop local or state trade. Illinois Florist Association, Ohio Florist Association, in fact, most all states have one.

The city clubs take care of city trade and the state associations do all they can to further state interests in floral production and selling.

Next we have societies that pay attention to some particular flower and develop the interest in its cultivation and sales. Members of these organizations may also through their firm be members of some state group. The Chrysanthemum Society; the Rose Society; the Carnation Society and etc., are paying much attention to special shows of their particular flower.

Then we have a national group known as the Florist Delivery Association. This group does all it can to create more business by having flowers ordered by telegraph.

A purchaser in one state may have flowers delivered to whomever he wishes to receive them—



A CHAIN FLORIST

the same day—though the receiver may be hundreds of miles away in another state.

Now we come to the Florist Hail Association, which shows how deeply they regard the saying, "An injury to one is the concern of all."

This is their effort to protect members from economic losses from the elements. Hail on a greenhouse is always to be feared in time of short and snappy storms, and a florist is soon put out of business when the glass in his greenhouse is broken by the wholesale.

National Organization

To continue: we have the National Nurserymen's Association. These are the men who deal in ornamental shrubs and trees and work in perfect harmony with the mother association. Many large greenhouse concerns also have nurseries in connection.

Then we come to the outside men known as the National Association of Gardeners. These are the men who attend to large estates and do landscape gardening.

Do we stop here, no—because we come to one of the most influential of all—the college professors and in some cases their students. Botanists, plant pathologists, entomologists, plant physiologists and those who do experimental work, such as testing fertilizers, improving cultural details and the like.

No convention is complete unless some of these professors are there to help the bosses out of their difficulties or to tell them how they can make a plant produce one more flower, which is "pure velvet," as I heard one of these men say. The students are being continually coached to fit in so that they may become future bosses.

Some Industrial Union—eh?! And they are getting results. They don't wait for the ballot to give them what they want, but their committees get busy and go down to Washington or whatever legislature they want to get at and sit on the legislature's heels.

Politically Strong

Right now they are going strong at the agriculture board in Washington, which has placed an embargo on many foreign plants.

Some of these plants can be grown better across the water on account of better soil and atmospheric conditions, but the main reason for sitting on the tail of the agriculture board is to let these plants continue to come in, because labor is so much cheaper and so stock can be bought so much cheaper.

The agriculture board's reason for the embargo is to keep out insects and plant diseases.

Greenhouses are users of hundreds of tons of coal. So we have them keenly interested in the coal situation. Not only do they hound the coal commission, but work effectively through the United States Chamber of Commerce for this end.

And in reference to labor—the United States Chamber of Commerce is the one big union for the open shop, and how florists do love the open shop! Florists pay about the lowest wages of any industry. (Talking about the United States Chamber

of Commerce—at present they are building their Washington, D. C., headquarters on the Open Shop plan.)

In conclusion: anyone who has read the preceding will surely see the advantage of an economic organization to remedy the bulk of our social evils, in preference to securing action by the ballot.

Anyone who will take the trouble to read trade papers will soon catch on to how the employers are rapidly approaching a perfect One Big Union, not only nationally—but internationally.

Wherever we turn, we note the importance of economic action.

Material Things Main Cause

It is the material things that determine most of our lives and go to make up our environment.

It is unfortunate that the great legion of workers have so little leisure to read and study so that they may understand much of what is going on about them. If they could devote more time to these things, Industrial Democracy would arrive much sooner, and with it one would see the abolition of the wage slave.

The Industrial Workers of the World are aiming for just this, with the aid of industrial unions and the One Big Union of all workers.

The Strikebreaker

(West Virginia Federationist)

WHENEVER the bitter fight is on
For life against human greed;
When the workers rally ere hope is gone
Which nerves for the valiant deed.

When the price is paid for in silent pain,
In want and nameless dread.
And victory near, then "scabs" sneak in
Like ghouls that rob the dead.

They pluck from a vine they did not prune,
They reap where they have not sown,
With a canting look and a craven heart,
And a soul that is not their own.

In a darker age when the world was young
This jackal human grew,
Skulked in the rear while the fight was on,
And preyed on the valiant few.

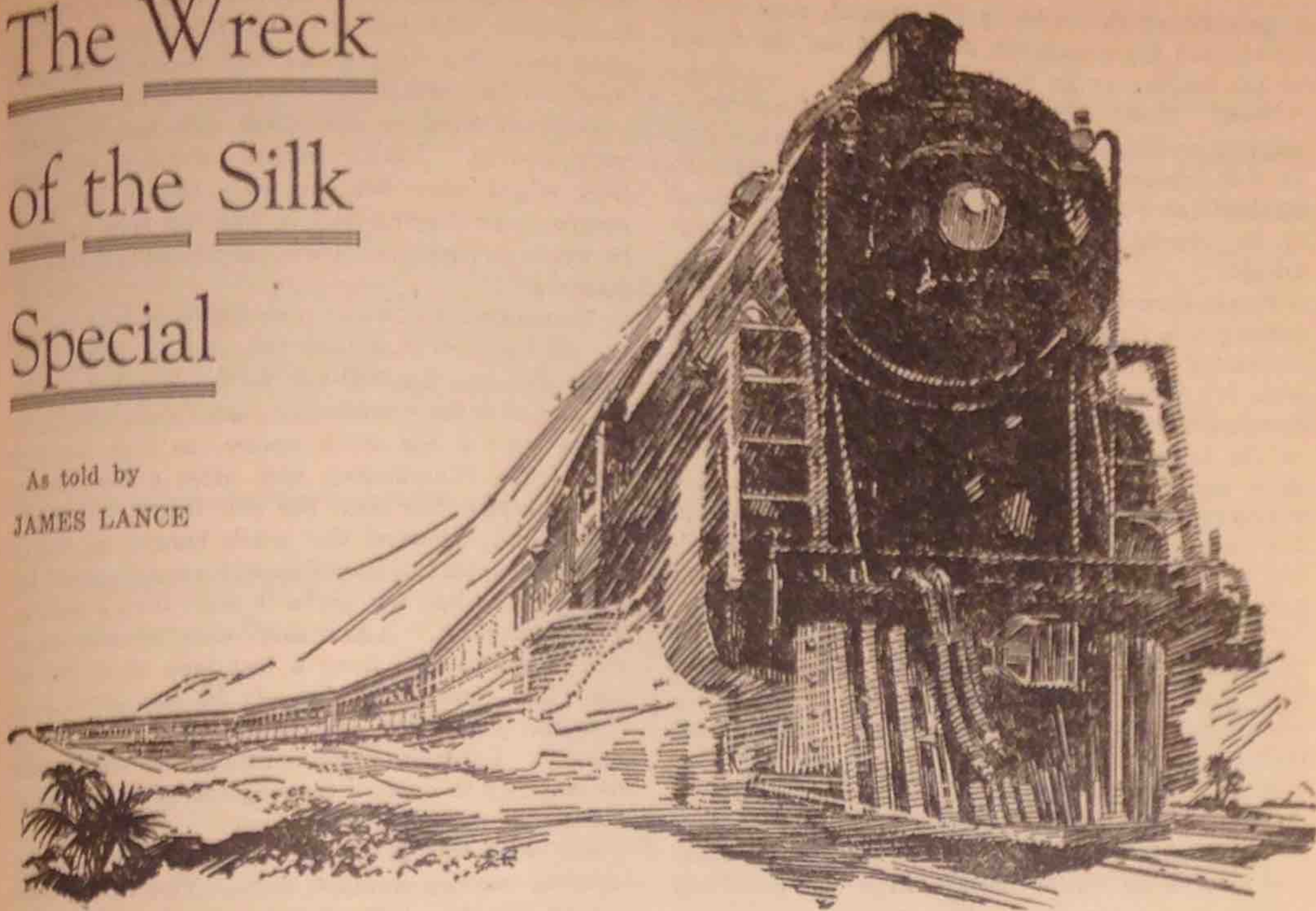
They snatched the bone from the woman's hand
And snarled at a hungered child,
Till the heroes were driven from the land,
And earth's garden became a wild.

And ever and ever, where human greed
Holds the human race in thrall,
The fight will be fought by the noble few
And the victory shared by all.

Then falter not while the fight is on;
There are only your fears to dread;
Though cowards skulk and "scabs" sneak in,
Like ghouls that rob the dead.

The Wreck of the Silk Special

As told by
JAMES LANCE



"THERE you are Tommy," said the third trick dispatcher as he handed the flimsies over to Tommy Moore, better known on the intermountain division of the Transcontinental, as "Shrimp," on account of his diminutive appearance. "You've got rights over everything. Number Four will wait at Red Tower for you, and she's the only thing moving on the division. This damned blizzard's got all the freights frozen up and they're lying on the sidings all the way to Springdale. You've got nothing to worry about except the storm. Beat it!"

"That's enough," said Tommy as he pulled his scotch cap over his ears and picked up his lantern. "This is sure hell; early, too; we don't usually get this kind of a snorter till December," and with that he left the office in a blinding swirl of snow, which had filled the room in the short moment the door had been open. Ten feet from the door he had vanished in the white curtain which the frost king had flung over the scene.

Si Connelly, the dispatcher, reached for his "Bull" and brown papers, cocked his feet on the desk and remarked to the call-boy, "Better load that stove up again, kid, it's getting chilly even in here. I'm sure glad I don't have to take that string of silk down the canyon tonight."

"Me, too," said the kid, "nix on outdoors this weather."

The weather merited all the condemnation the sorely tried rails were heaping upon it.

A sleety rain had fallen during the afternoon, freezing as it fell, and with the coming of darkness

had turned to snow. The wind, first merely a querulous undertone, had risen until it now howled in a crescendo of demoniac fury which lashed and tore at everything and shrieked and moaned thru the pines and spruces surrounding the little mountain division point. Down thru the train yard it rattled and shook the long string of box cars which should have gone west over the summit on "first 55" but which had been marooned there because all the wires were down west of Portola.

The silk special had managed to get thru just before the train wire went dead; but now no one could tell how the other trains were faring or what hardships their unfortunate crews were enduring. It was, as Tommy had remarked, "a hell of a night."

Battling his way down the platform to where the 1425 wheezed and panted at the head of the silk special, Tommy was forced to his knees twice and was nearly exhausted when he finally hoisted himself into the gangway, pulled the storm curtains aside and handed the orders to "Big Jeff" Carter, the eagle eye, famous for his genial smile, quick wit and chilled steel nerves.

"Fine night for a ramble, Jeff."

"Yeh, only I don't like the kind of nights you do," drawled Jeff. "If this is a fine night, I'm a Chinaman. Oh, well, you know the mills in the east are waiting for this silk to make fine dresses for the rich women."

Scanning his orders, he said, "Number Four at Red Tower, eh? All right, let's get moving."

Moore climbed down and fought his way back to the caboose which was attached to the ten bag-

gage cars which made up the special, and as the air cleared for a moment, Jeff could see the flicker of the lantern as he highballed him.

Toot! Toot! came the roar from the whistle, scarcely audible above the shriek of the storm and as Jeff opened the throttle the mighty machine strained for a moment and then slowly moved ahead on its journey into the darkness with its precious freight.

Down thru the yard, gaining momentum as the moving side-rods freed themselves from the icy incrustation which had gathered on them during the wait for orders, pausing a moment as Jeff made a test application of the air, then faster again until as the tower at the top of the yard flashed past them they were wheeling thirty, and, as the switch points of the last siding clicked beneath the drivers Jeff 'hooked her up' and shouted across to the tallow, "We're on our way now! Hope this outfit holds together."

"You and me, both," answered the tallow. "Every time I leave here I'm afraid I'll never get back. You know this equipment is all on the pig since the strike. I wish the company would make a settlement with the shopmen."

Behind this feeling of apprehension was a real reason. Since the start of the shop-strike in July the locomotives and cars of the Transcontinental had been deteriorating daily until it was positively unsafe to operate them. The men on other lines had gone back; slick representatives of the companies had succeeded in getting 'company unions' started and strenuous efforts were being made to return to normal operating conditions.

The Transcontinental, however, had not succeeded in fooling its men and the strike was still on. Even the most optimistic of the shopmen realized that their cause was lost, but as a large mining company had furnished jobs for most of the strikers, they cared little. It was just the same to them whether the Transcontinental got thru the winter or not.

Meanwhile the company had made frantic efforts to secure men to take the places of the strikers but without much success. The isolated location of Portola, the lack of conveniences in the little mountain town, together with the dread of the terrible winter months had militated against them.

Daily there were disastrous wrecks caused by defective equipment, daily the strings of 'bad order' cars grew longer, daily more locomotives were forced out of service and daily the fear of 'piling up' on account of defective equipment grew in the hearts of the men who had to take the strings of rattle-trap cars down steep gradients and across high bridges thru the gloomy canyon of the Plume Tail river. Small wonder the fireman on the silk special felt nervous.

On the trip up the canyon a pony truck hanger on the engine had come down and only the greatest of luck coupled with "Big Jeff's" iron nerve had kept them from death.

Hurried repairs had been made on the 1425 in

Portola that afternoon but the increasing fury of the storm had lowered the temperature of the shop to such a degree that the "scalies" entrusted with the job had decided that a seat by a red-hot stove beat working and their task had been done very poorly. Under normal weather conditions they might have set the bolts tightly enough to insure their staying but it was too cold for scabs to work, particularly when they were not afraid of discharge.

Then came the word over the wire that the silk special had left Palermo, the division point to the westward and the call-boy awoke Big Jeff and his fireman and they proceeded, after fortifying themselves with a big steak apiece, to take the 1425 out of the roundhouse, and, after a few minutes wait, coupled her onto the silk train.

Jeff had reported the truck hanger on his arrival and when the roundhouse foreman assured him it was O. K. had not given it more than a perfunctory inspection. After they were coupled on he had gone down to have a last look at it, but the snow was blowing so fiercely he had given it up as a bad job. "I'm always lucky," he had said to himself. Later he had mentioned to the fireman his inability to make a thorough inspection and that had added to the latter's gloom.

His heart was filled with a great heaviness. Everything seemed against them. The car knocker, one of the few left who were still working, had told him that the baggage cars were in a terrible shape and the voice of the storm as it howled outside the cab windows made him think that even nature itself was enraged at their actions.

Well he knew, that he or no other fireman or engineer had any business riding on such mills or pulling such trains as those of the Transcontinental. He knew that, he felt it as a matter of personal safety.

Behind this personal feeling was another one, one that had been growing of late, not only in him but in most of the other men in the train and engine service. He felt, as did they, that he was responsible for the equipment's dangerous condition. He felt that had the road men refused at the start of the strike to operate the trains the company would have been quickly forced to grant the shopmen's demands and that he would not have been going down the canyon on such a terrible night on an engine that should be in the back-shop, with a train that belonged on the rip-track.

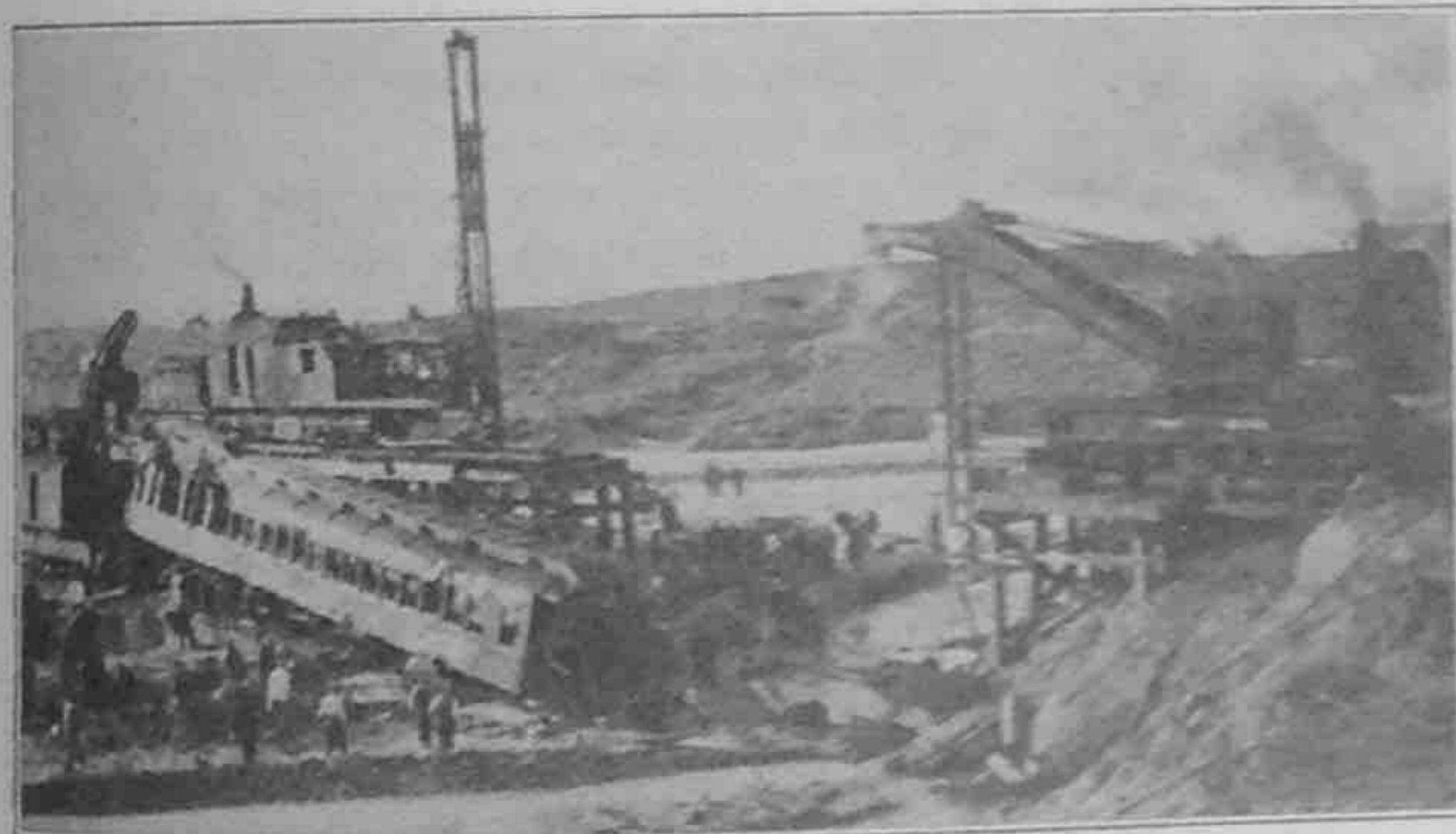
"Still," he soliloquized, "everything seems to be holding together all right. Maybe we'll make it, tho it would serve us right if we did have bad luck. That travelling organizer for the wobblers who came up with us last week was right. An injury to one working man must hurt all other workers. Funny I never thought of that before. That solidarity stuff he was telling us about seems to be the right dope. We should all stick together. The companies are smarter than we are, they don't fight amongst themselves; the S. P. and the Transcontinental have made a traffic agreement; they're



Railroad men blame lack of inspection and undue haste in making schedules for such accidents. It is claimed train went through three feet of water before crashing through undermined bridge into swollen river.

Disastrous Wash-Out at Casper, Wyoming

Among the many victims were Carl Linn, Portland, Oregon and J. R. Causey, Taft, Calif., I. W. W. members.



It is alleged that railroad officials and police later impressed migratory workers into wrecking crew. It was either work at low wages offered or go to jail. Many went to jail rather than be enslaved in such a manner.

not fighting for this business the way people said they would when this road was built. I guess we're fools alright."

Mile after mile flew along beneath the iron feet of the 1425 as the fireman sat and dreamed, for on the trip down the canyon little attention to the fire was necessary.

Suddenly he sat bolt upright. What was that noise he heard for a moment? Sounded like something dragging—"Damn such a blizzard! A man couldn't be sure what he heard on a night like this. Wouldn't do to say anything to Jeff; he'd think I had a case of nerves. Can't seem to hear it now, oh, well, I guess it was only the wind anyway."

He pulled out his watch and figured that a very few minutes would bring them to Red Tower where Number Four, the crack limited, was waiting for

them and even as he returned it to his pocket Jeff shut her off and opening the window for a moment stared ahead into the driving storm.

"Pretty near to Red Tower," he shouted and at that moment the finger of the electric headlight picked up the carhouse at the west end of the siding at Red Tower.

"There she is!" shouted the fireman and Big Jeff, nodding, reached up again and opened the throttle. A moment later they flashed by the engine of the limited and the fireman drew a breath of relief but it was choked in his throat as the 1425 lurched wildly sideways and then rearing up, ripped through the sides of the Pullmans of the luckless train as though they were made of paper. "That pony truck hanger!" was his instant thought and

(Continued on page thirty-six)

Twenty-five

Profits Versus Peggy

By EVA B. PILLSBURY

PEGGY saw the young foreman coming, and lifted an anxious hand to her hair, patting the black marcelled waves into place. Such a slight act was that, but it changed everything.

In the bookbinding plant where Peggy worked, there were no guards on the paper cutters. Just a steel table with a heavy knife that sheared through a thousand sheets when the operator pressed a treadle. Peggy's heart was beating rather quickly as she saw the young foreman turning her way, and when her hand went back to its work it got where the paper should have been. So, when the knife came down, the stump of her hand was on one side of the blade and her fingers were on the other.

Peggy went down in a heap. The fingers—all four—were picked up gingerly and thrown into the furnace; the blood was wiped from the machine and, after an unprofitable delay of twenty minutes or more, the work went on. Some other girl got Peggy's job.

Peggy's hospital expenses for two weeks were magnanimously paid by the bookbinding company. This was really, you understand, quite an act of charity, as the girl was injured through her own carelessness. She had been warned of the danger. The concern had to practice economy in order to make a profit and one of its economies was the omission of guards on the paper cutters. Such things cost money.

Next day at the hospital Peggy signed a paper, with her left hand,—the hand very kindly guided by a man sent over from the book bindery.

She didn't read the paper and couldn't have understood it had she done so. The young foreman sent her some flowers and a box of candy. And when she got home he ran in to visit her one evening.

When Peggy saw him, all the pain left that jagged stump of a hand and she felt that life was good after all. He had not deserted her.

You see, the young foreman had been very sweet on Peggy. There had been an indefinite—very indefinite on his part—idea of marriage, and on the strength of this Peggy had allowed him special privileges not supposed to be granted prior to the marriage ceremony.

Peggy felt somehow that it would be all right; he had told her it would.

When an hour later he had gone, Peggy slipped weakly down on the couch and lay there, face hidden, trying to think.

Everything was going round and round. Just one thing stood up clear. He was **not** going to marry her. His reasons ran something like this—"Poor man couldn't afford to marry a girl with one hand. Anyway, had never intended . . . , had to help folks at home. When he married it would be to

some girl of his own religious faith," and so on and so on.

From this hour Peggy did not seem to care so much what happened to her. She couldn't get work. No one wanted a girl with a useless stump where a good right hand should be.

Her parents didn't hesitate to tell her that she was a burden.

Her cheap beauty began to fade. She could no longer have her hair marcelled; couldn't even afford a little rouge to re-enliven the paling lips and cheeks. Tough luck for Peggy.

Worse even than this, Peggy began suffering awful stabbing pains around the severed nerves where the paper cutter had done its work,—agonizing messages went flying to a bewildered and tormented little brain.

Somebody told Peggy that a shot in her arm would ease the pain, and another "somebody," more despicable, helped Peggy to a needle and some dope.

It did what they said it would do. It blotted out the pain, and in its place sent brilliant fantastic pictures through Peggy's sick mind; it gave her hours of semi-conscious drifting on rose-colored clouds, amid soft perfumes and languorous music, and then slowly back to trembling limbs and low hysteric laughter. After that the horrible stabbing pains. So for two years.

Gradually something was happening to Peggy's soul. Perhaps the dope ate it away. She has no beauty left now. The black hair that the young foreman admired is scanty and lustreless. The young body with its voluptuous curves is now thin and scrawny.

That arm that was meant to encircle some lover's neck—that was intended to curl around some baby's soft little body—will never fulfill its mission now. Those fingers became calcined bones, then ashes, in the furnace of the bookbindery company, long ago.

You might meet Peggy on the street any time. Nobody knows where she hangs out by day nor where she sleeps at night. Her parents have washed their hands of her,—thrown her out, disowned her. At home her name is not even mentioned.

Occasionally it appears on the police court blotter. Then Peggy gets "30 days for treatment." At such times she is fed on milk and other nourishing things, and her wasted body is built up a bit, and then she goes back to the dope again.

The bookbindery is showing good profits, because it is very careful about the "overhead" and practices rigid economy in all its departments.

It still finds girls a-plenty who don't mind working around an unguarded paper cutter.

There has to be a certain percentage of accidents anyhow. You can't have progress and machine civilization without some casualties. The wheels must turn and the knives must come down.



The Revolution In the Air

By C. M. RIPLEY, E. E.

The Harbor of Hamburg,
Germany, from Airplane

I HAVE just come from a seven weeks' trip of Europe, which included France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland and England. I travelled over 5,000 miles on the ocean, 2,000 miles in airplanes and less than 1,000 miles by railroad train.

Europe is far ahead of us in the regular airplane service for passengers, freight, newspapers, baggage and mail. Every day thousands of passengers with their baggage fly between scores of European cities at a speed of 80 to 105 miles an hour. The all-metal German airplanes with aluminum wings and bodies are the safest. The Dutch airplanes are the fastest and the English machines are the largest that I travelled in. One of the greatest novelties was the flight over the Alp Mountains between Geneva and Zurich, and I have many photographs taken from airplanes not only showing the Alp Mountains but also fields, villages and cities. In making the flight from Berlin to London it took nine hours. We stopped at Hamburg and Amsterdam and crossed one-half of Germany, all of Holland, every foot of the Belgian coast, where we could see the bathers at Ostend, Belgium and other famous resorts, on down the French coast to Calais and then across the English channel in twelve minutes, and forty minutes later landed at the Croydon airplane field on the outskirts of London.

Airplane travel in Europe is safe, fast, popular and cheap. It only costs \$40 from Berlin to London in the planes of the Deutscher Aerolloyd company. To ride an equal distance on the twentieth century limited in America would cost about as much as to fly from London to Berlin. In England they have taxiplanes in addition to the taxicabs. The taxiplane will take you anywhere for two shillings a mile. A shilling is about twenty cents, so forty cents a mile for traveling in the air is cheaper than many taxicabs in America. Although I never rode in an airplane before taking

the trips over the Alps, my European experience has converted me into an enthusiastic air passenger. It is the only way to travel long distances.

A map of Europe would show regular airplane routes reaching from Persia to Denmark, from Moscow and St. Petersburg to Berlin and London and from Austria and Italy into Paris, Holland and Belgium. Among the lines are the Trans-Europa Union, the Junker lines, the KLM or Holland national airway and the Daimler airways of England, as well as the Hanly Paige between London and Paris. The Fokker planes, made in Holland, and operated by the KLM, have advertised that they have travelled over a million miles with passengers and freight without a single accident, and the other concerns listed have likewise compiled information as to the tons of freight, the thousands of passengers, the years of service and the distance covered without accidents. America should get busy in running regular aeroplane service between our principal cities. I would like to see Schenectady begin at once the construction of the finest airplane field in the east, brilliantly illuminated at night by the General Electric lighting experts, and so put Schenectady on the map as an airplane center for the New York to Montreal route, the Boston, Buffalo, Chicago route as well as the New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco route.



FRENCH AIRPLANE

A Farmer Sees America First

WALTER Conlin, writing in "The Llano Colonist" on "Why Radicalism Grows Among the Farmers," give the impressions of a farmer who ventured aboard a flivver out of the South into the North. As a result, he saw at work in the latter section all the remedies for farmer's troubles that are advocated in the former one. Finally, he's impressed with the essential sameness of conditions in both territories.

He finds, for instance, that the farmers of Ohio have not got the "one crop system" and yet "diversified farming" leaves them "in just as bad a condition as the farmers of Dixie." Says he, "the best and most scientific farmers tilling high-priced land, in many instances were unable to sell their crops for enough to cover the cost of production."

"Good roads," another Southern remedy, is regarded by the farmers of Ohio and Indiana "as the climax of all their woes, making the taxes unbearable"; as "many old, substantial farmers are losing their farms."

Conlin writes further, referring to conditions in Ohio:—

Corporation Farming

"Thousands of acres of rich farming land near Kenton have drifted into the hands of a great corporation. All farm work is done by hired help under the direction of superintendents. Onions are principally grown, and the company markets its own crops and gets the best possible price. Dotted all along the roads are the shacks in which the hired hands exist. These shacks are not one bit better than the cabins of the negro farm tenants in Dixie. Now and then you see a fine house with beautiful surroundings; this is the superintendent's home. Then you see a long string of shacks again."

Turning from the farms, Conlin investigated the industrial towns. Says he:—

New Labor Supply

"Work seems to have been pretty plentiful in the industrial cities for some time, and good roads and Ford cars have made it possible for farmers and men from small country towns to drive fifteen or twenty miles to the cities to work in the factories. These lads have become strike-breakers in many instances, and it offers a new field from which the employers can draw men in times of labor troubles.

"The last few weeks of my stay, Sept. 15 to 30, many men were being laid off in the industrial towns. It looks as if conditions were going to be bad this winter. So much depends on the automobile industry, and if the farmers can't buy autos, how can the work continue in the shops?"

Back Home

Farmer Conlin was very badly impressed by what he saw in the industrial towns. The living apartments of the worker looked both shabby and expensive to him. He was glad to get back to the colony at Newllano, Louisiana, after his three

months' trip. The conditions there impressed him, by way of contrast, as ideal. Hear him chirp:—

"Newllano looked mighty good to the wife and me when we reached home. The four-room cabin looked almost palatial after a few weeks in 'apartments'; we could get a second helping of sweet potatoes and gravy without a gripe in the pocket-book. When evening came we could hear the people singing and sawing and tooting . . . And when the sun rose over the pine trees in the morning we saw all of our children hurry away to school and all our youths and maidens going to their college classes. It may be 'radicalism' for the workers to want these things in their lives; but, by heck! they do; and, if I am not mistaken, we are going to see some 'radicalism' among the Eastern farmers soon."

That's good news. It is to be hoped that the farmers will get radicalism, so that when they are driven into the cities and factories they will join the industrial union movement, as a consequence. Two millions more of them are due to be driven off the farms in the next two years. There is no place for them elsewhere than in the cities. And there will be no place for their radicalism but in industrial unionism.

It is a hopeless idea, that of believing the farmers can turn to either colonies or politics to remedy their conditions. The tendencies are strongly against them. The industrial financiers have the economic and financial power, and they have decreed that this country, in imitation of England, shall be predominantly industrial, to the sacrifice of agriculture. And there is no political institution in this country that can say them nay; especially one backed by bankrupted farmers.

Augusto Sett, attorney general at Rome, Italy, has taken home a picture of America in which there are 54 million Americans in industrial life and 51 millions in farming. When we recall how, at one time, the proportions were completely reversed, we can see the doom of the farmer as an economic and political factor plainly written on the wall.

He has only one great prospect, namely, to become an industrial worker and join the Industrial Workers of the World. His radicalism will find its best outlet there.

Next Month!

Next Month!

**ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE
KU KLUX KLAN**

By Hubert Langerock

Worth Reading. Subscribe For Industrial
Pioneer Now.



The Situation In Germany

By
LOUIS BARTHA

Alexander Platz, Berlin,
from Airplane.

MANY articles have been and are being written in an attempt to analyze and interpret the situation in Germany. The following contribution is written by an IWW editor in contact with German workers and well-versed on European questions. It is recommended to the studious perusal of all Pioneer readers.

THERE is a continuous outcry about a German Revolution. Germany, we are informed, is in a revolutionary ferment. Let us see then how we stand on the question, Is there a revolution brewing in Germany or is it only hearsay?

A loud cry arises from the depths of the starving millions. They want bread and struggle for it. But we must distinguish between the starvation of certain classes and Social Revolution.

By all means, there is no Social Revolution in Germany! There is a capitalist readjustment there, that is causing the workers great suffering.

Revolutions do not start the way the reports from Germany would like to make us believe they do. For instance, these reports state: "The communists gathered near Berlin, in the suburbs of Wandbeck. And the German police surrounded their camp."

And again we read, "Communist armies are marching on Berlin." I presume they are the same armies that "laid down" in the suburb Wandsbeck, and the Berlin police came out from Alexanderplatz in so many auto trucks and moved them around so they'd remain there; for there is more fresh air in the suburb and the "revolutionists" seemed to be very good boys, indeed. Good, law-abiding German revolutionists, in fact.

They may be still camping in Wandsbeck and waiting permission from the police to continue the march on Berlin!

War Aftermath

The present trouble in Germany is the logical consequence of the world-war. Wilson's fourteen points resulted in a very imperfect and impotent League of Nations. The Versailles treaty did not quench nationalist-capitalist greed; but on the contrary, increased it. The various capitalist inter-

ests involved kept up the fight for more power, more territory, more influence; in brief, more of everything that spells profit.

Thus it came that the French capitalist class could not be satisfied by the various German reparations offers. In other words, the booty offered was not enough. And another thing, the French capitalist interests wanted a permanent hold on German industry. As a result, diplomatic manouvers began against Germany—and both sides determined not to understand each other. Therefore, the exorbitant demands of the French capitalists, who knew well that Germany could not provide the many millions of gold marks demanded. And thus came the Ruhr occupation.

Imitate Ghandi

Now the fight begins in earnest between the two warring national-capitalist interests. Germany selected Ghandi's weapon. But while Ghandi's passive resistance in India against the British was born of religious belief and a desire for sacrifice and martyrdom, attaining the moral height of a Jesus, German passive resistance was born of German capitalist interests and was fed by billions of marks—dirty government money—handed out as unemployment doles to the unemployed and going to the assistance of even the capitalists themselves, in various forms.

In the meantime, the German capitalists were playing another despicable game; they took great joy in inflating the currency and destroying all money values, as well. This was the opportunity to prove to the French national-capitalist group that Germany could not possibly pay the sums demanded by it. Cheap money also created cheap labor and gave the German capitalists competitive advantages in the markets of the world. Further, it enabled

Twenty-nine

them to bankrupt and squeeze out the middle manufacturing class in their own country.

The fight waxed hotter. One result was that Baron Krupp, the greatest capitalist in the Ruhr, got 15 years in the French "can." Krupp is now out, however.

Franco-German Combination

Eventually passive resistance died down and was given up. During its height, the national-capitalists groups of both Germany and France negotiated with a view to combining their interests. This having succeeded, to a great degree, passive resistance was no longer necessary. And, as a further consequence, the great Ruhr industries, the subject of French greed and envy, are no longer German. Even Baron Von Krupp has come to terms and agreed to French deliveries of coal from his mines.

The former German industry has become industry pure and simple. As Stinnes, the German Rockefeller said, "I am not a German; I am a business man." He is expected to follow Krupp and surrender to the French also.

The explanation of the German upheaval comes from the fact that the capitalists of all groups can practically change front from day to day; but not so the German people. The German people found themselves suddenly at a loss, when Stinnes called off his dogs, the German government, and ordered a compromise. In order to force quicker and better terms Stinnes laid off thousands of workers and threatened to lay off 1,500,000 more. The Ruhr capitalists' action in suspending work in plants and mines was nothing but coercion in the affected bargaining with both the French and the German governments.

The working class of the Ruhr and Germany also, is the pitiful victim of a high-handed clash of national-capitalist group interests; the tools in the hands of their exploiters, the Krupps and Stinnes. The members of the German working class simply fought their bosses' economic battles.

As things are at this writing, the Ruhr working class and the German working class are starving. The army of occupation is no longer needed to protect French interests but to keep the masses from violence, all in the interests of the corporations headed by the Krupps and Stinnes. And also to have conditions ready for the resumption of work on a capitalist basis in the Ruhr. In this connection, let it be said emphatically that the Ruhr is to Europe what Pennsylvania and Ohio, with their steel and coal trusts, are to the U. S. It is strategic territory.

Industrialists Most Powerful

The German capitalists who have already come to agreement with their French counterparts, are the chief factory and mine owners. They control 75 per cent of the Ruhr's production, in other words, they control the most essential German production. This means that the German government will have the pleasure, like all other governments, of serving merely as the rubber stamp of the industrial magnates. It will simply O. K. the economic agree-

ments entered into by the Krupps and Stinnes. This too, despite the fact that Streseman is a representative of medium, or middle class industry, as opposed to big industry. In other words, he represents what we Americans call the anti-trust element as opposed to the trust elements. As we know from experience, they always surrender to big industry, as they invariably must.

Germany's ruling class, i. e., its dominant economic capitalist class, artificially helped to create the present German crisis. Like all ruling classes they are out for big game. What's their present game? Obviously to "shake down" and out the middle class and to more thoroughly enslave the working class? And for this reason, viz., to make more profits, especially in the markets of the world by an extended and expanded industry. To this end are they combining their interests with those of the French, English, aye, and American capitalist class, too. But this latter phase is the subject of another article, so we will not discuss it here for the present.

Naturally, in this international adjustment of Germany's industries, the German working class has had to suffer; as the working class everywhere suffers when capitalist readjustment is the order or disorder of the day. In some parts of Germany, as a result, there are very revolutionary workers and very well organized, too, as far as numbers are concerned; as, for instance, in Saxony. But they are hemmed in with general factors that operate to their detriment.

German Psychology Against Revolution

Primarily among the latter is the German attitude of mind, or psychology as the high brows prefer to call it. This is largely political and bureaucratic, instead of economic and democratic. The German mind, in other words, is over-centralized, top-heavy as it were.

In Germany, there are about 15,000,000 workers. More than 10,000,000 are organized. Most of the organized workers are enrolled in the Gewerkschaften, i. e., the trade unions. Though the latter have decided industrial union tendencies, they are, like the AFL, in the control of a bureaucracy. And as the AFL is the bulwark of American capitalism, so are they, accordingly, the bulwark of German capitalism.

Even in Saxony, where, until lately, the government was a coalition of communists and social democrats, the trades unions, as a whole, were in the undisputed control of the bureaucrats.

The communists have only succeeded in capturing a few of the unions and getting a majority in some of the branches of others. But the bureaucrats are holding with both hands onto their easy chairs and are not showing the slightest signs of getting out and giving their well-upholstered seats of power over to their communist brethren.

Without the control of the economic organizations of Germany, any attempt to capture political power is bound to become a tragic fiasco, such as the first Spartacus revolution had been; with its

death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht who were fatally shot and clubbed in the streets of Berlin by the monarchists, as were thousands of workers, too!

Then, too, the Spartacans had no control of the German trade unions; with the result that the Spartacans carried the battle out onto the street, thereby leaving the industries in the hands of the exploiters of labor.

The Kapp General Strike.

How well President Ebert knew the value of the Gewerkschaften during the Kapp monarchist putsch! How quickly the Ebert government called the Gewerkschaften out on general strike that broke the Kapp putsch into atoms. And how quickly the Gewerkschaften responded—no doubt for a good cause—but nevertheless on government orders! With this historical experience to guide them, some of the German working class has grown more cautious and slower to act at the barricades. They now think things over twice before they act once.

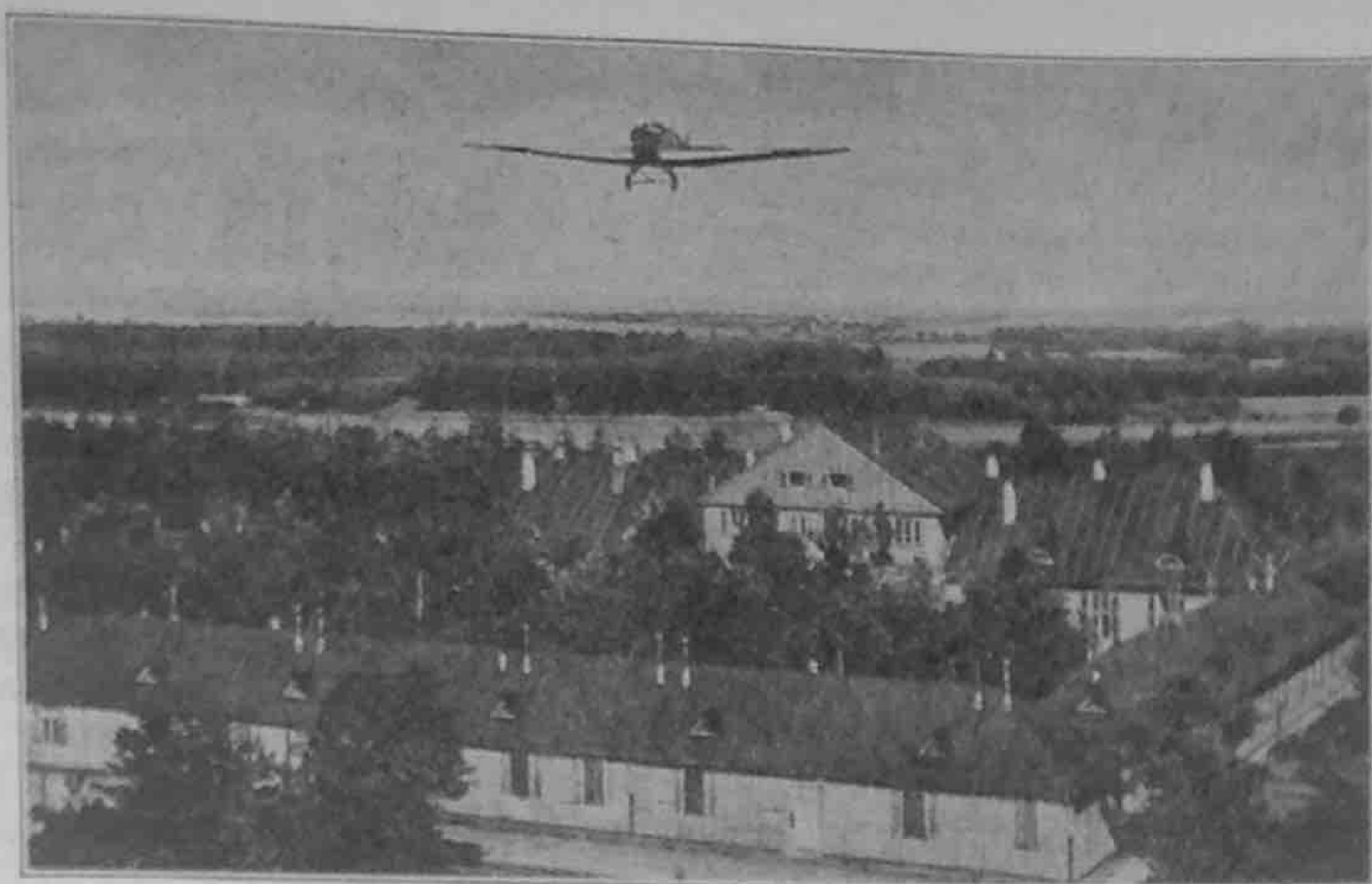
Looking at matters from even the foregoing superficial point of view, we find that the German working class is no more ready to seize industry, much less to hold and operate it, than they ever have been heretofore. For without the full co-operation of the Gewerkschaften, every battle is lost in advance.

Again, it must be recalled, further, that the German labor movement is predominantly a parliamentary labor movement, led by the leaders of repudiation, i. e., the socialist representatives. On the other hand, the trade union movement is completely dominated by its great big bureaucracy, who are both representative of political socialism and big capitalism. All in all, the German labor movement, as a whole, was shaped by parliamentarians from its very outset. And in connection with this parliamentarianism, can we quote the language of Faust, "Zwei seelen wohnen auch! in meinen brust." (Two souls also live in my breast)—i. e., the souls of political socialism and economic capitalism.

Old Methods Unsuitable to New Conditions

The general condition of Germany does not, accordingly, warrant us in reaching such a frenzied assumption as that of social revolution; of a revolution in industry by industrial means. We see in Germany, the employment of an old revolutionary technique—barricades, marches, riots, capture of government, etc.—that does not fit in with modern requirements and consequently leaves modern issues untouched at their very core.

It is true that the German mark has dropped to nil and that food prices have gone aeroplaning. But what has all that got to do with basic conditions? What does that reveal of Germany's real vitality?



GERMAN AIRPLANE ALIGHTING AT STATION

its industrial resources and gold reserve, if you like? And its controlling class ownership and organization? Nothing!

Work can be resumed in Germany as soon as the French capitalists have satisfied their greed and completely abolished German supremacy in the basic industries of Europe. It is, accordingly, a mistake to believe that Germany is on the eve of a social revolution or that the German working class is in a better position today than it was in the fateful November of 1918. Conditions in Germany cannot be compared with the condition of Russia in 1917.

In Russia, there was a war breakdown—a social collapse resulting in big changes. But there is no sign of a social collapse in Germany, political boundary juggling and changes in office notwithstanding.

Besides conditions in Europe have changed entirely since then. Unlike Russia in 1917, Germany has a powerful peasant class, the largest members of whom are allied with the big industrialists. They form a strong middle class, well-trained and organized; and, together with the industrialists, are the main pillars of the present bourgeois system of society in Germany. Even Russia has become capitalistically inclined.

It is true, the communists are trying to spread their propaganda among the petty bourgeois; in some cases beating even the hated social democrats in their compromises. They accuse the governmental social democrats with not sharing the necessary patriotic feelings of the people; and they want a much bolder stand against "the foreign invaders," the French.

"Der Tag"

This is all tactics. They say one thing and mean another. The German communists do not want a Ruhr settlement. They wish for continuous trouble and to capture political power by a daring trick; a la Bolsheviki in Russia, November, 1917. And the Fascist Hittler and Monarchist Ludendorff are aiming at the same thing. In this matter, both extremes have the same object. Both are hoping for "Der Tag," the day when, armed to the teeth,

the French and the Germans will again jump upon each other.

But, as already indicated, there is no likelihood of this occurring, at present. In addition, the overwhelming mass of the German people are behind any government which promises to make peace. For the German people, despite all that is said against them, are a very friendly and peace-loving people, possessed of great culture. This also affords a striking contrast to the situation in Russia in 1917, when the majority of the people were overwhelmingly against the Kerensky government and for the same reason, namely, to secure peace.

Russia No Comparison

Further, as already indicated, there is no revolutionary inclined peasantry in Germany, as was the case in Russia. The German peasant is not starving. He is not land hungry. His man power is not being destroyed by war. They are, on the contrary, the hoarders of food. They preserve the foodstuffs that the big cities need and so exert an economic influence on industrial cities like Berlin and states like Saxony.

The German peasant was revolutionary in 1848; but not today. Now he's the most conservative farmer that ever existed. And it is because of his conservatism that the German middle and working classes are starving in the large cities. The German peasants like Stinnes' inflation policy; they are stupendously enriched by it.

How well we know from experience what it means when country is lined against city, peasants against workers. In Hungary, during the commune, the peasants fed wheat to the hogs or hid it in the manure pile; while in Budapest people ate cabbage and then cabbage and then some more cabbage. Cabbage, cabbage, nothing but cabbage!

It is entirely a secondary question whether in Saxony, the federal dictator will remain or the socialists and communists return to executive office. From the standpoint of social revolution, the fight between Saxony and Bavaria doesn't amount to much. Bavaria went through communist experiment and it failed there. Saxony is a great industrial state and Bavaria a great agricultural state.

Nor will the fundamental conditions be affected by the return to monarchy. That will indeed be a deplorable reaction in favor of big capitalism; a constitutional monarchy, at best.

Part Farmers Play

The conservative farmer corporations do not let very much food accumulate in the big industrial cities. They reason: let the workers have their red meetings; but if they do not conduct things the way we want them to, we will stop their bread. Besides there is a great sectional hatred between Bavarians and Prussians and Bavarians and Saxons; about the same as amongst the Americans and Mexicans. They do not mix well!

By all means, is it correct to say that a shameful famine exists in Germany. German women and children are starving and dying from undernourish-

ment, thanks to their combined industrialists, agrarians and French oppressors. It is the tragic aftermath of the terrible world events since 1914. Did not the French deprive the Germans of 50,000 milch cows since signing the armistice? Yes, there is famine; but on the other hand there is also immense wealth in capitalist depositories and food in the hands of conservative farmers

Ghandi and his followers died by the hundreds; and their hopeless passive resistance against the British was the outcome of conditions in India, inflamed by religious ardor and great altruism. Not so the German passive resistance. It was the most selfish battle in all history; and the chaos it has brought about is in the interest of the capitalist class.

Hunger Riots Not Social Revolution

Let us repeat, in conclusion, hunger riots in Germany are not social revolution. But it may be said that that process is necessary to alter the system of society. And so with the battles on the barricades; the same claim may be made for them. However, even if there was a chance for armed insurrection to defeat the armies of the ruling class, the final outlook is very foggy, for there are 100,000 federal soldiers and 2,500,000 black militia and about 2,500,000 fascisti to consider.

Armed insurrection would mean a terrible massacre of the working class in an artificially contrived "Social Revolution," just like in Bulgaria. The German capitalists no doubt would welcome this, for they would then get an opportunity to annihilate the revolutionary movement in Germany.

The whole German revolt—outside of some food riots here and there,—as far as the various parties are concerned, is a purely political revolution. None of them want to abolish the wage system. They cannot run industry with bayonets, guns and gallows. There is something else that is needed for that and that is, industrial organization.

A working class that is directly organized in industry with the understanding and object to take over the industries for the workers, would be a revolutionary force, capable of carrying out a real social revolution. Such a highly developed system as the Germans have demands very highly organized industrial organization on the part of the workers in order to make a social revolution in Germany a reality and not a phrase.

It is always most popular to float with the stream, but that will do no good to the long suffering German working class. If we can do anything for them just now it will be to cry out with all our strength, capture the gewerkschaften! Revolutionize them and then the social revolution will be possible of realization. All else is superficial politics.

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