

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

March, 1921

**The I. W. W. at the Grave of
Karl Liebknecht**

**Fiftieth Anniversary of the
Paris Commune**

**The Founding of the Industrial
International**

"Old Dry Bones"

PRICE 25 CENTS

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

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

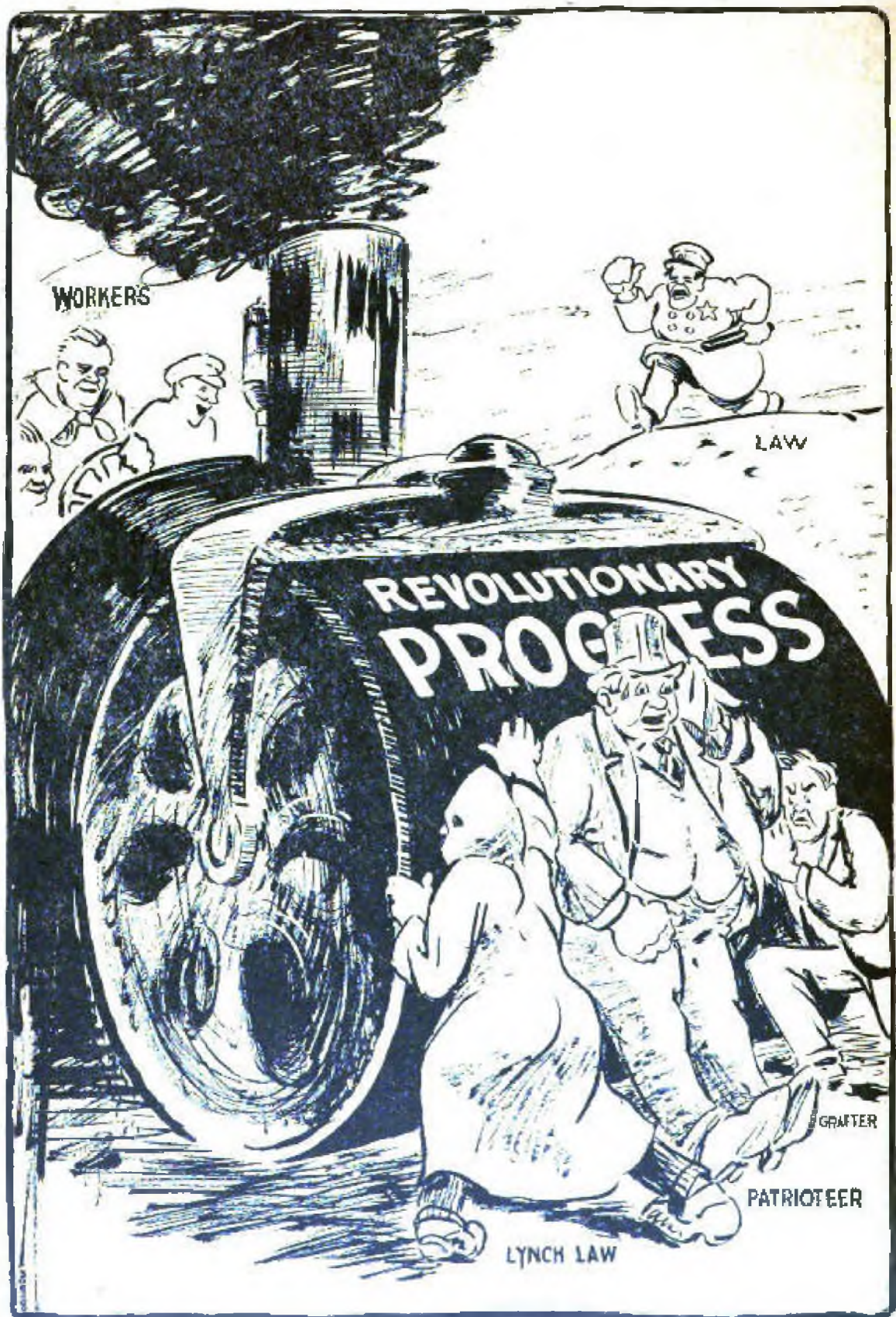




Contents

	Page
EDITORIAL:	
Industrial Efficiency	14
SERIALS:	
The Story of the Sea. By Tom Barker.....	40
The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. By A. Lozovsky. With 1 illustration	57
Technique and Revolution. By G. Cannata. Second and Last Installment.	27
ARTICLES:	
The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune. By George Andreptchine. With 3 Illustrations.....	8
Life on the New York Water Front. By Card No. 200824.....	17
"California Oranges." By J. A. Stromquist. With 8 Illustrations. 23	23
The Wastes of War. By the I. W. W. Bureau of Industrial Re- search. With 1 Illustration and 2 Charts.	31
The Glass Industry. By Robert Grayson.....	36
Labor Demands Resumption of Trade with Russia.....	48
FROM FOREIGN LANDS:	
At the Grave of Karl Liebknecht. By Theodor Plievier. With 1 Illustration.	3
The German Martyrs and the I. W. W. By Tom Barker. With 2 Illustrations.....	5
The Berlin Conference of Syndicalist and Industrial Unions. By H. Van Dorn	49
The Class War in Spanish-Speaking Countries. By Frank J. Guscetti.	52
DEFENSE:	
Defense News. By John Martin	45
FICTION:	
"Old Dry Bones." Short Story by W. L. Fisher.	20
POETRY:	
Eugene V. Debs. By Jessie Wallace Hughan.....	7
The Industrial Workers of the World. By Laura Payne Emerson. 12	12
Grafts on the Sea. By Mrs. J. C. Coons.....	22
To the Russian Red Guard. By Ralph Chaplin	39
To Soviet Russia.—An American Workingman Speaks. By Charles Ashleigh.	46
BOOK REVIEW:	60
CARTOONS AND PICTURES:	
The Steam-Roller. Cartoon	2
John E. Murphy Speaking at the Funeral of John Reed.....	13
Two "Good" Men and—Blind. Cartoon by R. Corder.....	26
In Union There is Strength. Cartoon by Ralph Chaplin.....	30
Our Benevolent Capitalist. Cartoon.....	35
Congress of the Communist Youth of Russia.....	47
Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and—Death. Cartoon.....	51





THE STEAM-ROLLER

THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Vol. 1, No. 2

MARCH, 1921

Serial No. 2

AT THE GRAVE OF KARL LIEBKNECHT

By Theodor Plievier

A DAMP westerly wind swept over the lowlands of North-Germany. Heavy clouds and drizzling rain moved over the earth and changed the face of the landscape. Snowy fields were transformed into gray and muddy plains, and the brilliant white snow that covered the streets and squares of the City of Berlin was turned into thick turbid waters.

Melancholy indeed was this Christmas day, celebrated in honor of the Messiah, who two thousand years ago walked the earth and called upon the poor and oppressed to fight against the powers of darkness. Clouds, dull and oppressive, hung like a funeral pall over the roofs of houses and drooped to the very pavements of the streets. The town presented a chaotic appearance: fog, rain and gusts of wind chased each other up and down its broad avenues; here and there one could occasionally catch fleeting glimpses of that colossal agglomeration of stores and churches, tenements and palaces, factories and workshops, known as the City of Berlin, in which millions of slaves of German capitalism live, work, fight and die.

Such was the appearance of Christmas day of the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty, and sad were the thoughts of a small crowd of men—not quite a dozen—who had left a suburban railway station and were walking down a deserted street. After passing the last house on the outskirts of the town they

came to a huge arch,—the entrance to the Cemetery of Lichtenberg.

This grave-yard has an interesting history. Some fifty years ago it was founded by the municipality of Berlin as a burying-place for the poor and the outcast, for those unfortunates who died in the streets, in charitable institutions, hospitals and prisons, for those derelicts, men and women, who had not the price of an "honest grave." But, with the passing of years, it has gradually been transformed into the final resting-place of the bold and courageous men and women of Germany, of its pioneers in art and science, of its lovers of liberty, of its rebels against oppression in whatever form. Many a writer, many a scientist of world-wide fame lies buried here in this perfumed garden of roses. As one passed along its avenues and winding paths, lined on both sides with an infinite variety of flowers and shrubbery, one became aware that the Cemetery of Lichtenberg was, besides, one of the most beautiful in all Germany.

The group of men, carrying a big wreath of white and red roses, with a broad ribbon of the deepest red suspended from it, passed bare-headed a field of about two hundred mounds,— graves of the victims of barricade-fights in the streets of Berlin. The very names even of some of these martyrs of the class struggle will forever remain unknown to posterity. All of them fought and died for a great cause,—the

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



Karl Liebknecht's grave is seen at the extreme right. Next to him rests Rosa Luxemburg. The others are graves of workmen slain in Berlin uprisings.

liberation of the workers. Since November, 1918, the victims of the class-war in Germany number about seven thousand. This pile of dead bodies, this sum of wasted lives is the heavier a charge against the existing government as it calls itself a Socialistic one, and is elected and supported by the workers themselves. It is an everlasting "memento-mori," a call of seven thousand brutally murdered souls to carry on the revolution until its bitter end, until the establishment of the economical power of the proletariat.

The men walked on until they came to a spot where thirty eight brave hearts had found their last resting place after a life of struggle. Here one of that group of pilgrims, George Hardy, the representative of the Industrial Workers of the World, reverently laid the wreath upon one of the mounds. The plain granite block at the head of that grave revealed the name of "Karl Liebknecht."

The Industrial Workers of the World had sent its representative across the ocean to join hands with the European fellow workers, to pay homage to the martyrs of the German Revolution, and to bring greetings of courage and solidarity to the struggling Proletariat of Europe from the revolutionary labor movement of America.

This little group of men, assembled around Karl Liebknecht's grave, represented the class-conscious workers of many lands. Their presence on the consecrated ground where lay buried one of the most valiant fighters for the liberation of the working class, whose life was like a blazing star lighting up the path of progress, symbolized the historic mission of the workers of the world;—the abolition of wage slavery, exploitation, and the private ownership of the means of life, and the establishment of Labor's Commonwealth.

To the Workers the Earth and all the Fruits thereof!



The grave of Karl Liebknecht showing wreath of flowers placed there by George Hardy, I. W. W. delegate to the Berlin Industrial Union Conference.

The German Martyrs and the I. W. W.

By Tom Barker

FELLOW Worker Hardy and myself landed in Berlin on a bitterly cold day. A piercing wind was blowing from the Russian plains. Water was frozen solid, and icicles hung from bridges and the eaves of houses. To keep warm one had to be on the move all the time, for coal is rationed, and consequently scarce. Food is also scarce, and those who deserve it the most get the least. Children are pale and stunted, especially those born during or since the war.

Berlin is now a dirty town. Huge heaps of blackened snow are piled along the sides of the streets. Old army uniforms are still in evidence; here and there one catches sight of an army cap or a pair of trench boots. The old discipline, however, is gone for good. The police system as it was known in the time of the Kaiser has broken down.

Altho hunger thins the ranks of the work-

ers, the rich eat as well as they ever did, and live as luxuriously. The big hotels are crowded, and bacchanal dances are given by the favored supporters of the regime of Social-Democracy. Back of the government stands the Trade Union Central organization, which is the German counterpart of the American Federation of Labor. All that the Germans accomplished thru their pseudo-revolution was to exchange one political autocracy for another.

During the little time that we could spare from our work at the Syndicalist Congress we visited places of historic interest in the proletarian struggle. By a remarkable coincidence the huge police general headquarters was gutted by fire the first two days we were in Berlin. During the revolutionary outbreak this place was the center of many fights, and the walls are marked with machine gun fire and bombing. We visited the Reichstag Building and

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



Delegates to the Berlin Industrial Union Conference at the grave of Karl Liebknecht.

saw the huge statue of Bismarck, from behind which the government troops, armed with machine guns, mowed down the revolutionary workers. We went over this historic ground, still resplendent with the monuments of by-gone soldiers, kings and statesmen, and had the revolutionary uprising explained to us by men who themselves had taken part in it. In fancy we saw William the Last scuttling like a rat for safety, and the war-tired soldiers and workers battling with the police and state troops for the possession of public buildings. The old bureaucracy tottered in a few days, but the bourgeois apostles of Social-Democracy saved the institution of private property by using the power which fortune had put into their hands to put down the revolutionary aspirations of the workers.

One day we walked out to the Lichtenberg Cemetery where sleep most of the 1700 martyrs of the German Revolution killed in Berlin. The cemetery, covered with a white sheet of virgin snow, presented a solemn and inspiring appearance. Within a stone's throw from the gate we found the splendid monument erected to the memory of Wilhelm Liebknecht, the famous father of an equally famous son. Near him sleep Hugo

Haase, the murdered Independent Socialist leader, and Paul Singer, the one-time leader of Social-Democracy. But we were seeking the tombs of other men, and so we passed on down the long paths, lined on both sides with black marble slabs, until we reached a place where sleep thirty-eight of the heroes of the German class war, including Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Before we arrived nature had deposited a counterpane of snow over the last resting place of the dead. The graves were literally smothered underneath beautiful wreaths, for there is never a day that some person or organization does not bring offerings to the fallen warriors. Thru the covering of snow we could see the red flowers of the bouquets and wreaths. It was so beautiful that it seemed as if nature herself had conspired with man to adorn their graves.

By the side of Liebknecht and Luxemburg rest many of the bravest hearts that ever beat in Germany. Is it not strange that out of all the German millions who died in the war against the Allies, these few martyrs who gave their lives for the good cause of liberating the working class from wage slavery receive more tender thought and solicitude than all those who died in the

capitalist war? They still live, and one cannot visit the graves without recalling the words of another heroic German, legally murdered in Chicago in 1887: "There will come a time when our silence will speak louder than the voices you strangle today."

On Christmas Day we again visited the cemetery, and Fellow Worker Hardy placed a wreath bearing the inscription of the Industrial Workers of the World upon the grave of Karl Liebknecht. That wreath is a token of the community of purpose that exists between the revolutionary industrial workers of America, Germany, and all other countries. It is an earnest of a fraternity and solidarity that not all the hell-born ingenuity of capitalism can dissipate or sidetrack. It is an indication of a real understanding for the future, that will make our class invincible.

Wilhelm still lives at Amerongen, and Ebert and Noske still preside over the national destinies. But Labor is moving underneath; flags are missing, decorations are unknown, unrest is in men's blood. The time is fast getting ripe for a movement to arise that will rally the workers around the banner of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, that will sweep into oblivion the odious regime of Social-Democracy and establish in its place the Domination of the Working Class.

Long live the Revolutionary Dead! Long live the Revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World!



Erich Mühsam, Socialist writer and lecturer, sentenced during the April, 1920, uprising in Munich, Bavaria, to 15 years imprisonment.

Eugene V. Debs

By Jessie Wallace Hughan

If he had wept and kissed the hand that smote;
 If he, the rebel, had inclined the knee,
 And cried, "I yield me to your gracious mercy!
 Spare but my freedom and I win no more"—
 We might have pardoned him his grievous crime.
 But, lo! he stood erect and unsubdued,
 And flung defiance from his three score years:
 "I yield not till oppression's self shall yield;
 I ask no freedom till the world is free;
 I crave no mercy till the prison door
 Swings out for all the thousands you have bound!"
 If he had cringed and kissed the hand that smote,
 We might have pardoned him his grievous crime.

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune

By George Andreytchine

INTRODUCTION.

ON MARCH the 18th of the present year the working class of the whole world will celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune. Half a century ago, on the 18th day of March, 1871, the French people rid themselves thru a heroic effort of the shackles of the bourgeoisie and established the reign of Labor's Commonwealth. But, alas, it lasted only two months and ten days, for on May 28th thirty-five thousand workers, defenders of the proletarian regime, were massacred and the Commune was overthrown. Since then fifty long years have passed, fifty years of slavery and subjugation of the working class. The French bourgeoisie is still supreme, and France is today the bulwark of international reaction. The hour of the workers has not yet arrived, but the signs are multiplying that it will not be long in coming.

To fully grasp the historical significance of the Paris Commune, let us in retrospect consider the great events that preceded it. History, in order to become a true science of the evolution of mankind and of its institutions, ought to be completely rewritten. As is it taught in the schools today it is but a subterfuge for the perpetuation of the capitalist order of society.

Notwithstanding the bourgeois historians, it is the workers who made possible the Great French Revolution. They underwent the greatest privations, fought like tigers and jealously vigiled over the conquests of the revolution, thinking that the end of their economic slavery had come. The historian Germain tells us that 80,000 workers had organized themselves into a "general coalition," and that the masters sent a petition to the government in which they demanded to be "saved from the tyranny the workers exercise over them." Thereupon the National Assembly passed the infamous Chapellier Act, which was introduced on May 17th, 1791, and which prohibited association of the workers and collective demands for increase in wages. This law was the wedge which made the initial split between the newly-created bourgeoisie and the proletariat as classes. With the passing of years this split grew into an impassable chasm. During the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 the workers attempted to take the power away from the bourgeoisie, but these attempts were drowned in blood. The history of France since 1791 is the history of a continuous sanguinary struggle between capital and labor, which reached the climax in 1871 in the Paris Commune.

THE PARIS COMMUNE.

The adventurer Louis Bonaparte, who had overthrown the Republic in 1851 by taking advantage of the dissensions among the bourgeoisie, allowed a band of politicians and financiers to rule France, but they advanced its industrial development and she became a great commercial country. The Second Empire brought with itself a wave of chauvinism, and as France badly needed the rich Rhine provinces which belonged to it before the downfall of the First Empire, war with Prussia was inevitable.

It broke out in 1870, when the internal stability of the Empire was greatly shaken by a workers' revolt led by the French section of the First International—The International Workingmen's Association. Before the war was declared 200,000 of them marched in the streets of Paris, singing: "All peoples are our friends, and all tyrants our foes!"

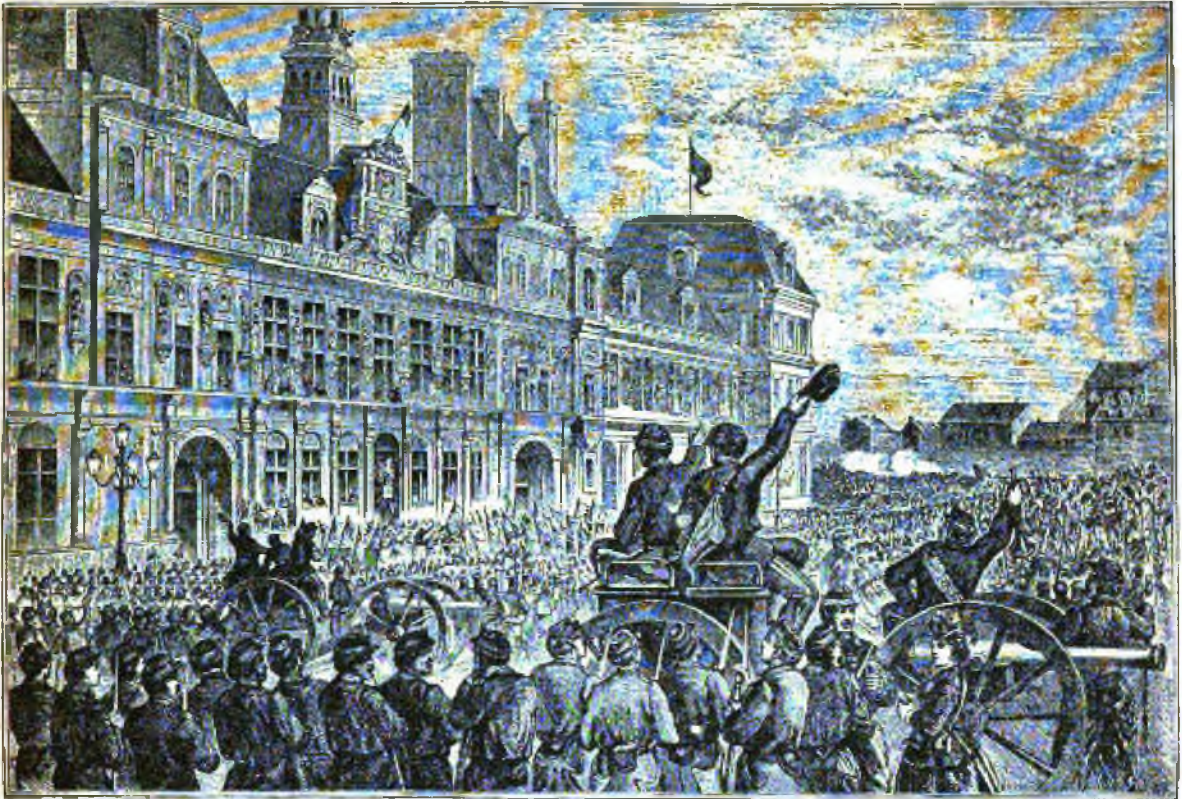
They wanted peace. After the fall of Sedan, the workers of Paris, now armed and organized in the "Garde Nationale," overthrew the Second Empire and proclaimed the Republic. That was on September 4th, 1870. But the proclamation of the Republic did not radically change the situation: the reactionary bourgeoisie remained in power thru the gorilla Thiers, who managed to fool the masses.

The workers never trusted Thiers; he was the high priest of the bourgeois cult of property. He hated the workers and he was planning to outwit and disarm them. He conspired with Bismarck, his supposed mortal enemy, the invader of his country, to suppress the workers' battalions of the National Guard. But the National Guard, composed of the whole armed population of Paris, 250,000 of whom were workers and small proprietors, had already organized itself for defense of the people's interests.

When Thiers signed the capitulation of Paris on January 28th, 1871, he thought the propitious moment for the disarmament of the proletarian battalions had come. But he was mistaken. They refused to obey Thiers and his generals.

THE FIRST SOLDIERS' COUNCILS.

During the month of February the National Guard organized the first meeting of the battalion delegates—the first soldiers' council in proletarian history. These delegates elected a Central Committee, destined to play a decisive role in the first days of the Commune. Among the delegates was one young book-binder, Eugene Varlin, leader of the French section of the First International. Thanks to his



THE PROCLAMATION OF THE COMMUNE

organizing genius and marvelous vision, the revolutionary workers got hold of the Central Committee.

Thiers had the impudence to pass a law suppressing the 30 sous paid daily to the workmen-soldiers of the National Guard, and another law giving legal right to the landlords to demand rent payment, which was abolished during the siege of Paris.

This act of his infuriated the armed workers. On top of all this, Thiers appointed a Jesuit as commander of the National Guard, whom the Central Committee refused to acknowledge.

15th OF MARCH.

Thiers was planning to subdue the armed workers, but they had plenty of cannon and machine guns. This cannon was made during the siege by popular subscription and was the property of the National Guard.

Thiers ordered a few detachments of infantry and artillery to go and get the cannon. The order was issued at 2 o'clock in the morning of March 15th. When the government troops approached Montmartre the National Guard, with women and children, all prepared to defend their cannon, met them and after a few shots were exchanged, most of the government soldiers raised the butts of their guns in the air and went over to the people's side. The generals who commanded them, Clement Thomas and Lecompte, were hoisted on bayonets and killed. These two were the torturers of the National

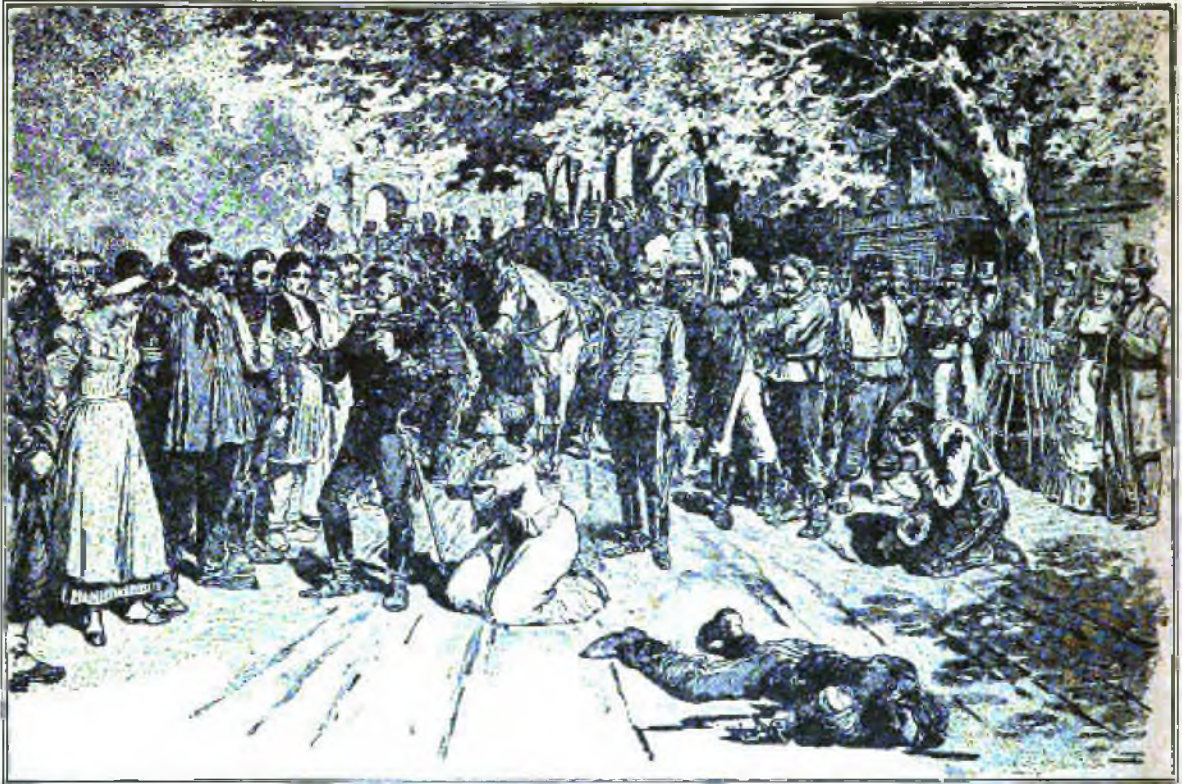
Guard and they were guilty of the murder of innocent workers.

As soon as Thiers heard of the fate of his two henchmen he fled to Versailles, after having denounced the Central Committee as brigands. Marx says that he called upon the National Guard to come to the rescue of the government, but out of 300,000 only 300 responded. No wonder he felt safer in Versailles, where he could conspire against the workers unmolested.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

On March 18th the Central Committee of the National Guard captured without any great difficulties the State power and became the provisional government. Paris was in jubilation: Cries of "Long live the Commune" were on the lips of all the exploited and oppressed. In its first manifesto the Central Committee said: "The proletarians of Paris, amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs . . . They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power."

But the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes. So the Parisian Communists, just



GALLIFET CHOOSING HIS VICTIMS FROM RANKS OF THE COMMUNARDS

like their Russian comrades in 1917, instead of using the obsolete state apparatus of the bourgeoisie, adopted a new one, fitted for the new struggles and new tasks. They called elections for the Commune on March 26th, and on March 28th the Commune was proclaimed from the City Hall, and the Central Committee relinquished its power, except in military affairs. The Commune elected commissars to take care of the state affairs and sent civilian delegates to the National Guard to watch over the safety of the Commune.

WHAT THE COMMUNE ACCOMPLISHED.

The majority of the members of the Commune were working men. They wanted to carry out their revolutionary program, but the war for the defense of Paris absorbed their attention and energy. The rurals and the French soldiers recently returned from Germany began an offensive against the Commune.

The Commune, as Marx says, was not a parliamentary body, but a working executive and legislative at the same time, just like the Soviet Government in Russia is today.

"The first decree of the Commune was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people." In order to show its abhorrence for militarism the Commune decreed Napoleon's monument on the Place de Vendome to be demolished.

It stripped the police of its political attributes and power, transferring them to responsible mem-

bers of the Commune. All functionaries in all institutions, whether elected or appointed, could be recalled.

The Commune paid everybody, from its own members downwards, workingmen's wages. Marx says: "The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves. Public functions ceased to be the private property of the tools of the central Government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the State was laid into the hands of the Commune."

The Commune ordered rent payments to be postponed. It suppressed the sale of objects at the pawn shops in Mont-de-Piété. It abolished conscription, separated the Church from the State and suppressed the budget for cults. It decreed a pension of 600 francs to the legitimate or illegitimate wife of every National Guard killed in battle with the foe.

TAKING OVER THE SHOPS.

The most important decree of the Commune was the one taking over the abandoned shops and giving them to the workers' organizations to manage. The decree, issued on April 17th, 1871, reads in part as follows:

"The Commune of Paris:
Considering that a great number of shops have been abandoned by those who direct them, in order to escape their civil obliga-



SHOOTING OF THE COMMUNARDS AT MONTHMARTRE

tions, and not taking into account the workers' interests;

Considering that by this cowardly abandoning a great number of works essential to the communal life have been interrupted and workers' lives endangered;

Decrees:

The Workers' Syndical Chambers are called to institute a commission of inquiry having for its goal:

1. To make statistics of all abandoned shops, as well as an exact inventory in what state they have been found and the tools of labor therein;

2. To present a report establishing the practical conditions for a prompt exploitation of these shops, not by the deserters who abandoned them, but by the Co-operative Association of the Workers employed in them;

3. To elaborate a project of a constitution for these workers' co-operative societies" . . .

The militant leaders of the International and the unions were very anxious to begin the "expropriation of the expropriators" but the defense of the Commune prevented them from carrying it out.

THE CAUSES OF FAILURE.

The State power was in the hands of the proletarian, but the social revolution cannot be made by decrees, especially when the enemy is at the gate.

Besides, the workers were neither organized nor educated in the science of social revolution. In order to have a successful revolution, a great portion of the workers must have developed a sense of class consciousness, and they must be organized in their particular class institutions, having the necessary apparatus for combat and defense, and ready to take all direction, political and economic, into their hands.

At the time of the Commune the workers of France and the rest of the world were very weak, and consequently could not direct such a movement.

In spite of the brilliant leadership of a group of revolutionists, such like Varlin, Pindy, Duval, Arnoult, Vaillant and others, the International did not take part in the Commune as an organization; only its militants worked and fought for it. The peasants were the most formidable foe of the Commune, and they, as soldiers, defeated it, fearing it would take away their little farms.

The main cause of the weakness of the Commune was the lack of a directing dominant party. The members of the Commune were a mixture of Proudhonists, Bakounists, Blanquist and very few Marxians, if any.

THE MAD VENGEANCE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The heroic workers of Paris fought like tigers, but the enemy had greater power. Had the Communards been a little more practical, they would have pursued the Thiers mercenaries the first day of the revolt, and would have destroyed them completely. But once they quit Paris, the workers left them alone to prepare the counter revolution.

On May 28th, after a valiant struggle of 70 days, the last forts were taken by the Versailles. Belleville and Menilmontant fell and the savage massacre of the workers began. The bourgeoisie waded in workers' blood. Over 35,000 men, women and children were murdered by Gallifet. The grave diggers were working overtime in the cemetery Père

Lachaise, where lay the greatest number of the brave Parisian Communards. "The 'Wall of the Federals'—where the last massacre took place—remains today a dumb but eloquent witness to the frenzy of crime of which the governing classes are capable as soon as the proletariat dares to stand for its rights."

Eugene Varlin, the young leader of the Commune, was killed on the last day of the defense. With him fell the Commune.

The heroic deeds of the Paris Commune are held in sacred memory by all the workers of the world. The spirit of the Commune has now been brought back to life by the Russian working class. Long live the Commune!

The Industrial Workers of the World

By Laura Payne Emerson

I stood by a city prison,
In the twilight's deepening gloom,
Where men and women languished
In a loathsome, living tomb.
They were singing! And their voices
Seemed to weave a wreath of light,
As the words came clear with meaning:
"Workers of the World, unite!"

As it was with Galileo,
And all thinkers of the past,
So with these Industrial Workers,
Tyrants' shackles hold them fast.
In the bastiles of the nations,
They are bludgeoned, mugged and starved,
While upon their aching bodies
Prints of whips and clubs are carved.

Yet with spirits still unbroken
And with hope for future years
They are calling to their fellows:
"Come, arise! and dry your tears.
Wake, ye toilers, get in action,
Break your bonds, exert your might—
You can make this hell a heaven,
Workers of the World, unite!"

Hail! ye brave Industrial Workers,
Vanguard of the coming day,
When labor's hosts shall cease their cringing
And shall dash their chains away.
How the masters dread you, hate you,
Their uncompromising foes,
For they see in you a menace
Threatening soon their overthrow.



John T. Murphy, delegate of the British Shop Stewards to the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, speaking in Moscow at the funeral of John Reed.

Causes for War - 1921

M SCELLE, professor of international law at Dijon University, presents an arresting classification of the causes for war, which he declares are more numerous in 1921 than in 1914. He lists them as follows:

1. A portion of Asiatic Turkey is pregnant with immediate conflict, even among the Allies. Four or five nations are engaged in this struggle.
2. Baltic competition is more bitter than ever.
3. The Sazara Valley contains the germs of a conflict for the future.
4. The blaze may break out in the Ruhr at any moment.
5. Patchwork reconstruction of Poland, the Danzig corridor and the isolation of East Prussia are so many wasps' nests of trouble.
6. Silesia is a burning question. Teschen puts Poland and Czecho-Slovakia in brutal opposition.
7. Jugo-Slavia cannot achieve her unity.
8. Reactionary Hungary is simply awaiting her hour to spring upon her neighbors.
9. Austria cannot live alone.
10. Bulgaria is sulky and stealthily is plotting revenge.
11. Greater Greece of the Sevres Treaty is an absurd and impossible conception.
12. Roumania is threatened by her neighbors both on the Bessarabian and Transylvanian flanks.
13. Anglo-American rivalry.
14. Antagonism of the Japanese and Americans in the Pacific.

Over the whole dark picture the shadow of Bolshevism throws still darker gloom.

He ends this statement with an appeal to his fellow citizens to take now interest in foreign politics and to reject the dictations of secret diplomacy and extreme chauvinism.

The Industrial Pioneer

A Journal of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

H. VAN DORN, Editor

HARRY FEINBERG, Business Manager

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

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



Industrial Efficiency

INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY has been the by-word of big business for the past decade. Numerous study courses on that subject are today being given by various institutions. Many universities thruout the country are teaching business administration; statistics of economics and industrial and social research are being everywhere applied to the problems of life. Even the church has taken up the serious consideration of contests on the industrial battle ground. Research along similar lines has of late been conducted by many different bodies representing divergent interests and lines of thought.

The most interesting of these investigations is made public in the Steel Strike Report of the Inter-Church World Movement. It made a strong impression upon the leaders of industry, inasmuch as it was compiled by ethically-minded people of the upper class, who had no particular economic interest to defend, but simply stated the actual facts about the workers in the steel industry. This human document may become a public possession if Senator Walsh of Montana succeeds in his fight against the reactionaries.

Big business studies industrial efficiency from the point of view of profits. Its object is to "produce as much as possible for as little as possible"; in other words, to obtain "maximum production for minimum endeavor." It regards only money and ma-

chinery, forgetting the other two important factors in production, namely—men and management. These four must always be considered in any study of industrial efficiency.

Capitalist efficiency consists in producing an article as cheaply as possible. Capital regards labor as a mere commodity to be bought and sold in the open market. It is now working for the "open shop" as against the "closed shop," simply because it believes that by increasing the number of men without jobs it will decrease their wage-earning capacity, thereby decreasing labor costs. So many hours of labor enter into the manufacture of an article, so many capital charges enter into the same article: the capital charges and the labor charges are put in the same category by the business efficiency engineer.

Here is where the workers' engineer steps in and makes a clear-cut distinction between the manufacture of products for profit and the manufacture of products for the service of the community. Industrial efficiency has come to stay, and all that is necessary is to shift the point of view from the cost of commodities in terms of dollars and cents to the cost of commodities in terms of men and management.

The competitive system, which pitches one industry against the other in order to grind out of each the utmost production, is also bound to bring about a mental attitude of competition in every other department of the social system.

Industrial efficiency is not opposed by the worker as such, but only when it is practiced by the employer for the purpose of bringing the labor value down to its minimum, in order to increase the return on the capital investment. Labor then steps in and says that industrial efficiency should pass from the field of economics for economy into the field of sociology for ethics. It is the ethical value of men that must be considered in the struggle of contending groups within the same industry; even competition may have exerted a centralizing influence. Today it is the co-operative spirit in industry that will bring about a co-ordi-

nation of activities and will do away with wasteful processes.

The workers' viewpoint of industrial efficiency is that of experimentation. Paraphrasing St. Paul, we may say "Prove all industrial systems; fight those that are detrimental to the worker's growth, and approve those that improve his body and soul for the benefit of the community in which he lives."

In order to arrive at a co-ordinated system of efficiency it becomes absolutely essential for all industries to work in harmony with each other; that brings us to the need of an

INDUSTRIAL CONSTITUTION.

The appearance of constitutions in many countries, and of many books in exposition of them, and of many leagues in defense of them, proves that there is a subconscious feeling of the value of constitutionality. Dr. Charles E. Beard's book on "The Economic Interpretation of the (Political) Constitution of the United States" is an attempt to interpret the American constitution from the industrial point of view. Inasmuch as that constitution was created one hundred and forty years ago, before the advent of industry, it became a purely political document intended to preserve the rights of the nation, but today it already has nineteen amendments, and each amendment has more and more of an economic and even a social significance, thereby detracting by that much from the political character of the constitution as a whole.

Allan L. Benson's book on "Our Dishonest Constitution" is another timely study bringing to light the endeavor of the master class to hide their "economic rights" behind political jargon.

The Mexican constitution of 1917, which became the horror of investors of capital in Mexico, was another attempt to bring the value of constitutionality into the field of economics.

Last, but not least, the constitution of the Russian Soviet Government is proof positive that industrial constitutions are indispensable for the efficient administration of industry.

America is not behind the times, having already shown the beginnings of the industrialization of its legal code. Governor Allen's Industrial Court in Kansas, carried to its logical conclusion, would bring about an industrial constitution with proportional functional representation of the different departments of the industrial system.

Here again, the worker has no objection to an industrial constitution. The question is to define what sort of an agreement the different industries will enter into within the social system of production and distribution; in other words, who shall be the party of the first part and who the party of the second part. Party of the first part are the workers of one industry, and party of the second part are the workers of the other industries; all, co-ordinated, become party of the first part as producers, as well as party of the second part as consumers. An industrial constitution, national, and even international, in its scope, is what the workers need; a constitution similar to that of the Industrial Workers of the World is necessary for the proper functioning of industry. Eventually it will become a fact, for the welfare of each is the concern of all.

In order to have embodied in this industrial constitution the fundamental principles of functional efficiency, it becomes necessary to have

INDUSTRIAL REPRESENTATION.

Thru industrial representation we can have from the different activities of the industrial system a proportional representation of workers in each functional unit. Out of each functional unit in the different shops, we can get the committees representing the trades and professions within each department of the industrial system. Another growing evidence that industrial representation is becoming a functional necessity is that the old territorial representation with its constant gerrymandering does not prove at all effective in establishing industrial efficiency; rather, it is an obstacle to that end. But when each trade or profession within the industry has its proportional functional representation in that in-

dustry, and that industry again has its proportional synthetic representation within the economic system of co-ordinated industries, then we can say that we have arrived at a natural selection of the different workers within the industry, and men and management will then be fully represented as constituents of Labor's Commonwealth.

When the interests of the workers within their respective industries and within the economic system are truly represented, we can frame an industrial constitution which will make it possible for social efficiency to bring about the maximum of production with the minimum of endeavor, whereby the whole community will be benefited, and not merely, at as present, the private owners of industry.

This industrial representative body, meeting in assembly to frame an industrial constitution with the objective of efficiency, will bring to all the workers the economic justice for which they have been fighting. The class struggle will then be translated into human solidarity. Owners of industry will be, along with others, workers in industry, and the managers of industry will be the duly elected representatives of the industrial units, answering thereby the age-long cry for

INDUSTRIAL EQUITY.

The efforts of the Industrial Workers of

the World in carrying on the work of its Bureau of Industrial Research is evidence of its desire to solve, for the benefit of the working class, the industrial problems that confront the workers of the whole world.

The I. W. W. Bureau of Industrial Research, thru The Industrial Pioneer, offers the hand of fellowship to all those who strive for industrial efficiency in the interest of the proletariat. Those who work for the interest of the capitalist class are challenged to defend their position by the presentation of facts, by arguments based on actual conditions in American industry.

We, the workers, do not beg for Christian charity; we demand economic justice and industrial equity. We are ready to prove that man was not made for industry, but that industry was made for man. Man, therefore, must receive first consideration.

Man—the source of labor, and labor—the life of man, are the only investments that demand a 100 per cent return. All production is for the producer: the worker is entitled to all the fruit of his toil. The Class Struggle must go on until capitalism is swallowed up in the victory of the working class. Then, and not till then, will civilization become a fact.

Rafael Mallen,

Labor Statistician.

Industrial Research Bureau of the Industrial Workers of the World

The Bureau takes pleasure in announcing to the membership and officers of labor organizations its intention to carry on an extensive investigation into every field of activity of the present industrial system of competition.

To that end, the Bureau asks the co-operation of all those interested in the actual economic facts underlying the present system of production for profits, which disregards the welfare of the workers.

It urges every progressive organization to investigate its own industry, and to discuss with its membership the function it plays in the present class struggle.

The co-ordination of authentic data from the corresponding investigations shall be of mutual aid in determining what sort of an industrial organization the workers need. Intelligent thought must precede wise action.

Rafael Mallen,

Labor Statistician.

Life on the New York Water Front

By Card No. 200824

IN these days of unemployment and hard times, it is interesting to observe the mode of life of the sea-faring men of the great port of New York. How life here has changed in the last eight or ten months! The port was then booming with capitalistic prosperity; every wage slave was a contented animal with his belly full of food and with whiskey a-plenty, easily obtained at the blind pigs for the moderate consideration of 50 or 75 cents per drink. The sailor, fireman and longshoreman worked hard and were content; the benevolent ship-owner rubbed his hands and pocketed about nine-tenths of what his employees had produced. Hardly a ripple showed itself on the tranquil sea of docility. Yes, those were the happy days!

Now, however, the port presents a different picture: Ships are laid up by the hundreds, and more are added to them every day. The seamen have been thrown on the beach to shift for themselves, until at some time in the dim and distant future their masters will again require their services. The time has arrived for them to tighten their belts, for pork shops are hanging so high that they are quite out of reach. Some of these sailors, not being able to raise the 35 cents necessary to pay for a filthy bed at one of the numerous sailors' "uplift" institutes, have to "carry the banner" up and down the dirty, dark streets of the New York water front during these cold winter nights.

In New York there are a number of institutes whose specific purpose is the "uplift" of the strayed and wandering sons of the deep blue waves. First among them comes the "Seamen's Church Institute of America," with quarters in a magnificent mansion on South street, large enough to accommodate at least a thousand sailors every night. Besides this there is the Seamen's Friends Society, the Seamen's Service Center, the Seamen's Bethel, several reading rooms and a "Home" conducted by the

valiant mates of the Red Triangle, the "great" Y. M. C. A., and several others.

By describing one of these institutes we will convey a fairly accurate idea of all of them. The first person the newcomer meets at the door is the private policeman, a former slugger and strong arm man from the Bowery, very likely an ex-strike-breaker and gun-man. If you cannot prove to his satisfaction that you are a bona fide seaman, you will find yourself in the next instant flying thru the air, having been propelled by a pair of strong arms and a stout boot. If, however, you are an honest-to-goodness sailor, you are welcomed with open arms, for you are the legitimate prey of the house. You are invited to rest there and recuperate from your arduous labors, and to gather enough strength to be able again to resume your noble calling at some time in the distant future.

The sailor's physical and spiritual needs are here well attended to. He sleeps in large, airy rooms, the approximate size being 5 by 8 by 8. The rooms are luxuriously furnished with a bed, a chair, a miniature table, a Bible and three clothes hooks, and also with a notice posted on the door informing him that the management is not responsible for anything that he may lose during his "visit". And the "losses" seem to be quite a common occurrence, as the underpaid employees of the house seem to have no hesitation in adding, now and then, to their meager wages by "pickings" from the roomers.

The banking department takes care of Jack's savings for an indefinite length of time,—without interest, of course;—the institution must have something for its trouble, don't you know. The restaurant supplies short rations at high prices, but the fact that it is located under the same roof where he sleeps makes Jack patronize it. So his physical needs are well taken care of as long as his money lasts.

So now we come to that highly important subject—the spiritual needs of our noble Jack. Here the institution is supreme, and I cannot help paying tribute to its versatility. Let us look at the program: Service, Sunday morning at 10:30 in the Chapel of our Savior; Bible class, Sunday afternoon at 2 P. M. in the Reading Room,—Mrs. Broomhandle, the house-mother, is the teacher; evening service and Home Hour at 7:30 P. M. in the Concert Hall. Besides extra services are held from time to time when a surplus of heathen seamen are around who need an extra lift on their thorny path to heaven.

Every Monday and Friday the sailors are treated to moving pictures and a concert, with a gospel service thrown in for good measure on Tuesday. The concerts, sometimes regular vaudeville performances, are entertaining, in a way, the singers and actors being mostly mediocrities from some obscure theatre. While they are parading their talents and exhibiting their ability, a philanthropic lady, interested in the welfare of African savages and American sailors, is thumping the piano. But far more interesting than the professionals are the amateurs, sweet young things from the different girls' schools in the city and vicinity, young ladies aspiring to become our future Geraldine Farrars and Anna Pavlovas. Tho their art is nothing to go into raptures about, and tho many of them strain their vocal chords terribly trying to reach the high C, all this is amply compensated for by the sight of their lithe bodies and fascinating limbs. I have seen the eyes of that crowd of sturdy seamen transfixed in a gaze of admiring wonderment, oblivious of all else under the sun.

Around the hall runs a gallery for specially invited guests, benevolent ladies and gentlemen who thru the medium of their dollars assist in guiding our faltering footsteps on the paths to heaven. The looks that these gentry bestow upon the stalwart Jacks are half curious and half amused, and remind one of the inquisitive gazes that visitors at a zoological garden throw at a strange species of animal.

Another highly popular diversion of the house is the checker games, and all day long one may watch the "sharks" skin the "suckers". On the oiled floor of the wash-room one also often sees the dice rolling merrily along; of course, the private policeman comes every once in a while to "stop" the game, coughing loudly from a distance to give warning that he is coming.

The ministers of the gospel are in evidence everywhere; they are of all creeds and denominations, always ready with spiritual advice, always eager to put a fellow right with his heavenly captain. They occupy spacious offices tastily furnished with easy chairs, typewriters and beautiful stenographers.

* * *

The sailor in New York is a union man, a union man to the core is he: He is organized one hundred percent in the great American Federation of Labor. To be sure, five or six different organizations are represented on the same ship, but what of that? Are not all of them in allegiance bound to Brother Gompers, who has sacrificed his life-time for the cause of labor? What does a sailor know about the wants of a fireman, anyway, or a dishwasher about the wants of a messboy?

The sea-farer, having an unlimited amount of time on his hands, is hard pressed for a way to spend it, even tho the hunt for a new master consumes a good portion of it. So the Seamen's Union has started an educational campaign. Additional tables have been moved into their large hall and pinochle cards are being supplied free of charge. Checkers and dominoes are also quite popular. Of course, to make the games interesting they are generally played for "small stakes." It will readily be found, however, that besides being interesting these games are also the means of providing the old-time "sharper" with a nice, soft living. According to a large sign on the wall, gambling is, of course, "strictly prohibited."

The maritime unions of America can be set down without exaggeration as the most trusted auxiliaries of the exploiting ship-

owners. One has only to listen to a speech by a delegate or secretary to realize what puppets they really are. A case in point is the hostility shown by the American unions towards the Marine Transport Workers of South America. They are the only unions that have refused to transfer members of the South American organization into their own, and they have even punished their own members for transferring into the M. T. W. All this because the M. T. W. organizes all the marine transport workers into one union, while the A. F. of L. organizes them into five or six. The very fact that employment agents, masters and mates of ships, clerks and others to whom the sailors apply for jobs, always ask for the union card, should be enough to put anybody on his guard and open his eyes to the fact that everything is not right with the worshipers of the clay idol Gompers.

So the time of the sailor in New York is fairly well occupied. He listens to honey-tongued ministers who tell him about the glorious golden cobble stones up above, he attends the free entertainments given by "uplift" societies, where he can admire the daughters of the petty bourgeoisie, he gambles in the union hall and shoots dice on the tiled wash-room floor of "his" institute. As long as he has money he is an all-around "good boy," and does not rebel against these conditions or against his sleek and well-fed union officials. When his money gets low he frequents the cheap "beef stew joints" on the water front, where the dishes are fine and ten cents cheaper than in the ordinary restaurants where working men eat. The authorities, by the way, have of late re-

ported an alarming disappearance of cats and dogs in the city of New York; it is also being rumored that the lap-dog-nursing ladies of Fifth avenue and Riverside Drive are taking special precautions to protect their pets when taking them out for an airing. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Bowery bread lines are growing longer day by day and a steadily increasing number of the toilers of the sea are showing a decided preference for that part of the city at a certain hour of the day.

So the sailor is forever swimming in a whirlpool of fake "uplift" services, tenth-rate leg shows, petty gambling and graft. No other class of workers is so skillfully cajoled by the puppets of the masters as the sea-faring men. Is it any wonder that they are so slow in realizing their degraded condition? Let us hope that the present lean years will make their "gray matter" more plastic and receptive of new ideas. Let us hope that the germ of industrial unionism will eventually penetrate the skulls of more and more seamen; it is reasonable to expect that it will, for as their stomachs will get emptier their vision will grow clearer.

Even now there are to be found on every outbound ship two, three or four red-card men, who generally bring back with them a number of converts at the end of the trip. These converts, fighters for the principle of industrial unionism, will keep multiplying until the maritime job trust of the American Federation of Labor will be overthrown and on its ruins will be built a real fighting organization of the toilers of the sea, the Marine Transport Workers of the World.

The Inefficiency of Capitalism

It is evident that our present industrial organization is faulty, just as the crude steam-engine is because it wastes energy. The charge of inefficiency, weakness, and crudity made against the present order need not be based upon sentiment about rich and poor or class jealousy, but upon mathematical calculations which can be made as soon as statistical departments turn their attention to the problem.

It is clear to any unprejudiced mind that a re-organization of industry is both necessary and desirable, not that one class may benefit at the expense of another, but that the energy and wealth wasted in an irrational system may be saved to humanity, and that the bare struggle for a living may not occupy the best hours of the workers' lives.

Charles Beard.

"Old Dry Bones"

By W. I. Fisher

IT WAS a warm, dry Saturday afternoon, the latter part of August. The wind blew gently and lazily in small gusts up the dusty, block-paved Fourth Street past the Quimby Hotel in Portland, Oregon. Down the street from the direction of Burnside came a tall, lanky "working-stiff" of the skinner type, as indicated by his easy, swinging stride and stiff-rimmed hat, so much in evidence with mule skinnners of that period. As he ambled along he was suddenly stopped by a small "twister" that blew a diminutive cloud of dust in his face.

"Some whirwind," volunteered another lanky individual, sitting tipped back in his chair against the front of the Wobbly Hall.

"Y-e-s," returned the one addressed, in a peculiar drawl, in sharp contrast to the other fellow's quick, incisive tone. "Yes," he repeated, glancing up at a few small cumulus clouds that showed thru the murky atmosphere, "looks like a shower in a day or two."

The person addressed arose and offered to the stranger a chair and a copy of "The Industrial Worker," which the latter accepted, and after sitting down proceeded to read. After reading for a full half-hour the stranger laid the paper upon his knees and looked dreamily up toward the clouding sky.

"Well, what do you think of the paper?" asked the Wobbly with the calked shoes and staggged-off overalls.

"Oh, it's all right," assented the skinner, and relapsed into a dreamy, provoking silence. After enduring the silence for a few minutes the lumberjack asked:

"Just blown into town, Slim?" The latter nodded assent.

"Where from?" asked the lumberjack, whom we will call the Soap-boxer.

"Oh, from Idaho, worked on an irrigation ditch," returned the other, familiarly known as Idaho Slim.

Thereupon the Soap-boxer launched upon one of his famous discussions of the economic question, which continued for the next hour, and was joined into by a motley bunch that drifted in and took a hand in the argument. The discussion finally switched off to an attack upon the "sky pilots," which seemed to rile Idaho Slim.

"See here, fellows, let me tell you that you are gettin' nowhere by attackin' the church. You're only gettin' yourselves in trouble an' turnin' the religious people against you, an' you know you can't huck religion, for nearly everybody is religious."

For the next half hour the crowd was swamped in a fury of argument. Idaho Slim, overwhelmed by the rapid-fire pros and cons, became silent and

let the Wobblies thrash it out. The Soap-boxer at last got up, stretched his arms and yawned.

"Well, who is going out to sell literature? Don't all speak at once," said he. Several volunteered.

"Better come along, Slim, I'm going to eat a bite and will be ready in an hour."

An hour later the soap-box was set up at Second and Burnside and the Soap-boxer held out for three quarters of an hour, propounding the gospel of industrial unionism.

"Well, Slim, what do you think of the I. W. W.?" he went right to the point after getting thru with his talk.

"The union's all right," came the evasive reply, "an' your ideas are good, but I don't care to join any union. But if I did, it would be the I. W. W."

"Why not join now?"

"Got my private reasons," returned Slim, slowly shaking his head.

"Well, good night, Slim, think it over," and the Soap-boxer departed.

He appeared at the hall the next morning about eight o'clock.

"Good morning," said he to the secretary. "Have you seen that long, dreamy streak of misery, that mule skinner from Idaho around this morning?"

The secretary looked up for a moment and shook his head.

"Well, I am going down the Columbia and will be gone a month or two, unless I get the can tied to me."

"When do you go?"

"Tonight," and out thru the door he went.

After wandering about town for a couple of hours he turned up Fourth Street and walked in the direction of the Plaza, situated across from the Court House. On a bench facing the "gunman" statue sat Idaho Slim.

"Good morning, Slim!"

Slim returned the greeting and presently the two men were engaged in a friendly conversation. Not a quarter of an hour had passed before the Soap-boxer again referred to the question of joining the union. Slim slowly shook his head and replied:

"I have my private reasons."

"What are they?"

"Well, since you seem to be a decent sort of a chap I will tell you altho I suppose you will think I am very superstitious. You see it is this way. While I don't ordinarily believe in dreams, yet this dream came to me three times and you know they say three times is a charm. I dreamed I was ridin' on a freight on the Inland Empire near the Idaho line, and the train went into a sidin' to let a mixed passenger and freight pass that runs up into that God-forsaken country. Me and another bo who

was beatin' his way was spled by the hard-boiled shacks and they wanted us to dig up or stay off. The con finally flourished a shootin' iron and told us to stay off unless we dug up. Well, the train pulled out without us. I was very thirsty and looked around for a place to get a drink. Across the track from us upon a little hill stood an old shack with a lean-to behind it. At the left a little way down-hill was an old scraggly-topped and gnarled bull-pine with a large boulder at its foot. The bo and me goes up to the shack and looks around but finds no water. The shack was padlocked, and so we goes around behind to the lean-to and finds an old shovel and pick. We pick them up and goes down to the bull-pine and begin to dig at the lower side of the boulder."

"What were you diggin' for?" said the Soap-boxer.

"Don't know, unless it was for water. However, we continued to dig until we struck a wooden box with rusted iron bands upon it. Well, we broke into it and lo, and behold!—a pile of gold! Genuine gold! Shinin' yellow gold! Well, we was excited some and the way we picked up that gold and let it run thru our fingers made our hearts flutter. Well, to make a long story short, we counted the whole bunch: fives, tens and twenties,—sixty thousand in all. Some pile! We divided it evenly, went and broke the lock off the shack and found several grain sacks, sacked it up, caught the next freight and beat it for God's country."

"The Soap-boxer smiled broadly, shook his head and said:

"You're not banking anything on such stuff as dreams are made of?"

Idaho Slim slowly shook his head.

"Don't know as I do, but life is a gamble, and I might as well gamble on a dream as on cards or roulette. Perhaps it is an illusion, maybe Socialism is also. If it comes true I am in clover, if not, I do not lose anything."

"That's true, but what are you going to do while waiting for your fortune?"

"Just wait," said Slim with a finality that made the Soap-boxer look keenly at him and realize that he, also, would have to wait until Slim was ready to join the union.

"Well, good-bye, Slim, next time I see you I hope you will have a card."

Nearly three years passed. In the meantime the Soap-boxer had taken part in the Spokane free speech fight, the Aberdeen free speech fight, and the mill workers' strike in the latter town, and had just come into Portland from Salem, where a petty strike was on with the Oregon Electric. As a matter of course he turned toward the Wobbly Hall. As he entered his eye caught sight of a figure that seemed familiar. Looking a little closer he caught sight of a Wobbly button. When the man looked up the Soap-boxer recognized his old friend Idaho Slim.

"Hello, Idaho, see you've got a button, when did it happen?" Slim looked puzzled for a moment, then, recognizing his friend the Soap-boxer, he smiled, grasped his hand and replied:

"Nearly a year ago, am in it to the end, that is, until the parasites go to work."

"But," said the Soap-boxer with a quizzical smile, "how about the box of gold that you dreamed about you were to get?"

"Oh," said Slim, with a gesture of disgust, "everything came to pass just as I dreamed except—well, I'll tell you what happened. You see, last July I thought I'd take a trip up into that God-forsaken country out from Spokane on the Inland Empire railroad. Well, as the train got down along the Idaho line we went into a sidin' to let a mixed freight and passenger train pull by that came from that desolate state of Idaho. Well, as I climbed out of the box-car to shake myself a little another bo ambled out of the car ahead. Just then the head shack crawled over the train and sized us up.

"Where you headin' to?" We told him we were headed for Idaho.

"What yer ridin' on?"

"Nothin'."

"It'll cost yer one buck to ride this train," he said with an air of finality. Well, we argued the question and let him know that we didn't think him so important and if we took a notion we would ride anyhow. Seein' he did not make much impression upon us he went back and got the 'con.' The 'con' came up with a swagger and said:

"Do you bums think you're goin' to take this train?"

"I told him bein' as we were not in the habit of carryin' off freight trains we intended to let the train carry us. Boy, it would make you laugh to see how that riled him. His face got as red as a beet and he was silent with bustin' anger for a moment. Then, with a string of cuss words, he pulled out his smoke wagon and said:

"Damn your lousy hides, if I ratch either one of you bums on this train when she starts up I'll jest see how well this shootin' iron will carry bullets thru your d—d carcasses."

"Well, he stood around with his smoke wagon in his hand until the train pulled out, when he swung into the caboose. The other bo looked at me and laughed:

"Some hard-boiled con!"

"Well, bein' quite thirsty I looked around to see if a place was near to get a drink. Across the track upon a small hill was an old homestead shack with a lean-to behind it. At the left, a short way down the hill, was a gnarled and scraggly-topped bull-pine that had at its foot on the lower side a large boulder, just exactly as I had seen it in my dream. Well, the other bo bein' thirsty, too, we both went up to the shack to see if we could get a drink. We didn't find any water around and the door bein' padlocked we went back to the lean-to and there we found an old pick and shovel. In a flash it came

to my noodle that this was the very shack I had seen in my dream. Everything was there as it should be. The shack with the lean-to, the scraggly bull-pine with the rock at its lower side, the pick and the shovel. I then related my dream to the bo and he said:

"Well, may be there is somethin' in the dream. A little diggin' will tell the tale!"

"We grabbed the pick and shovel and went to work just like it was a case of life and death. Pretty soon after diggin' a little over two feet,—kerplunk!—the pick went right thru a rotten plank! In fact the whole box (for that was what it proved to be) was so rotten it was held together only by the iron straps."

"Well, what was in it?" interjected the Soap-boxer.

Idaho Slim shrugged his shoulders, made a deprecating gesture with a grimace of disgust, and replied:

"An old dry skeleton, probably a homesteader starved to death up in that God-forsaken country."

"What did you do then?" asked the Soap-boxer.

"Do? I was for quittin' then and there but the other bo wanted to dig some more and we dug about a foot more into the hardpan until it ran into solid rock, after which we quit. Well, the bo blamed me for it all and was as mad as a hornet, and started to walk to the station about six miles away toward Spokane, and me followin'. I was feelin' pretty blue myself and caught the next freight back to Spokane, got a job diggin' a sewer and on my first pay-day got this card."

With that Idaho Slim shoved his red card over to the Soap-boxer who took it, opened it, and after a thoro inspection remarked:

"See you are paid up for the year."

"Yes," said Slim, "and that's the way I'm going to keep it until we put the last parasite to work."

Replacing the card in his pocket Slim leaned forward and said, with an impressive gesture:

"Don't you see, Fellow Worker, that all the good the workers will receive from capitalism will amount to no more than was in that old abandoned grave at the foot of the old scraggly bull-pine—**OLD DRY BONES.**"

Crafts on the Sea

This life, thru which we madly strive,
Is but a narrow sea
Between two vast, two boundless shores,
Unknown Eternity.

Each in his frail craft launches out
From one dark, shadowy land,
And we know that at least the storm-tossed boat
Will reach the other strand.

One soul, sailing o'er the mysterious sea,
Striving some goal to reach,
Is like to one shining, foam-washed shell—
One shell on the far-stretching beach.

For some the journey is o'er when commenced,—
For some it is four-score years;
And the joys and woes are as one glistening drop—
One drop in an ocean of tears.

We contend with each other for power and wealth,—
A wealth that is rotten at core;
And our jostling and striving is merely a race
That hurries us on to the shore.

In doubt and despair we cry aloud
To those gone on before;
But echo alone makes faint reply
From that dimly outlined shore.

Mrs. J. C. Coons.

"California Oranges"

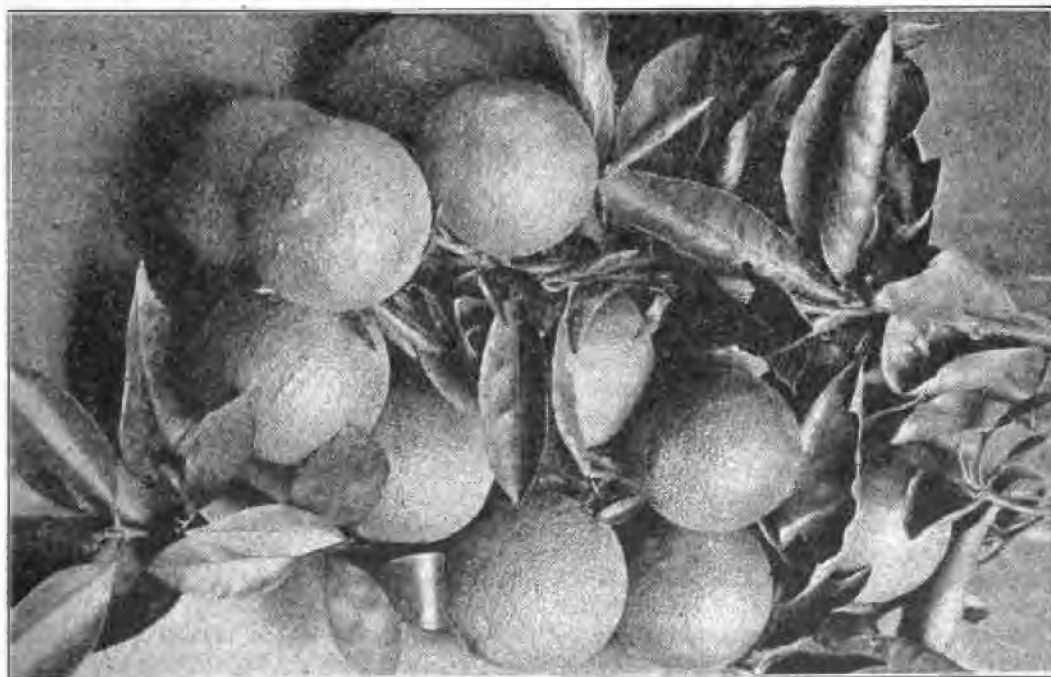
By J. A. Stromquist

IN THE popular mind the words "California" and "oranges" are complementary. This is not to be wondered at, for California's production of citrus fruits,—oranges, lemons and grapefruit, with lesser quantities of limes, citrons, etc.—is larger than that of any country in the world. Confining ourselves to the United States alone, California produces several times as much fruit as Florida, her nearest competitor, and altho several other states, such as Arizona, Texas, Mississippi and Louisiana, produce considerable quantities, their combined production is not large enough to make any appreciable showing alongside of the huge total of the Golden State. According to the statistics for 1920, just published, California produced in that year 18,700,000 boxes of oranges and 4,500,000 boxes of lemons. The gross returns to the growers were, for the oranges at the rate of \$2.75 per box, \$51,425,000.00, and for the lemons, priced at \$0.60 per box, \$2,700,000.00.

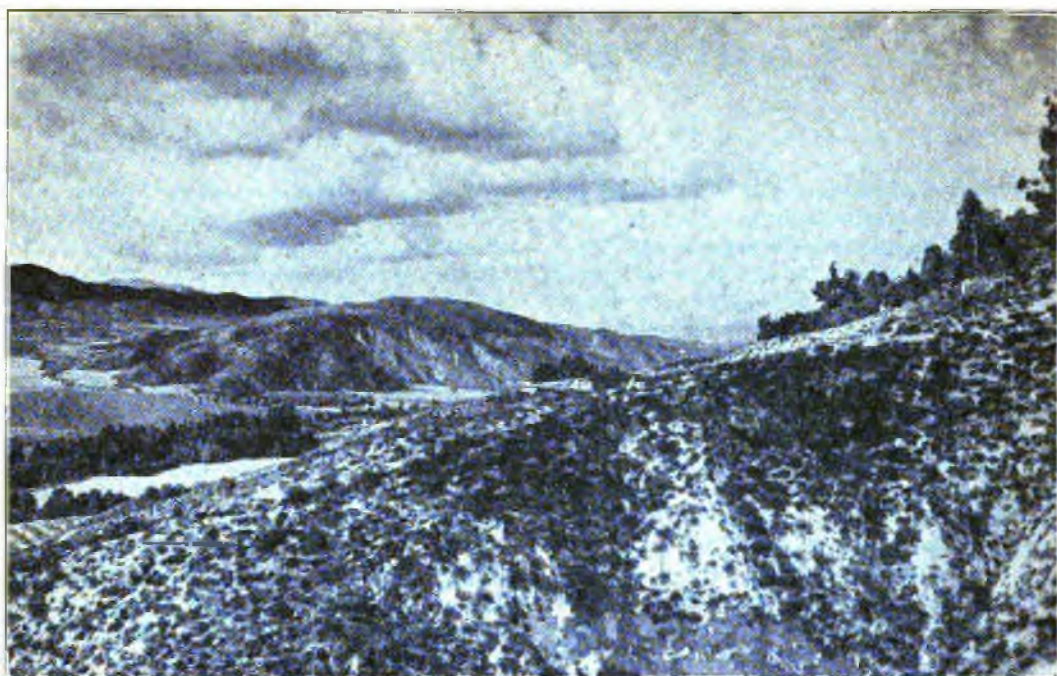
As may well be surmised, orange growing is not a game for the "poor man", and the "cockroach" type of labor exploiter has been quite effectually frozen out as well, a fact over which the average Wobbly will shed no tears. Here and there can be found a few five acre groves, but "commercial groves" are ten acres and up—mostly "up"—there being holdings of several hundred and even thousand

acres. The picking, packing and marketing of the fruit is done co-operatively by a number of "fruit growers' associations". These "co-operative associations" are part of the fruit trust, and among them may be found such giants as the Earl Fruit Co., Armour and Co., of Chicago, which in addition to the citrus fruits, also handles all kinds of dried and canned fruits and vegetables, as well as several other well-known corporations.

In an economic undertaking of the magnitude of the citrus fruit industry there are required, of course, the "services" of a great number of wage slaves, a great portion of these—possibly a majority—being "itinerants", employed only during the picking and packing season. Taking California as a whole, the season extends from the latter part of October till the beginning of June. However, this must not be taken to mean that employment in any one district is continuous for that length of time. As far as citrus growing is concerned, California is divided into two separate districts. The first, which has the greatest production, comprises what is generally known as Southern California, the chief producing counties being San Bernardino, Riverside, Los Angeles and Orange. The fruit in this district attains maturity starting with the month of January, and the picking is usually finished by the first of May, except in Orange County, where,



WASHINGTON NAVELS



WASTE LANDS IN THE ORANGE BELT. FROM SMILEY HEIGHTS, REDLANDS, CALIF.

owing to the cooling winds and fogs from the Pacific, the fruit is longer in maturing, and picking sometimes goes on thruout July and even August. The other district, which has rapidly developed within recent years, comprises parts of the great interior San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys. Here, owing to the great summer heat and absence of fogs and sea-breezes, the fruit matures earlier than in Southern California, and picking generally commences about the first of November and is finished about Christmas time. The methods of picking and wages paid are also somewhat different in the two districts. In the Central California district (contained, mainly, within Tulare County) the fruit is rushed off the trees, as fast as possible and without too much regard for ripeness and digestibility, in order to reach the "early market". The "inspection" to which the fruit is submitted—in order to ascertain that it possesses a certain sugar-content which accompanies ripeness—is, of course, largely a farce, like all similar "supervision" under the profit system. Owing to the "rush", as well as to the fact that picking in this district commences before the usual winter slowing-down of other work has fully set in, the wages there have been generally better than in Southern California. However, a great deal of the work is done on the piece-work basis, at so much per lug-box, and this gives a chance to the strong-backed and weak-headed scizzorbill—who belongs to the same species of animal as the "jypo" in the timber country—to "wade in" and try to kill himself, which would be a small loss, indeed, were it not that all others have to suffer for his sake. Before the war the prices for picking, in the

Tulare district, varied from 4 to 6 cents per box, according to the quality of the picking and the state of the labor market. After the war had produced a shortage of labor the average price jumped to 7 or 8 cents per box, and in certain cases as much as 10 cents was paid. What this means may be understood when I say that only a very fast picker can pick his hundred boxes per day, and keep it up. In order to accomplish that it is essential that the trees be of fair size, well kept and bearing a heavy crop of good-sized fruit. It is needless to say that those conditions are not often to be found. Therefore, allowing for all types of trees, and sizes of fruit, as well as for poor crops, it is safe to say that the average day's pick does not come over thirty boxes. Hence it will be seen that the wages leave considerable room for improvement. When paid by the hour, 50 to 60 cents was the rule in this district during the season just closed. The principal centers in the Tulare County district are Parterville, Lindsay and Exeta.

In Southern California the picking is usually done by day-work,—nine hours being considered a "day". The picking is largely done by the packing-houses, with "gangs" of about six men each under a "straw-boss", with a "picking-boss" visiting the various orchards where picking is going on, and acting as overseer. The wages paid here are always lower, the picking being done in mid-winter and early spring, when there is always a surplus of labor. As far back as 1910 the day's wage used to be two dollars, or a little over 22 cents per hour. In 1914—after the cost of living had begun to "skyrocket"—the hard pressed slaves could endure it no longer



ORANGE GROVES, REDLANDS, CALIF.

and in Redlands (one of the principal centers), they "took the bit in their teeth" and actually went on strike. This strike of the unorganized—partly due to the agitation of a few "old-time" Wobblies—was finally lost, tho stubbornly fought. The cause of failure was the usual one,—lack of solidarity among the slaves and perfect solidarity among the masters,—here represented by the large orange growers and packing house corporations. But shortly after, due to the increasing scarcity of "help" they found it expedient to raise the rate by degrees until in 1920 it stood at \$3.60 per day, or 40 cts. per hour. In the same year the pickers also insisted upon free transportation to and from work, and "made it stick". This is an item of importance, as many orchards are situated several miles away from the workers' "homes". Considering that the hours of labor have not been lowered, these gains were very small indeed. Now the wages have been cut to 35 cts per hour, even lower in some localities, and transportation has been discontinued. Add to this the fact that winter in South California is the "rainy season", much time being lost on this account, and it will be seen that the slaves in the orange growing district are now even in a worse position than they were before the war.

Concerning orange-picking as an occupation, it cannot be denied that for those who relish outdoor life in a generally pleasant climate it has its advantages. The surrounding scenery is often inspiring, and the golden fruit, vividly set off against the dark green of the trees, is a lovely sight. But orange-picking is an occupation requiring considerable strength and agility, which bars the employment of women and children. After a day's toil the "orange

glommer" is usually "all in", and has not much stomach for romantic reflections. In picking a canvas sack is used, weighing, when full, about 50 lbs. It is carried suspended by a strap over the shoulder. Also, each picker carries a ladder, which has to be moved at least four times for each tree. The picking is done with a small clipper, and great care has to be exercised in order not to cut or bruise the fruit, thus leading to its deterioration in storage, and to this end the "bosses" watch with jealous care. There are many other drawbacks. For instance, early in the season, before the rains have commenced, the trees are often very dusty with black smut—an excretion of the black scale-insect which infests the groves—mingled with fertilizer, etc. As a result the unlucky "glommer" returns after his day's work as "black" as the proverbial "nigger", and badly needing a bath. This condition, however, is improved after the rains. In badly pruned trees the hands are often torn by brambles and dead-wood. Even the much-boasted California climate is not without its drawbacks. For example, in January—which is here the one month of real winter,—the morning temperature is often as low as 30 and 25 degrees above zero; while this may seem a mere trifle to the Easterner, here, where noon of the same day may show as high as 80 degrees, the effect is felt very keenly. A temperature of 30 degrees is near the "danger point" for oranges, and when it goes lower, as it sometimes does,—they freeze. Picking oranges on a morning when the temperature is, say, 30 degrees above, and everything is overlaid with a heavy hoar frost, is no joke. The yellow spheres are like ice-balls, and one's hands become paralyzed and "achy", until the sun climbs high

enough to warm things up a bit. The melting frost, dripping off the leaves as water, wets one to the skin. Finally, most orchards are planted in peas, vetch, etc., or allowed to grow up in rank weeds, as a cover-crop,—and this miniature "jungle", dripping with water, soaks one's feet and is a frequent cause of colds and rheumatic attacks. Again, in the latter end of the season—say, in April and May—the "orange-gloomer" often sweaters in a temperature of 100 degrees, and over, in the shade. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, there is a charm about the orange country that attracts annually thousands of wage-slaves, and with the attainment of a "decent" standard of wages and working conditions—possibly only thru organization on the I. W. W. plan—it would, no doubt, furnish a pleasant change to many stum-bound workers, while waiting for the final end of capitalist misrule.

Organization has never yet been attained among the "gatherers of the golden fruit". Gompers and his "inner circle" of labor-fakirs, have not yet seen a way whereby to levy on "the orange-gloomers" for their support; nor has the I. W. W. ever made a sustained and consistent effort to gather them under its banner. To be sure, in the "good old days" of the early I. W. W., there were, for a time, "mixed locals" maintained in Redlands, and one or two other localities. These organizations were, however, mere propaganda centers, kept alive by a few enthusiasts, and in form unfitted to cope with centralized capitalist control of the citrus industry; they never got much of a foothold among the slaves. This field, therefore, is practically a virgin one, and the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W. should not need to be told of the importance of "tackling the job"—and soon. With the present conditions and temper of the workers here, I feel safe in asserting that a determined and persistent effort could not fail of bringing great results. Let us remember that the "orange-gloomer" during the "off season" works as a lumberjack, construction worker, or at gathering deciduous fruit, or vegetables, in other sections of California. Therefore, by getting him "on the inside" we will close a

dangerous gap in our A. M. I. U. in the west. On the other hand, let us not forget that by organizing the citrus industry we will be "up against" the Earl Fruit Co., Armour and Co., et al., and will thus be putting the axe to the root of the gigantic food-trust, which now monopolizes the nation's food-supply, thereby preparing ourselves to victualize the coming industrial revolution. Let us also recollect that "man liveth not by bread alone", but also by fruit, vegetables, esculent roots, peas, beans, etc., etc.—all of which are produced in California in the greatest abundance. Let us therefore not be content with the annual "harvest field drive", in the corn and wheat producing states of the Middle West. Let the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union—as an organization—get behind this, and when the year's harvest drive ends up in North Dakota let the organizers and all other foot-loose Wobblies bie themselves to the orange groves of California, and continue there the good work. On the whole—especially as compared with the East, or Middle West—the California climate is pleasant in winter, and the oranges are good to eat—just as good for a Wobbly as for a bloated parasite.

The difficulties are many, it's true. Large numbers of Philipinos, Japanese and Mexicans—who are difficult to reach—complicate the problem. But these difficulties must, and can, be overcome. It is a matter of urgent necessity for the A. W. I. U. of the Industrial Workers of the World to attend to this matter of organizing the California fruit pickers, and to do it soon.

By the time this article reaches the readers of "The Industrial Pioneer" the present orange-season will be nearly over, it will be high time to lay plans for a comprehensive campaign for next winter, and this is earnestly recommended for the favorable consideration of the next convention of the A. W. I. U. But whether the convention acts or not, let the call go out for all determined and foot-loose Wobblies "to make tracks" for California next fall; to arrive at Exeter, Lindsay or Posterville by Oct. 15th to Nov. 1st. Let us organize the orange-belt and get ready to "glom" the beautiful golden fruit for ourselves.



TWO "GOOD" MEN AND — BLIND.

Technique and Revolution

By G. Cannata

(Continued from the February Number.)

CHAPTER III.

INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE AND THE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

THE difficulties that the proletarian regime has met in Russia on the field of production have caused considerable discussion in revolutionary circles as to the future problems in the management of industry. It has been said "that the workers must develop their technical ability," and begin to exercise under capitalism a certain share in the control and management of the various industries. The Industrial Workers of the World has already established a Bureau of Industrial Research and many revolutionists have advised that the workers pay more attention to the technical functioning of the shops in which they work.

I believe I have demonstrated in the previous chapter that the industrial collapse which we have witnessed in Russia is due almost exclusively to causes of a local and particular nature which a proletarian regime will not be called upon to face in the home of modern capitalism—western Europe and America. If we are witnesses today to critical conditions in the economic life of these regions, such is the case because capitalism as a politico-economic system is disintegrating before our eyes; its underlying principles offer no way out of the morass in which the entire world has been thrust by its last and most monstrous crime—the World War.

Still this moral failure of capitalism is co-existent with the maximum technical development of its industries. During the war, industrial science has made notable advance in practically all the belligerent countries; splendidly equipped mechanical establishments have sprung into existence in new localities. Today, the healthiest part of the capitalist structure, the part which the revolutionary workers must inherit intact, is organized productive industry. To a communist world, which has different factors determining the rate of the productive process, a factory today in idleness has the same potential value as one in full function; for capitalism, it is a sign of crisis and bankruptcy.

Even tho the problems of industrial management which the workers' regime must face in the western countries are not as complicated or difficult as many people think, the fact remains that the subject is still of sufficient importance to merit the serious attention of the labor organizations today. The essential business of the fighting organs of labor is that of building up working-class power for the final overthrow of the capitalist system and for the

exercise of political domination after the revolution in order that all measures taken may reflect the class interests of the proletariat. The problem of revolution is primarily a problem of power; it is merely as a secondary, but still very vital matter, that the revolutionary workers must consider the subject of future industrial management.

The revolutionary environment is at present infested with dilettanti literateurs and "philosophers"; it would be quite a calamity if the interest in industrial science should now produce a similar crop of technico-scientific "experts." Technicians are not made overnight by the reading of a book, or by a few months' course of study. Studies of this nature require a secondary school education as preparation, to be followed by at least a four-years' evening school course; the resultant "technician" will then be innocent as a new-born babe until he has had several years' assiduous practice in actual industrial work. It is practically out of the question, then, that any number of revolutionary workers should make a particular effort to become industrial engineers; in most cases, they do not have the necessary preparation, and the exhausting labor of the shops does not leave any surplus mental energy for evening study. It is not by measures of this kind that the problem must be met.

The industrial technicians in modern industrial countries are no longer a privileged caste; the popularization of university education brings scientific studies within the reach of the sons of the workers, as well as of the various bourgeois groups. Many technicians in the United States today are the sons of workmen, and because of their superabundance, their social status is not far removed from that of the manual laborers. A recent circular of the American Association of Engineers, a very "respectable" organization of technicians counting over 25,000 members, makes the following comment on the present sorry plight of this category of producers:

For a long time it has been generally known that engineering has been the least appreciated and poorest paid profession. A large part of the work of engineers has consisted of designing, constructing and operating projects for financiers who have taken most of the credit and practically all of the profits. Most engineers are employees and there is a tendency on the part of the general public to consider engineers as a whole as members of a technical trade rather than as members of a profession on a par with law and medicine.

This depreciation in the social prestige of the technicians has already given birth to several at-

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

tempts at professional unionization among them; the American Federation of Labor organized a National Local of Technicians over three years ago which today counts thousands of adherents. This in spite of the fact that trade unionism applied to the peculiar situation of the technician is a most ridiculous enterprise predestined to certain failure. A category of workers which totals only a very small per cent of the factory personnel, and whose work has no very immediate effect on production, is by itself absolutely impotent before the power of the employers.

The attempt to draw the technicians within the sphere of labor unionism must not, however, be abandoned; the proposition ought to be tentatively advanced even at this early stage, and it will certainly find fulfillment during the final phases of the workers' growing control over industry. This work can be efficiently accomplished only by the revolutionary industrial unions, which are already conscious of their historic function and are preparing "the new society within the shell of the old." In Italy, where the power of the workers' organizations is a social factor that practically overshadows all other centers of moral cohesion, the revolutionary labor unions are already in a position to talk very definite business on equal footing with the technicians, and are taking the necessary steps to assure their co-operation to an eventual proletarian control of industry following a revolution.

The industrial union that has developed power can really offer a valid help to the technician in his efforts to better his conditions, if the latter will place at the disposal of the union his extremely useful education and knowledge of industry. An understanding between the revolutionary proletariat and the industrial technicians is much to be desired in the pre-revolutionary period; to the extent that it is possible, the latter must be convinced that his place in the class-struggle is by the side of the manual workers with whose co-operation the functioning of modern industry is rendered possible.

The industrial unions that have reached a certain considerable development ought to create a literature covering in a descriptive way the history, development and technical functioning of the industry. This literature would serve to implant in the workers general notions on the industries in which they work and the problems thereof, and will render them competent to exercise their share of control in industry during the revolutionary period. With this object in view, I believe, the Industrial Workers of the World has established its Bureau of Industrial Research, and if the literature issued by this institution is compiled with competence, the I. W. W. will again have placed itself in the vanguard of all labor organizations in matters that affect the vital interests of the workers.

The labor organizations have another duty to perform in relation to the future exigencies of industrial technique, namely, they must make their or-

ganic structure conform to the structure of productive industry itself. In the amount of study and attention that has been given to this subject and in the perfection of the organization plans, the I. W. W. towers above all other labor bodies in the world.

The I. W. W. organizes the workers in factory and job units, in industrial branches and in industrial unions; each organization unit attempts to organize all the workers in a given industry, from the most inexpert laborer to the most famous technician. This autonomous organization of producers, in carrying out its anti-capitalist struggle, will gradually force from capitalism part of its profits and of its authority over industry, and prepare in its bosom the future forms of industrial management, to be applied when capitalism is overthrown.

The essential function of the labor organizations today is the preparation for the capture of capitalist industry; incidentally, they must study the problems of management and take the steps necessary to assure the continuance of production during and after the revolutionary period.

CHAPTER IV.

INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE UNDER COMMUNISM.

In spite of the fact that the capitalist era will stand out in history as the period in which the theoretical sciences and industrial technique have had their greatest development, there are characteristics and tendencies inherent in the present system of production which circumscribe and limit the application of science to industry with the object of reaching the maximum of perfection and efficiency.

The fact is that while the industrial specialists enjoy a certain amount of freedom and authority within the bounds of the productive unit, the more general and more important measures affecting industry as a whole are discussed and decided in the offices of the corporations by speculators, financiers and promoters, sometimes without even consulting competent engineers, and always from the viewpoint of prospective profit rather than the exigencies of production.

The capitalist system is essentially a system of production for profit; this is the original sin that corrupts the morale of modern industry. Such a system may to some extent fill the needs of humanity, but always with the accompaniment of enormous waste and losses in the productive economy; the markets are today glutted with useless and even harmful products which have only one all-sufficient merit: they will sell. Relatively inefficient industrial enterprises are able to continue operations solely because they function within a large margin of profit; new processes, inventions and vast projects are often not applied because the immediate effect of their application would be damaging to some of the established industries. The profit-motive in industry acts like a deadly poison in demoralizing and

perverting production at the very source. Every far-sighted technician must realize that all his efforts towards efficiency and perfection in industry are often drawn by his employer into useless or even harmful channels.

Another obscure aspect of the present system of production is revealed by the attitude of the manual workers towards their daily task. A system based on oppressive authority in the factory must of necessity bring with it those manifestations of class antagonism which so often paralyze and demoralize industry. A worse factor, perhaps, than the incessant strikes and lockouts which characterize modern industrial warfare is the attitude of continuous indifference and hostility which the worker under capitalism displays.

The bourgeoisie, which was once able to inspire ingenuous and ambitious youths to prodigies of creative effort thru the mirage of success and riches, has to-day lost the faith of most workers, who are turning elsewhere for a new source of inspiration and enthusiasm. It is impossible to exaggerate this moral bankruptcy of capitalism which is so clearly observable in detail in these first years that follow the World War.

How can there ever be real efficiency or a fruitful application of industrial science to an economic world saturated with antagonism, disorder, confusion and indifference? Only a solution which will remove the causes of proletarian discontent and give birth to a new feeling of responsibility, co-operation and enthusiasm in the ranks of the workers will cure the ills of present-day society. This is the historical task of Industrial Communism.

Even in the direct utilization of the possibilities of industrial improvement, the bourgeoisie has not used excessive intelligence and competence. In its origin, the capitalist class was energetic, enterprising and even adventurous, ready for any speculation which promised profits. But in the subsequent phases of industrial development which brought about the establishment of the great productive enterprises, inexhaustible sources of rich earnings, the bourgeoisie assumed different psychological attitudes. A conservative and cautious spirit animated many of the industrial "nouveau riches," who were excessively proud of the methods which had made them rich. This species of "self-made" captain of industry, quite free from any scientific culture or technical competence, is quite common in new and rich countries like America; they could not exist in the environment of intensive and refined exploitation of western Europe.

Among the modern nations Germany is probably the only one which has elevated technical science to a primary asset in world eminence. In certain branches of the practical sciences, its accumulations of literature, knowledge, systems and personnel have no equals in the entire world. It was essentially this technical superiority that gave to Germany before and during the war that enormous productive

power so notably out of all proportion to her visible resources.

There is no reason why the entire world should not be quickly brought up to the same standard of productive efficiency. To-day, however, technical knowledge is purposely monopolized and hidden, by nations as well as by companies and individuals; such are the deleterious effects of capitalist venues in relations to industrial technique.

What would be the probable attitude of the workers in power towards this factor? How would communism affect the application of modern industrial science to production?

First of all, communism in industry substitutes cooperation for competition; centralized management for individualistic and socially irresponsible control. Production would have as its motive the satisfaction of social needs, and not the gathering of profits; it would be logically ordered on the basis of scientific calculation and thru a system of universal accounting, in order to always maintain a perfect balance between production and consumption, avoiding the periodic crises of overproduction and starvation which travail capitalist society.

The productive organism will be pervaded by an ever-present sense of social responsibility, and in general the criteria that will inspire industry will be those of the revolutionary proletariat coming into power. This class is to-day animated by a bold experimental spirit on the politico-economic field which coincides well with the mental attitude of industrial technicians, essentially explorers and pioneers in the practical sciences.

We may well foretell that communism, which is the antithesis of capitalism in every respect, will solve all the problems raised by the present moral decadence of capitalism. Even in Russia, torn by a thousand difficulties of local character, communism already serves as the inspiration to a great healing effort of industrial reconstruction. This is what a hostile critic, Bertrand Russell, writes on the subject:

"The third class in the bureaucracy consists of men who are not ardent Communists, who have rallied to the Government since it has proved itself stable, and who work for it either out of patriotism or because they enjoy the opportunity of developing their ideas freely without the obstacle of traditional institutions. Among this class are to be found men of the type of the successful business man, men with the same sort of ability as is found in the American self-made trust magnate, but working for success and power, not for money. There is no doubt that the Bolsheviks are successfully solving the problem of enlisting this kind of ability in the public service without permitting it to amass wealth as it does in capitalist communities. This is perhaps their greatest success so far outside the domain of war. It makes it possible to suppose that, if Russia is allowed to make peace, an amazing industrial development may take place, making Russia a rival of the United States. The Bolsheviks are industrialists in all their aims;

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

they love everything in modern industry except the excessive rewards of the capitalists." (The Nation: July 31, 1920)

And this is what Robert Williams, a member of the English Trade Union and Labor Party Delegation to Russia, observed there:

"I saw the great engineering works of Putloff and Somora near Nijni Novgorod and observed the heartiest cooperation between the management and workers. In fact I found in all departments of industry, trade-unionists and their leaders cooperating with technicians and commissars. The truth is that while in capitalist Europe generally capital and labor are at death grips, in Russia the government and the people are cooperating and coordinating in a most remarkable manner. The world needs no further proof that men and women will make sacrifices for social and collective

well-being, while they will hamper output and stultify organization under a capitalist regime where private profit is the only motive and rewards are for the privileged few." (The Liberator, August, 1920.)

In relation to production, then, communism may be considered as a liberating impulse which will bring into play in the great army of producers all the potential forces of hand and brain, today repressed by a system of discord and oppression.

In the new society of free producers, the industrial technicians working in full cooperation with the manual workers, and animated by a new enthusiasm, will accomplish that perfection in industry which will give to the world the material well-being, and the eternal splendor which distinguishes the civilizations of the Great Builders.



IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH

The Wastes of War

By The I. W. W. Bureau of Industrial Research

INTRODUCTION

ONE of the major wastes attributable to the present industrial system is war, and the preparation for war. Such waste may be classified into the following main headings:

1. Men killed and wounded in battle.
2. Men withdrawn from production to serve in armies.
3. Men and women withdrawn from production of necessities to make war munitions, and carry on war services.
4. Property destroyed in battle—arable lands, live stock, ships, etc.
5. Raw material wasted in manufacture of war munitions—powder, guns, projectiles, battleships, tanks, aircraft, barbed wire, etc.
6. Death and disease among civilian population due to epidemics, starvation, shortage of doctors, nurses and medical supplies—caused by war.
7. Eugenic weakening of racial stocks due to fact that those most fitted to be vigorous fathers are at the front.

Thus in war, and to a less extent in preparation for war, a large fraction of the able-bodied population ceases to produce the things—the food, shelter, clothing, fuel, power, etc.—which society needs to maintain itself, and goes over to productive idleness in armies, or the production of munitions of war having no other purpose than to damage and destroy. As a result the remainder of the population, which is still producing, have to support not only themselves but this vast unproductive mass of fighters and war-workers.

Diversion of Labor Due to War in the United States.*

Occupation.	Number.	1918 Per Cent. of Male Producers
Men in France fighting.....	1,400,000	4.7%
Men in France behind lines.....	600,000	2.0
Men in army in U. S.....	1,700,000	5.7
Men in navy.....	550,000	1.8
Total men in army and navy	4,250,000	14.2
Men in war work in U. S.....	7,150,000	23.3
Total unproductive men	11,400,000	38.0
Men in non-war work in U. S.....	18,500,000	62.0
Total men of producing age	30,000,000	100.0
Old men and boys.....	24,000,000	
Total males in U. S.	54,000,000	

From this table it is clear that during 1918, 38 per cent., or more than a third of all males of pro-

ducing age, were either in the army or doing war work. It cannot be taken for granted that all of them were unproductive, for some war workers continued to produce, or at least to assist in the distribution of the necessities of life—food, clothing, etc.; but the great majority were absolutely unproductive, and had to be supported by the remaining productive workers. Thus the war brought about a waste of at least a third of the man-power of the United States. In the belligerent countries of Europe, the ratio is known to be very much larger, England, for instance, with a population of 46 millions, or less than half of ours, maintained 5 million men under arms, necessitating the withdrawal from civil life of over one-half of all producing males.

It is known that in 1917, 38 million men in the world were under arms, and it has been computed that for the four and one-half years of the great war, an average of 20 million men were constantly in the field, necessitating the non-productive work of at least 80 million men behind the lines (ratio 4 to 1)—a total of 100 millions of the world's able-bodied producers doing nothing more valuable than trying to kill each other, and destroy the earth's carefully constructed physical property—its farms, factories, cities, ships and raw material.

In the United States, in addition to the men engaged in war work, the War Department reports, for 1918, 2,250,000 women withdrawn from the ranks of producers to do war work.

WAR CASUALTIES.

The most careful record yet available of the casualties of the great war has been compiled by Professor L. Bogart of the University of Illinois. His figures are as follows:

Casualties of the Great World War.

	Known Dead	Seriously Wounded	Otherwise Wounded	Prisoners or Missing
All. Pow.....	6,938,519	3,437,740	8,516,497	4,653,522
Cent. Pow.....	3,060,252	2,857,772	5,485,842	1,330,078
Total	9,998,771	6,295,512	14,002,039	5,983,600

Of the "prisoners and missing" it has been estimated that at least half must be added to the total of the dead—as modern warfare, among other things, has perfected the science of blowing the soldier into unrecognizable atoms with a high degree of efficiency. Making this allowance, and also classifying the wounded according to hospital averages of recovery, the total casualties (of combatants) may be restated thus:

* Report of Secretary of War 1919.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Dead—	
Known dead.....	9,998,771
Presumed dead (½ missing).....	2,991,800
	12,990,571
Wounded—	
Restored to normal 44.5 %....	9,032,410
Ability permanently reduced	
52 %	10,554,761
Totally disabled for life 85 %	770,434
	20,297,605
Total wounded.....	20,297,605
Total casualties so far as known.....	33,288,176

That the world war was infinitely more bloody than any previous wars, is well illustrated by the following table:

Loss of Life in 19th Century Wars.

	Dead.
Napoleonic wars, 1790-1815.....	2,100,000
Crimean, 1854-'56.....	785,000
Prussian-Danish, 1864.....	3,500
Prussian-Austrian, 1866.....	45,000
American Civil War, 1861-'65.....	700,000
Franco-Prussian, 1871.....	184,000
England-Boor, 1899-1902.....	9,800
Russian-Japanese, 1904.....	180,000
Balkan, 1912-'13.....	482,000
Total	4,449,300

War tends to undermine the health of soldiers in a very serious way, quite apart from wounds. Thus mustard gas affects the eyes of 72 per cent. of its victims, rendering them permanently blind. Trench fever affects permanently the heart-action of 20 per cent. of those suffering from it. Shell shock has wrecked many good men for life. It is reported that of 2,437,450 German soldiers in hospitals in June, 1916, 750,000 were suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, 600,000 from heart and nerve diseases, and 500,000 from intestinal diseases. During the first year of the war 86,000 men were dismissed from the French army because of tuberculosis, tho they were physically sound when accepted. Cerebro-spinal fever raged in the British army (a trench disease) in 1915, and its survivors are reported in most cases as complete physical wrecks.

Civilian Casualties.

The Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918, was a direct outcome of the war. It killed 6 millions of people over the world, of whom 1,250,000 were in the United States.

Famine, disease and starvation exacted a toll estimated at 800,000 in Roumania. Serbian and Austrian civilians killed by famine, "spotted typhus" and disease totalled 1,000,000. Two million civilians perished in Russia during the war from war causes, and of Poland in 1916, it was claimed that "one-third of a generation, the youngest, has practically ceased to exist due to famine, pestilence and starvation." At the end of the war, an American traveling thru Poland found that children under six years of age had almost all perished. The loss of civilian life in Germany due to war causes has been

placed at 813,000. Over 100,000 civilians died on the high seas because of mines, submarines, etc. Unknown thousands perished by reason of air raids.

In fact, it may be fairly estimated, according to Professor Bogart, that as many civilians lost their lives due to the war, as did soldiers in the field, thus bringing the total number of deaths for which the war was responsible up to about 25 millions.

It has been estimated that to replace the numbers lost by war casualties in the male population between 20 and 44 years of age, will require 10 years for Great Britain, 12 years for Germany, 33 years for Italy, and 66 years for France.

Money Costs of the Great War.

The expenditures of the various governments for war purposes do not give more than a general picture of the wastes involved. Inflation of currency, failure to distinguish the physical quantities of material and plant diverted and destroyed, combine to render money costs unreliable as a true index of what the world has lost by reason of the war. Some idea of the staggering expenditures involved, however, can be gathered from the following table, which shows the money cost to the end of the war only. Since November, 1918, vast additional sums have been spent:

Great Britain	\$ 35,334,000,000
France	24,313,000,000
United States	22,625,000,000
Russia	22,594,000,000
Italy	12,414,000,000
All other allies.....	8,457,000,000

Total Allied Powers.....\$125,737,000,000

Germany	\$ 37,775,000,000
Austria	20,623,000,000
Turkey and Bulgaria.....	2,245,000,000

Total Central Powers \$60,643,000,000

Grand Total

The total war cost to November, 1918, is thus seen to be 186 billion dollars, and in the intervening two years to January, 1921, it is safe to assume that the grand total has reached considerably more than 200 billions of dollars. Of this almost inconceivable amount, perhaps half was expended for necessities—i. e., food and clothing for the army, ship-building, etc.—the other half (and perhaps more) was worse than wasted in powder, shot, dreadnaughts, poison gas, guns, tanks and submarines. One hundred billions of money, involving the labor of millions of men and women, and millions of tons of good raw material, hurled away in a blind chaos of futile destruction!

Property Losses.

Accurate compilations of property losses are very difficult to make, and it is doubtful if the exact losses will ever be known. Agricultural experts question whether vast areas of Belgium, France and Poland, which have been churned and riddled by trenches and shell-holes, and saturated with tox-

ious gases, chemicals, liquid fire, and other substances which destroy the productive properties of the soil, can be made fertile for many years to come. Should time confirm this hypothesis, the loss will not be measurable.

Belgium covered 12,000 square miles, and practically the whole area save a strip along the west coast was invaded. Crops were taken, factories denuded of machinery, mines destroyed, cotton spindles wrecked, pillage and wanton destruction systematically carried out.

In France 8,000 square miles of agricultural lands were laid waste; 500,000 buildings damaged, of which 250,000 were completely destroyed. It is reported that 1,500 schools, 1,200 churches, 877 public buildings, and over 1,000 industrial plants were totally wrecked. Railroads, bridges, power plants and other public utilities were systematically put out of commission. The loss of agricultural implements in France is estimated at 2 billion dollars, and in addition, cattle were slain, fruit trees cut down, and 1,200,000 acres of forests laid waste. The coal mines in the Valenciennes basin, and the iron industry of Briey were seriously damaged in the retreat of the Germans.

Similarly the Russians in Poland destroyed mine shafts, crops, bridges, railroads, machinery, industrial plants and public utilities. Serbia, Roumania, East Prussia, Austria, Italy and the Ukraine, also, suffered disastrously.

Professor Bogart estimates the total property damage of this nature at about 30 billion dollars, as follows:

Summary of Property Loss.

France	\$10,000,000,000
Belgium	7,000,000,000
Italy	2,710,000,000
Serbia, Albania, Montenegro.....	2,000,000,000
British Empire	1,750,000,000
Germany	1,760,000,000
Poland	1,500,000,000
Russia	1,250,000,000
East Prussia, Austria, Ukraine	1,000,000,000
Roumania	1,000,000,000
Total	\$29,980,000,000

Loss of Merchant Shipping.

The gross tonnage of sea-going merchant vessels lost from August 1, 1914, to November 11, 1918, is officially stated as follows:

Great Britain	8,899,659
Norway	1,177,001
France	888,783
Italy	846,333
United States	825,417
Greece	345,516
Denmark	240,860
Holland	203,190
Sweden	200,820
Russia	182,933
Spain	167,865
Japan	120,176
Other allied and neutral countries.....	929,158
Total, Allies and Neutrals.....	15,027,718
Central Powers	370,674
World Total	15,398,392



—Baer in "Washington Labor."

Is it any wonder that our school teachers and college professors are paid starvation wages, when only one per cent of our national appropriations is spent for education, and ninety-three times as much for our past and future wars?

The actual number of ships sunk is not available, but estimating an average merchant ship at 5,000 tons (probably a high average) it would appear that at least 3,100 good vessels together with their rich cargoes now lie at the bottom of the sea, a total loss chargeable to war. The money value of this loss has been placed at \$7,500,000,000.

War Relief.

In addition to the losses in men and property above recited, the sums raised for war relief work must be classified as part of the wastes of war. While much of this money represented purchases of food, clothing, recreation, etc., and therefore not properly to be classified as waste, great sums went for medical supplies and for repairing the ravages of war damages. Had there been no war, expenditures of this nature would have been quite unnecessary. The following table shows the American war relief total:

Red Cross	\$250,000,000
Y. M. C. A.	55,000,000
Jewish Welfare Board.....	20,000,000
War Camp Community Service.....	15,000,000
Knights of Columbus.....	11,500,000
Y. W. C. A.	5,000,000
Salvation Army	2,500,000
American Library Association.....	1,000,000
Total	\$360,000,000
United drive of 1918.....	202,000,000
Rockefeller Foundation.....	2,000,000
Belgian Relief.....	9,000,000
Other contributions	50,000,000

Grand Total.....\$625,000,000
Other belligerent countries, also, raised great sums for war relief work, but the totals are not available. Canada, it is known, contributed 92 millions.

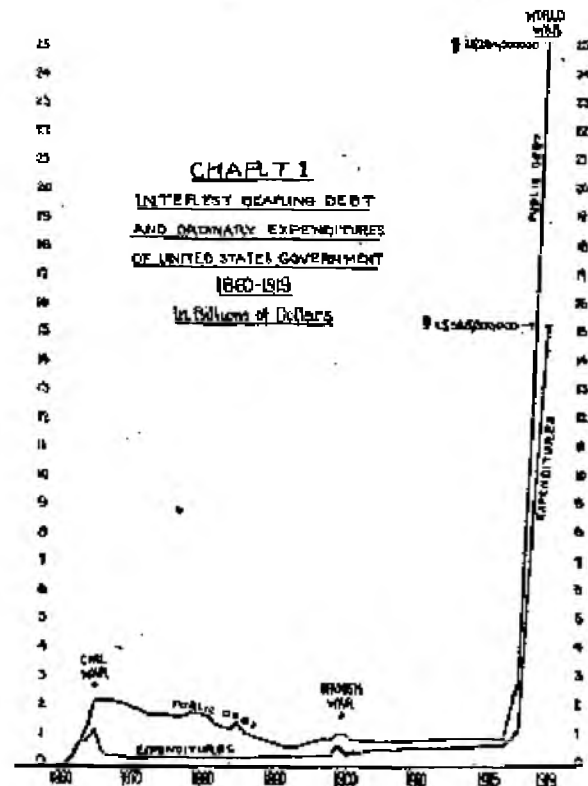
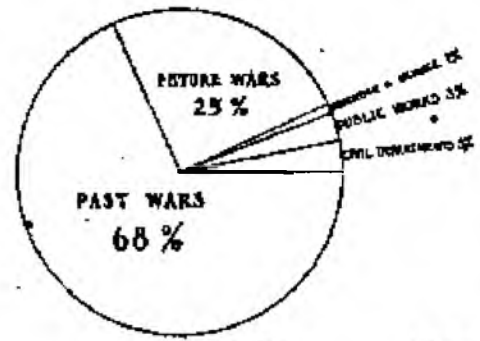


CHART 1
INTEREST-BEARING DEBT
AND ORDINARY EXPENDITURES
OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
1860-1919
 in Billions of Dollars

CHART 2
THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
APPROPRIATIONS
 FOR
1920



	AMOUNT	PERCENT
PAST WARS	\$ 3,655,402,586	68
FUTURE WARS	1,114,138,677	25
TOTAL WARS	5,279,621,263	93
CIVIL DEPTS.	161,007,223	3
PUBLIC WORKS	166,203,557	3
EDUCATION & SCIENCE	57,093,661	1
GRAND TOTAL	5,686,005,706	100

Neutral Countries.

Not only did the belligerent countries pay a staggering toll to the wastes of war, but many of the neutral countries suffered as well. Shipping losses for neutrals have already been exhibited, but in addition it has been estimated that the war cost neutrals 2 billions of dollars by reason of guarding frontiers, trading losses, interruption of manufacturing, and so forth.

Eugenic Effect of War.

Kellogg in his book on "Military Selection and Race Deterioration," published by the Carnegie Endowments, comments on this aspect of war waste as follows:

An army * * * "is composed exclusively of men, its removal thus tending to disturb the sex equilibrium of the population and to prevent normal and advantageous sexual relations. Next, these men are both all of the age of greatest life expectancy after reaching maturity, and of greatest sexual vigor and fecundity. Finally, they are men none of whom fall below, and most of whom exceed, a certain standard of physical vigor and freedom from infirmity and disease. And for each of these men so removed from the general population, at least one other man falling below this standard, has been retained in the civil population. All this is, in effect, the establishment of a kind of selection, a military selection, whereby a most desirable element of the population is restrained from contributing its full and its particularly important influence in the determination, thru heredity, of the racial standard of the population."

The decrease in births during the period of the war down to the end of 1917, is stated to have been 500,000 in Great Britain, 1,100,000 in Austria, 1,500,000 in Hungary, 2,800,000 in Germany and 882,000 in France.

United States Government Expenditures.

The effect of the war on the annual expenditures of the United States government is strikingly shown in the accompanying chart (Chart 1). In the 60 years since 1860, such expenditures never crossed the billion mark, save in the Civil War (1865), and in the years of the great war. In 1919 "ordinary expenditures" according to the Statistical Abstract—not including special outlays, or the postal service—reached the phenomenal total of \$15,365,000,000—which is as much as the aggregate of all expenditures during the 40 years from 1870 to 1910, or more than the aggregate of all expenditures during the first hundred years of the existence of the United States government from 1790 to 1890.

Appropriations of the government for 1920 are shown on Chart 2. Here it appears that of the grand total of \$5,686,000,000, \$5,280,000,000, or 93 per cent. is devoted to past and future wars—civil departments, public works, education and science only receiving 7 per cent. of the total. Thus a bare 7 per cent. of the resources and activities of the government are devoted to rendering the citizens of the country useful and constructive service, while 93 per cent. is devoted to the wastes of war.



OUR BENEVOLENT CAPITALIST.

The Glass Industry

By Robert Grayson

THE MAKING of pottery marks the transition of the human race from savagery into barbarism. Second only in importance to pottery as a cultural advance is the discovery of glass, dating much later. While the exact period of this discovery is not known, there exist proofs that mankind had made it as early as 4000 B. C., and well-preserved specimens, estimated to be about three and one half thousand years old, have been found in the ancient tombs of Thebes. These consist chiefly of beads and of small containers. It is debatable as to what race made the discovery, both Egyptians and Syrians claiming the honor; moreover, the historian Pliny relates a story concerning the origin of glass which may hold some truth. He tells of a group of Phoenician mariners who camped one evening on a river bank in Palestine. Unable to find stones on the sand upon which to rest their cooking utensils, they pressed into service some lumps of soda from their cargo. The action of the heat fused the soda and the sand, the result being a viscous mass which became transparent after cooling.

The Greeks and Romans learned the art of glass making from their neighbors on the Nile, and as early as the reign of Nero clear or crystal drinking vessels, such as tumblers, cups and goblets, came into use and found high favor among the patrician class. The history of the workers in glass is unknown. We may read where a ruler or noble prized good works in the art, but everything concerning the craftsman has been obliterated.

After the Romans, the greatest masters in the art of glass manufacture are the Venetians and Muranians. The former so revolutionized its processes as to permit of much lower cost, thereby placing the article for the first time into extensive use. Furthermore, they are credited with having introduced glass into Western Europe. Jacob Verzelina, who migrated to England about 1550, made both window-panes and table ware until his death in 1606.

At Stourbridge, England, a factory for the making of window ware was erected in 1619. The close proximity of fire-clay mines accounts for this institution. This leads us to a description of the composition of glass and the technique of its manufacture.

COMPOSITION.

Glass is a hard, brittle, viscous, non-crystalline substance, either transparent, opaque or translucent. It is the result of a fusion of silica and active mineral fluxes or solvents, including alkalis, earthy bases and oxides. Silica is found in a free natural state among flints, quartz and sand. Some-

times the first two are used by pulverizing them, but the latter is in most general use.

In this country many kinds of glass are made. Potash, lime, and soda are important ingredients. The war closed the commerce with Germany, where a practical monopoly of potash obtains, and as this is the most purifying element in the composition of glass the product has been since 1914 of an inferior grade so far as crystal ware is concerned. Various chemicals are fused with the silica and alkalis to effect coloring.

TECHNIQUE.

It is said that ancient glass makers worked the molten mass around a core of sand, which was afterward removed. But eventually it dawned upon them that the use of a pipe with a hollow stem would permit the blowing of the glass. We will now treat of this phase of the industry; in passing we will remark that the container for the molten glass is a clay pot capable of resisting enormous heat, and that a glass factory furnace is usually a cylindrical form of brick with a number of apertures communicating with the various pots of molten glass within.

A "shop" is the group of workers necessary for the completion of certain glass patterns; at the head of each "shop" stands the blower. The first to come into contact with the glass is a semi-skilled worker called a "gatherer". By means of dipping the end of a long, hollow iron pipe into the glass and then turning it, any desired quantity of glass can be gathered. This is rapidly carried a few feet to a bench covered with a plate of smooth, hard metal, where the glass is rolled. The gatherer then elevates the pipe and blows into it, thus beginning the shape. It is then passed to a skilled mechanic, the blower. He stands about two or three feet above the floor lever on a small, movable platform called a "dummy". This "dummy" is equipped with the mold, and on each side of the mold are devices or pedals to open and close it.

Having placed the molten mass into the mold, the blower closes it and then blows into the pipe, turning it at the same time. When the glass has been blown to the limits of the mold confines it is removed, still on the pipe, in a bottle form, and handed to the boy who "cracks off". At intervals several of these "bottles" are taken by another boy and placed in thelehr, a long kiln where a tempering process follows. Finally it emerges to be finished by having the rough neck cut off by a machine, and the sharp edges slightly melted to make them smooth. The article is then ready for shipment. It should be observed that in all this

work there is but one fully skilled worker, who is assisted by a semi-skilled one and several unskilled juveniles. In many cases I have seen aged men, women and even imbeciles perform these unskilled tasks.

Besides this blowing into molds considerable work is done without the aid of molds. This is called working "off-hand". In this work the pipe is used and also callipers, scissors, and wooden blocks and sticks, to fashion the desired article. In all processes of glass blowing it is necessary to have air pipes under which the molten glass is somewhat cooled before being blown.

The largest department of flint glass manufacture (clear or crystal) is the press department. Here a lump of the glass is dropped into a mold, either plain or figured, and a lever releases a plunger which fits the mold and forms an article. The figured mold is one that has been arranged by a mold maker with a pattern, and glass pressed into it receives the pattern impression. Window glass is made of much harder material, and it is rolled on long, flat surfaces. For some years past attempts have been made to manufacture glass coffins, but the cost of production is so high that this invention is as yet in the experimental stage.

DECORATING.

For high worth in a decorative sense cut and engraved glass comes first. The cutting and engraving is done when the glass is cold, or in its natural finished state. Cut glass is made both from plain and figured blanks. In the first case steel wheels called "mills", covered by a thin layer of wet sand, fine aluminum or carborundum, impress the glass with the main cuts. This is called "roughing." The sand is then removed by various stones, both natural and artificial, with water running on them. The finer cuttings are added by the stones.

This is called "smoothing", and of all the skilled trades connected with the glass industry it is considered the most skilled. Wooden and felt wheels and rag buffs smooth the surface, and the article is then immersed into a combination of powerful acids which produce the brilliancy of heavy cut glass-ware. The process from the figured blank is the same excepting the roughing, which is eliminated.

Engraved glass is done by skilled mechanics using either copper wheels or stones, and the finished product consists chiefly of scrolls, flowers and animals. It is highly artistic.

Etching by means of acids, as well as by sand blast, are still other and cheaper ways to decorate the surface of glass-ware.

FUEL.

The old Muranians used wood to produce the heat for melting a "batch" of glass. It is still used in parts of Italy, but Bohemia, Germany, Belgium, France and England depend chiefly on coal for the heating units, and in this country natural gas belts have given rise to numerous glass plants, such

as those existing in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas and Oklahoma. Gas is the best fuel for the work, but in certain places it has been exhausted, particularly in parts of Maryland near West Virginia and in Central Kansas. Sometimes oil has been substituted with a measure of success, but frequently a factory will move away to another spot where nature still has gas wells spouting. An interesting case of this sort came to my notice several years ago at North Baltimore, Ohio. I had occasion to visit a cemetery there one afternoon in the fall of the year, and going across a wide field I saw the furnace of a glass house. But that was all. The holes were there, and the furnace was intact, but long grass waved at its base, and no other trace of the industry was in sight. It was a large and prosperous plant some twenty years ago, but the stoppage of natural gas caused the firm to remove to West Virginia. I cannot describe how I felt, and how lonely that furnace looked, where once the busy workers had fashioned all manner of glass, and then had departed, leaving this solitary ghost as a reminder of the past.

SCIENTIFIC USES.

Most of the ware made for the use of surgeons and chemists is done by a branch called "lamp working". Tiny pipes are used, and the heat is derived from gas rapidly driven thru a jet. As the progress of the scientist advances so too must advance the art of the lamp worker, and all sorts of lenses, tubes, syringes, measuring glasses, thermometers and phials, unknown to the glass worker of other times, must be blown by these workers.

MACHINE INVENTION.

The glass industry as a whole received its share of benefit from the discovery of steam and electric power, but until 1903 the mechanical tasks of the glass worker were very much the same as they had been hundreds of years ago. In that year Michael Owens of Toledo, Ohio, invented a machine to blow bottles. It now has been so improved that any bottle from a half-ounce capacity to a 12 gallon demijohn can be automatically blown. The invention was first scoffed at by those glass workers most competent to speak for their trade, but this contempt was silenced in 1909 when 49 machines, each with six arms and a producing power of 111 gross every 24 hours, produced a grand total of 1,700,824 gross bottles. To accomplish the same amount of work by the former methods the service of 1320 skilled blowers would have been required.

As this machinery is constantly being improved it is not too much to say that the entire ancient, highly skilled and very exclusive glass trade may soon be revolutionized, and the erstwhile aristocrats of pipe, dummy and scissors reduced to the unskilled stratum, inevitable to so many crafts, and uniformly dreaded by the craftsmen. The decorating trades requiring skill have been greatly

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

speeded up by the introduction of manufactured stones with qualities of abrasion, making for more work. The relative importance of machine inventions in this line is small, as it is rather of aesthetic value and cannot pretend to the primary social importance as the other branches of the industry.

ORGANIZATION.

I believe that the remnants of the once strong Green Bottle Blowers' Association still command practically all of the blowers of bottles from its craft union vantage (?) point. There is no strong sentiment for a change in the form of unionism as far as the skilled workers are concerned. The hours are eight and one-half, with both day and night shifts. The wages are hardly in excess of one dollar an hour, with the general post-war tendency to decline. For many years this organization was in constant wrangling over jurisdiction rights with the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

The window glass workers are without an organization, with the possible exception of a few company unions, where the factory manager is also the president of the union, and as such appoints the factory committees.

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union is the most powerful order of glass workers in this country. It grants charters to groups of seven or more employees. It is composed of glass workers of more than thirty departments of what is known as the flint glass industry. With most of its locals in the States it also has several in the Dominion. There are usually around one hundred and twenty locals, and the total membership has never exceeded 11,000. At the present time it perhaps falls short by several thousand of this mark. About seven-eighths of the members are workers in the hot metal departments. They work eight and one-half hours, with alternating night and day shifts, Saturday afternoons off.

The remaining eighth is composed of cutters and engravers who work nine hours for five days and five hours on Saturday forenoon. The president of the order recently published statistics as to wages for the entire trade for the past year, the average being \$24.00 per week.

In 1916, at Toledo, a movement for industrial unionism reached its zenith and its failure, when the present head was elected by a big majority on a reactionary program, defeating a bulb blower who stood for industrial unionism.

At the time of the First Convention of the I. W. W. in 1905 the Flints, then at war with the A. F. of L., which had characteristically scabbed on them, sent two delegates to the convention. They had no power to act, but the active one, then president of the union, T. W. Rowe, made a revolutionary speech, and acted thruout with much zeal. His colleague, Wm. P. Clarke, since became president, also took part in this convention. They reported to their membership, but never affiliated, subse-

quently forgetting their grievances against the Gompersian horde and rejoining the fold of sheep.

This organization has in the past waged many strikes, but it is now avoiding them without regard to the condition of the members. It publishes a monthly journal, which might be a good medium of education, but is kept in check by the officialdom, and its pages recount chiefly the sports of the members, bewail the loss of bear, and frequently are filled with incitation to violence against the radicals.

The Union is somewhat in advance of the tactics of Mr. Gompers in that the various departments of any one plant support the others in case of a strike or lockout. The union at present assesses its members one per cent of their wages, but in cases of necessity it goes much higher. The initiation fee is three dollars to all but foreigners, who are penalized for not having had the good sense to be born in the U. S. to the extent of ten dollars. In case of strikes or lockouts the union pays weekly strike benefits of seven dollars after the expiration of the second week.

It holds an annual convention, and an annual joint conference with the organized employers of the National Association of Pressed and Blown Glass Ware Manufacturers at Atlantic City. The officials of the union, together with executive members of the various departments, represent the workers. On these occasions the heads of the Flints and the employers hold "unofficial" meetings and compare lists and blacklists of radicals and agitators.

From the Flint officialdom to the employer's side is but a short step, as is evidenced by the long list of Flint officials and executives who have become superintendents, factory managers, foremen, and officials of the Manufacturers' Association. At the present time there is not a trace of progress, and but little hope can be entertained that the union will become in the near future either industrial or revolutionary.

However, the Industrial Workers of the World need not view the glass factory as a place where all hope is dead, all opportunity for industrial unionism shackled; it should appeal directly to the vast numbers of unskilled who are unorganized and not eligible to membership in the Flints. When a firm employs a hundred skilled workers it probably has four hundred unskilled. No sympathetic bond exists between the craftsmen and the unskilled in a glass house, and when the boys strike the men not only work with scabs, but help to recruit them. Also, there are many non-union glass houses, such as the ones in Columbus, Ohio, Sand Springs, Okla., Danbar, Okla., Mt. Pleasant, Pa., and elsewhere.

Child labor is widespread, which is especially appalling when one considers that many of these children work night shifts. Very small boys toil thru the weary watches of the night around infernos of molten glass, which draws their bodies and ruins their lives.

In the same way that many unskilled work

with the few skilled in the flint shops, do they work with them in bottle and window glass plants. The vast majority of them have only heard of the I. W. W. from the corrupt press, from craft unionists, and from all who denounce it. They regard the I. W. W. as a band of outlaws roaming about with torches of destruction, and as being confined to the wheat fields and lumber camps. They have never seen its literature, have never heard its speakers, and really dread it.

The glass worker should be taught the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism. He should be made to see the lines of class demarcation. He should be so educated that in every wage-earner he will recognize a fellow worker, a fellow sufferer, with the same master class over him, the same chains upon his limbs and the same shambles to rise from to industrial freedom.

It is reasonable to expect that our first appeal would find the greatest response among the unskilled, but the propaganda should not be confined

to them alone. At the present time the I. W. W. can best function as a mighty machine for the dissemination of its ideas. To the great mass of divided, deluded, miserable wage slaves it should be the leaven of revolt. The wages of the unskilled slaves around glass houses being uniformly low, with speeding-up devices on all sides, the I. W. W. will find among them a fertile field for sowing the seeds of class solidarity.

At this time there is an industrial union of glass and pottery workers in the I. W. W. It must have a nucleus of active members, and therefore the fellow workers forming it should be welded together to more successfully and systematically foster the growth of industrial organization among the glass and pottery workers, for the furtherance of immediate demands as well as for the final drive against the citadels of power, pelf and place; for the consolidation of militant, class-conscious labor and the establishment of industrial democracy.



To the Russian Red Guard

Sons of the Dawn! No more shall you enslave
 Nor lull them with your honied lies to sleep,
 Nor lead them on like herds of human sheep
 To hopeless slaughter for the loot you crave,
 For now upon you, wave on mighty wave,
 The iron-stern battalions rise and leap
 To extirpate your breed and bury deep
 And sow with salt the unlamented grave!

Accursed Monster—nightmare of the years—
 Pause but a moment ere you pass away!
 Pause and behold the earth made clean and pure—
 Ours earth—that you have drenched with blood and tears!
 Then greet the crimson usherer of Day,
 The mighty Proletarian Dictature!

Ralph Chaplin,
 Federal Penitentiary,
 Leavenworth.



The Story of the Sea

By Tom Barker

(Continued from the February Number.)

CHAPTER 5.

THE SHANGHAISERS.

ONE can hardly deal with the question of the marine transport industry without touching upon the old-fashioned business of "shanghaiing." We are glad to say that it is now disappearing. Some years ago it was very prevalent in ports of the United States, England and South America, reaching its highest mark in the ports of the last-named continent. It really had its origin in runaway seamen who hid themselves away from the authorities while waiting to get another ship. The desire for freedom on the part of the seamen of the period really originated this vile and iniquitous system. In return for the services of the man who was accommodating him, and using his offices to supply him with another ship, the man signed an "advance note," which gave this individual the right to collect one or two months' wages belonging to the man after the ship had cleared the port. From these beginnings grew up that business of shanghaiing, in which the shanghaier was involved with the captains. Sometimes the consuls were in the game; at times also officials of the various missions got their "whack" out of the proceedings. Even the sanctified "soldiers" of the Salvation Army have had their fingers in the pie. From efforts to protect and assist the runaway seamen was developed a monstrous system of blackmail, thru which these harpies stripped the seamen of their money before they had earned it.

Tommy Moore's Way.

Shanghaiing reached its high mark in Buenos Aires, which is the largest port south of the Line, and the biggest sailing-ship port in the world. More men are shipped on foreign-going ships in that port than in all the other ports in South America combined. Owing to the fine climate and the amusements, which are unexcelled by any other city in the world, it is also a favorite port for paying off men. Let us suppose that a sailing ship arrives in the roads of the River Plata. The men will probably be taking in sails when Tommy Moore's motor launch comes alongside. Tommy has a body-guard of half a dozen big toughs with him. He climbs the rope-ladder, shakes hands with the waiting captain, and then the two clear down below into the captain's cabin, where Tommy's bottle of whiskey is opened up. After a conversation with the skipper Tommy comes out on deck and roars out to the men in the rigging who are just finishing stowing sails. "Come on, you fellows, you're all going to pay off." The crew meekly swing down to the deck, and within half an hour they have their bags packed, and pass into the waiting launch and the hands of Tommy's body-guard. In an hour or so the launch runs down the South Channel and across to the Boes, where

the men land. Their traps are dumped in Tommy's boarding house—save the mark—in Calle La Madrid. This place, curiously enough, passed into the hands of the Marine Transport Workers in 1919, after Tommy went on that long voyage that both shanghaier and shanghaied alike must make. In this dump the bunks were placed closely against the wall, so that it was as much like a fo's'le as any place could be. The food was usually salt-horse, borrowed from Tommy's skipper friends.

Now, in all probability these men may have had six months' wages coming, but all that they were likely to see would be a ten peso bill—about \$4.00—which they were free to spend on "vino carajo," or on any other chained lightning or weed-killer that they fancied. The rest of the cash was cut up between Tommy and the skipper. You will observe, therefore, that there would be a good profit on Tommy's boarding-house. At times some of the men used to kick, but Tommy's body-guard was always on the spot, and the result was generally disastrous for the one who kicked. At times they emptied one of the men out on the street, which meant that his only way of getting a living was to go on the beach, or go to the "campo." The shanghaiers had the jobs in their hands. There was no organization at all. These men would stay at Tommy's "dump" until he got another ship for them.

A man might be married in New York, or have his home in Bergen, but that didn't count with Tommy. He would probably ship that man to Callao or Melbourne. A man had to stifle his desires and keep a quiet tongue, otherwise he was apt to get his hair combed with a piece of gas-pipe. When Tommy got you a ship you went, either voluntarily or insensibly, and that was all there was to it.

Before a man went to sea he had to sign an advance note for one or two months' pay which went to the shanghaier and his clique. For this he would receive, if he was fortunate, a suit of dungarees, a pair of fine-looking, highly polished paper sea-boots, a bar of soap and a bottle of alleged whiskey or coffee. There are men who have been thru Tommy's dump a dozen times, and can still be met here and there. The story of shanghaiing is one of the most enthralling in the world.

Some of the "Heads" in S. A.

Tommy Moore is dead. He died in bed. He made a fortune out of the business, and his son has today a big contracting firm in Buenos Aires. Another gret "identity" was "Black Jack" in Rio de Janeiro. After the union was organized in Buenos Aires in 1919, a bunch of Scandinavian seamen gave Jack a beating-up one night and put that gentleman on crutches. They made a thoro job of him, as Scandinavians usually do. Up to September, 1919, "Big Fred" Williams was the chief shanghaier in Rosario de Santa Fe. When we started the union

and crippled his business he wanted to join the union, boasting that he had been a member for thirty years of Havelock Wilson's burial society. He is a Swede and stands about 6 ft. 1 in. His complexion is ruddy, and not from the sun, either. He was somewhat ruddier when three Finn sailors—whom he had once shanghaied—met him in Buenos Aires one night after the union started.

Until May, 1919, "Big Pete" Frederiksen was the big gun in Buenos Aires, after the departure of Tommy Moore for his last anchorage. Pete was "Big Fred's" brother-in-law. Denmark has the misfortune to own him as a citizen. After we had broken up his business, he and his colleagues attempted to start a scab union solely for "Scandinavians." The secretary resigned his job after he had received a slight concussion one dark night from a mysterious captain who interviwed him near the transporter bridge in the Boca.

The shipping for British ships was usually handled by an individual named Nelson, a Russian. This fellow was in good standing at the British vice-consulate in Calle San Juan. He was round the consulate far too much for its reputation. It is also true that the vice-consul preferred to ship men from him rather than from the Sailors' Home, altho he is a most disreputable character. While the war was on, the German officials in Buenos Aires were very anxious to repatriate their countrymen for military service. They gave this job over to a Dane named Bangtsen, who used to get the men berths in Scandinavian ships, from whence they arrived ultimately in Germany. But Señor Bangtsen was a clever man, in fact, he had the makings of a diplomat in him. He paid a visit to the British authorities and sold the information that the men in question were on such and such a ship. The result was that the ship was held up in the open sea, and the Germans taken off and interned. Bangtsen used to shanghai men on the American schooners. After the union started he ran into a big fist more than once.

"Stockholm Charley" was another well-known "identity", who had a reputation for swiping men about half his size and half-killing them. O. L. Kruse was once a waiter but found that shanghaiing was more lucrative. It is said that he used to make 25,000 pesos a month from fees, etc. He also owned a big bar near the "Green Corner," but the sailors smashed it up for him one Saturday evening in December, 1919.

Some Stories of the Business.

Writing of shanghaiing, reminds me of Tommy Moore once shipping a dead man. When he was thrown aboard a ship in the roads with the rest of the drunken sailors, the captain looked at him and said, "He looks pretty bad." "That's all right," replied Tommy, "he's only drunk. He'll be all right tomorrow morning." But when they tried to get him out, he wasn't all right, so they had to get a piece of old sail-cloth, and place him to rest in the waters of the River Plate.

There was once a conscientious skipper who hated the shanghaiers and who decided to pick his own crew. This didn't fit in with Tommy's requirements at all. When the captain was drinking in a bar one night, his drink was drugged. When he awoke three days later, he found himself on the high seas on a sailing-ship, signed on as an able seaman and bound for the other end of the earth.

"Big Pete" himself was once shanghaied, when he was a "runner"—he was learning the business—for Tommy Moore. Tommy and Pete took a crew of fifteen men out to a ship waiting in the Roads. Pete went aboard with the crew, and Tommy stayed on the boat. The captain counted up and found there was a man short. He bawled to Tommy, "Hey, Tommy, there's a man short." "Is that so?" replied Tommy. "Well, then, you'd better take the runner. He'll do." With that he pushed the launch away from the ship and left Pete aboard as a sailor. It took Pete two years to get back again.

What It Meant to the Seaman.

The shanghaiers made their money from the unfortunate and unorganized seamen. They spent it like water. You could see them at the race meetings at Palermo every Sunday afternoon, where they used to literally wash the floor with champagne. Motor-cars, prostitutes, big hotels and plenty of high-priced booze were the results that these harpies got out of swindling the seamen. Jack the Sailor footed the bill for the lot.

Villainies were perpetrated upon him. If he stood on his feet like a man he was driven to become a "beach-comber." A sailor was nothing in the scheme of things. He had no organization, no friends, and no one to assist him. The consuls despised him, the captains logged him to their heart's content, and the missions, as usual, worried more about his spiritual needs than his material comforts. He might be a union man in New York or London, but his union could not help him in South America, nor did it ever cross their fat heads that it was at all necessary. The native unions didn't speak his language, and he didn't speak theirs. The police authorities gave the shanghaiers carte blanche to follow their odious business.

In Europe and the States the shanghaier has changed his name to the more euphonious "shipping-master." His existence is not seriously attacked by some of the marine unions, which are notoriously short-sighted. The ports of the world are infested with "beach-combers." They are the cast-offs of the sea. Some are loafers, but many are good men and true. This army is growing, and hungry and unemployed sailors and firemen can be found everywhere. But they are waking up. The march of events and the drive of the machine process is compelling these outcasts to come together in the Great Brotherhood of the Sea. Their nationalities, their religions and their tongues may differ, but they suffer from the same privations, live the same lives, and die the same deaths. They have the same ruth-

less masters and the same grinding poverty.

From all the corners of the Seven Seas they are coming together in One Army. The black night of disorganization and ignorance is clearing for ever from the face of the ocean. The bright sun of the Marine Transport Workers' Union, international and universal, is rising in the East. The sea is rosened with the coming day, and on the far'st le hand there are many watchers waiting to greet the Day of Emancipation.

Men of the Sea! Let us encircle the ocean routes and the docks with ONE UNION, ONE CARD and ONE OBJECTIVE. Long live the democracy of the stokehole, the engine-room and the galley!

All power to the Workers of the Sea! Long live the Industrial Republic of the Ocean!

CHAPTER 6.

MARINE TRADE UNIONISM.

The Old and the New.

In 1805 the navies of England and France fought the battle of Trafalgar. The ships were of wood, and were propelled by the wind. In their day these wooden walls were the pride of the sea. The hopes of mighty nations hung upon their old-fashioned guns, and their press-gang enlisted crews.

Time has flown and industry has changed. The one-time efficient ship, "H. M. S. Victory" lies in Portsmouth Harbor, while near her lie the battle cruisers and the furtive submarines, which today are the arbiters of naval supremacy. They are the results of inventive genius applied to the fiendish art of human destruction. They are scientific, speedy and dreadfully accurate. They are new, the "Victory" is old. One modern battle cruiser could sink a thousand "Victory's" in two hours. We live in a scientific age when the new triumphs over the old the iron ship over the wooden one, the steamer over the barque, and the oil-burner over the coal-burner. The international shipping trusts have annihilated the small national groups by swallowing them.

Old forms of organization have to give way to new. Forms of working class unionism of twenty years ago are now obsolete and useless. Marine trade unionism has outgrown its usefulness; it belongs to a dead age, that of the sailing ship. It was an organization of tradesmen united to protect their trade interests and to monopolize their skill. It believed then, and believes now, that the capitalist class has a right to exploit the working class. It perpetuates the idea that the skinned and the skinner have interests in common. By working hard and long, said the old trade union official, a worker is both helping himself and his employer. He attempted to make the workers believe that the more they produce the more will they receive for their labor in the form of wages.

Such notions have long ago been exploded by Karl Marx, the famous economist, upon whose teachings has been founded the new movement of the advanced workers of today. All the great tri-

umphs in ship-building, and advances in ocean traffic have made but very little difference to the marine worker. On the contrary, there is more unemployment, more hunger and poverty among the toilers of the sea than ever before. The deck-hand on British ships works the same hours as he did in 1887, after the formation of the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union. It is true that wages have gone up since the war, but the rise does not compensate him for the rise in the cost of living. He has to pay three or four times as much for his clothes as formerly, and the quality is abominable. Very little change for the better is to be found in the treatment accorded him, in his wages and accommodations, when compared with the improvements that have taken place for the officers and the saloon passengers. There are many ships afloat where the crew have to eat in the same quarters that they sleep in, and quite a large percentage where there are no baths for the firemen when they come from their tiring work below.

Our Wages and the Bosses' Profits.

When we gauge the so-called advance in wages we must do so in the comparative sense. To do so we must ask ourselves the following question: "Do the marine workers get a larger or a smaller portion of the productivity of their labor than they did thirty years ago?" Everyone knows that they get far less than they did formerly. We know that the marine workers manned the ships during the dangerous period of the war, and were as well off at the close of it as they were at the beginning, while the ship-owners reaped tremendous profits, scandalous dividends. As long as shipping is operated under private ownership, the conditions of our life will become worse, while those of our masters will become better. Hence, if we are out for anything at all, we must organize for the definite control of industry. We must organize to end our slavery by the One Big Union.

The power of our masters has grown tenfold. Our existing trade unions have made no such advance, altho the number of their members has increased. In plain words, the existing national unions and the so-called international unions are like so many wooden warships at the mercy of one giant battle cruiser straight from the fitting yards. Our unions are obsolete, their structure is defective, and while their guns make a big noise, they are actually more dangerous to their own crews than they are to the enemy. They have no speed, and have as much direction as a derelict. Their national anthem is, "Work, boys, work, and be contented." That is also the national anthem of a lunatic asylum. Their flag is the yellow flag of ignorance and cowardice. The working class movement can never march ahead on the international battle-field as long as these forms of disorganization exist. Just as the bow and arrow is useless against the machine gun, so also is national lap-dog trade unionism useless against the Capitalist World Octopus of Ocean Transport.

Great Britain's Funeral Societies.

In Great Britain we find three unions of seamen and firemen. The National Seamen's and Firemen's Union is the coffin society led by Mr. Havelock Wilson, M. P., C. B. E., etc. This outfit is now water-logged, and the man at the wheel is seated in a bath-chair. In Glasgow and Southampton the Seafarer's Union holds sway. This union was born from a squabble between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Emanuel Shinwell, who has conferred upon the Seafarer's the honor of possessing him to guide their barque towards the doldrums. Some time ago Mr. Shinwell received a sentence of six months at one of His Britannic Majesty's rest-cure Homes for participating in the 40-hour strike in Glasgow. While he was in, Mr. Wilson set to work to corner up his opponent's membership. The Hull Seamen's Union was formed as a break-away from Mr. Wilson's fold. It has very strong objections to foreigners who do not have the good sense to be born in Great Britain or India.

Germans, Austrians and Turks are refused membership in that union. The German Ambassador, needless to say, goes quite often nowadays to Buckingham Palace, and as I sit writing, this, the yellow Mr. Legien, of the lap-dog German trade union movement, is sitting beside Jouhaux and Bob Williams in the Holborn Restaurant at the Hard Labour Congress.

"The Old Man of the Sea"

We cannot touch upon marine unionism without discussing Mr. Havelock Wilson, M. P., C. B. E., etc. This ancient barnacle is a dead weight on the body of the marine workers of the world. His own constituents are tired of him. He is a Liberal in politics, and so reactionary that labor is going to oppose him at the next election. He is a cast-iron dictator; the rules of his union make it impossible for him to be ousted. His retarding influence is as baneful upon the great organization that he controls as that of "Grandpa" Gompers upon the American Federation of Labor. No advance can be made of an international character as long as Wilson's Funeral Society retains its prestige. There are overseas unions that have done more for their members in one year than Wilson's union has accomplished for its members in 38 years.

Intelligent marine workers will remember that it was Wilson who used his power to stop Ramsay MacDonald from going to Russia some few years ago. It was on one of his scab ships that three of the best men in the Swedish working class movement were sentenced to death. The "Amalthea" carried men to break the Swedish dock strike in 1908. Only a few weeks ago efforts were made to fill the places of striking Belgian sailors by members of Wilson's Union. The Coffin Society, in short, is in the hands of the Chamber of Shipping. Havelock Wilson received the Order of the British Empire on the recommendation of the British

Government while the war was on. Some of the other members of the union received the same honor. Every working man knows quite well that these baubles are not given out for helping the men who toil, but for bull-dozing and side-tracking them. Wilson and his creatures caused the tabling of a resolution by the Italian seamen's union in Genoa at the International Seamen's Congress a few months ago, calling for action to compel the foreign imperialists to cease their blockade of Soviet Russia. He allowed the eight-hour day for seamen to be defeated by one eighth of a vote. His seamen and firemen are receiving £15 a month while in the United States the seamen and firemen are receiving about £24 a month.

Wilson, in addition to being a paid official of his union is also a Member of Parliament in the House of Commons. That brings him in the nice little sum of £400 a year. There are now possibly about a million unemployed in the country, but that does not trouble in the least "the ancient mariner" who is not fit to look after one job properly, never mind two. There are large numbers of unemployed marine workers who could hold down either of the jobs as badly as he does. His organization is well hated thruout Europe, for his Coffin Society holds the Belgians, the Dutch, the Danes and the Spaniards from doing anything for themselves. The organ of the German Seamen's Union, "Seemannsbund", says that Wilson's union is 'merely a rather appendage of the British shop-owners'.

"Some" Supper

There is one thing that ought to be engraved in letters of gold on his monument when in the fullness of time he becomes entitled to one, and that is the fact that he accomplished more for British seamen than even Lord Nelson did. Nelson managed to get his men bread on two days a week. Wilson, however, contrived to get HIS men bread on three days a week, the remainder of the days being, of course, "biscuit" days. Possibly when the world's seamen use the last coffin for this funeral society, British seamen will be able to have bread seven days a week as a right, — and not as a privilege.

We have great pleasure in reprinting the following account of the "Annual Dinner of the British Seamen's and Firemen's Union", and we ask the members of this and other unions to read it carefully and ask themselves what they pay their union dues for. The excerpt is from London "Solidarity", the organ of the Shop Steward's movement.

Lions and Jackals at a Feast

"The National Seamen's and Firemen's Union held their Annual General Meeting at the Memorial Hall, London, during the first week in October, 1920. The 'Annual General Meeting Dinner' took place at the Holborn

Restaurant on October 5th, at which prominent ship-owners were present, and also representatives of the Government departments. Along with most of the officials of the Union, they were well fed and wined, at the expense of the members of the Union—tho we doubt with the consent.

"They certainly did themselves well.

"It will interest those seamen and firemen who are paying one shilling per week to the organization to obtain better conditions, and who expect the Union to fight the shipping magnates, to know that the dinner consisted of EIGHT courses. We would give the menu (which of course, was printed in French, as all high class menus are), but we feel it would be likely to incite to riot the thousands of sailors and firemen who are now hanging around union and shipping offices in all the ports of the kingdom, unable to get ships, or food for themselves and their children. Thomas Chambers, C. B. E., Treasurer of the Union, was wine steward, and he carried out his duties (on this occasion) with great honor. He was warmly complimented by the ship-owners present on "the lavish supply of very fine wines". They are certainly judges, and apparently Chambers has had some experience before and knows their tastes by now.

"The toast list was as follows:—

"First, 'The King'; with several knights, baronets, C. B. E.'s and other stiffes present, 'George' would naturally take first place.

Then the 'National—or isn't it Gnashional—Seamen's and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland', coupled with the names of J. Havelock Wilson, Esq., C. B. E., M. P., C. B. E. This toast was proposed by the Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M. F.

"'The Shipping Industry' coupled with the names of Sir Joseph Maclay, Bart., W. J. Noble, Esq. (President of the Chamber of Shipping), and Henry Radcliffe, Esq. Proposed by Sir Montagu Barlow.

"After that 'The Guests' coupled with the names of Sir Walter Kinnear (Controller of Insurance Department, Ministry of Health) proposed by Councillor Peter Wright (Mayor of Newport).

"Presentation by Thomas Chambers, Esq., on behalf of the officials and members of the N. S. & F. U. to Mrs. Havelock Wilson.

"Quite a nice slap-up little dinner, let me assure you. Of course, after the champagne had begun to work, things got a bit lively, but nothing serious. Unparliamentary language WAS used, but with quite good feel-

ings between the lions and the jackals. Nothing was said about the rank and file in any of the speeches, but doubtless arrangements were made as to their future in conversation".

Time and time again have conferences been deferred between the union and the bosses. On every occasion some excuse has been brought forward. First it was the Genoa conference, and then it was to wait until the Wilson Coffin Society swallows Comrade Shinwell's remaining members. Now matters have been deferred until after a meeting is held in Brussels, which, according to Mr. Wilson's recent speech at Marseilles, is going to perform wonders for ALL the seamen of the world. We are just wondering what kind of "junk" is going to be handed to the marine slaves by the bath-chair Moses who has been leading his tribe by the nose thru the Egyptian desert. We are afraid that there is a long sojourn coming in the desert to create the necessary stamina to lead us to the "Promised Land".

Other British Marine Workers.

In Great Britain there are separate organizations for officers, engineers, wireless operators, and all those engaged in the steward's department. Thus on a British ship we can easily find the members of five or six unions, and possibly in addition a few men who are members of no union whatever. Each man owes allegiance to a different union, which gives him feeble protection in home ports, and none at all in over-seas ports. This is the principle of craft unionism, the gospel of despair. The workers are divided into sections, so that they may be attacked one at a time by the powerful shipping interests. One section goes on strike, just like the wireless telegraphists did not long ago, while the other union men go on working, easing perhaps, their trade union consciences by paying a sixpenny levy to support their poor brothers, who—sob!—are on strike.

The basis of marine unionism in Great Britain is rotten to the core, and neither fine-sounding names nor aggressive talk can alter that fact. It amounts to suicide on the installment plan. Altho most of the unions are within the Transport Workers' Federation, it does not prevent them from acting as they have done in the past. The axe has to go to the root; the spirit and structure of craft unionism must be destroyed. And we must remember that even an Industrial Union of British Marine Workers cannot attain its objective if it confines itself solely to the ports of the United Kingdom. Capitalism is scientific in its structure and international in its scope; the Unionism of the Workers of the Sea must also be scientific in its structure and international in its scope.

Defense News

By John Martin

THE LAST STAGE of the legal fight to free our fellow workers involved in the Chicago case has been entered. On February 28th, our Petition for a Writ of Certiorari was filed with the Supreme Court. What the outcome will be, we are not at the present time in a position to say. Should our Petition be denied, it will mean that those out on bonds will be compelled to return to the Leavenworth penitentiary and, with those who were never released on bond, serve the remainder of their long sentences—unless the workers of this and other countries demand the release of all our prisoners and stand ready to enforce such a demand with their economic power. A Petition for a Writ of Certiorari will also be filed in the Sacramento case. In the Wichita case, we are now awaiting the decision of the Appellate Court.

RELEASED ON BOND

We have succeeded in obtaining the release of Fellow Workers M. Sapper and F. Gran, two of the Wichita defendants, on bond. We are greatly handicapped in obtaining bonds for the Wichita men inasmuch as the Appellate Court has ruled that outside of cash and Liberty bonds, only local property located within the State of Kansas will be accepted as bail sureties. Therefore, anyone having Liberty bonds on hand is requested to place them at the disposal of the General Defense Committee to be used for bonds. Cash loans are also acceptable. It is imperative that those fellow workers are released on bonds before the Appellate Court renders a decision in their case, inasmuch as after a decision is rendered, they will not be eligible to bond.

PERSECUTION STILL GOING ON IN FULL FORCE

From California comes the report that at the present time nine fellow workers are being held in the Los Angeles jails. Five of them—Edwards Peters, Henry Maslin, E. O'Rourke, T. F. Olsen and A. Shorken—are being held on charges of Criminal Syndicalism. Two of them—Frank Rice and Karl Kaemeyer—are awaiting jury trials for vagrancy; they were selling the "Industrial Worker" on the streets of Los Angeles when arrested. The charges against the other two—Gudson and Murphy—have not yet been ascertained. The California District Defense Committee and the local committee organized in Los Angeles are taking care of these and other cases pending in California.

Fellow Workers Philip Taft and James Fitzpatrick were arrested on the streets of Kansas City, Missouri, on February 3rd, and a charge of vagrancy placed against them. However, Caroline Lowe succeeded in having the case dismissed when it came up for trial.

The case against Fellow Worker Roland Stevens, Fort Wayne, Indiana, who was arrested on the morning of September 28th, 1919, and charged with inciting to riot has finally been dismissed thru the efforts of Attorney Mulka. Stevens has been at liberty on a \$5,000 bond.

In the cases of the deportees held in the East, deportation was secured on all cases on February 2nd with the exception of the cases against Ephraim Kertz and S. Diankosky. The Department of Labor is still holding Kertz at Ellis Island on the pretext that his deportation papers have been lost. The New York Defense Committee is looking after the matter and is trying to obtain his release or to compel the Department of Labor to deport him. Diankosky is being held on account of his refusal to sign his passport.

SPEAKERS Routed FOR THE DEFENSE

Fellow Worker Harry Lloyd's speaking tour for the Defense has been very successful. He has so far spoken at several of the towns on the Mesaba Range, besides at Duluth, Superior, Minneapolis, Sioux City, and Kansas City. In Minneapolis, besides holding his regular meetings, he appeared before most of the A. F. of L. local unions and was received with much interest. As a result of these visits, nearly every day brings a contribution to the General Defense fund from one of these local unions.

Fellow Worker Ralph Chaplin has been routed on a Western tour for the Defense. His tour will include all the larger cities on the northern route between Chicago and Seattle. After arriving in Seattle, he will be routed by the Northwest District Defense Committee.

MONEY BADLY NEEDED FOR DEFENSE

The General Defense Committee is under a constant heavy financial drain due to the many cases which have to be defended. Unless immediate and more general financial help is given than has been given us in the past months, we shall not be able to look after the defense of our imprisoned fellow workers in such a way as they should be taken care of. Under no circumstances can we afford to slack up now. We must not let those who fall in the clutches of the law thru their organization activities be neglected. Make all checks and money orders payable to the General Defense Committee and forward them to John Martin, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

DO NOT FORGET THE REHABILITATION FUND!

To Soviet Russia - An American Workingman Speaks

By Charles Ashleigh

YOU HEAR a lot about Russia in the papers nowadays; an' about them Soviets.

I'm not quite sure about what Soviet means; the papers speak about them as though they was a disease. But Ivan, the guy who works along with me in the shop, says as how it just means Council—a workers' council.

An' about all I used to know about Russia was that they had a stiff called a Czar there, an' he used to send lots of working men and woman to a place called Siberia whenever they tried to make their life a little easier.

Then they got rid of the Czar, an' started a bran'-new republic. But I wasn't much bet up about that, 'cause I knew that in a republic, you can have starving or overworked men an' women; an' little kids without enough to eat . . .

But then I read that the workin' people of Russia had started in to run things for themselves; that they were trying to run the factories and plants an' other things for themselves; an' that they wouldn't let no kids go hungry.

An' that sounded pretty good to me. I've got kids of my own, an' I'd like 'em to get a chance to have a real education, with college an' all. So I figured: If that's what them Soviets is doin', they're about all right!

But the papers kept on printin' pictures of fellars with long, wild whiskers; an' with bombs an' knives in their mitts—blond-thirsty lookin' characters, they was.

So I says to Ivan, who works with me, I says: "Say, Ivan, you don't look much like these here Russians they puts into the cartoons. I guess you ain't a real honest-to-God Russian."

So Ivan says: "Come along with me, an' see some more of 'em." An' I goes with him to his boardin'-house, an' there's a whole gang of 'em; an' some of 'em did have beards, right enough, but they was workin' stiffs, like me; so I figures: "It don't much matter what way a guy wears his hair. It's what he's got under it!"

An' sure enough, those guys had some real horse sense. An' they was just like you an' me, even if they did talk funny English. An' they explained some things to me.

An' now I know better than to believe the newspapers!

So I says to Soviet Russia—an' to the workers there—

Go ahead, boys! There's some of us here as understands you, an' knows what you are drivin' at.

You've got the hardest job any bunch of workin'-men ever had in the world; an' you're tacklin' it like men.

An', by God! if you really make a whole job out of it—an' it looks as though you will—we fellars on this side, an' the stiffs in France an' Germany an' England an' other places, is likely to get all kinds of high-flyin' ideas too. An' I guess the boss would just hate that! He don't want us to think we can run things for ourselves.

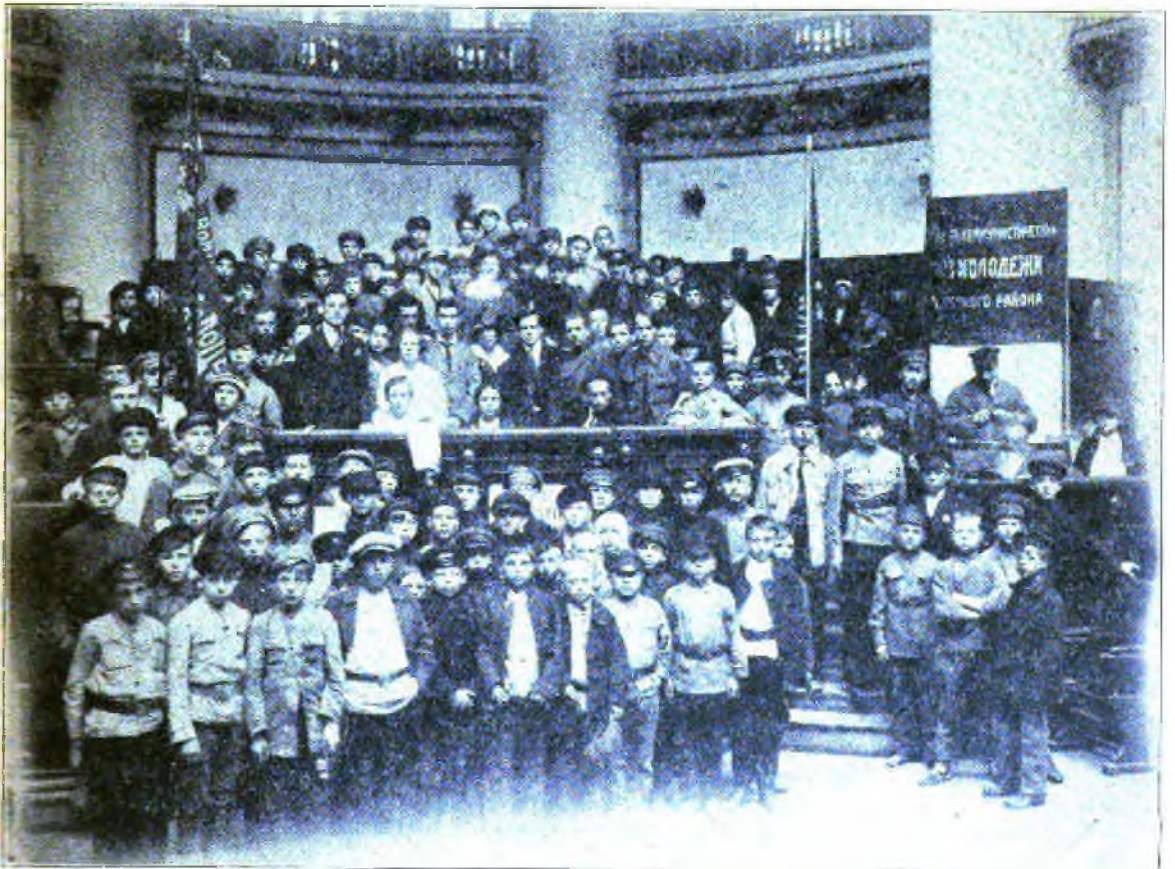
But we over here are watchin' an' waitin' an' thinkin', brothers! An' we may do more than just wait an' watch! We may start right in to get rid of our own masters!

So, here's our hands, you Russian lads, an' here's our hearts! Up from the dark places where we work an' live, we are sendin' you a sign of brotherhood.

For workers are workers, the whole world over. An' we know what hunger is, an' bein' out of a job, an' watchin' your kids go hungry, an' bein' insulted by some swinish boss; so we're blood of your blood, an' bone of your bone; an' we're with you!

Here's to you, Russia of the Workers' Councils! You're the new great light, shinin' in on me an' mine.

An' by your light we'll steer our way, over the hard, tough places to a new power an' a new life!



CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH OF RUSSIA

Labor Demands Resumption of Trade with Russia

We reprint below a circular letter received from the Phoenix Central Labor Union:

February 6, 1921

TO THE VARIOUS SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

Brothers:

The following resolution, regularly adopted at the last meeting of our Body, was amended to permit sending a copy to Central bodies throught the country.

We ask that you give it consideration, and if in accord with its spirit, provide for its being read before the local unions affiliated with your body.

Fraternally,

Ed Huffman, Secretary
Phoenix Central Labor Union.

TO SAMUEL GOMPERS,
PRESIDENT, A. F. OF L.:

Whereas, we, the Phoenix Central Labor Union, after many years connected with the A. F. of L., during which we have been schooled to expect a Moses to lead the hosts of Labor forth from economic bondage, now realize the fact that our A. F. of L. gods have feet of clay; that if these officials move in our interest, it is only after they have received a vigorous shove from the workers upon whose backs they so nonchalantly ride. Therefore, Mr. Gompers, we are constrained to thus address you:

Do you realize that millions of men and their dependents face starvation in this country because of unemployment, because of stagnation in industry, because we now have a period of over-production—that ever recurring phenomenon of the capitalistic wage-system for whose continued welfare and existence you have ever shown such tender solicitude?

Do you know that in Russia, that country where today one finds the only Government on earth conducted by and for the people who do useful work, millions of our brothers, after successfully defending their workers' Republic from the treacherous assaults of international capitalism, now endure hardships, privation and want, for lack of clothing and shoes, medical supplies and canned milk, paper and dishes, machinery and farming implements—

in a word, the varied products of our farms, mines, mills and factories, while their Soviet Government stands ready to purchase these products with either gold or exchangeable raw commodities?

Here in the Salt River Valley of Arizona, our largest industry is the raising of long staple cotton, which Wall Street, because of no market, is forcing out of the hands of the producers for a fraction of its value. Do you know that Russia has announced she will purchase the entire world's surplus of cotton?

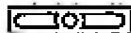
Are you so blind to the welfare of those you purport to serve that you cannot see your duty clear to demand in the name of the unemployed workers of this country that trade relations with the Russian Soviet Government be established?

When the jackals of capitalism demanded the life-blood of the workers for the protection of their markets and credits, you dramatically announced you were "a living, breathing, fighting man," and behind the smoke of "Make the world safe for democracy" you valiantly led us to the slaughter. For that democracy we still fight, and thanks to our Russian comrades, the plan of successful battle begins dimly to unfold. The workers of all countries can and will free themselves from wage slavery.

How cruelly and maliciously were the workers seduced in the World War is now apparent to all. Can it be that you alone have not yet recovered from the poison-gas attack of Wall Street? Or are we to understand that your "galvanic, dynamic energy" can be aroused only in the service of the exploiters? The time is near at hand, Mr Gompers, when you must speak out in the real interest of Labor, or make way for one who can and will.

For the present, Mr. Gompers, to the end of relieving immediate distress both at home and abroad, you are instructed to humbly supplicate the powers that temporarily be—a task to which you have shown yourself peculiarly fitted—to lift the economic and commercial blockade against Soviet Russia.

Resolved, that these our sentiments and views above set forth, after receiving the official endorsement of the organizations composing this body, be forwarded to President Gompers and published in the labor press.



The Berlin Conference of Syndicalist and Industrial Unions

By H. Van Dorn

ON DECEMBER 16th, 1920, a conference of representatives of Syndicalist and Industrial unions took place in Berlin, Germany, called for the purpose of forming a revolutionary Industrial International. The following organizations were represented:

Organization.....	Country	Members- hip	Delegates
Ind. Workers of the World.....	America	100,000	George Hardy
Freie Arbeiter Union Syndi- calisten	Germany	150,000	Fritz Kater Max Winkler Rudolph Rucker August Sotchy Franz Barwich Theodor Plevier
Union Syndica- listen	Czecho-Slovakia	2,000	Gust Pogonaki
Federacion Ob- rera Regional Argentina.....	Argentina	200,000	Tom Barker
Comité Syndi- calist Revolu- tionnaire (1911 groups)	France	300,000	Victor Godon- néche Jean Cepps
National Arbeits- secretariat	Holland	40,000	B. Lausink E. Bouwman
Sveriges Cen- tralorganisa- tion	Sweden	32,000	F. Severin
Shop Stewards, Workers' Com- mittees	England	200,000	Jack Tanner
Total Membership.....		1,024,000	

The Italian and Spanish delegates had been prevented from appearing at the conference due to their imprisonment. No alternates were sent. Denmark sent a letter of approval, but could not be present owing to financial conditions prevailing within the Syndicalist Union.

Fraternal delegates were present from the French Communist Party, the All-Russian Trades Unions and the Russian Communist Party.

On the morning of Dec. 16th Fellow Worker Winkler of the "Freie Arbeiter Union Syndicalisten" called the conference to order and delivered an appropriate address of welcome. He pointed out that this was the first conference of revolutionary Industrialists since the war began, the last one hav-

ing taken place in London in 1913, when the Syndicalists met from various countries with 35 delegates present.

The delegates then reported on the economic conditions in their respective countries, and dwelt especially upon the persecution of industrialists by the master class. When they heard from Fellow Worker Hardy of the persecutions, jailings and lynchings of the members of the American I. W. W., they were greatly astounded. They could hardly believe that such things took place in this far-famed "land of the free and home of the brave."

The following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, that this Congress of Revolutionary Syndicalists, held in Berlin, herewith demands the release of all political prisoners from capitalist governments, and calls the attention of all revolutionary unions to concentrate upon the capture of the marine transport industry—capital's most vulnerable point—to effect a general action for the release of all class war prisoners. We also greet all comrades behind prison walls, and will do all in our power to effect their speedy release."

A resolution protesting specifically against the persecution of the I. W. W. was also passed. It reads as follows:

"Resolved, that this Preliminary Conference of Revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrial Unionists do hereby most emphatically protest against the continued persecution of members of the I. W. W. by outrageous sentences, brutal treatment and murder, and pledges itself by various methods to effect their release from prison, and to stop the atrocities practiced against them; and further, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the United States President and the Department of Justice."

Another resolution of great importance, moved by Delegate Tom Barker and carried unanimously, reads as follows:

"The members of all the following revolutionary organizations are entitled to membership in the corresponding organizations in other countries without paying any transfer or initiation fee. They shall be accepted upon equal terms and enjoy full privileges therein:

U. S. A., I. W. W.; Australia, One Big Union or I. W. W.; Mexico, I. W. W.; Chile, I. W. W.; Germany, Freie Arbeiter Union Syndicalisten; Czecho-Slovakia, Freie Arbeiter Union Syndicalisten; Holland, National Arbeids Secretariat; Sweden, Arbetarcentralorganisationen; Denmark, Flagopposition Sammenslutning; France, Comité Syndicalist Revolutionnaire; Norway, Norske Syndicalist Federation; Great Britain, Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement; Spain, Confederacion General del Trabajo; Italy, Union

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Sindacala Italia; Argentine, Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina; Uruguay, Federacion Obrera Regional Uruguaya; Canada, One Big Union.

The French delegates stated that their organization was one of committees inside the General Confederation of Labor, and that they were federated together, first, into local centers and then into district and national federations. This will make it possible to strike against capitalism concertedly, as far as France is concerned. This revolutionary organization is also affiliated to the Third International.

After a great deal of discussion about the comparative merits of political and industrial action, during which much valuable information was elicited, the Conference adopted the following program:

RESOLUTION.

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

"(2) That the Revolutionary Industrial International shall fight for the destruction and removal of the economic, political and moral system of the capitalist regime, and stands for the creation of a free Communist Society.

"(3) That the Revolutionary Industrial International declares that only the working class itself is capable of destroying the economic, political and immoral system of slavery under capitalism, and only by the sharpest application of their economic power, which culminates in Revolutionary Direct Action of the working class in attaining their ends.

"(4) That the Revolutionary Industrial International stands on the basis that the construction and regulation of production and distribution is the aim of the economic and industrial organizations of each country.

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

"(6) That the Conference sends out a strong appeal to all revolutionary organizations of Syndicalists and Industrial Unionists of all countries to respond to the call of the Provisional Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions to attend the Congress called by them to be held on May 1st, 1921, for the purpose of forming a permanent International of the Revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World."

As is seen by the above resolution, the Conference went on record to be represented at the forthcoming Moscow Congress of Industrial Unions, where will finally be completed the formation of the Industrial International, incorporating all the revolutionary trade and industrial unions of the world.

COMMUNATING COMMITTEE

It was resolved that an International Committee be set up to communicate with similar organizations, and acquaint them with the results of this Conference. Delegates Rocker (Germany), Tanner

(England), and Lansink (Holland), were appointed. The last named will be the Secretary, with offices at Nassauher, 101, Amsterdam, Holland.

In commenting upon the significance of the Berlin Syndicalist and Industrial Conference, we can do no better than reprint an article by Enrico Leone, the Italian Syndicalist writer and theoretician, which appeared in the *Guerra di Classe*, the official weekly publication of the *Unione Sindacale Italiana*, issue of Jan. 22nd, 1921. The Italian Syndicalist Union has over 800,000 members and is heartily in favor of the action taken at the Berlin Conference. Enrico Leone was up to a month ago professor of political economy in the University of Bologna, and is internationally known as a deep thinker and keen analyst in the fields of economics and sociology.

COMMENTS ON THE BERLIN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE, BY ENRICO LEONE.

The report of the first International Industrial Conference is a historical document whose importance cannot be exaggerated. In contrast to the "party" congresses, in which emerge the personalities of those most expert in the art of making a noise around their own names, the only modest pre-occupation of the participants in the Berlin Conference is the future destiny of the world of labor.

Theoretical Syndicalism—as elaborated in the Neo-Marxist critique—was probably unknown to the men who met in conference. Yet, with remarkable coincidence in detail, they consecrate in practice its theoretical conclusions. They proclaim, in fact, that Marx, as represented by the politicians who have reviewed and corrected him in order to provide for themselves personal successes and fortunate political careers, places in the front rank questions of "political" character, and ignores the "direct power of the working classes," which finds expression in the struggle on the economic field. It is practically the same accusations that Proudhon made against the followers of his great rival. But the Syndicalist revision of Marxism (with the "Divenire Sociale" in Italy, and the "Mouvement Socialiste" in France), has convicted of ignorance or duplicity the "false followers" of Marx, by showing what Syndicalist conclusions may derive from Marxism, considered in its most essential spirit.

Syndicalism hails in Sovietism, as a fundamental structure inspired by the needs of the producers, the principle which must demolish any eventual official governmental mechanism: therefore it does not believe that the present Bolshevik policy, which is directed towards a dictatorship thru the new-born Communist Parties, rallied at the last hour, can be conciliated with the true nature of the social revolution.

Today, as in no other epoch of history, revolutionary Syndicalism is called upon to perform a rescuing labor for the struggling proletariat, inspiring it with the ethical sentiment of individual pride, preventing its possible descent to the status

of a brute mass, which a party of dictators presumes to maneuver according to designs that are elaborated over the workers' heads.

The anti-pedagogic nature of the industrialist forces must accustom the proletariat to conceive the revolution as its own undeliegable struggle, in which there must be no compromise with the capitalist and unproductive classes on the one hand and in which, on the other hand, no arbitrary powers will be accorded to "party leaders," always ready to transform the virtues of the masses into their own personal glory. The revolution must be the direct and heroic effort of the proletariat, which carries its cause in its heart and its vibrant poetry in its profound soul. The aspirants to historical celebrity, eager to earn today the right to the marble monuments of posterity, and wishing to strip the organized workers of their direct liberating power, in order to create a new State in place of the old, entertain an "autocratic" revolutionary conception, which might compromise the liberation of the working classes and defeat their historical mission. Proletarian Syndicalism is deeply conscious of the ridiculousness of a "political" outlook on the social revolution, which is to be the result of the creative effort of a party of leaders and statesmen, who propose to people the future "Socialist" world with patrons and dictators of the proletariat, by them insolently declared unable to free itself.

Syndicalism does not hesitate to denounce these dictatorial knight-errants of the revolution, whose directing corporation they wish to become, as men in whom the ambition for the realization of their views surpasses the faith in the full and creative power of the working class.

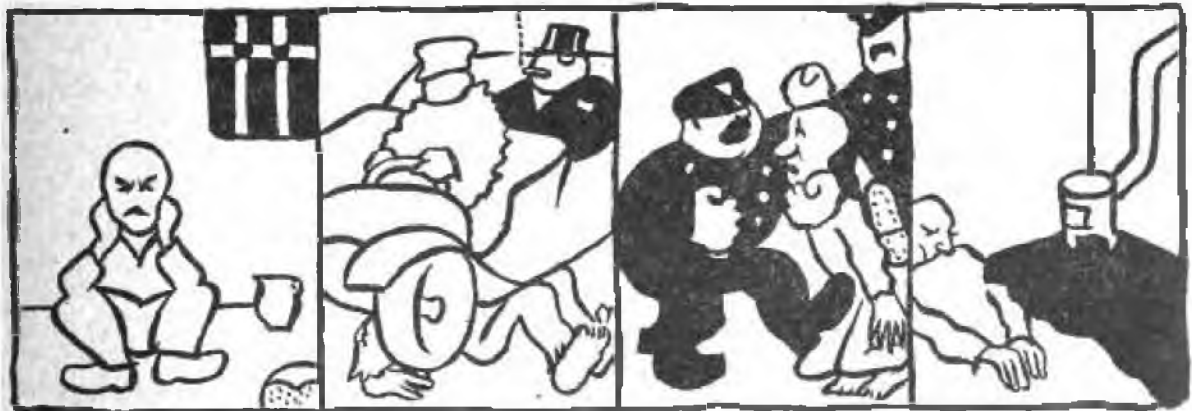
At Moscow the Syndicalists, by advocating the independence of the revolutionary unions from all parties; by consecrating the principle of economic action in antithesis to the "coup d'état;" by insist-

ing on the liberty of the producers as against a misunderstood principle of authority which might make of them subjects after a new pattern, substituting the necessity for revolutionary defense with extramilitaristic means, will apply a very necessary corrective force to the revolutionary movement. Their words will be listened to by the masses of Red workers of Russia, who will develop a deeper affection for their Soviets and Industrial Unions, in order to render possible a social reorganization thru the direct and spontaneous efforts of the producers, and will see the diminishing significance and importance of legal and governmental forms, in which a "party" always vigilantly guards its lordship over the multitudes, and to which a relaxed enthusiasm of the masses for the Revolution might develop a spirit of resistance and a consequent return to the past.

Revolutionary Syndicalism may anticipate remedies to the delusions which the Bolsheviks of the Third International are running into by placing excessive reliance on the Socialist-Communist parties of Europe, assigning to them a revolutionary mission in full contrast with their political traditions, with their parliamentary and reformist nature, with their inevitably democratic objectives.

The Syndicalists can well avoid the possible results of this delusion, by forming and expanding the class International of Red Unions, which by hammering into real accomplishments the arduous programs of vain party eloquence, may succeed (by stimulating to action the more powerful Unions of the Amsterdam International) in realizing the formula voted at the Conference of Berlin:

"The creation of a free Communist society can come only from the Unions of Workers and Peasants, and not from a dictatorial state based on the domination of a political party."



LIBERTY

EQUALITY

FRATERNITY

and

DEATH

The Class War in Spanish-Speaking Countries

By Frank J. Guscelli

SPAIN

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN SPAIN is growing more intense every day and the issue between the workers and the capitalists with their political parties of various shades and their armed forces is getting ever sharper. The development of a more intensive labor organization in the Peninsula during the last few years is a very interesting study. Spain got its full share of war contracts, and gold flowed toward it during the last few bloody years to an extent unheard of even in the days of the precious laden galleons of old. Most of this trade went to Barcelona, as the most important industrial and commercial center of the Peninsula, while Bilbao and Valencia also shared in war prosperity.

We see today the Spanish peseta at its lowest point, declining as fast in exchange value as the currency of vanquished and victorious countries that took part in the war. As a consequence, the Bank of Barcelona finds it necessary to suspend payments, marking the gravest financial crisis in the history of the country, with the Bank of Spain unable to come to its rescue. In the meantime, the bourgeois press harps on the fact that the Catalan capitalists had opposed increased export duties during the height of war orders on the plea that they were to devote their profits to expanding and bringing up to date the various manufacturing industries concerned, in the interests of a transformed and modernized industrial Spain. Even the regionalist, Senator Gambo, leader of the Catalan separatists, now echoes the cry: "What has become of the enormous gains of the war period?" And no answer is forthcoming, except financial ruin and social chaos, longer bread-lines than ever before and misery on all sides among the workers and the middle class.

And while the crisis has developed, the new civil governor of Barcelona, with the effective aid of the gunmen forming the so-called "Sindicato Libre," or "Free Union," has, according to the bourgeois press, wiped out of existence the powerful movement of the "Sindicato Unico." Not only active members of the Syndicalist movement, but even lawyers, as in the case of the liberal deputy Leyrel, who had defended Syndicalist cases in the courts, have been attacked and shot down openly in the streets, thus actually practicing what the bosses' associations and their controlled press have for so long accused the Syndicalists of doing.

To set the matter right, let us note here that the "sindicato unico" is not a definite organization but a form of organization, first proposed and provided for in the 1918 Congress of the Regional Confederation of Labor of Catalonia, which originated in Catalonia and later spread to other parts of Spain and to Portugal, and which today is earnestly

discussed in Uruguay as well as other Spanish-language countries. The term "sindicato unico" is applied to the close grouping of all local and craft units into a "single union" in each industry, or a single mixed union where one industry predominates. So effective did this form of organization become, that it stirred the *Asociación Patronal* of Barcelona, the local merchants' and manufacturers' association, to utmost activity in combating it, brought on a prolonged series of strikes and lock-outs, caused the reorganization of the bosses in a national federation, resulting in a long list of incarcerations and persecutions as well as deportations, effected the pact between the Syndicalist and the Socialist unions in September, and was indirectly responsible for the organization of the assassins and freebooters called the "Sindicato Libre," who have endeavored to institute a reign of terror without hindrance from the authorities.

We have just received a letter from the general secretary of the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*, asking us to give publicity to the infamies of the Spanish bourgeoisie, in which he tells us that the union is not only holding its million members, but is constantly growing in numbers and power all over Spain. He says, among other things: "Our unions have been declared illegal and we are being shot down openly in the streets by bands of outlaws under the protection and in the pay of the authorities and the bosses' associations. Hundreds of our comrades have been detained in military camps and prisons and in dungeons, and thousands are conducted over the highways of the country, on foot, in mid-winter, resulting in the death of several, that we know of. These infamies, more fully dwelt on in our manifesto to the international proletariat, have forced us to ask for the moral support of the proletariat of the whole world, and in order that our fellow workers the world over may take immediate steps toward refusing to handle any and all goods proceeding from, or destined for Spanish ports. You are perhaps aware of the fact that we are defending ourselves in the fight that has taken on the character of open war without quarter. The spirit of our confederates, numbering over a million, and constantly growing, is good; we are more determined than ever in the struggle, which, the practically confined to Catalonia during the past two years or so, has now extended to and is general in Asturias, the Levant or Valencia region, Andalucía, Aragon and Vizcaya, in which regions our ideas are taking concrete form and growing remarkably, especially among the peasantry and agricultural workers."

From "La Vie Ouvriere" we learn that dispatches

to the bourgeois press from Barcelona say that "22 terrorists," among them the "meneur syndicaliste" Angel Pestaña, have been incarcerated in the Montjuich of infamous memory. These "terrorists" of the capitalist press dispatches are apparently but militant Syndicalists of the National Confederation of Labor of Spain, and it is quite likely that the 22, or some of them, have been taken from the concentration camp of Mahon, in the Balearic Isles, to be kept more securely, or to be the easier done to death in the dungeons of Montjuich.

It is to the Mahon prison camp, on the Isle of Minorca of the Balearic group, that a number of the best known militant Syndicalists were taken about December 1st, 1920, when the new civil governor began to get in his work. Among the group was Salvador Seguí, perhaps the ablest tactician of the Spanish Syndicalist movement, formerly secretary of the Regional Confederation of Labor of Catalonia during its period of phenomenal growth, 1918-1919, who has been jailed a number of times before. He is a captivating speaker and a deep student of the labor movement.

The *Union General de Trabajadores*, or General Union of Workers, is entirely dominated by prominent members of the Socialist Party, and has been ever since its organization in 1888. During the last few years it has been losing its foothold in the same degree that the C. N. T. has made rapid gains. It is fast being driven to join forces with the C. N. T. and dump the politicians overboard.

After the pact of September, 1920, with the Socialist U. G. T., it was the splendid outline of fundamental principles urged by Seguí that cleared up the situation, not only as regards the pact with the Socialist unionists, but also as regards the Russian revolution and the Communists. He pointed out the necessity of the U. G. T. separating itself from the party, and asserted his belief that only the workers in their union organizations could realize the ultimate fruits of the class struggle, and that, necessarily, any other element or organization stood in the way. He pointed out that the Socialist Party is but the latest expression of the radical parties of the bourgeoisie, and that true Syndicalists must therefore oppose it, emphasizing the fact that the failure of the present régime of capitalism is essentially the failure of parliamentarism, regardless of shades or colors, Socialist or Communist, that the Communists would have to expend much energy disputing political control, while the syndicates are alone eminently fitted to carry out the revolution and assure its ultimate success. The workers' syndicates must exercise dictatorship, admitting that such is necessary in the period of transformation, as they alone will have a mission to perform, since upon them will rest the responsibilities of production and distribution. While stressing the duty of defending the Russian Revolution at all costs, Seguí, with most of the C. N. T., believes it important to note the fact that they are not obliged in any way to submission to Soviet Russia, which

would mean acceptance of all the methods employed by the Russian Communists. The revolution in Spain, they say, will without doubt be quite a different thing from the one that took place in Russia.

However, the C. N. T. voted at its December, 1919, Madrid congress to affiliate with the Third International. Here is the resolution, adopted un-animously:

"The National Committee, as a résumé of the ideas expressed by the different comrades who spoke on the question in the session of December 17th, with reference to the subject of the Russian Revolution, propose the following:

First: That the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* declares itself the firm defender of the principles which gave form to the First International, sustained by Bakounine;

Second: That it declares its provisional adherence to the Third International, because of the revolutionary character of its present directorate, and until the organization and holding of the International Congress in Spain, which is to lay the basis upon which will be founded the real International of the workers."

Continued persecution prevented the C. N. T. from carrying out its plans and sending out its intended call for an international Syndicalist congress.

The *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo de España*, or National Confederation of Labor of Spain, was organized on September 14th, 1911, at Barcelona, by delegates representing 28,000 organized workers, mostly grouped in local and autonomous unions, the big majority being located in the Catalonia region. It was founded at the height of the reactionary Canalejas régime, with wide-spread protests against threatened international war over Morocco, and with big strikes on every hand. A demonstration after the congress, in protest against the rule of reaction, resulted in wholesale imprisonments and brutality against the new-born Confederation, and it has been in the thick of the fight ever since, so much so that it had neither time nor opportunity to hold a congress until December, 1919, during a momentary lull in the unrelenting fight against it on the part of the Spanish master class.

On the 18th of December, on the eve of the parliamentary elections, a statement was published in certain liberal newspapers of Madrid in which the C. N. T. declared that it would consider the agreement entered into with the U. G. T. in September, 1920, as null and void. It accused the U. G. T. of open treason, because at a moment when decisive and energetic action could have put an end to the governmental oppression from which the militant members of the advance guard of the labor movement had been suffering for two years, the Socialist Party, influencing the U. G. T., preferred to divert the union's attention to political interests, instead of uniting in joint action, which the crisis required. It stated that thereby the Socialist Party prevented the movement of protest from attaining the desired

end. The Socialistic U. G. T. was charged with collaborating with the bourgeois element and with opposing the action of the Syndicalists.

The statement terminated with the following unequivocal and ringing paragraph: "We re-affirm our anti-parliamentary convictions, and we ask all workers not to vote, not to help to forge the chains which will be put around our necks, even if these chains be gilded, as are those which the Republicans, the Radicals, and the Socialists hold out to us.

"We call upon the proletariat of the world to aid us in our struggle against Spanish persecution and political intrigue."

ARGENTINE

That the reign of unparalleled reaction, which began with the tragic second week of January, 1919, during the revolutionary general strike, has spent its full force and is receding, is evidenced by the holding, undisturbed by the authorities, of the first extraordinary congress of the non-conformist wing of the F. O. R. A. (Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina, or Argentines Regional Workers' Federation), the liberation by order of the national executive toward the end of December of nearly two score political prisoners, and the congress and changing of the P. S. I. or Partido Socialista Internacional into the Communist party.

There were 193 delegates present, representing 192 affiliated unions and 86 autonomous or independent unions, in attendance of the congress of the non-conformists of the F. O. R. A., formerly known as the "F. O. R. A. of the Fifth Congress," or "Quintistas", but now calling itself the F. O. R. A. Communista, which it seems, has not borne out the high expectations of many of its partisans and participants. A lack of fixedness of purpose and much uncertainty of methods and tactics, if not indeed of principles, prevented better and more lasting results. As much as the regular F. O. R. A., sometimes called "of the 9th congress" or "of the 10th congress", merits criticism in parts and on occasions, our ardent fellow workers of the new F. O. R. A. Communista must learn that criticism alone or a predisposition to insisting on individual plans of action instead of on a common and constructive program, will get them nowhere.

One concrete accomplishment seemed to be the adoption of a universal card and dues stamp, but later reports seem to modify this by apparent agreement that local unions will still retain their own books and stamps.

The delegate of the independent union of the Marine Transport Workers of South America, (I. W. W.), Fellow Worker José S. Pica, presented a plan of organization covering all industries and closely following the I. W. W. chart, which was very well received indeed, and favorably and widely commented upon in the radical and labor press.

Included in the liberated political prisoners are

E. Garcia Thomas, Hermenegildo Rozales and Atilio Biondi, formerly editors of the anarcho-syndicalist daily, *Bandera Roja*, (The Red Flag), who were sentenced in July, 1919, to six years' imprisonment, after their paper had been suppressed and a notable trial and appeal had taken place. But the Siberia of the Argentine Republic, the penal settlement of Ushuaia, in the Antarctic regions of Tierra del Fuego, still holds its hostages of the class war in the antipodes, among them the undaunted Radowski, whose very interesting story I would like to present here, but must postpone on account of lack of space and time.

The formation of the Communist party now gives Argentine three Socialist or Communist Parties. A majority of the municipal council of the capital city, Buenos Aires, which contains one-fifth of the population of the nation and is of larger proportionate importance commercially and industrially, are Socialists of one shade or another.

Just a few words about the F. O. R. A.: It was first organized in 1901, and adopted a declaration of principles resembling in a general way the preamble of the I. W. W. In its fifth congress, in 1906, there was a partial split between those who devoted their attention almost exclusively to the eight-hour day movement and those who were after the organization of the workers for the overthrow of capitalism, the latter winning out. In the 9th and 10th congresses, the intransigents took a more extremist attitude than ever, while a majority supported the so-called moderates, who have since been in control, and who have surely built up a powerful organization. In an open letter published some time ago, in reply to critics, Secretary Sebastian Marotta claims 80,000 affiliated members for the regular F. O. R. A., apportioned in 584 syndicates. The strongest single union in the federation is the F. O. M., or Federacion Obrera Maritima, (Maritime Workers Federation), made up mostly of coastwise and ferry boats plying the river Plata and tributaries. The efforts of the shipping interests to break up this the strongest union in South America, has forced strike after strike upon it, of incredibly long duration. They have recently come out of a strike lasting about a year, and entered the "ferry-boat strikes," in which the government took a hand against the union.

A splendid example of industrial solidarity occurred during the recent "ferry-boat strike," where twenty ferry-boat workers refused to man the boat after it had been loaded by scabs. The twenty were promptly arrested for obstructing necessary public transportation in violation of a recent federal law, and were loaded on a special train on way to jail, but the train crew and the yardmen at Basavilbaso refused to move the train, and they were arrested in turn. The twenty ferry-boat strikers were then put on a special car and the latter hooked to a thru train, but as soon as the crew were made aware of the incident, they also refused to move their train until the car was disconnected, which

was done after some more trainmen were discharged.

The strike of the Naval Constructors' Union against the Mihanovich shipping interests, altho about a year old, still endures, and this union still is among the solid ones of Buenos Aires.

BRAZIL

In Brazil, as in practically every country in the world, labor organization has gone on apace, in spite of repressive measures, deportations and the general undeveloped condition of the country in its social and industrial life. Here, as elsewhere, intrigues and selfishness divide the workers and retard their progress.

The numerous deportations have been due to the fact that the number of the workers who rebel against the masters are predominantly foreigners, to the extent of perhaps 90%,—about 80% being Portuguese. The native workers have had their patriotism "worked on" and have responded to the treatment. A huge "patriotic campaign" has been launched in favor of cultivating the national spirit as against "foreigners", but its very intensity and ardor is undoubtedly going to have a contrary effect. They are endeavoring to stir up the Brazilians to believe that they are being robbed and that their rights are being invaded by the foreigners, especially the Portuguese. And, unfortunately, large numbers of the workers, who are not as yet class-conscious, are responding to the anti-foreigner and patriotic campaign of misrepresentation.

But tho they may be able to deport all active agitators and stir up patriotic fury to fever heat, they cannot deport ideas nor the causes of discontent. Many of us continue in our endeavors to spread the truth. But the difficulties in our path have increased and the disastrous results may be seen in some formerly promising unions. For instance, the Textile Workers Union, which in 1918 had 18,000 members, now numbers only about 3,000, the others having been raked in, by intimidation and insidious propaganda, by none other than the Catholic Union, which serves as a sort of entertainment center, maintained by subsidies of the industrial masters, assisted by the venerable pastors of the various flocks and congregations which abound in this fertile country. In these unions money seems to be plentiful, in common with dancing, singing, card-playing and praying.

The flourishing Typographical Union of yesterday has suffered from factional differences and a general strike that failed, until now there are only about a dozen members in the local union.

Perhaps the one union that has been able to maintain itself in something like its former strength is that of the Construction workers.

In the southern districts labor conditions are more encouraging.

You perhaps already know of the Third Brazilian Labor Congress, held in May of this year, 1920. As the first congress was held in 1908 and the

second in 1913, these congresses are more than a ten-day wonder. The last congress brought together a larger and more representative gathering by far than any former affair of the kind in Brazil, and promises well for future organization. The I. W. W. preamble was read at the Congress and was well received. Literature had been sent by New England members of the I. W. W. and some of it was reproduced in the labor press. The Congress turned down completely all invitations to join Compara' so-called "Pan-American Federation of Labor".

CHILE

It is remarkable how international capitalism can "get away" with anything, including wholesale murder, when the spirit of the workers is not aroused. We have received various confirmations of the barbarities recorded in a recent number of this publication as occurring under the "white terror" of the Chilean bourgeoisie. News have also reached us of the torture of our Fellow Worker José Domingo Gómez Rojas, I. W. W. member, student and poet of widely recognized attainments. One of the forms of torture he was subjected to was having cold water dropped on him in his cell, drop by drop, for long periods. He was driven insane, and his sensitive constitution being unable to stand the strain, he died. His funeral brought out forty thousand people, of all ages and both sexes, paralyzing the industrial and commercial activities of the capital city of Chile for the day, and tying up local transportation completely. The cortege was formed at the offices and halls of the Students' Federation and passed in front of the palace of "La Moneda," the seat of government, as well as in front of the tribunals of "justice", as a protest against the occupants of these institutions, who had stirred the "patriotic" mob to acts of violence and incendiarism that marked the beginning of the recent reign of terror throught Chile. At the cemetery additional stands had to be provided for the speakers who addressed the multitude in memory of our brave fighter and poet, who was relentlessly persecuted because of his being a member of the I. W. W. Among the speakers was one of the editors of the radical review "Numen" (Inspiration) and ex-president of the Students' Federation, Santiago Labarca, who had been indicted but was not as yet apprehended. Police officers, learning of his presence, endeavored to reach him and arrest him, but the dense crowd would not open up the way for the police, and Labarca was enabled to finish his address and get away. But he was arrested later.

Many of those who filled the jails have been released on bond, and trials have started. Among those to whom provisional liberty on bond was denied is the former secretary and one of the main organizers of the Chilean I. W. W.—Juan O. Chamorro. A new beginning is being made by a group of earnest workers and students, as was to be

expected after all the enthusiasm that went into the making of the I. W. W. here last year. They have issued two numbers of *Accion Directa* (Direct Action), issuing a ringing challenge to the newly inaugurated president in the first issue, advising him that he will be held strictly accountable for close adherence to his promises of free speech, free press and unrestricted right of organization. The history of the development of the Chilean I. W. W. is one of the most interesting chapters in American labor history, and we hope to give an account of it at some early date.

CUBA

The cost of living has soared upward in Cuba as in all other countries, and the financial crisis has hit the workers hard. The "forward-looking" bosses have been fearing a spontaneous uprising, and recently attempts have been made to make it appear that an uprising of the blacks against the whites was imminent. But in reality, the economic disturbances in the Wall Street controlled republic and the policy of labor repression have brought about an intolerable condition of affairs, and the "blacks" are the capitalist wretches of Wall Street, and the local capitalists and speculators in sugar and in the life of the people.

An epidemic of strikes swept Cuba during 1920, and many unions have been forced out of existence by the organized power of the bosses, backed up by the cynical government of the jackal Menocal and the sugar barons. Few workers' publications have escaped suppression. Open assassination is being resorted to in the cane fields in the present harvest to forestall any attempts at organization, as letters received direct from the cane fields and sugar mills inform us. The employees of the Havana Electric Company had their union broken up for them by the good 100% American directors and superintendents of this corporation, and these workers are endeavoring to reorganize.

American managers of such corporations as the Havana Electric in Cuba, the Armour and Swift concerns in Uruguay, Argentine and Chile, and other similar corporations, are accumulating for all except working-class Americans of the U. S. the well-merited contempt, if not hatred, of thousands

upon thousands of mercilessly exploited and hard-driven workers of the countries mentioned, to whom the very word "American" or "Yankee" is a by-word of hate. It is for this special reason, as well as on general principles, that it is highly important and desirable that we lose no opportunity to show our fraternity and solidarity with our fellow wage-slaves of Cuba, Mexico and Central and South America.

MEXICO

The much-heralded congress of the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor was duly held in the City of Mexico as per schedule, but the representation was such as to require a change of name, if not indeed the dissolution of the pet creation of old man Gompers. Sammy was quoted as stating to a Mexico City newspaperman in an interview upon his arrival there, that the I. W. W. did not exist, but this glib generality did not satisfy nor convince the Mexicans. It is now seriously up to Sammy to prove that the high-sounding "Pan-American Federation of Labor" really exists.

The remarkable thing about the affair is, not who was there and what was done, but rather the many Pan-American countries (practically all of them) that were neither represented nor intended to be represented. Organized labor in Brazil definitely refused to have anything to do with Sammy's pet creation; Argentine, ditto; Uruguay, the same; Cuba was only represented in two or three unions, who authorized Santiago Iglesias of Porto Rico to "handle" their representation; Chile, absent; Ecuador, absent; Peru, absent; Bolivia, absent; Paraguay, absent; Venezuela, absent; Costa Rica, absent; Nicaragua, absent; Panama, absent; Honduras, absent.

The Mexican I. W. W. has met with much success in its renewed activity in Tampico, lining up many new members and putting the Oil Workers' Local Union on its feet again, as well as rendering valiant support to the Mexican administration and aiding materially in the regular publication of "El Obrero Industrial", their official organ, which appears regularly each month with good industrial union and fundamental organization propaganda matter. **More power to it!**



The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions

By A. Lozovsky

(Continued from the February Number.)

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the struggle of the Russian trade unions on the social revolutionary front the labor organizations in Western Europe and America became revolutionized. The labor masses streaming into the unions brought about a change in the old decrepit organizations. The trade union bureaucracy who reigned unchallenged in the unions during the war, began to feel that their position was becoming unstable. In England a movement for direct action is growing up in the old unions. The Miners' Union, Transport Workers' Union and the Railwaymen's Union formed a triple alliance and put forward demands which the bourgeoisie cannot concede. A series of gigantic strikes has shaken England, and if the government has come out of it unharmed, it is only due to the fact that the leaders strove to substitute fighting by agreements, and at all costs to find compromises. Within the old trade unions in England there is growing up a Shop Steward movement which, however, is rather a number of groups of revolutionaries of like opinion than the factory committees in the Russian sense of the term. The British Shop Steward organizations exist simultaneously within and outside of the trade unions. They stand for the revolutionary class struggle, the violent overthrow of the capitalist system, put forward the Soviet System as a substitute for the parliamentary system, and put forward the demand for labor control. Altho the British Shop Steward Movement is not yet sufficiently formed and its ideas not yet clearly defined, it is nevertheless a revolutionary class protest against the trade union bureaucracy and its hope of a peaceful solution of the age-long conflict between capital and labor. If the as yet weak Shop Steward committees were confronted by a completely unanimous trade union movement then the revolutionization of the British labor movement would be a matter of the distant future. But the fact is that the trade unions themselves—not the leaders but the broad masses—are pressing to the left with the progress of events. The Shop Steward committees in their struggle rely on the sympathy of the masses; and as MacDonald said in one of his speeches, the left wing in the British Movement is very weak in normal times, but acquires considerable weight and importance immediately a serious social conflict arises. In order to render a complete picture of the British trade union movement it is necessary to point out that the Irish Trade Union Congress resolved to affiliate with the Third International and that a number of Irish trade un-

ions are leaving the British organizations owing to their compromising tactics. The seven million workers organized in trade unions in England represent the following picture:—at the top there is the bureaucracy, nine-tenths of whom are hopeless compromisers; at the bottom there are the discontented worst paid sections of the workers, comprising the militant sections of the Shop Stewards movement, and in the center there are the average workers tied by training and a mountain of prejudice to their fatherland, but gradually, under the influence of the severe lessons of life, emancipating themselves from the delusion of a peaceful, gradual and constitutional solution of the social conflict. At all events there are sufficient elements of the new trade union movement in England for the new international center to rely on at least a section of the organized British workers. This was proved by the conference called in London on March 11-12 on the initiative of the Workers' Committees. Nearly 200 delegates were present at this conference, including representatives of eleven local branches of the Railwaymen's Union, three branches of the General Laborers' Union, six branches of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, four South Wales Miners' branches, two branches of the Yorkshire Miners, two branches of the Electrical Trades Union, branches of the Building Workers' Industrial Union, and a number of branches of other unions and political parties. All the resolutions of this unofficial conference were saturated with the revolutionary class spirit. The resolution on the nationalization of the mines says, "the continued existence of the capitalist system of production is leading to the ruination of mines. The conference calls upon the workers to set up an industrial apparatus thru which they can take the control of the means of production and distribution into their own hands." The conference expressed itself in favor of direct action and a general strike, as a means of securing satisfaction of the miners' demands. It also carried a resolution of greeting to Soviet Russia, and congratulated the Red Army on the brilliant victories it has achieved in its struggle against the united forces of the capitalist governments, and expressed its solidarity with the Russian Workers' Soviet Republic. In a special resolution the conference expressed regret at the inactivity hitherto displayed by the British workers in connection with the attack of world capitalism on Soviet Russia. Besides this, the conference demanded the independence of Ireland, sent greetings to the workers of Egypt and India, and demanded the withdrawal of British

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

troops from, and the granting of independence to, these countries. It declared against raising the productivity of labor under the capitalist system, and in a special resolution declared that the existing Parliament and organs of local government suited the requirements of the capitalistic system and served as a means for the legal enslavement of the workers. Soviets, or Workers' Committees, are recognized by the workers of all countries to be the best weapon for the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the best organ of administration in a Communist Republic. Besides other resolutions the conference resolved to welcome the Third Communist

the editor of the Syndicalist organ "La Vie Ouvrière," resigned from the C. G. T. and published a warm protest against the war policy of the former revolutionary Syndicalists. A "Trade Union Defense Committee" was formed in Paris around which grouped all the international elements in the trade union movement. This committee is part of the "Committee for the Re-establishment of International Connections" which is composed of two sections—trade union and Socialist. At the end of the war the left wing was considerably strengthened, and at the congress at Lyons, September, 1919, the minority received one third of the votes. From



The Headquarters of the All-Russian Trade Unions and of the International Council of Trade and International Unions, Moscow, Russia. John Reed's funeral procession in the foreground.

International formed in Moscow, and to call upon all organizations represented at the conference to accept the Communist platform and affiliate to the Third International. The conference urges upon all those participating in the conference to see to it that their organizations leave the Second International and the Labor Party and affiliate to the Third International. These resolutions indicate that within the British labor movement there are small but nevertheless revolutionary groups of workers who have completely broken with the Second International.

The situation in France is somewhat different. The patriotic attitude taken up by the Confédération Générale du Travail during the war called forth protests from a number of syndicates already at the end of 1914. In December, 1914, Pierre Monatte,

September, 1919, the influence of the left wing slowly but surely grew, and a large number of unions, including the Paris Metal Workers, Railwaymen, various local miners' unions, builders, leather workers, textile workers, and a number of department organizations, expressed themselves in favor of affiliation to the Third International. When the decision of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions to set up a new center for the revolutionary class unions became known in France, it met with great sympathy from the left wing unions, and the daily organ of the revolutionary minority, "La Vie Ouvrière," at the head of which were Monatte and Rosmer, spoke categorically against the Amsterdam International and for the new Trade Union International.

In Italy the situation is different, first, because

for a long time two organizations have existed, one, revolutionary Syndicalist—The Italian Syndicalist Union—and the other, the reformist General Confederation of Labor. But the stand of the Italian proletariat, its revolutionary anti-war position, compelled the moderate leaders of the C. G. T. to conduct an international policy in agreement with the Socialist Party. At the end of 1919 the revolutionary Syndicalist unions expressed themselves in favor of affiliation to the Third International, while the C. G. T. not only avoided giving a definite reply to the questions raised by the revolutionary apoch, but participated in the Berne and Amsterdam Conferences and even in the Washington Conference. This opportunist policy of the C. G. T. roused considerable dissatisfaction among the masses, and various unions began to ask their Centers why they did not affiliate to the Third International. The Executive Organ of the Confederation, in March, 1920, made vague replies to these questions, from which one could gather that it did not wish to say anything definite for or against the Third International. Meanwhile various unions passed resolutions wholly conforming to the platform of the Third International. Thus, for instance, the general conference of the Italian Metal Workers' Union, which took place in the beginning of 1920, definitely expressed itself in favor of affiliation to the Third International. This was the general temper that reigned in the majority of the Italian unions in the middle of 1920.

In Spain also two organizations existed, one patriotic, headed by Vicente Barrio, and the other, which arose during the war—revolutionary Syndicalist. The new organization had its base in Barcelona, with its industrial proletariat and old Anarcho-Syndicalist trade unions. For the last two years the National Confederation of Labor of Spain, as a result of its revolutionary tactics, has dominated almost the whole of the trade union movement of Spain. Out of the million organized workers in Spain, 800,000 belong to the revolutionary Syndicalist Confederation of Labor, while only 200,000 belong to the opportunist labor unions headed by Vicente Barrio. The program of the General National Confederation of Labor of Spain includes the violent overthrow of capitalism, and revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeoisie and the compromisers who co-operate with it. At its last congress, the General National Confederation of Labor of Spain resolved to affiliate to the Third International. In view of the fact that the congress was held semi-illegally and the government had forbidden a discussion of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the threat of dispersal, the congress did not pass any resolution on this question. One thing is clear, however, and that is that three quarters of the organized workers of Spain stand for the revolutionary class point of view and are prepared, not in words but by action, to fight the capitalist class.

In Germany the trade unions have all the time

been unanimous, that is, if the weak Hirsch-Dunker and Liberal unions are not considered. The Free Social-Democratic unions entered the war with a membership of two and a half millions, of which only a third remained after the end of 1915. But at the end of the war we see in Germany, as in all countries, a tremendous growth in the revolutionary movement. In the middle of 1920 the membership of the German trade unions stood at nearly eight millions.

The German trade unions were the most powerful apparatus and the main buttress of the military policy of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, and in spite of the defeat of Germany the influence of the trade union bureaucracy remained even after the war. The excellently organized and controlled trade unions of Germany are to a very high degree adapted to crushing the revolutionary spirit of the workers. Here the struggle is much more difficult than in other countries. The trade unions are the buttress of the Scheidemann regime; during the Kapp affair, and the government crises connected with it, the deciding factor in constructing the ministry was the trade union leader Legien. As a result of the reactionary policy of the German unions there arose an opinion in favor of the revolutionary elements leaving the trade unions, which in spite of their revolutionary exterior are deeply reactionary and play into the hands of the governing bureaucracy. Besides the labor unions having a membership of 60 to 70 thousand there are in Germany revolutionary-syndicalist organizations with a general membership of nearly 200,000, and it is possible to find in these organizations strong support for an international center of revolutionary class unionism. Inside the Legien unions there is at the present moment a solid minority which is fighting against the old policy. The Metal Workers' Union with a membership of 1,800,000, the Textile Workers' Union with a membership of 450,000, the Leather Workers' with 200,000 members, and the Berlin Council of Trade Unions are already in the hands of the Independents, which means that they will soon pass into the hands of the Communists, for the inconsistent and half-hearted policy of the Independents compels the workers, not only formally but actually, to break with the old compromising and half-hearted policy.

It is sufficient also to recall the severe struggle which the rank and file members of the trade unions in the Ruhr Basin conducted against the Scheidemann and Noske regime to be able to say that ground for a revolutionary class struggle in Germany is sufficiently prepared; it is only necessary to be able to take advantage of the revolutionary energy of the mass, and this can be done least of all by forming separate unions isolated from the masses.

(Editor's Note:—Owing to unforeseen circumstances we are not able to publish the whole of the second half of the above article in this issue. The remainder will appear in the April number.)

Book Review

TRADE UNIONS IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

Pub. by The Labour Research Department,
London, 50c.

An exceptionally good book, to be studied carefully by radicals who are working within the trade unions of the United States. This book offers a collection of first hand documents tracing the growth and development of the trade unions in Russia and the responsibility thrust upon them by the Revolution.

The collection was compiled by the Independent Labour Party Information Committee and the International Section of the Labour Research Department from authentic documents furnished by the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions.

"Trade Unions in Soviet Russia" has had a wide circulation among British workers. Evidence of this may be seen in the strong position taken by them thru the Councils of Action in preventing the mobilization of British troops against Soviet Russia during the last Polish retreat.—R.M.

CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

By W. Jett Lauck and E. Sydenstricker. Funk and Wagnalls Co., New York City. \$1.75.

A careful study of Conditions of Labor in American Industries is a very essential requirement of those who are interested in the labor game. The Government has had thousands of investigations in every field of human activity; many of these investigations have been good and useful, others have been useless and wasteful. None of them have been from the proletarian point of view, leading up to workers' control of industry. Statistics relating to the conditions of capital are abundant. There are many agencies whose sole purpose is to investigate industrial conditions and make daily reports to the members of the master class, thus enabling them to perpetuate their control over the worker. They know the rates of interest, of profits, of rent, and of any other kind of expense, including wages and taxation. They know the percentage of risk certain investments are subject to, but they create reserves to "protect" them, and build large navies at the people's expense to "protect" their foreign investments.

When it comes to investigating the conditions of labor in American industries, one has to search high and low to find accurate data, which will be of value to the labor advocate. The authors of this book do not draw any conclusions, they only state facts and let the student do his own thinking. But when this little book is touched with the magic rod of Karl Marx it becomes pregnant with dynamic power, which cannot but help change the conditions of labor in American industries to an extent that only the future will tell.—R. M.

DEBS AND THE POETS.

Edited by Ruth Le Prade. Pub. by Upton Sinclair,
Pasadena, Cal. 50c.

Debs has broken thro the clouds of American slavery into the glorious light of Liberty among the immortals!

His name rings sweet in the ears of hundreds of thousands of workers in America and the world over. Tho his body is held prisoner in Atlanta, his courageous spirit proclaims to the whole world his determination to stand by his decision against the imperialist wars of the master class.

"Debs and the Poets" speak together of the Freedom that is to be. Debs pays the price, the Poets the compliment. They have written of him who is in Atlanta a beautiful collection of poems that Ruth Le Prade has compiled for the reader. Many books have been printed about Debs, and 950,000 votes were cast for him, and the Poets have sung his praises. That is an everlasting challenge to autocratic Wilsonian Dictatorship. Never in the history of America has so base a travesty been perpetrated upon any man as upon 'Gene Debs.—R. M.

ONE BIG UNION OF ALL THE WORKERS.—

THE I. W. W.

Pub. by the Industrial Workers of the World
Chicago, Ill. 10c.

The organization of the minds of the workers must precede the form of economic organizations they are to adopt in the industrial field. The bosses have their Chambers of Commerce, centralized in the United States Chamber of Commerce at Washington, D. C. Scott Nearing's pamphlet entitled the "One Big Union of Big Business" proves that conclusively. The workers must do likewise, they must have their industrial unions centralized in the One Big Union of All the Workers. This pamphlet endeavours to show how we ought to organize ourselves in industrial unions, and indicates the function of each industry in the whole economic system of to-day. The chart at the back of the pamphlet gives an objective view of the whole system of organizations, and the place of each worker in each union. The preamble of the I. W. W. clearly shows the need of a class-conscious labor organization, that carries on the work of unionizing the men at the point of production, to carry on the work when the crash comes, for it is the historic mission of the working class to fight its way thru all obstacles to the attainment of the Industrial Commonwealth.—R. M.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND REVOLUTION.

By Philip Kurinsky. Pub. by The Modern Press,
New York City. 10c.

The little pamphlet of Kurinsky's discusses the

necessity of the industrial form of organization in order to place the workers in a commanding position when the revolution comes. It is not easy, however, for all revolutionary leaders to agree in every respect on the way how best to prepare the workers for the final conflict. That a final conflict must inevitably come is not doubted by the class-conscious worker, but millions of them are not yet class-conscious, and to wait for the majority of them to become so, may take ages. What, then, shall we do? We are united on principles, but divided on tactics. Different men under different conditions give birth to different ideas; therefore let us study the conditions under which we work and adapt ourselves to the actual needs as revealed by a careful analysis of the situation. That is what military experts do on the battle field in consultation with their general staff; they study every possible angle for attack, as it arises in the development of the struggle; they hunt for strategical advantages over the enemy and aim at his defeat. This means the dictatorship of the victorious army over the vanquished one: the United Armies of the Allies over the Central Powers; the United Armies of the proletariat over the Capitalist Powers. When that is going to happen no one can say. However, Kurnisky discusses the different issues very ably. It is a pamphlet worth reading.—R. M.

PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTION.

By C. Della Burns. Allen and Unwin, London. \$1.50.

C. Della Burns studies past revolutions and analyses them, in order to discover in them certain laws of action that we might formulate and be pleased to call "Principles". Each one of the different revolutionary leaders, whether he be Rousseau, Marx, Mazzini, Morris, Tolstoi or any other, had a different schooling, different experiences, and different conditions to tackle, therefore all of them had different points of view, giving birth to different ideas. He believes that revolutions are born out of evolutionary thoughts and emotions created by the biological urge of human personalities eager for expression. That when this expression is blocked by the powers that be, then the revolution breaks, and the amount of violence and bloodshed depends upon the amount of resistance made by the ruling classes in control of the military. It is the worker's duty to be wide-awake and not to permit himself to be used as a tool or caught in a trap. "Principles of Revolution" will help to clear the mind of childish notions.—R. M.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

By Charles Beard. Allen and Unwin, London, \$1.00.

Today we are in the midst of an Industrial Revolution, tomorrow we shall be in the midst of an Industrial Commonwealth!

That is what Beard reads in "his story" of the Industrial Revolution. He begins with the days of agricultural serfdom on the landlord's farm and

ends with industrial serfdom in the bosses shop! History repeats itself by mankind periodically occupying a place a little higher in the scale of evolution; were it not so, we would lose heart in the struggle for human freedom. There is something in the spirit of man that will not die, that will not give up the fight for that better system which will give to every man the full social value of his labor.—R. M.

ILLEGAL PRACTICES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Pub. by The Worker's Defence Union of New York. 25c. Each, 5 for \$1.00.

The Workers' Defense Union of New York has issued a special edition of the pamphlet "Illegal Practices of the Department of Justice." It is signed by twelve prominent lawyers,

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| R. G. BROWN, | ALFRED S. NILES, |
| Memphis, Tenn. | Baltimore, Md. |
| ZECHARIAH CHAFFEE, JR., | ROSCOE POUND, |
| Cambridge, Mass. | Cambridge, Mass. |
| FELIX FRANKFURTER, | JACKSON H. RALSTON, |
| Cambridge, Mass. | Washington, D. C. |
| ERNST FREUND, | DAVID WALLERSTEIN, |
| Chicago, Ill. | Philadelphia, Pa. |
| SWINEBURNE HALE, | FRANK P. WASH, |
| New York City. | New York City. |
| FRANCIS FISHER KANE, | TYRRELL WILLIAMS, |
| Philadelphia, Pa. | St. Louis, Mo. |

It makes charges of a highly sensational character, which are now being investigated by the U. S. Senate. It sets forth that

"Under the guise of a campaign for the suppression of radical activities, the office of the Attorney General, acting by its local agents throught the country, and giving express instructions from Washington, has committed continual illegal acts. Wholesale arrests both of aliens and citizens have been made without warrant or any process of law; men and women have been jailed and held incommunicado without access of friends or counsel; homes have been entered without search-warrant and property seized and removed; their property has been wantonly destroyed; workingmen and workingwomen suspected of radical views have been shamefully abused and maltreated. Agents of the Department of Justice have been introduced into radical organizations for the purpose of informing upon their members or inciting them to activities; these agents have even been instructed from Washington to arrange meetings upon certain dates for the express object of facilitating wholesale raids and arrests. In support of these illegal acts, and to create sentiment in its favor, the Department of Justice has also constituted itself a propoganda bureau, and has sent to newspapers and magazines of this country quantities of material designed to excite public opinion against radicals, all at the expense of the government and outside the scope of the Attorney General's duties."

It contains affidavits, pictures and graphic descriptions to substantiate the charges. It will be a valuable handbook for future reference and ought to be on the bookshelf of every radical, and of every true American, whose blood is red enough to defend the constitutional liberties won by the American Revolution of 1776.

I. W. W. Literature List

	Single Copies	Lots of 100 Special Prices
The Central Conspiracy—Chaplin.....	\$0.50	
(10 copies to 100 copies, 30 cents)		
The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice—Ebert.....	.50	
(10 copies to 100 copies, 30 cents)		
The Everett Measures—Smith.....	.25	\$20.00
The Agricultural Workers' Handbook.....	.25	15.00
The I. W. W. Song Book.....	.10	8.00
Proletarian and Petit Bourgeois—Lewis.....	.10	5.00
Evolution of Industrial Democracy—Woodruff.....	.10	5.00
The Advancing Proletariat—Woodruff.....	.10	3.50
The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Methods—St. John.....	.18	5.00
Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers—Chamley.....	.10	5.00
The Revolutionary I. W. W.—Ferry.....	.10	5.00
Outward Sweep of the Machine Process—Hanson.....	.10	3.00
I. W. W.—One Big Union—Greatest Thing On Earth.....	.10	3.00
A Fair Trial—Walsh.....	.05	3.50

LEAFLETS

	Per 100	Per 1000
The I. W. W., A Statement of Its Principles, Objects and Methods.....	\$1.50	\$12.00
(This states the principles and purposes of the Organization so plainly that it is impossible to read it and not understand. This is a large leaflet.)		
The Unemployed: What Shall They Do?.....	1.50	12.00
Address to American Workers—Hardy.....	.50	5.00
(Eight pages. A convincing argument for industrial Unionism.)		
The I. W. W. and The Iron Heel.....	.50	5.00
The I. W. W. and Political Action.....	.50	5.00
(A clear exposition of the fallacy of parliamentary action as a means of working class emancipation.)		
The Idea.....	.50	5.00
The I. W. W. Chart.....	\$2.50	5c. each
(This is a graphic representation of the organization, and is invaluable to real students of the organization.)		
Justice to the Negro.....	.25	1.50
(A clear picture of the social and industrial status of the Negro. Four pages, with a cartoon on the front page.)		
An Address to Colored Working Men and Women.....	.25	1.50
(A clear and forceful statement of working conditions of the colored workers, as well as a plain and convincing statement of the attitude of the I. W. W. toward all workers.)		
Colored Workmen and Women, Why You Should Join The I. W. W.....	.25	1.50

SONGS TO MUSIC

PRICE: 10 cents a copy; six for 70c.; ten for \$1.00 prepaid. \$7.50 per hundred, express collect.
 Workers of the World, Awake!—Joe Hill
 The Rebel Gid!—Joe Hill
 Don't Take My Papa Away From Me—Joe Hill
 We Have Fed You All for a Thousand Years—Music by Van Lisbick
 A Song of Separation—Chaplin, with Music by Van Lisbick

FOREIGN LANGUAGE PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS

	Single Copies	Lots of 100
SWEDISH		
The I. W. W., History, Structure and Methods.....	\$0.15	\$10.00
Song Book.....	.10	5.00
CROATIAN		
I. W. W., History, Structure and Methods.....	\$0.10	\$5.00
The Idea (4-page leaflet).....	\$2.00	5c. per 1000
GREEK		
The Revolutionary I. W. W.....	\$0.10	\$5.00
Greek Workers, Wake Up (leaflet).....	\$2.00	5c. per 1000
The Idea (leaflet).....	\$2.00	5c. per 1000
RUSSIAN (25 Per Cent Discount on Bundle Orders)		
Evolution of Industrial Democracy—Woodruff.....	\$0.15	
Revolutionary I. W. W.—Ferry.....	.10	
I. W. W., History, Structure and Methods—St. John.....	.10	
White Terror—V. Loustoff.....	.25	
How the Machine Has Replaced Manual Labor—H. Gansen.....	.10	
I. W. W.—One Big Union—Greatest Thing on Earth.....	.15	
Those Who Own and Those Who Produce—Scott Nearing.....	.05	
The First of May (Chicago Drama).....	.10	
International Book of Revolutionary Songs and Verses.....	.25	

I. W. W. Literature List

(CONTINUED)

	Single Copies	Lots of 100
HUNGARIAN		
The Advancing Proletariat—Woodruff.....	.10	5.00
Evolution of Industrial Democracy—Woodruff.....	.10	4.00
One Big Union—Greatest Thing on Earth.....	.15	12.00
One Big Union Chart.....	.05	3.00
The I. W. W. (leaflet).....	\$10.00	per 1000

POLISH
(25 Per Cent Discount on Bundle Orders)

The I. W. W., A Statement of Its Principles, Objects and Methods.....	\$1.50	\$12.00
The Unemployed; What Shall They Do?.....	1.00	12.00

JEWISH

I. W. W., Greatest Thing on Earth.....	\$0.10	\$6.00
--	--------	--------

SPANISH

Industrial Unionism—St. John.....	\$0.05	\$1.50
I. W. W. Statement of Principles and Objects.....	\$1.50 per 100; \$12.00 per 1000	

ITALIAN

To Be Ordered Through the Italian I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, 23 Carroll St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
(25 Per Cent Discount on Bundle Orders)

Capitalist Justice (the Chicago Trial).....	\$0.25	
Vandervae's Opening Statement.....	0.15	
I. W. W., History, Structure and Methods.....	0.15	
American Prisons.....	0.05	
Industrial Technique and the Proletarian Revolution.....	0.10	
The Idea (leaflet).....	\$3.50	per 1000
To the Marine Transport Workers (leaflet).....	\$3.50	per 1000
To the Coal Miners (leaflet).....	\$3.50	per 1000
The Italian "Red Flag" (Song with Music).....	0.10	
The Rebel Song Book (with Music).....	0.25	

BULGARIAN

Industrial Unionism—St. John.....	\$0.10	\$7.00
The Evolution of Industrial Democracy—Woodruff.....	\$0.15	\$10.00
Revolutionary Unionism—St. John, Crawford.....	\$0.10	\$7.00

BOOKS OF OTHER PUBLISHERS

	Price
Clothbound:	
Capital, Vol. I, Karl Marx.....	\$2.50
Capital, Vol. II, Karl Marx.....	2.50
Capital, Vol. III, Karl Marx.....	2.50
Great American Fortunes, I, Myers.....	2.00
Great American Fortunes, II, Myers.....	2.00
Great American Fortunes, III, Myers.....	2.00
Paper Covers:	
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels.....	.10
Revolution and Revolution, Fisher.....	.10
Industrial Autocracy, Mary Marcy.....	.10
Right to be Lazy, Labrousse.....	.10
The Right to Strike, Mary Marcy.....	.10
Short Talks on Economics, Marcy.....	.10
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.....	.15
Value, Price and Profit, Marx.....	.15
Wage Labor and Capital, Marx.....	.10

These books deal with working-class economics and the Industrial History of the United States and are of great educational value to all students of Social Science. Every I. W. W. Hall should have these books and pamphlets in the Library. Let us learn how the present owners of industry stole the resources of the country and the reasons for continued exploitation of the working class.

SEND ALL ORDERS AND REMITTANCES TO

General Secretary Treasurer

1001 West Madison Street

Chicago, Ill.

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

Please find enclosed.....dollars in payment foryears subscription to "The Industrial Pioneer," starting with theissue.

Name

Box or Street No.

City

State

BUNDLE ORDER BLANK

Please find enclosed.....dollars for which send me.....copies of the.....issue of "The Industrial Pioneer." This is a single permanent order.

Name

Box or Street No.

City

State

CROATIAN I. W. W. PAPER

Our Croatian fellow workers have started a newspaper, issued twice a month, on the 1st and 15th. All Croatian and Jugo-Slav fellow workers are requested to send in orders for bundles, and spread the paper among their nationality workers, in order to acquaint them with the teachings of the I. W. W.

Price, single copies, 5 cents; by bundle order, 3 cents. Subscription price, \$3.00 per year.

Address, GLAS RADNIKA, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Large incomes are property incomes. The rich are rich because they are property owners. Furthermore, the organization of present-day business makes the owner of property more secure—far more secure in his income, than is the worker who produces the wealth out of which the property income is paid.—Geoff Nearing.

The CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY



BY RALPH CHAPLIN
PRICE 50 CENTS

WHAT HAPPENED IN CENTRALIA?

The newspapers said that unoffending paraders were killed without provocation or excuse by ambushed I. W. W.'s.

DO YOU BELIEVE IT?

Papers telling the truth about the tragedy were shut down or denied the use of the mails. Only the Lumber Trust version was permitted to reach the public.

DO YOU WANT TO HEAR THE OTHER SIDE?

Every effort was made to spread broadcast the lie and suppress the truth.

ARE YOU WILLING TO HEAR THE TRUTH—EVEN IF IT HURTS?

The Centralia Conspiracy, by Ralph Chaplin. 80 pages; 44 half-tones of actual scenes. Price 50 cents. Get a copy at any progressive bookstore, or order by mail from the following places: The Liberator, 185 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.; Geo. Williams, Box 1878, Seattle, Wash.; George Hardy, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

HAVE YOU READ "A FAIR LABOR TRIAL?"

A record of the prejudice and passion that dominated the legal profession and the press in the famous

CENTRALIA LABOR CASE

Tried at Montezano, Washington, January 28th-March 16th, 1920

By FRANK WALKIN

Of the Seattle Union Record

PRICE 10 CENTS

Send mail orders to

GEORGE HARDY

1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

Issued by the General Executive Board of I. W. W. Unions:

ENGLISH

THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$2.50 per year; 25 cents per copy; handle orders, 15 cents per copy, express charges collect.

SOLIDARITY

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Box 1857, Seattle, Wash. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST

Box 79, Sta. D, New York, N. Y. \$1.25 per year; six months, \$1.00. Twice a month.

RUSSIAN

GOLOS TRUZENIKA

(The Voice of the Laborer)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Once a week; \$5.00 per year; 6 months, \$2.75; 3 months, \$1.50; 5 cents per copy. Bundle orders 3 cents per copy.

HUNGARIAN

A FELSZABADULAS

(Emancipation)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$3.00 per year; six months, \$1.50. Weekly.

ITALIAN

IL PROLETARIO

(The Proletarian)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

SPANISH

SOLIDARIDAD

Monthly. 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$1.00 per year; 5 cents per copy.

BULGARIAN

RABOTNICHESKA MYSL

(Workers' Thought)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

ROUMANIAN

MUNCITORUL

(The Worker)

Twice a month. \$2.00 per year (26 issues). 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

LITHUANIAN

PROLETARAS

(The Proletaire Monthly)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

GERMAN

DER KLASSENKAMPF

(Class Struggle)

By-weekly. \$2.50 per year. Box 79, Sta. D, New York City.

CZECHO-SLOVAK

JEDNA VELKA UNIE

(One Big Union)

Monthly. \$1.00 per year. Single copies 10 cents. Bundle orders 7 cents per copy.

FINNISH

TIE VAPAUTEEN

(Road to Freedom)

Finnish Monthly, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Single copies, 25 cents. One year, \$3.00. Bundle orders over 10 copies, 20 per cent allowed.

Industrial Union Papers
Owned by Members of the I. W. W.

FINNISH

INDUSTRIALISTI

(The Industrialist)

Box 464, Duluth, Minn. Daily.

AHJO

(The Forge)

Finnish Monthly. Issued by the Work People's College, Box 464, Duluth, Minn. \$1.00 per year, 25 cents per copy.

SUBSCRIBE!

The I. W. W. IN THEORY & PRACTICE



This is the object
of the I.W.W.—to give
Labor a form of organ-
ization that will make
it invincible

JUSTUS EBERT

This is the front cover of the latest book issued by the I. W. W. We have repeatedly mentioned this work in the past and have printed parts of it in this magazine. The book contains 128 pages.

It is the best piece of literature issued by the I. W. W. so far, descriptive of the organization.

Every member must read it, and it must be spread by the hundreds of thousands among the workers. Order a lot immediately to sell, or send for a copy for yourself. Price 30 cents per copy. In lots of 10 or more, 30 cents per copy. Special price for thousand lots.

Address order and remittance to

GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

1001 West Madison Street,

Chicago, Ill.