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Vol. II, No. 8, AUGUST, 1920 Whole Number 18

The One Big Union Monthly

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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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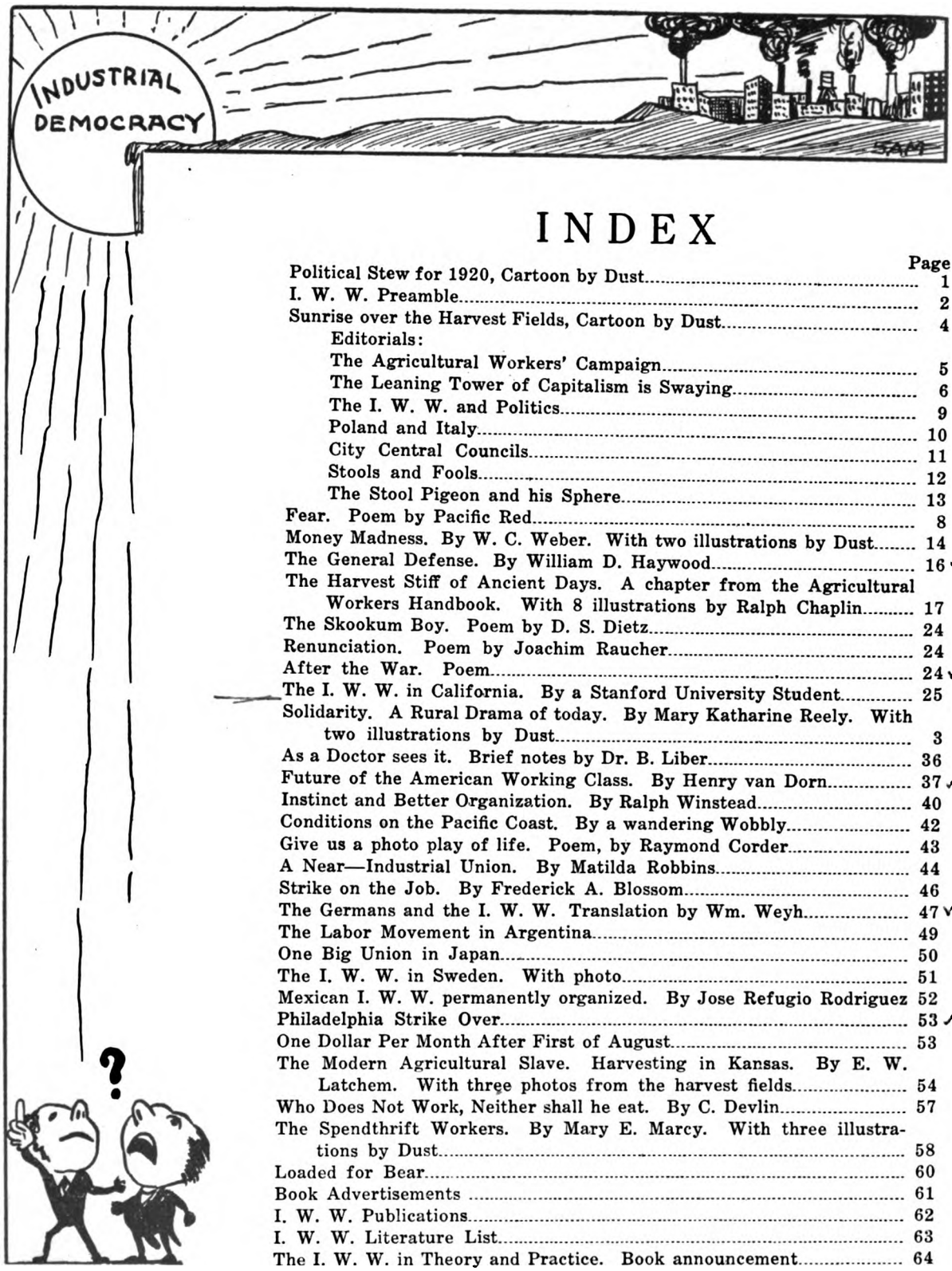

INDEX

	Page
Political Stew for 1920, Cartoon by Dust	1
I. W. W. Preamble	2
Sunrise over the Harvest Fields, Cartoon by Dust	4
Editorials:	
The Agricultural Workers' Campaign	5
The Leaning Tower of Capitalism is Swaying	6
The I. W. W. and Politics	9
Poland and Italy	10
City Central Councils	11
Stools and Fools	12
The Stool Pigeon and his Sphere	13
Fear. Poem by Pacific Red	8
Money Madness. By W. C. Weber. With two illustrations by Dust	14
The General Defense. By William D. Haywood	16
The Harvest Stiff of Ancient Days. A chapter from the Agricultural Workers Handbook. With 8 illustrations by Ralph Chaplin	17
The Skookum Boy. Poem by D. S. Dietz	24
Renunciation. Poem by Joachim Raucher	24
After the War. Poem	24
The I. W. W. in California. By a Stanford University Student	25
Solidarity. A Rural Drama of today. By Mary Katharine Reely. With two illustrations by Dust	3
As a Doctor sees it. Brief notes by Dr. B. Liber	36
Future of the American Working Class. By Henry van Dorn	37
Instinct and Better Organization. By Ralph Winstead	40
Conditions on the Pacific Coast. By a wandering Wobbly	42
Give us a photo play of life. Poem, by Raymond Corder	43
A Near—Industrial Union. By Matilda Robbins	44
Strike on the Job. By Frederick A. Blossom	46
The Germans and the I. W. W. Translation by Wm. Weyh	47
The Labor Movement in Argentina	49
One Big Union in Japan	50
The I. W. W. in Sweden. With photo	51
Mexican I. W. W. permanently organized. By Jose Refugio Rodriguez	52
Philadelphia Strike Over	53
One Dollar Per Month After First of August	53
The Modern Agricultural Slave. Harvesting in Kansas. By E. W. Latchem. With three photos from the harvest fields	54
Who Does Not Work, Neither shall he eat. By C. Devlin	57
The Spendthrift Workers. By Mary E. Marcy. With three illustrations by Dust	58
Loaded for Bear	60
Book Advertisements	61
I. W. W. Publications	62
I. W. W. Literature List	63
The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice. Book announcement	64

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SUNRISE OVER THE HARVEST FIELDS

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THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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The Agricultural Workers Campaign

The high spots in human history are not the story of the reign of emperors and kings, nor the story of the battles they have fought. Even the phenomenal carreers of an Alexander "the Great", an Attila, a Djenghis Khan, a Napoleon, form no mile stones along the path of mankind from savagery to civilization. The world war itself, a ghastly wound as it is upon the body of the human family, will hardly leave a scar behind to remind future generations of its horrors. Our great-grand-children will have to dig deep into old records to find the outlines of it.

The milestones of human history are of a different kind, and they are as numerous as the inventions and discoveries that go to make up civilization. These are the living facts of human history, known to even the illiterate. They are the front side of civilization, and therefore of history, while the chronicle of kings and wars is the back side of it.

The invention of the spade, the plow, the hammer, the ax, the needle, the sail, the loom; the discovery that the dog and the horse could be tamed and used, and that the cow could be domesticated; the discovery made within reasonably modern time that children of blood relations tended to degeneracy; the discovery of improved methods of tilling the soil and making the tools; the discovery of improvements in the organization of the work—these are the mile stones, these are the high spots in human history.

For that reason the agricultural workers campaign in the United States in the year 1920, as well as of preceeding and coming years, is an event that far outshadows in importance America's participation in the world war.

These ragged, unkempt, penniless and persecuted men who quietly are enlisting their fellow workers into Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400 are, consciously or unconsciously, doing the most important work of the ages. They are taking the initial steps towards a rational organization of the production of the food-stuffs of mankind. They are preparing the workers to do away with all antiquated methods and to begin producing the food stuffs in accordance with a well thought out, detailed plan embracing the whole world. In fact, they are engaged in the stupendous task of merging the millions of small and independent human households or economic units into one great human household, into one world-embracing economic unit.

That is why this campaign of I. U. No. 400 of the I. W. W. is a high spot in history. In fact we believe that when this campaign has been carried to its final and successful conclusion it will be the central monument of all history, for in the changes it embodies lies a complete regeneration and transformation of all mankind.

The work that the harvest worker performs is almost sacred, for on it depends the welfare of all from year to year. We wish that each and every one of them, as they are being hounded from place to place, would be able to rise to this religious view of the task they are performing. It would serve the same purpose as chloroform at an operation. It would take away the spiritual agony of jail and the bodily pain of the hired slugger's club; it would give that elementary, irresistible power possessed by the Saracens as they smilingly threw themselves against a thousand deaths, certain of being in paradise the next moment. We wish they would all wake up to grasp the full importance of the task they are performing. If they did they would become iron men whom nothing could resist. Their names may not be spelled on the pages of written history, but the memory of them all will live to the end of time. Wherever the men of the future shall turn they will run across the pioneer work of these early strugglers intertwined in all social institutions. Each single one of their efforts becomes a stone in that magnificent structure which soon shall house all mankind—the structure of Industrial Communism.

In this same issue will be found part of the entrancing story of the battles of the agricultural workers and other slaves of 2,000 years ago. Their heroism was sublime, but they failed. Lack of solidarity and organization among the workers resulted in the slavery of centuries for their class. The 100% Roman, "free" workers, corresponding to the "100% American" workers of today, just as the Roman ruling class corresponds to our Wall street, considered themselves better than the slaves, and helped the masters to crush them. As a result both went down. Only through mutual aid and cooperation can our class master the world and establish the rule of the good spirits on earth.

May the workers of today never lose sight of that important fact and they will solve the social problem and bring heaven down on earth.

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The Leaning Tower of Capitalism is Swaying

THE RAIL AND COAL SITUATION

Almost in every number of this magazine we speak of "the collapse of capitalism." Some have objected to this term as not being aggressive enough for a 100% I. W. W. member, especially as the preamble distinctly speaks of the **overthrow** of capitalism. But still we repeat the term and with more emphasis than ever. Capitalism is being overthrown by the capitalist class itself through the inherent inconsistencies and the mathematical absurdities underlying it and it is now collapsing over our heads.

Somebody has calculated, for fun, that if someone had put a penny in the bank in his favor at the time of Christ, and allowed compound interest at current rate to be added to the original capital all the time, he would now not only be the richest man in the world but the sum would be so tremendous that the world would be unable to create the interest on it.

It is something of this kind that has really happened. The amount of rent, interest and profit that the capitalist class is now trying to collect is such a stupendous sum in the aggregate that the world, already staggering under the burden before the war, now is entirely unable to carry it. The capitalist class is trying to collect these three items by any and all means. In order to do it, the capitalists are raising the prices without regard for the people's ability to pay. They are dodging the taxes and, finally, resorting to violence in order to make the people submit to the impossible extortion, and they have lately made a general scramble for the pile of wealth that is about to capsize the ship of society.

They are like the farmer who thought the horse was too expensive to feed. He quit giving him his feed, and finally, one day, the horse died. "That's too bad," he said. "I was just making a success of breaking him from his habit of eating. If he had lived a little longer I would have broken him from the habit of drinking too."

That is just what the capitalist class is doing with the workers. They cannot collect the rent, interest and profit they desire and at the same time pay the workers living wages, so of the four items it starts, like the farmer above mentioned, with paring down the living of the productive people, the social work horses. It is in this fact that the collapse of capitalism consists. It has come to the point where, in order to exist a while longer, it is killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, by refusing to feed it. Thus the tremendous upheavals of the big American strikes for the last couple of years are symptoms of the collapse of capitalism.

Greed and Money Madness are Wrecking Society

When capitalism cannot produce steel and coal, these prime necessities of man, without grinding the producers almost to death, then capitalism is a failure. When it cannot turn out the food supply of the people without driving the packing house workers to desperation, then capitalism has proven itself unfit. When it cannot transport its wares without almost destroying, socially, the men who work on the docks, then capitalism should go and another system be given a chance, which does not destroy the people.

These and many other similar symptoms of the progressive collapse of capitalism are culminating in the present rail and coal situation which is so terrible that the capitalist class themselves stand aghast at their work—only too late to remedy it.

In their individual and collective attempts to accumulate wealth they have overlooked the elementary requirements of the system as a whole. Private interest has taken precedence to public welfare, and as a result we stand at the very brink of a country-wide disaster, a national calamity. The people are about to pay the penalty for having turned down the appeals of the I. W. W. to organize for the purpose of taking over the railroads and the coal fields in the name of the people. The collectors of rent, interest and profit have been given a free hand so long that they have finally scuttled the ship of society, threatening to sink us all.

Lest somebody may say that we are overdrawing the picture, we will here reproduce parts of a report of the rail and coal situation written by **Richard C. Burritt in the Chicago Daily News** (July 20), a paper which cannot possibly be suspected of overdrawing the picture for purposes of red propaganda:

Says Mr. Burritt among other things:

> "The industrial United States today is a cripple. In the broad sense business is either limping along or is beginning to stagnate. The shop, the factory, the home, the comfort, the welfare of practically every man, woman and child are threatened.
>
> "Railroad congestion is a menace. It has brought about a shortage of cars at loading points necessary to distribute the nation's wealth. The shortage has slowed down the production of bituminous coal which in turn is slowing down the production of essential commodities and **may bring business to a dead halt next winter in many states.** Drastic measures alone can save the nation from a severe depression with hundreds of thousands of wage earners unemployed, with bread lines in many of the great cities, with cold homes, lightless days and all the accompanying misery * * *
>
> "To fill the requirements of coal for the country this year 550,000,000 tons are needed, and the railroads must distribute 11,500,000 tons each week * * *
>
> "**Since April 1, the country has been running short of that amount by more than 2,425,000 tons weekly,** because the railroads have not supplied the mines with sufficient cars.
>
> "Chicago and Illinois commerce and industry are on the ragged edge. They are being squeezed by the car and coal shortage to such an extent that **it is only a question of time before plants will be shutting**

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down and wage earners will be walking the streets for employment * * *

Chas Piez (formerly of the U. S. Emergency Fleet Corporation) is quoted as saying that he sees "terrible times ahead." * * *

"Illinois and every other state of the union will be badly hit by the reflex action from **the crisis now confronting the Northwest.** The Northwest is even now in a desperate plight. The coal shortage menaces 'the bread basket of the world' there. In fact, great quantities of bituminous coal must be moved to the head of the lakes in the next 60 days, or next winter **the Northwest will run great risks of being closed down entirely * * ***

"Montana, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, northern Wisconsin, northern Iowa, parts of Nebraska and northern Michigan are becoming frightened. They have reason to be. The lake season is rapidly passing. It is on the great lakes that the Northwest must depend for coal * * *

"Fuel that will turn the wheels of industry in the Northwest and move the grain and ore has to be shipped to the storage docks when navigation is open. If it is not, the Northwest will close down and freeze and the world will be crying for bread. That's as simple as the proposition that two and two make four. Is that an alarmist cry? It is not. As a matter of fact the farmers are now moving grain that should have gone to market sixty days ago. Last year's spring wheat is not yet marketed. Why? Because the farmers could not get the grain cars they needed. There is nearly as great a shortage of grain cars on western roads as of open top equipment or coal cars on eastern roads, and **it is unlikely the grain men will get anywhere near as many grain cars this fall as they will need * * ***

"Northwestern railroads must have more fuel at once. Some are in a bad way, particularly those that haul most of the grain. The Northern Pacific for instance, is but two days ahead of the fight for existence. **It was admitted by one of the road's chief executives that he fears the coal shortage will tie up the railroads of the Northwest and keep them tied up this winter * * ***

"It is doubtful whether the situation can be entirely saved. The Interstate commerce commission must act as a czar * * *

"There is plenty of coal in the mines. There are mine workers to mine it. There are enough boats to haul it to the northwest. The dock companies can load and unload it. They have the facilities to store it. There would be no coal shortage if the railroads could supply open top cars at the mines and afterwards move them. **They are doing neither to an extent greater than 45% * * ***

"The Northwest is up in arms for grain cars * * *

"Everyone knows that the strike of outlaw railroad switchmen injured the roads. Everyone does not know that **the harmful effects of that strike are far worse than have ever been admitted in print.** Switching districts throughout the east are clogged with goods. Many switching districts within striking distance of the mine-fields are clogged with coal * * *

"Many railroad men, coal operators and others are declaring **that the manufacture of pleasure cars and other non-essential industries should be stopped at once.** It may be forced to stop. James B. Walsh, vice president of the Pittsburgh coal and associated companies, the largest coal operating company in the world, goes much further. In Pittsburgh recently he told the writer that **all industry on either side of Pittsburgh, the United States Steel Corporation as well, should be closed down at once * * ***

"The steel corporation is inclining to his view and it will not be strange if the corporation should suspend the last of this month or the first of the next month for a period of from 30 to 60 days. The eastern steel mills are choked with unshipped products, despite the fact that the railroads have been deliberately favoring them, and **the corporation is hanging on to the open top equipment that it should not have at this time.** Some of the mills have borrowed to their eyebrows, and **the banks cannot hope to carry them much longer.**

"Canada, or that citizenry of the Dominion which has to furnish fuel is nearly crazy. Canadian railroads hoped to get much of their coal from the lakes. All round the lake region people are crying for coal.

"Bituminous coal now being exported is but a very small proportion of the coal being mined.

" 'These exporters are hogs and they ought to be run out of business' many a big operator has told the writer."

HOGS is right. But it should not be applied to the exporter of coal alone. It applies to the whole rent, interest and profit collecting capitalist class. In their hoggishness they have created a situation in transportation that is equal to a log jam in timber driving. Only the transportation jam cannot be relieved with a stick of dynamite like the log jam. Only a dictator from the ranks of the workers can now solve the problem satisfactorily.

If any one of us were making such a failure at our work as capitalism is making of transportation, bringing all of us to the verge of destruction we would get fired from our job on the spot as incompetent, and a better man would be put in our place.

Let us fire the capitalist class from the ownership and the control of the means of production and distribution and take charge ourselves.

Hogs should no longer be in control of the affairs of mankind. They should be run out of business, every one of them.

But we can take over the industries only by means of industrial unions with their job branches.

Therefore the morale is:

Organize in industrial unions with the I. W. W. and let us take over everything ourselves before we all go down with the scuttled ship. There is no other choice.

The collapse of capitalism is a ghastly, overhanging reality.

We have warned and warned and we can do no

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more. Before many months perhaps the storm has broken loose.

The capitalist class, realizing what they have done, are armed to the teeth and have the machine guns oiled up to be used against the starved and freezing people this winter.

Their last devilish desire is to slake the thirst of their murderous souls in innocent blood. Do not go to slaughter like innocent lambs. Organize, organize every place of work as a job branch in an industrial union of the I. W. W. Then we need not fear the machine guns.

FEAR

By Pacific Red

Panic!
Fear of death by starvation and freezing!
It is gripping the nation, it has chilled the hearts of all.
Those who have a home are afraid of losing it,
Those who have none, fear to be ousted by steel faced landlords.
No wheat; no coal; no oil, sugar milk, hay,
Nothing for man or beast.

Yet the land has plenty of resources,
Only capitalism has none.
It is broken down, busted, kerflummuxt, gone blooey, smasht.
It can't provide cars to haul goods,
Can't pay men a living wage, on land or sea,
Can't function on the farm, in the store,
Can't deliver f. o. b., C. O. D., or P. D. Q.
Can't do nuthin'! It is dead.

And the graveyards of capitalism were the last two conventions,
Where the platforms were mere epitafs,
And the candidates corpses dragged out of the charnel house.

Come on and imprison me for conspiring to change the gov't by force!
I see my shack taken away from over my head and the heads of wife and bairns,
I fear sickness, separation, starvation, freezing,
Therefore I am guilty of treason against the gov't!
Because to ask the gov't to provide life, liberty, and plenty,
Is to be guilty of criminal syndicalism.
The gov't isn't doing any such a job,
It is protecting the interests of Wall Street, whatever they are,
With one last expiring puny effort,
Before it gives up the ghost.
It will arrest some more radicals,
And incite mob violence against others,
And sing gospel hymns,
And kiss itself goodbye,
And die.
Amen!

The taking over will occur before another four years.
This winter will be hell,
Next one heller, and so on until endurance ceases.
Revolution comes not thru conspiracies,
But thru the failure of the powers that be,
To feed its parasites.
When you starve a soldier you dampen his powder;
When you freeze a policeman, you soften his club;
When you fail to provide the necessities of life
To those who hold the gun you get all shot up.

That is all there is to conspiracy!
Conspiracy means the recognition of the collapse of capitalism
One day in advance of the daily newspapers' latest dispatch.
I'm afraid; but I am willing to suffer
So as to carry on after the smash-up.

Make a Break for Liberty

You are chained to your fellow workers in slavery. You can not gain your own liberty except you make them free also.

We stand together and we fall together.

If you want freedom you have got to enlighten your fellows. If you keep your knowledge to yourself you will get nowhere.

Spread the I. W. W. literature.

Take home a bundle of One Big Union Monthly every month to sell!

Get subscribers!

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The I. W. W. and Politics

This is the political season and the open season on politicians.

The old members of the I. W. W. are fully conversant with our organization's stand versus politics, but there are great numbers that know nothing about it. For their benefit let us restate it, lest somebody come and say that we are too cowardly to come out and show our hand.

The key-note speaker of the mishappen Third-party used an illustration in describing the Republican and Democratic parties which is apt to survive the party he helped to form. He said: "The Republican and Democratic parties are merely the right and the left wings of the same bird of prey."

No truer words have ever been uttered.

He who would learn the truth about the various groups of the ruling class had better keep his ears open about election time, for that is the time it leaks out.

What the republican factions contesting for the presidential nomination at the late convention in Chicago said about one another leaves nothing further to be desired. The corruption and the crookedness they uncovered about one another would be enough to make a responsible citizen lose hope for the future, if it were not for other factors, outside of politics, that are stronger. It became plain that the "republican party" is nothing but a corrupt political machine run by Wall street, a villanious and sinister conspiracy against the liberties of the American people.

The Democratic convention in San Francisco proved practically the same thing about that party. It is apparent that it is an utterly corrupt machine dominated by the wealthy men of the country. That Sam Gompers is flirting with it, does not alter this fact.

It passed lightly over the aircraft steal of one-half billion, the ship yard swindle, and the thousands of cases of graft and profiteering on an hitherto unheard of scale, threatening to continue the same policy of terrorism against the workers.

The ruling class has to maintain these two machines in order to preserve a semblance of political democracy. The people must be deluded into believing that they are actually sovereign, while they are in fact merely voting cattle. It does not matter much to Wall street and their groups which party wins. They control them both. Wall street wins in either case.

They are really "the right and the left wings of the same bird of prey."

But every bird needs a tail to be well balanced. The political bird of prey could not fly without a tail, and we maintain that the tail feathers are supplied by—The Third Party, and the other minor parties such as the Non-Partisan League and the Socialist Party, Single taxers, the Liberal Party, etc.

We do not want to charge that either of them is subsidized directly by Wall street, but nevertheless they perform the function of steadying the flight of the capitalist bird of prey.

They help to foster and maintain the illusion that we can solve our social difficulties by electing a new set of officials, and as long as the people are suffering from this delusion the capitalist battle is won, no matter what set of officials is elected.

The minds of the large masses of the people of this country are now set on politics. Having ascertained this fact the robber knights of Wall street feel calm and satisfied and go to enjoy their vacation. The people will have the fun and the excitement of the contest, the outcome of which can in no case alarm the capitalist class. They will enjoy it like a prize fight or a great ball game. As long as everybody gets a party that suits him to vote for, the river of discontent runs out in the sand of politics, and the exploiters are safe.

The thing that the capitalist class is in deadly fear of is that people will get together and attack their ownership and control of the wealth of the country. None of the political parties threatens that ownership and that control.

We do not take seriously the economic program of the third party. If we did we should be terribly alarmed, because we consider it the bungling work of social quacks and hold that it would be disastrous if carried out.

Nor do we take seriously the platonic declaration of the socialists in regard to the means of production and distribution. We have seen what their fellow political socialists of Sweden and Germany and other countries are doing, now that they have power, and we refuse to listen to the noise made by these socialist politicians. It is all campaign buncombe peddled for the purpose of rolling up a vote among ignorant people. Neither of them stands a ghost of a show of winning, so it does not matter much.

The Socialists have nominated Debs in order to help free him. The Third party has a platform plank about free speech, free press, free assemblage and amnesty for class war prisoners, and that is about all that an I. W. W. man can endorse in their program.

Now, then, should an I. W. W. man vote for either of them or for both of them, if possible, on this account, in order to show appreciation and give encouragement?

The question is not of great interest to the I. W. W. members.

Nearly one-half of our membership are foreigners, and of these only an insignificant percentage are citizens, particularly as we are of late being denied citizenship. Of the native-born half of our membership only a small number are able to vote, due to residence and tax qualifications. They are harvest workers, railroad construction workers, lumber workers, miners, marine transport workers, etc., that is, migratory workers, and a large part of our members in other industries are industrial float-

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ers, due to one reason or another. Another large group is disfranchised by being convicted or indicted for sedition, etc. The small percentage of our members who really have a vote and intend to use it will know how to use it without being told by this editor.

Nearly all of our members admit that we have nothing to gain through political action, but some may entertain a glimmering hope of being able to vote down the gang of terrorists that are now oppressing the people and get a change of officials. The I. W. W. does not intend to interfere with such harmless pastime on the part of individual members, but we positively refuse to endorse any political party.

As an organization we cannot take any political stand. The first attempt to do so, in favor of one party or another, would immediately tend to burst our organization into fragments. There is just one point we all have in common, and that is our economic interest as wage workers, and on that basis alone can we unite the masses, and it is a slow and difficult task at that.

We intend to set up a complete administration of society of our own, both local and regional and industrial, but we have to bide our time about it. That administration, based upon representatives elected by the shop branches or corresponding units, may give rise to new "political" parties within the industrial organization, just as now there are contending factions and somewhat conflicting currents within the I. W. W. Most of our members will postpone their political activities until the day comes that these elections assume a national importance to the people in general. They will refuse to have their interest and their attention diverted from the all important industrial struggle to the sham contest between the wings and the tailfeathers of the capitalist bird of prey as it swoops down upon the workers. They plan and scheme how to deprive him of his prey.

Every time our thoughts happen to be drawn towards politics we dig in with more determinatic than ever in the work of industrial organization as our only salvation.

Instead of hitching ourselves as draft horses to the wagons of the political parties, we call upon all sensible citizens to quit that kind of nonsense and unite with us in creating new organs of production, distribution and administration. We will need them right away. The fall of capitalism is dangerously near.

In consonance herewith, the sum total of our editorial wisdom on this point is:

"To hell with politics!" "All together for industrial organization!"

Poland and Italy

The breakdown of capitalism in Europe continues. The combined allied and Polish forces have crumbled before Soviet Russia's armies. Another capitalist dream has gone a-glimmering. The Polish people are desperate and only await a favorable opportunity to throw off the parasites which have bled them for centuries. There can hardly be any doubt that Poland will soon join Russia in ousting the capitalist class to the limit of its ability. The people, ignorant and untrained to organization as it is, may be no more capable than the Russian people was to take immediate charge and establish industrial democracy. Like the Russians they may have to establish a communist dictatorship, consisting of the more advanced elements. These will probably in a few years set things right in Poland and get production and distribution started on a communist basis, at least partially.

Of course, one should not sell the hide before one has shot the bear, but we are already interested to see whether the Polish peasantry will be able to solve the agricultural problem without breaking up the great estates into small holdings. We hope they will enlarge them instead of breaking them up. That means a higher state of civilization.

As for Italy, the capitalist press of America has almost given up hope of saving it for capitalism. The kept papers have as much as acknowledged that capitalism is over in that country. It has ceased to function. In order to live, the workers have been compelled in some places to resort to makeshift substitutes for private ownership and control. The Italian workers are experimenting and learning. The revolution is ripening. Capitalism having broken down, the government is also crumbling. The king is said to have engaged lodgings in London. Dissolution is imminent.

The Italian Workers are considerably better prepared to take over production and distribution than the Polanders or than the Russians and Hungarians or even the Germans were, but they are far from ready. Due to the influence of the Unione Sindacale Italiana, The Italian I. W. W., a few hundred thousand workers are organized industrially, thus being able to continue production and distribution without interruption, but here as elsewhere the political leaders have succeeded in deceiving large masses up to the last moment, telling them that the people could come into possession of its own by means of political action. These political minded people will now find out how helpless they are before the crumbling giant.

The Italian masses are far better situated for taking control locally through their camere del lavoro (labor exchanges—our City Central Councils) than the workers in many other countries.

The landslide of the world revolution is in progress.

Who is next?

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City Central Councils

In the past we have been so busy building the productive and distributive organs of the future—the industrial unions with their branches and councils—that we have had little time to devote to another equally important function of the job branches, namely as the basis of local and regional administration.

But we need not only organs of production and distribution. We must also have local administration to begin with and regional administration in the second place.

Such an organ is the City Central Council, pictured on the Hardy chart as a representative local body, drawing its members from the various job branches. This council will have nothing directly to do with production but will function as intermediary between the job branches for purposes of local administration.

It will take over most of the functions of the present city councils, but will in addition have many functions growing out of the change from private ownership to communism.

So far we have had little use for these City Central Councils except as a body to handle the question of joint local propaganda for all the branches, such as renting of a common hall and office, handling literature and arranging meetings and entertainments, etc. But these functions are apt to be immensely widened almost any moment without any particular effort on our side.

That capitalism is about to collapse completely nobody denies. Production and distribution are breaking down daily. Capitalism is making a failure of almost every branch of human activity. Particularly dangerous is the railway and coal situation.

The capitalist press is making no secret of the fact that even if a railroad settlement is now effected, which is by no means sure, the railroads will not even approximately be able to get in shape in time to handle the crops. Famine stares us in the face in the near future. If railroad transportation breaks down all industries will suffer. They will have to shut down, and more particularly for the reason that there is little or no coal available. People in an authoritative position are repeatedly warning us that there will be a coal shortage this winter, that factories will have to shut down and that people will freeze. It is these very things that constitute the collapse of capitalism. Add to this that conditions in Europe are much worse and tend to drag American capitalism along to destruction, and we may without drawing too much on imagination say, that the collapse here is impending.

No chain is stronger than its weakest links, and the rail and coal situation are two links that are ready to snap.

All modern governments depend for their existence on taxes. If capitalism collapses, taxes will soon cease to flow. There will be little or no revenue for the governments. No capitalist government, local, state or national, can exist without revenue. When capitalism collapses the various governments will soon follow. They will be unable to function. The administration of our cities will go to pieces. Streets, light, water, schools, courts, institutions—all of these items of local administration will be stranded.

In Chicago f. i. the local government has been in a state of collapse for some time past. City employees of all kinds, including police and firemen have repeatedly gone on strike. The city had insufficient revenue to keep going.

People will become desperate from suffering and disorder. The bad elements, the same ones who lynch Negroes or start race riots or raid I. W. W. halls, will get out their guns and begin a reign of terror like in Centralia, with this difference that they will have no organized production and distribution to fall back on. Banditry itself on a large scale (such as Villa's) will be impossible. Then people will grasp at straws for their salvation. They will try the A. F. of L. labor councils in many cities as an organ of local administration. It will be better than nothing, but unless it speedily regroups the workers industrially so they can take over production and distribution through their unions, they will make a failure of their administration.

Only a council elected by the workers in the shop or the place of work, penetrates with its power to the bottom of society and draws its inspiration from the whole people, and is in touch with living life. The modern governments are not in touch with the masses. Only such a City Central Council will enjoy the confidence of the people as a whole sufficiently to restore order without bloodshed. Only such a council will have the means at hand of running a city administration without collecting taxes. It will base the administration on an exchange of services.

While we may have no immediate use for such councils in some places, the question of organizing them should be taken up, to be ready for an emergency. We must not allow capitalism to crush us in its fall. We may not have time to organize any considerable portion of the cities before the great crash. But the start we have will serve as a nucleus around which we can in an emergency manner group representatives from all occupations until such time as we have a chance to thoroughly organize them for productive and distributive purposes. Thus the City Central Council will not differ very much from the Russian soviets at the time when capitalism and capitalist government broke down in Russia.

These City Central Councils are bound to become the basic units of the local administration of the near future.

In England the workers have suddenly awakened to the necessity of immediate action in this regard. They are now organizing the same kind of bodies under the name of Social Committees in Scotland and Social Soviets in England.

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In Sweden the syndicalist organization has from the start built for local administration rather than for productive and distributive purposes. The local samorganizations of the Swedes will serve like a charm as organs of local administration, while they still have a good deal to do before they get their productive and distributive organs in shape.

In Germany the Labor Exchanges correspond most nearly to our City Central Councils, the English Social Soviets, and the Swedish Local Samorganizations. In Latin Europe they also have their labor exchanges. (Bourse du travail, camera del lavoro, etc.) Everywhere the workers are getting ready for the great crash which they see coming. The penalty for neglecting it will be severe.

There is one danger attending this work.

Some people may become so captivated with the idea of making a body of local administration, no matter how it is made up, that the professional politician will get too much play and precipitate us into revolutionary adventures a la left wing. It is always a good rule to keep the politicians out. All they want is power and wealth without going the legitimate way in getting it.

The proper way to go about it, is to organize one shop after another, one place of work after another. As the number of job branches grows, the City Central Council grows by having new members added. Every shop branch that sends delegates adds to its power. Thus we secure a natural and organic growth of the future organ of administration, which leaves no room for the professional politician to get in, except he works as a useful producer.

Henceforth we have, consequently, to build in two directions. We have to hurry to build our industrial unions, in order to have new organs of production and distribution when capitalist production collapses, and we have to build City Central Councils so as to have organs of local administration when capitalist administration, built as it is on private property and taxes, comes down in a heap.

STOOLS AND FOOLS

Things are coming to light which make us believe that the mock "revolutionary" events in this country during the last two years, as well as the r-r-r-r-r-revolutionary propaganda now being carried on above and "under ground" can all be traced to the so-called Department of Justice and Attorney General Palmer.

Every one you meet seems to be convinced that the bomb "outrages" of last year were all frame-ups by the Palmer stools, and that Palmer's porch was blown up at his own suggestion, to make political capital for himself, to make him a martyr, and to give a plausible back ground for the suspension of all laws and constitutional guarantees in dealing with "the reds."

The propaganda for insurrection and civil war carried on in certain quarters also very likely has its root in the secret service.

Events are daily taking place which strengthen this supposition.

In the trial of Bross Lloyd and 19 other communist labor party members in Chicago, there are two witnesses which attract special attention, namely Ole Hanson, ex-mayor of Seattle and Harry Wilson, a government agent or a "stool".

From the newspaper accounts our enemies appear to be gloating over the fact that Harry Wilson and Ole Hanson had "the reds" completely duped during the great strike of 1919 in Seattle. Harry Wilson is said to have been at the head of the "Soldiers' Sailors' and Workingmen's Council" or "soviet" which is supposed to have been the body that was staging a revolution in that city, a revolution which brave Ole nipped in the bud. It now appears that Ole and Harry, the two pals, together staged the "revolution" and they "suppressed" it, much to the glory of Ole. He has been traveling all round the country ever since lecturing about his wonderful deed to simple minded people who have not the slightest idea that the whole thing was a stage revolution. As such it, no doubt, had a twofold purpose. First to make the "reds" hated and suspected and to facilitate illegal measures against them. In short to create a hostile public opinion against them. Secondly it had for its aim to, if possible, inveigle the masses to some deed of violence which would give Ole an occasion to play the machine guns. Wouldn't that have been great! To kill, say, a couple of thousand wobblies led by the Father Gapons of today, the government agents. What Hanson and the lumber barons and the stools seem to have been playing for was a "Bloody Sunday" similar to the one in Petrograd 1905. Only the common sense of the workers saved the day.

Thus it goes in every part of the country. Whenever you hear of any "revolutionary" act somewhere, don't ask as they used to do—"ou est la femme?" "where is the woman," but ask "where is the Palmer stool pigeon?"

We learn that the secret service has 133,000 men at work. These hyenas have got to earn their blood money some way, and they do it by staging fake revolts, bomb plots, riots, effectively aided by the thugs employed by private detective agencies.

They worm their way into the workers organizations and begin their provocateur agitation. Soon they will gather round them a small bunch of fools. Together they will start knocking anything that is successful and anyone who is doing useful work. To the limit of their ability they sow dissension, voicing suspicion and spreading slander and lies, and creating disorder and pessimism, That is what they are hired for.

Stools and fools are both a nuisance. We should be on our guard against both and never let them make any headway.

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The Stoolpigeon and His Sphere

In a previous issue of The One Big Union Monthly we mentioned the "Sherman Service, Inc." We related, after the daily press, how State's Attorney Hoyne of Illinois, the same official who recently caused our headquarters to be raided and had numbers of us arrested, found himself compelled to make a raid on the offices of the said firm. It had become a matter of public knowledge that it was the "operatives" of this firm who started and conducted the rioting in the steel strike zone, this "work" being paid for by the steel capitalists.

We pointed out that "sabotage" and "inciting to riot" and "violence" is a regular business carried on by such firms, supported by the capitalists but generally blamed on the I. W. W.

Herewith we publish a letter from another firm of the same kind, "The American Detective Service Co.":

Chicago, Dec. 10, 1919.

Dear Sirs:

Our Field Superintendent will be in your territory for the next few days on special business and will be at leisure to call.

The HOLIDAY business is approaching and we suggest that you confer with him relative to our improved method and system for protection of Dry Goods, Department Stores and Sundry Mercantile Houses against:

Dishonest employes
Shoplifting
Petty thieving
Acts of disloyalty by employes
Conspiracies
Labor agitation
Systematizing—efficiency
Leaks and other irregularities.

No charges are made for consultation. Please appoint the time and place by return mail when it will be convenient to see him.

Your prompt reply will be greatly appreciated. by

Yours very truly,

AMERICAN DETECTIVE SERVICE CO.
John W. Weccard, General Manager.

From the letterhead it appears that this firm has office connections in twenty important cities.

How many other firms of a similar kind there are throughout the country we do not know, but we suppose there are many. As will be seen, this extensive firm supplies not only the regular store detective, who watches for thieves and shoplifters, but also "stoolpigeons," who report on "acts of disloyalty by employes," "conspiracies" and "labor agitation."

From the size and number of these firms we must conclude that shops and stores are honeycombed with stoolpigeons. We further know that the big trusts, such as the lumber trust, the copper trust, the steel trust, etc., maintain their own secret police and corps of gunmen.

As a matter of fact the capitalist class has now come to a pass where it can maintain itself only by employing hundreds of thousands of individuals from the very dregs of society as spies, informers and provocateurs, while other thousands are hired as gunmen for downright murder.

Only recently we noticed an advertisement in a Chicago daily paper calling for big and resolute men weighing not less than 180 pounds to enlist for guard duty in the northern forests. This means that a regular gunman rule is going to be established in the woods. In the forests of the northwest "suicide" by hanging is becoming alarmingly common of late. It is the hirelings of the lumber trust that handle the rope in these cases of "suicide" and the victims are men who talk One Big Union. The advice of ex-Mayor Ole Hanson is being followed.

At the same time police and soldiery are working overtime in all parts of the country suppressing and oppressing the workers.

Such facts as these go to prove that the capitalist system is about to collapse. When production and distribution can be carried on only by such extreme, anti-social and abhorrent measures, it shows that the people as a whole are out of sympathy with the system and want it removed and replaced with a better one.

At the same time the capitalist class is making a ghastly failure of supplying the needs of mankind. Hundreds of millions are deprived of the necessaries of life, while other millions can buy them only at outrageous figures.

In these various manners the capitalist class is rapidly alienating the good will and the loyalty of the great masses and driving them to despair.

No system of stoolpigeons, no companies of gunmen, no regiments of soldiers will then be able to prevent disaster. The welfare of mankind rests primarily on the uninterrupted flow of products from the various industries, produced with mutual good will. The One Big Union movement, that is, the I. W. W., is the only force in present-day society which strives to protect mankind from this overhanging disaster, but this movement the capitalist class in its criminal career seeks to break down with stoolpigeons and gunmen.

Thus these hired stoolpigeons and gunmen and their masters are the worst enemies of mankind and should immediately be curbed through the collective action of the people.

Does your conscience hurt you? Are you dissatisfied with yourself? Do you want to get peace with your ego and become happy?

All right! We will tell you how. Become an I. W. W. agitator. Begin with ordering a bundle of the One Big Union Monthly.

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MONEY MADNESS

By

W. C. Weber

Greed! Greed! Greed! What horrors are properly laid at its door! Crime and bloodshed, tyranny and oppression, poverty and prostitution, — in fact all the evils known to mankind, can be traced, directly or indirectly, to greed.

In greed there is no reason nor sanity. Can we conceive of greed existing in a balanced mentality? Must not one who is swayed by greed in the very nature of things, be of abnormal mentality? How otherwise can we account for the inhuman cruelties practiced by him upon his fellow man? How else account for his total disregard for human suffering, misery and death? The practices of big business are evidence plain to the student that the leaders of Wall Street are mentally unbalanced. The Stock Exchange in New York, as viewed from the balcony, gives all the evidences of madness one could possibly find in a madhouse. The individual who resorts to unscrupulous means and methods to obtain money, or to further his business interests, which is the same thing, is in identically the same class as the thief, the burglar and the highway robber, they are all mentally defective.

Insanity is either functional or organic. That is, there may be actual physical injury or deformation of the brain, preventing certain parts from functioning; or, the brain being perfect in all its parts, from some other cause than physical injury or deformation it may fail to function normally. Money madness may well be called a kind of hysteria, a functional nervous and mental disorder. Fixed ideas, dominating impulses and motives may come to hold such absolute sway over the mind as to produce actual derangement of function. An insane man is one of illogical or irrational mentation. Illogical or irrational mentation produces loss of function or improper functioning, the resultant thought and action which follows is abnormal or supernormal or insane. Of course there are degrees of insanity. Many really insane people pass ordinarily for sane because of very slight degree of derangement. However derangement in any degree is insanity. An individual may become so wrapped up in the pursuit of wealth as to seriously interfere with normal functioning of all the mind when there follows, as naturally as night follows day, the loss of a sense of justice and a proper understanding of right and wrong. The pursuit of selfish interests induces a perverted reasoning which excuses even inhumanity and cruelty.

There is a parallel in cases of dual personality. In such cases certain portions of the nervous system wherein are stored memories of past experiences or sensations are cleft off and lose their connection with the rest of the nervous system. These memories can not be recalled or brought into connection with the rest of the brain and therefore remain outside of consciousness. The individual possesses a limited power of mentation while actually possessed of a perfect mentality. When some nervous crisis, such as shock, worry or physical accident has caused such a state to come into existence the individual seems to have changed his personality. The amount of isolated experience may be so great as to make this change of personality most profound and complete. The previously retiring, timid man may become bold and brazen, and cruel. The psychological explanation of this lies in the theory of the complex. A complex is a group of associated sense impressions retained in the nervous system, — the nerve centers and association nerve paths. All sense impressions tend to group themselves together in the brain according to associations of contrast, similarity or contiguity in time or space. The word apple may suggest an orchard or a fruit store. Its shape may cause you to think of an orange; its color of a rose. These suggestions follow the laws of association. Things seen together each recall the others. All connected thoughts centering around one idea are called a complex. The mind is made up of innumerable complexes normally all possible of being brought into consciousness and linked together. Insanity is the result when any number of these complexes are cut off and thus rendered inaccessible. Because of the lost or severed connection the experiences stored in these several complexes are not available for use and do not come into consciousness at all or for as long as the abnormal condition lasts. The thoughts and actions of the individual not being the result of the functioning of the whole mind, but of only a part of it, these thoughts and actions are the expression only of part of the real personality. With so much of the individual's mentality missing it is no wonder that his character is changed and his habits are different from the habits of the whole,

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normal man. If we voluntarily or by chance, continuously think and experience sensations along only one line of endeavor to the exclusion of all other lines, the complex thus formed, because of frequency of stimulation, soon tends to dominate the mind. It will soon be unnecessary to voluntarily exclude extraneous matters. The nature of the mind is such that when one complex has become dominant, it automatically excluded such extraneous matter from consideration. In time the individual becomes a man of one idea, all other complexes, by reason of their disuse, will have entirely lost their connection with the main line of thought. It is like a stream having many channels. The channel through which the most water flows becomes steadily deeper and deeper until sooner or later the other channels will dry up and all the water will be running through the one channel; even the very location of the other channels may be lost. A sensation, like water, tends to pass through the path of least resistance — where the channel is deepest — all new sensations therefore, instantly pass into and through the dominant complex and are inexorably kept within these bounds. Resultant thinking, after the formation of a dominant complex, is not as broad as the whole mind, but is narrowed down to conform to the ideas embraced within the complex.

A specialist — an individual who has necessarily confined himself to one line — is narrow. He cannot see all of life for he must narrow it down to his viewpoint if he is to succeed in his calling. We all know the man who talks nothing but shop. The truth is, — that's all he thinks. It is veritably true that any certain landscape appears much different to an artist than to a farmer. A tailor sees the clothes one wears, a shoemaker sees the shoes. A money-hog viewing the same landscape with the artist mentioned above would be very likely to narrow down his vision to the possibilities of exploitation of real estate values, oil rights, mineral rights, timber rights and food products. The more a money-hog he was the less of anything else he'd see. The broad, normal minded man viewing the same landscape would see a thousand things in it no money-hog could possibly see. He'd see all the possibilities of human happiness in it, not his own only, but of others. He would be inspired to picture the joy and comfort to be derived for humanity from the beauty of the scene and the products of its fields, its mines,

its wells, its timbered hills and flowered dells. These things he would see from the viewpoint of a sane and normal mind, and a lot of other things would appear to him too numerous to mention. The money-hog is limited in his appreciation to personal, selfish interests by reason of his lifelong thinking and scheming for financial advantage and personal aggrandizement. This complex has been reinforced over and over again until it has become a dominant passion. All opposing ideas are excluded, hence right and wrong are but relative terms with little meaning; and reasoning is biased because of the limitation of his mental content. Everything in his life's experience which would help him form logical and correct conclusions is outside the circle of his customary thought, stored away in the inner recesses of his brain where they are altogether inaccessible. It is very easy, in fact most natural,

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for him to justify himself in all sorts of dishonest and inhuman practices, which are very patently dishonest and inhuman to all sane, right-thinking men.

The small number of men in this country who own all the tools of production and command all the sources of raw material and even control the government, are not fit mentally to hold any positions of trust at all. It can be easily proven that they are all insane, money mad, mentally unbalanced. Witness only their inhumanity, dishonesty and horrible atrocities. Like all other criminals, they should be placed in institutions where they can be restrained for the protection of society. Fining them does no good. Restrictive laws do less good, for they are seldom enforced if passed. Laws serve only to make such men more crafty in order to evade punishment and their subversion makes our country the laughing stock of the world. Even under an entire change of system, which is inevitably coming, they will be dangerous if left at large. The only safe place for a money-hog is in an asylum. Here they can be treated, and by a process of re-education and psychological training it may be they can be cured of their disorder. They should never be released until competent alienists and psychological experts have pronounced their cure complete. Only in that event will there be any hope of them becoming worthy and honest citizens.

NOTE: — The above is a phychological explanation of a lawless, dishonorable, inhuman being of the present master class. When we have done away with the present system and removed all possibility of profits and wage slavery there will be no more MONEY MADNESS.

THE GENERAL DEFENSE

By Wm. D. Haywood

It was agreed with the Attorneys for the Government, before the argument of the Chicago Appeal, that a fifty thousand dollar joint bond would be accepted as bail for all of the remaining members of the Chicago group now held in the Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas.

An effort is being made to raise this sum at the earliest possible date. Fifty-five hundred and fifty dollars has been received from Los Angeles, California; Nine Hundred Dollars from the Ladies Sewing Clubs of Hoquiam and Aberdeen, Washington; Three Hundred from Minneapolis; Two Hundred from Baltimore. Several thousand was raised at the Picnics held at Seattle and Portland. The Bail and Bond Committee of Philadelphia has Seven Thousand Dollars in hand. There are several thousand dollars on hand in this office, and as soon as the necessary amount is collected, it will be deposited in the Appellate Court.

All persons interested in the members of the I. W. W. are urged to get busy now in behalf of these men who have been so viciously persecuted—men who have suffered long years of imprisonment, men who were arrested, convicted, and sent to the penitentiary because they had opinions and because some expressed those opinions.

It must be remembered that no member of the I. W. W. was guilty of any crime. The only charge against any of them grew out of the extraordinary laws that were enacted during the war period.

Money and Liberty Bonds for the Chicago group are not all that is necessary. Bail for the Sacramento group has been fixed at $1,000.00 for each year's sentence imposed upon the defendants. Bail will be set for the members comprising the Wichita group as soon as the transcript in their case is presented to the Appellate Court at St. Louis, Missouri.

When bond is secured for all, there will still be more money needed as there will be large expense for transportation of the men to their respective homes. There will also be a need in many instances to purchase clothes, as most of the men wore out their clothes while confined in the county jail and what little they had left were destroyed upon arrival at the penitentiary.

The only authorized General Defense Stamp now is the new day's wage stamp—$6.00. Members can help by getting one of these stamps in their membership book. Do not neglect this—it is important.

Attorneys Mulks and Lowe have been looking after the interests of delegates and members of the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400 in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri. In these states many members have been arrested and in some cases held indefinitely; at times without any warrant or any charge having been preferred against them.

Here is an instance—Robert Barker, an eighteen year old member, was grabbed by a brutal thug who was burdened with a little temporary authority at Wichita, Kansas. Fellow Worker Barker was attending to his own business when the big, two fisted idiot with star and club arrested him without a warrant. After beating the lad severely he threw him into jail and then stole his overalls, shoes, and supplies.

Barker had been held in jail several weeks when he was released by the court and immediately rearrested on the street as he was going to the office of our attorneys. His release was again secured through a writ of habeas corpus and a warrant has been sworn out charging the officer who first arrested him with unlawful imprisonment, assault, and battery.

George F. Vanderveer, Attorney, has several criminal syndicalism appeals pending and is also looking after the Centralia appeal.

There are twenty-one criminal syndicalism cases pending in California, also 10 cases under the same law coming up on appeal.

Now is the time for all members and friends to get their shoulder to the wheel. The reaction is coming. Let us be prepared to take advantage of it.

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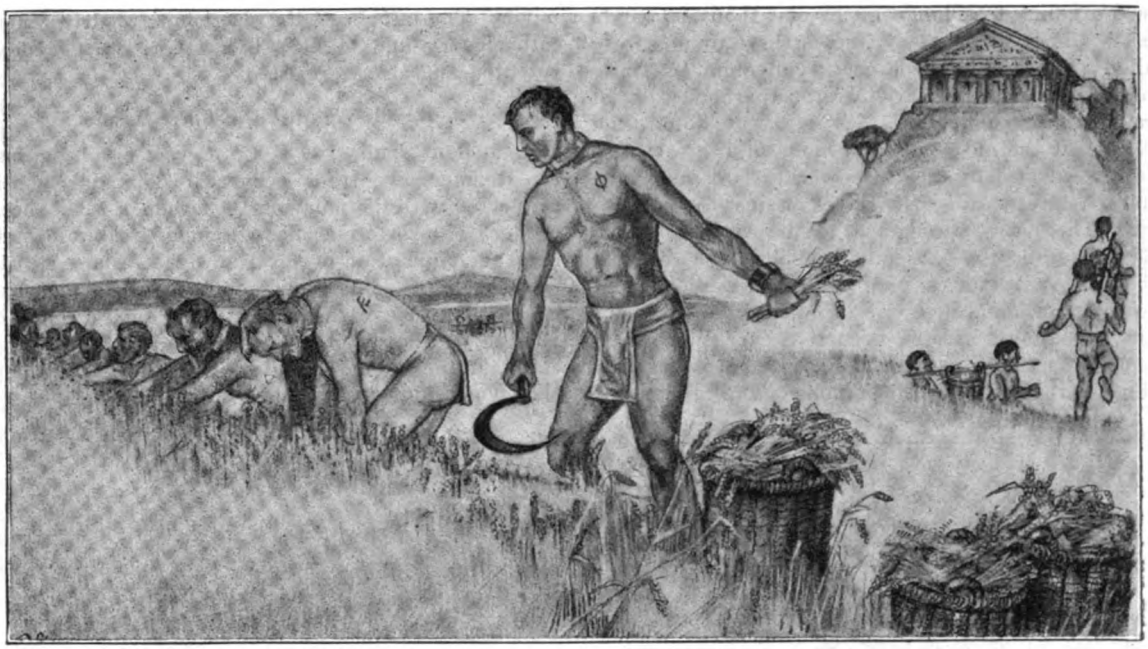

The "Harvest Stiff" of Ancient Days

A CHAPTER OF SUPPRESSED HISTORY

(The following is a portion of the first Industrial Union Handbook soon to be issued by the I. W. W., prepared under the direction of the Bureau of Industrial Research.)

Agricultural work has been looked down upon by the lily-fingered gentry of the idle classes, and agricultural workers have been despised thruout the ages as "menial" and "low"; yet the human race never could have survived without such labor and such men. Theirs are the hands that have nourished alike the brawn of the builder and the brain of the dreamer of dreams. Agricultural work is the most ancient and the most honorable of all work. It is the "man with the hoe," and not the fabled Atlas, who has always carried the world on his shoulders.

Harvest workers in all countries and all times are surprisingly alike. They swelter today in the hot fields of golden grain just as they did two thousand years ago, and longer. The implements they use are different at present, it is true, but the sweat, the backache and the old, old spirit of revolt, are identical.

Few modern harvest workers are aware of the fact that the branded slaves who garnered the Roman crops of twenty centuries ago were organized into unions, went on strike, slept in the "jungles" and sang rebel songs, much as the "400 stiff" is doing at present. But these things are true.

The chattel slave of classical days was not migratory. In fact, he usually went about with an iron collar and a chain. But he was a rebel, and he has written a page of history that bourgeois historians have seen fit to ignore. Labor disturbances have always been unpleasant things for social parasites to consider.

Few people know that the strikes and revolts of ancient agricultural slaves were so huge and so powerful that they shook the proud aristocracy of Rome to its foundations and, eventually, helped to shake it down. Few people realize that the harvest "stiff" of bygone days waged mighty warfare against the hated institution of slavery and, in places, actually emancipated themselves from its yoke. What is more, they forced the release of thousands of their fellow workers from prison; confiscated great estates from their parasitical "owners," and "made the boss don overalls." At one time 300,000 of them marched against Rome, the vicious center of the ancient slave market, and caused the mighty to tremble in their seats of power.

The "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" did not originate in Russia, but in the island of Sicily—the granary of the ancient world—one hundred and forty years before the rebel hobo known as Jesus is supposed to have been born. On one occasion, under the leadership of a runaway slave named Eunus, this dictatorship endured for a dozen years and successfully withstood the strongest armies the landed aristocrats of Rome could send against it.

Ancient Labor Unions

There were countless slave strikes and uprisings in ancient days, but only a meager few have been recorded. Our limited space makes it necessary for us to confine ourselves to the most spectacular of these. Old inscriptions and fragments of history have proved that agricultural and other workers

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were organized as long ago as one thousand years before Christ. In ancient Greece these unions were called "therasoi," in Rome "collegium." These unions were of three varieties: brotherhoods, burial societies and communist. All were, no doubt, the product of the old communal mode of life. At first they were used by the free workers against slave hunters, afterward by the slaves against their "owners." The active resistance to the raids of slave merchants and the subsequent displacement of free labor on vast estates, that had been stolen from the common land, gave rise to much discontent and many uprisings. These occurred ever more frequently as the aristocrats seized the lands and sought to break up the unions. The discontent reached a climax in 58 B. C., when the Roman Senate sought to pass a law outlawing labor organization. During this time a series of gigantic labor disturbances swept great portions of Asia Minor, Italy and the whole of Sicily. It was during this period that the gladiator Spartacus made his gallant stand for human freedom. The Spartacan movement in Germany, of which the martyred Liebknecht was the head, was named after this heroic rebel.

It must be remembered that slaves in those days were branded like cattle. Like beasts, they were not supposed to have human souls or human feelings, and like beasts they were compelled to toil for their "owners." They were in the condition that the master class of today would like to see all modern wage workers in. But these men were closer to the period of primitive communism than we are, and the memory of freedom was fresher in their minds. The efforts of the patricians to drive them into slavery and to keep them there were always resented and always resisted.

A Revolt Against the Slave Trade

In ancient Spain, 149 B. C., a great revolt against the Roman slave trade occurred. This uprising is connected with the name of Variathus, a rebel sheep herder. The slave market had made terrible inroads upon the population of agrarian Spain, whose sturdy population was admirably adapted for agricultural labor upon the great estates of the Roman grandees. So the spearmen of Rome were dispatched thither to carry off the strongest and best into bondage. This plan worked flawlessly for a while.

THE FREE HARVEST WORKER OF GAUL

The ancient Gauls harvested on the communal plan. They invented machinery to make their work lighter. The man in the picture knocks off the heads of the grain as they come between the comb-like teeth which project from the box. Slaves were so cheap in Rome that labor-saving machinery "didn't pay".

Variathus rebelled against the cruel custom from the time he was a young man. The Romans looked upon him as an agitator, his fellow slaves as an efficient and daring leader. No doubt, like Spartacus, he was an organizer for the "collegium" of agricultural workers. Variathus kept himself out of the clutches of "the law," bided his time, and when he struck, he struck hard.

Thousands of Spanish workers were slaving in foreign harvest fields. Many were sweating under the lash of tyranny at home. After the battle of Pydna the Romans sacked or destroyed seventy cities and took a hundred and fifty thousand free workers into captivity. Variathus continued to agitate until Spain was fairly sizzling with rebellion. A Roman general named Galba perpetrated a massacre in order to intimidate the population. It had the opposite effect. Variathus, who fortunately had

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escaped, marshalled the agricultural workers into an orderly force and told them the hour had come to choose between resistance or slavery. They chose to resist. He then proceeded to drill and discipline his forces.

When the next slave-hunting expedition reached the shores of sunny Spain it was met by a determined host of sun-burned huskies armed with swords made out of sickles and spears fashioned from scythe blades. The proud invaders were ingloriously defeated. During the following twenty years Rome sent six great armies to Spain. Each one was annihilated. Slavery was a thing of the past. The fertile fields of Lusitania were tilled by free communal labor as they had been for centuries past. The black cloud of slavery had vanished.

Eventually the rebel sheep herder was murdered by Roman stool pigeons from his own ranks. But the slave market had been cheated of hundreds of thousands of victims by his twenty years of valiant struggle.

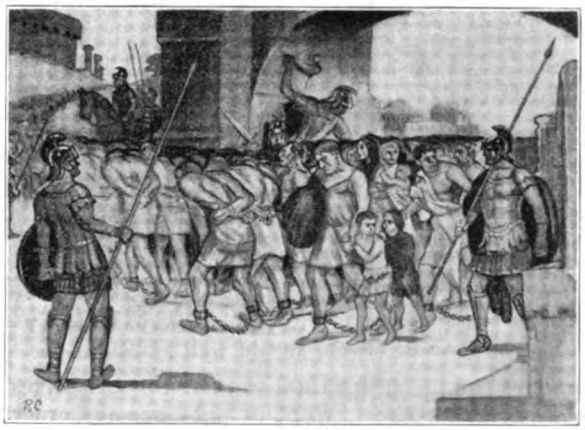
The "Dictatorship" in Sicily

The story of Eunus, the Syrian runaway slave, and the great revolt of agricultural workers in Sicily, is one of the strangest and most romantic in history. Sicily, in ancient days, was noted for its wheat. Oil and wine were produced also, but wheat was the chief product. From it much of the bread of the then known world was made. Sicily was a place of great natural fertility and beauty. Even today, travelers state, the rich, spicy odor of the island can be detected at sea, miles before its shores are sighted. But, in the days of Eunus, land monopoly and slavery had made a hell out of what should have been a paradise. Every inhabitant not of noble blood was a slave. The possessing class was becoming more greedy and vicious all the time. Also, the wealth of the island was being concentrated into constantly fewer and fewer hands. The city of Leontini, for example, had but 88 property owners, Mutice but 188, Herbita but 257. Other large cities counted its property owners by the dozens. There were absentee Roman land owners also. The main part of the population was composed of slaves—mostly discontented slaves.

All histories state that Eunus was a union man. Even in Syria he belonged to the "thiasos" of Dionysian artists, which is the ancient name for actors' union. Eunus' "stunt" as an entertainer was fire spitting and wonder-working by means of conjuror's tricks. The Romans looked upon him as a dangerous agitator, but the agricultural slaves considered him a messiah. He was an organizer for the "eranos" or union of agricultural workers in Sicily.

A harvest strike started near the city of Enna over demands for better clothing and more food. The rich land owner, Damophilus by name, warmed the hides of the strike committee with a "scorpion" and sent them back to the fields.

This action, characteristic of the greed-blind exploiters of all ages, was the signal for a strike. This strike grew into one of the greatest labor rebellions the world ever saw. The outraged slaves,



BREEDING SLAVE REVOLTS IN ANCIENT ROME

Entire cities were often driven into slavery by the Romans. The slave market was the backbone of ancient commerce. It is not surprising that such workers not only organized, but revolted.

after working summary vengeance upon Damophilus and his equally cruel wife, took to the mountains and "jungled up" in the vine-clad security of the craggy heights. News of the exploit spread rapidly and soon the agricultural workers of the entire island had downed tools and joined the revolt. It was then that Eunus, the agitator and worker of wonders, took command.

His first step was to urge the rebels to trample human slavery underfoot, appropriate the estates of the idle land owners and build up a free society on the old communal plan of common ownership and equal labor. One after another these estates were taken over. Their rich and idle "owners" were uniformly put to work or thrown in prison if they refused.

Class War Prisoners Released

The jails of the day were called "ergastula." These were underground workhouses similar to the "solitary" at Leavenworth where Uncle Sam punishes workingmen for the crime of thinking. The "ergastula" of Sicily were full of recaptured runaway slaves and other workers who had committed offenses against the law-buttressed land owners. No doubt they contained their quota of union organizers, just as do the prisons of today. These gruesome holes were of course hated by the workers. One of the first things they did after the revolt was to batter down the iron doors and free the inmates. Sixty thousand slaves, mostly class war prisoners, were released in this manner to serve in the rebel forces. It is not reported that the rebels in ancient Sicily used lawyers to force the release of fellow workers unjustly imprisoned.

A great number of freedmen had become tramps, owing to the labor market being continually flooded with slaves. These joined the revolt also. The rebellion grew in strength and numbers. Small cultivators, willing to work, were spared, but the great landed parasites were summarily dealt with. During the following years most of Sicily was farmed co-op-

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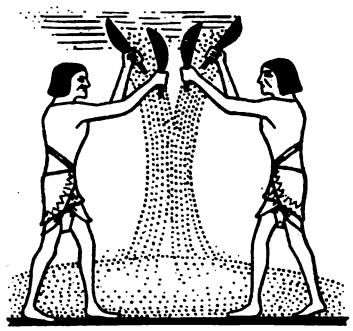

EGYPTIAN SLAVES WINNOWING WHEAT BY HAND (From an old wall painting)

eratively by the agricultural workers for themselves and their own class. Work or fight was the order of the day.

The liberation movement was unquestionably successful. It gained in numbers and power every moment. Two great uprisings, in different parts of the island, occurred in rapid succession; one led by Achaeus, the other by Cleon—both slaves. The combined forces of the emancipated agricultural workers now numbered 200,000. Sicily was conquered from the center to the sea. The flames of discontent even spread over the Mediterranian to Italy, and an extensive uprising occurred under the leadership of a man named Aristonicus.

The tyrannical Roman Senate sent army after army to crush the "servile" rebellion in Sicily. Year after year each in turn was put to utter defeat. Free territory was kept inviolate. Adding a touch of bitter irony to the work of administration and warfare, Eunus and his brother entertainers of the ancient Actors' Union would give mock theatricals for the benefit of captured patricians. These arrogant aristocrats were taunted with a stage show contrasting the old order of things with the new. The sight of branded slaves enjoying the good things of life while their owners and overseers were toiling under the lash in the hot fields must have cut them keenly.

The dictatorship of the proletariat had now endured about ten years when the Roman landlords decided to crush the movement at all costs. An overwhelming army was massed together and, after a long and bloody fight, the agricultural workers were defeated and driven back into slavery. Twenty thousand of them were nailed to crosses on the crags of Enna. The dictatorship of the master class was again established. Eunus died in a vermin-infested dungeon in Rome. But the slaves had enjoyed ten years of freedom and they were not yet crushed, as we shall shortly see.

"Citizens of the Sun"

The revolutionary movement was temporarily put down in Sicily, but in Italy it swept onward with fresh impetus. The old Roman Licinian Law made it a crime for any landlord to own more than 500 acres of land, but Roman landlords thought no more of the law than does the American Copper trust. It had been disregarded for a long time. A liberal Roman statesman named Gracchus tried to restore the law and force the idle parasites to release their grip on the throat of the nation. He was mobbed and killed on the streets of Rome by the infuriated land owners. Then the reactionary Senate, in true J. Mitchell Palmer style, resumed the work of breaking up the labor organizations.

Pergamus, in Asia Minor, was acquired by Rome in 133 B. C. Its public lands were confiscated from the people and turned over to Roman landlords. Free labor was supplanted by slaves. A revolt was the result.

This time the rebel forces were led by a man named Aristonicus. His declared purpose was to do away with human slavery and establish a free society that would light up the darkened world like the sun. The hitherto despised and branded helots were to be called "heliopolitai" (citizens of the sun). All workers were to have equal opportunity and there was to be liberty and prosperity for everyone. All were to work together and keep the fruits of their labor for the enjoyment of the producing class alone.

It was a noble dream and valiantly fought for. But Rome was once again too powerful. Four years after the outbreak of the revolt, in the year 129 B. C., we hear of Aristonicus being strangled to death in a Roman dungeon. Aristonicus was acclaimed by the slaves of the day as a deliverer, but history has recorded little of him save his great dream and the story of his tragic death.

Sicily Strikes Again

The scene now shifts once more to sunny Sicily. For twenty-eight years after the death of Eunus, slavery flourished again in the fertile fields of "the granary of the world." The unions had not been uprooted and the greed and cruelty of the land owners had grown apace. Slavery once more became unendurable. The militant agricultural workers retained the memory of their ten glorious years of freedom long after the ghastly price had been forgotten.

This time the uprising was precipitated by 800 runaway slaves who had found sanctuary in a woodland temple from the wrath of their masters. When the story spread abroad other slaves joined them in crowds of a hundred or two at a time. In a short while the entire island was once more aflame with revolt. Rome immediately sent her legions to the scene, but they were harassed and defeated by the slaves fighting in guerrilla fashion. A great supply of arms and war material was amassed in this manner. A slave named Salvius had organized an army of 22,000 cavalry and foot, in the south of the island. The great estates were again taken over and the "ergastula" again opened for recruits. In the western part of the island a great strike broke out under the leadership of the man who was to be the real leader of the rebellion. A sun-burned and branded agricultural slave named Athenion had been elected leader, and thousands of slaves left their hateful labor and joined his standard at once. Athenion, though of humble origin, exhibited the rarest qualities of statesmanship and military

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genius from the start. He refused to accept any recruits for the fighting forces save men of tested strength and bravery. All the rest were put to work on the freed lands to insure adequate supplies for the army so that it would not be necessary to fight famine as well as the legions of Rome. Ten thousand picked men were selected in this manner. Athenion then united his forces with those of Salvius and prepared to meet the armed forces of the Roman exploiters. These were soon forthcoming. Legion after glittering legion of the flower of Roman aristocracy was hurled at the determined slaves in vain. After each battle the rebels were left masters of the field. Slavery had once again been abolished from the fair "granary of the world."

"Not Defeated, but Outnumbered"

Defeat came four years after the outbreak of the rebellion. Six proud Roman Praetors had led their legions against the revolutionists, and each had crawled back to Rome defeated and disgraced. In a final desperate effort to crush the slaves, a new and huge army was assembled under a consul named Aquillius. These forces were powerful enough to put down the abolitionist rebellion and re-establish human slavery. Thousands of crosses were again ornamented with the bodies of workers who gave their lives for freedom. Athenion was also an accredited messiah, but he died like a hero, killed on the field of battle in personal combat with the labor-hating Roman consul himself. Aquillius was afterward captured by slaves in Pergamus and union metal workers poured molten gold down his throat.

But even with all this the slaves of Sicily were not yet resigned to their loathesome servitude. A young rebel named Satros escaped the massacre and subsequent man-hunt and fled to the mountains with the remnant of the proletarian army. For two years more the gallant band held the fort against all odds. In 99 B. C. they were finally captured and sent to Rome under the solemn promise of a Roman general that they would be treated as prisoners of war.

Once in Rome they were thrown in chains, taken to the amphitheatre, where knives were thrust into their hands. They were told to battle wild beasts for the amusement of an audience of patricians. Rather than give their lives "for a Roman holiday" the brave rebels shouted defiance at the thousands of their bloodthirsty enemies, and killed themselves on the spot with their own weapons.

After this uprising there were intermittent strikes and rebellions all over the ancient world. Rome, already convulsed with labor troubles, was still trying to enforce her stupid laws against labor organization. In this respect she was much like the various states in the Union that are seeking to outlaw labor organization with the notorious "criminal syndicalism" laws. In both cases the results are the very opposite of what was expected. In Rome a thousand minor disorders culminated, under the pressure of unintelligent opposition, into the famous slave revolution of Spartacus. This revolt is one

A THRESHING FLOOR IN THE BARBARY STATES

This method of separating grain from the straw was in use two thousand years ago.

of the hugest in history—worthy of comparison with the Paris Commune and the Russian revolution. At one time it actually threatened to sweep the Roman master class from power. This was seventy years before the beginning of the Christian era.

The Immortal Spartacus

The revolt of Spartacus took place in the year 78 B. C. At this time the concentration of wealth into the hands of the Roman master class had just about reached its highest pitch. A few thousand idle voluptuaries in the mighty capital owned all the then known world. Entire nations paid tribute to these bloated parasites and the working class of the world was in bondage to them. So much was idleness the fashion of the rich and toil a disgrace, that any freeman found guilty of soiling his fingers with labor was seized and sold into slavery. The inhuman slave market had been extended until it embraced every known nation. The patrician class, more greedy and licentious than ever before, was sunk in indescribable idleness and debauchery. The slave class, artisans as well as agricultural workers, was a swelter of seething discontent. The anti-labor laws were being vigorously enforced. Only a spark was needed to start a conflagration. This spark, as is always the case, was supplied by the greed-blinded aristocrats themselves.

The "jus coeundi," or law permitting free organization, had been a thorn in the side of Roman exploiters for centuries. Under its provisions labor unions were recognized by law. The slaves had, years before, taken advantage of this opportunity to organize. Throughout the centuries they had retained their organizations in the face of fiercest opposition. The patricians had succeeded in retaining their grasp upon the public or communal lands, which were stolen from the people and held in defiance of the law. Also they had supplanted free labor with slave labor on their vast estates through-

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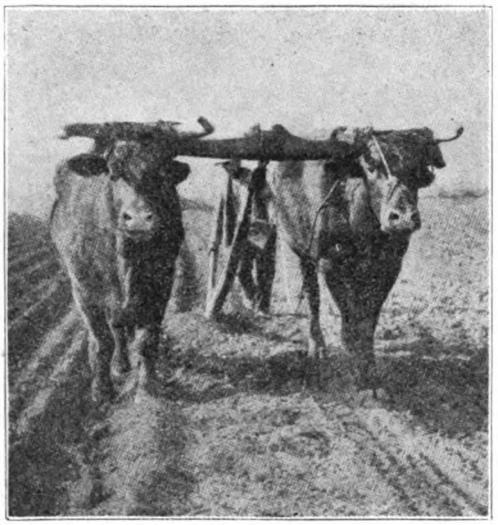

PLOWING IN MODERN SICILY

This is a recent picture. The method of plowing has changed but little since the days of Eunus and Athenion.

out the world. Like the lumber barons of today, the Roman patricians did not intend to permit their human beasts of burden to organize and put a stop to the process of exploitation. The law permitting slaves to organize was being fought with extreme ferocity by the land owners and their tools in the prostituted Roman Senate. Then came the gladiator, Spartacus, and the rebellion that bears his name. Capitalist historians have tried to suppress the facts about this monumental revolt but it stands as one of the greatest labor struggles of history.

From all accounts Spartacus, although a physical and mental giant, was born a slave, and he was a rebel, every inch of him. There is a legend to the effect that as a boy of fifteen he stood beside his dying father, who had been nailed to a log for the crime of agitating, and swore lifelong vengeance upon the enemies of labor.

It was probably because of his powerful physique that Spartacus was sent to Capua to become a gladiator. Compared with Thracian Greece, where he had been born and had always lived, Capua appeared in anything but a favorable light. Life here was cramped and crowded. The amphitheatre, with its bloody arena, the incessant battles between men and beasts or men and other men, and always the great circle of patricians for whose amusement he was forced to fight. Capua was a hateful place. Only one thing Spartacus desired more than to return to his native hills; that was to punish the cruel aristocrats for the evil they had done and were doing. In Thrace the sheep herders and harvest workers were organized. Why not try to organize the gladiators? Then some day things would be different.

Freedom, Battle and Victory

All about Capua the communal land was covered with vast private estates which had been illegally seized by the land grabbers. The old agricultural unions, which for centuries had dealt direct with the cities in supplying food, had been broken up. The right to organize had been abrogated at last. Organization was outlawed. Thousands of slaves, in the last stages of desperation, were only awaiting an opportunity to fly at the throats of their oppressors.

In ancient days when slaves exhibited fighting instincts they were seized and sent to the arena. They might there fight with other slaves or wild beasts while their masters looked on from safety, but they must never think of fighting with the masters themselves. The Roman aristocrats were as crafty as modern imperialists in this respect.

Spartacus, although a seasoned and unvanquished gladiator, loathed the killing of his fellow slaves for the perverse amusement of the drunken overlords of Rome. Also he hated the dishonored weapons with which he was compelled to fight. He was a fighter by nature and longed to battle with the sword of honor in a cause worth while. No Roman soldier would ever touch the detested weapons of the gladiatorial butcher-house. Spartacus abhorred them also. If only he could rig himself out in shining armor, with a Roman sword in his skillful hand —surely no mere soldier could stand before him!

So the dauntless Spartacus and 200 gladiators whom he had lined up for the project made a burst for freedom one fine day just as the bloody games were starting. Due to the duplicity of a stool pigeon, only 78 of them managed to escape. These broke impetuously through the guard of Roman sentries, fought their way to the gates of the city and escaped down the Appian Way. Seizing weapons on the road, the brave bond did not stop until they reached the vine-clad heights of Mt. Vesuvius. Three thousand Roman troops were immediately dispatched from Capua to hunt them down. That night the legion camped underneath the cliff where the gladiators were hiding. The situation was desperate.

Although vastly outnumbered, Spartacus and his heroic men made a surprise attack in the dead of night. The legionaires, too confident of their numbers, were caught off guard and put to flight. A great number were killed and a large supply of arms and war material captured. The following day the gladiators adorned their mighty limbs with the polished armor of Roman centurions. The barbarous gladiatorial knives were thrown away in disgust. Multitudes of slaves flocked to the rebel forces as soon as the story spread abroad.

Another army was sent forth to capture or kill the rebels. The gladiators, eager to try out their new weapons, made short work of their pursuers.

Revolt Sweeps Onward

Each of the original seventy-eight was well trained in the use of arms. These men made splendid officers. After the little army had been well drilled it began to move forward, sweeping everything before it. The "ergastula," or prisons, were opened along the way and all class war prisoners were invested with full military dignity. The rebel army of Spartacus soon numbered 70,000 freed slaves, desperate, determined and well armed.

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With these forces Spartacus met and defeated one of the greatest pro-consuls of Rome. Afterward he overran the rich territory of Campania, freeing his fellow workers from slavery and dungeon wherever he went. Labor organizers and agitators were dispatched to all parts of Italy. Unions sprang up like magic in all the industrial centers. Cicero, the notorious Roman labor-hater, after contemplating the successful career of the brave young rebel, exclaimed in despair to the Roman Senate: "Not only these ancient labor unions have their right of organization restored, but, by one gladiator, innumerable others and new ones, have been instituted."

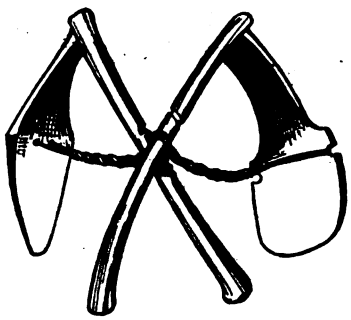
By 74 B. C. the rebel forces numbered 120,000. These were supplied with armor, weapons and supplies. The labor unions of all Italy were secretly working to keep the army equipped with war material and food. Victory after victory perched upon the red banners of the rebel slaves, for the red flag was the ancient and honored emblem of Labor long before Spartacus became a rebel. A march on Rome was started. It failed because of dissensions within the revolutionary ranks. Crixus, a lieutenant of Spartacus, envious of the success and prestige of his chief, sought to induce a portion of the army to make a premature attack on the mighty city. He managed to lead 35,000 slaves to defeat and death. Spartacus crushed the army that had vanquished Crixus. All the Roman aristocrats who were captured were forced to fight each other in the arena with dishonored gladiatorial weapons, just as Spartacus and his men had been compelled to do in days gone by. The situation was completely reversed; the erstwhile slaves were the spectators and the haughty aristocrats supplied the amusement.

Consternation reigned in Rome. Another huge army was assembled. Like its predecessors, it was demolished. The degenerate patricians, most of whom worked from one thousand to ten thousand slaves on their local estates, began to see visions of themselves going to work for a living, or else being thrown in jail for their crimes against labor. They were now thoroughly aroused to the seriousness of the situation.

"Better to Die a Man Than to Live a Slave"

By this time Spartacus was in command of 300,000 veterans. The often defeated Romans had now become cautious as well as determined. The slave army was harrassed for a long time but not given an opportunity to fight in the open. Finally Spartacus broke through the iron ring that surrounded his army and made a break for Sicily. No doubt his intention was to re-establish the free society that had been overthrown twenty-seven years previous. But it was too late. The land owners of Rome had massed three great armies under three of its most famous generals, Pompey, Crassus and Lucullus. Spartacus and his huge army were now outnumbered. The combined forces of the Roman legions totalled nearly half a million, nearly all of them veterans of foreign wars.

A terrific and desperate battle occurred. But the



ANCIENT HOES

gladiator and slave who had outgeneraled and defeated eight Roman armies was this time doomed to defeat. The great Spartacus, witnessing the rout of men with whom he had fought for freedom from slavery, rushed into the fray with indescribable fury and heroism. He was determined to sell his life dearly. His one aim was to meet the hated Crassus in personal combat before dying. "It was a fierce struggle. Long after victory was hopeless, Spartacus was traced by heaps of slain who had fallen by his hand, and his body was lost completely in the awful carnage which closed that day of blood."

Most of the rebel heroes were butchered without mercy on the spot. Some managed to escape to the mountains. Thousands were crucified on the highroad to Rome. The sacred right to exploit had once more been made secure. History says that Spartacus, like all his predecessors, was considered a savior by the great masses that fought under his command.

"Pie in the Sky"

The wave of terror that followed the last and greatest of the slave rebellions of ancient days lasted until long after the birth of Jesus—the last of the "saviors" of the class.

All the ancient labor unions merged into primitive Christianity. This was originally a communistic and revolutionary movement. Its early adherents were lynched and persecuted just as the I. W. W.'s of today are lynched and persecuted. And, like the I. W. W., their movement thrived on persecution.

Communistic Christianity became more powerful as the years passed by. Its doctrines of equality, brotherhood and justice were all drawn from the three types of unions out of which the movement sprang. The early Christians sought to establish "the kingdom of God on earth"—not in heaven only. They expected to see the millenium with their own eyes. Jesus, the rebel carpenter, was crucified as an agitator like thousands of other rebels of his day. Like Eunus, Athenion, Spartacus and other slave leaders, he was said to have been a wonder worker and a messiah. Today he stands as an imperishable monument to the fact that unpopular movements cannot be crushed with force.

Three hundred and twenty years after the death of Jesus the Roman empire, under Constantine, adopted Christianity rather than be overthrown by it. As a state religion it became harmless as far

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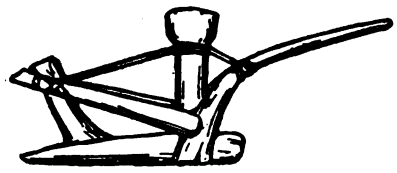

TYPE OF PLOW USED BY ANCIENT AGRICULTURAL SLAVES

as its menace to the established order was concerned. The "kingdom of heaven" was placed somewhere up above the clouds and the equality of man came to mean the equality of the grave. From this time onward the once revolutionary movement has simply stood for submission on earth and "pie in the sky when you die."

Neither primitive Christianity or the horrible and bloody uprisings that preceded it overthrew the system of slavery. History had not yet sounded the hour for this hideous institution to disappear. Slavery ceased when changing conditions of society demanded another form of productive labor. When slavery became unprofitable it was abandoned. But the great labor revolts of ancient days did show the world that millions of noble workers lived in those times who would rather face death than endure the infamy of servitude. The productive system of the ancient world probably made it impossible for slaves to organize on industrial lines and achieve real solidarity on the job. Had it been in their power to do so they could have gained far more than they did with far less cost. A general strike of all harvest workers, organized into one mighty agricultural unit, might conceivably have forced the exploiting class from their backs. But these brave rebels deserve no blame, even if they fought blindly. All honor to their memory! They proved by their gameness that they were worthy to be called men!

Rotten Rome

The slave empire of Rome was dying of its own castes and its own corruption. In her last days the concentration of wealth into the hands of the idle few was only a little greater than it is in the United States today. Toward the end, torn asunder with labor troubles within and wars without, she sought to placate the rebellious slave population with free corn and amusements. "While the Egyptian fellah and the Moorish peasant were laboring in the fields, the sturdy beggars of Byzantium and Rome were amusing themselves at the circus, or basking on marble in the sun." But this could not last for long.

When the slave market went to smash, Rome went to smash with it. The inevitable law of social chance demanded a new foundation for society. Rotten old Rome, as hide-bound as the capitalist nations of today, could not do business on other than a slave basis. Goth, Vandal and Hun swept down on her, fat, senile and defenseless. All that survived was the church that had amalgamated with her once despised labor unions. Rome had become nothing but a name.

Feudalism became the next step in human progress. The agricultural worker became a serf instead of a chattel.

The Skookum Boy

By D. S. DIETZ

We see a great big handsome boy,
Of earnest mien and poise;
He's clean of face and bright of eye,
As nature meant all boys.

He sings the new and wholesome strains
Wherever he's at play—
"Oh, all our daddies must come out
Of dungeons dark and grey!

"They're only in there just because
They love such boys as me,
And by the great big bunch of us,
We'll get them all out free!"

He has a wondrous physique, too,
And wallops thugs of strife—
Those, bred by Mammon's greedy god
To crush the workers' life.

He swings an awful uppercut
For one so young as he,
That 'ere he's one-half adult size
He'll jolt us wage slaves free.

His name is known thruout the land—
Now you can surely guess
Who lights emancipation's way—
The Industrial Workers' PRESS.

Renunciation

By Joachim Raucher

When hungry millions are unfed
And little orphans weep,
I cannot eat in peace my bread,
Nor sing my grief to sleep.

When thoughts arising from the heart
Are hampered in their flight,
I cannot sit and muse apart
Upon a dreamy height.

When craven lies oft seek to blind
The eyes of shining Truth,
I cannot turn my maddened mind
To songs of love and youth.

Nor can I sing in lyric strains
Of private, little woes,
When Greed is reaping golden gains
From bloody seeds it sows.

("Freedom")

After the War

After the war is over,
After the slaughter is done,
After the people are ruined,
After the victory's won,
Labor will go on drudging,
Wondering what it was for,
Paying for generations,
After the war.

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The I. W. W. in California

(Some time during the fall of 1919 the social science class of the Stanford University of California sent out an investigator in the Santa Clara Valley in central California to study the I. W. W.'s in that vicinity. The following is the investigator's report.)

PART I

Existing Economic and Social Conditions

Each county in the United States has its more or less peculiar industrial and social development. Santa Clara Valley in California is one of the largest fruit raising sections in America. Now, there is no special reason to assume that the working class as a whole are worse off in this rich fruit growing region than they are in the average county throughout the nation. Quite to the contrary, there is every reason to believe the condition of the worker to be as good as, if not better, than in most other counties thruout our country.

Yet, strange to say, in Santa Clara County a feeling of social unrest, an undercurrent of dissatisfaction, seems to exist among the workers. As evidence of this discontent, a number of strikes and threats of wage disagreements have taken place just within the last three months. And wages have been higher than ever, in fact raised considerably during the last nine weeks. But in most places the situation seems to be at a boiling point between the worker and his employer. The relation between them is anything but one of co-operation and mutual confidence.

PART II

Revolutionists at Work

Into the causes for the prevailing murmur of discontent I intended to inquire, but my attention was called to a far more interesting and human study. In this widespread condition of grumbling on the part of the workers, I, to my surprise, came across a well organized party of revolutionists. Continued investigation led me to find these radicals in the shops, in the hay fields, in the mills and factories, in fact, I met them in nearly every place in the county where a large body of workingmen were employed.

According to newspaper authority, I was convinced that the I. W. W. was practically non-existent. What I discovered though, only served to bring back to my mind the well-known dictum: "You cannot believe all you see in the newspapers." For I found this much disliked and publicly hated group of revolutionists not at all broken up in their organization, but on the other hand, better organized than ever, and busy in the solicitation of members, together with an active spreading of their propaganda.

My first interview with a member of the I. W. W. was at the Co-operative Cannery in San Jose, where I first started out to find from the workers themselves the reasons for their discontent. It so chanced to happen that the first individual I questioned was a member of the "Wobblies," as he said. J—— was a tall, red-haired member, an Englishman by birth, so I learned. "How many followers have you in this county?" I questioned.

"I do not care to tell you just how many members we have in this county," responded J——. "You see, the government agents will not allow us to meet. There is much bitterness and prejudice on the part of most people against us at the present. Many of the boys, therefore, do not want it known that they carry red cards. We are subject to arrest on most any pretense. I can only say since the authorities will not let us come out in the open that we are quietly increasing our membership daily. If you want any of our literature or desire to know anything about our organization I will be more than glad to be of service to you."

"What is your main idea?" I asked J——.

"You will understand," replied J——, "that we are a labor union that is also a revolution and the germ of a new social order. Our philosophy is based upon modern science and the Marxian analysis of economics and history. We propose a more sensible and orderly arrangement of society than the present. We urge that the shop, mill, industrial plant, or college hall, shall be the repository of the ballot box and that the worker shall declare his will according to his immediate economic interests rather than through the vague and confusing electoral district with its conflicting interests."

"But," I replied, "a number of your members have been tried and found guilty of violence and destruction of property."

J—— then told me that he would give me directions so I could find SB, who was working at Santa Clara. According to J—, SB was a graduate of the University of Texas and better informed on the violence side of the question than he was. SB had been at the famous trial in Chicago.

Two days later I met SB at Santa Clara. He was a heavy set, dark complexioned young fellow. I soon learned that he was very well informed on economics and sociology.

"What is your answer to all these convictions and charges of violence and destruction of property by your organization?" I questioned SB.

"Take the trial at Chicago," said SB, "that is a fair example of the numerous charges that have been brought against us. I have in my possession a full copy of the evidence given on both sides. You can examine it for yourself, and I challenge you or any one else to find one iota of testimony that connects our organization with the charges made against us. Deputy Sheriff Gole of Colfax, Washington, told how scores of threshing machines had burned. But both the State Agricultural College and the United States Department of Agriculture had proved that smut in wheat exploded by electric sparks from gearings was the cause. Why, they might have convicted the Women's Christian Temperance Union of these things—it

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would have been just as logical. But we were picked on simply because we advocate a form of labor organization which the capitalist interests don't like. The newspapers started a campaign of slander to stir up public sentiment against us, then we were grabbed when the patriotic feeling was at its height and railroaded through."

"Let me read," continued SB, "a few extracts from the testimony to you. Vanderveer was our attorney. He is here examining R. J. Whittaker of Missoula, Montana, an ex-sheriff and owner of a 640-acre ranch. Whittaker had two sons in the army and owned liberty bonds galore.

"VANDERVEER: Do you do your own threshing?

A. Yes, and my neighbors' as well.

Q. Have you and your neighbors employed I. W. W.'s?

A. Why, yes; we employed them the same as anyone else.

Q. Did they ever throw pitchforks through your machine, or iron or rocks?

A. No.

Q. Did they ever destroy property or raise hell?

A. Not that I ever heard of, except in the papers. The newspapers are always full of it.*

"The testimony of a man named Burdell," added SB, "was remarkable. In broad daylight, one noon, back in 1913, an I. W. W. had deliberately, so the "cookee" told him, picked up a 1,500-pound horse by the tail and thrown the critter down a well! Had added insult to injury by saying 'the bugger ought to have been down there long ago'! Witness had rescued the animal from a watery grave by means of a derrick and a slip-noose cast round the horse's neck."

"What is your objection to the American Federation of Labor? I see the newspapers say your organization is bitterly opposed to it?" was the next question I put to SB.

"We condemn the American Federation of Labor," answered SB, "because it associates the workers in such a way that they are rendered ineffective as an economic force, either to help themselves or to safeguard humanity, and at the same industrial and social responsibilities. We hold that the new organs of production and administration must be developed within the body of the present society, so that upon the birth of the new society it will be able to function immediately. The American Federation of Labor has no vision of a new society. The federation, by the craft form of organization, lifts men out of their natural industrial context and groups them artificially. We hold that the shop is the cell of the new organic life and the worker must be organized in the terms of production (industrially), rather than in terms of tools (by crafts). Thus organized, the natural industrial context is preserved and the workers will be able to continue production and guarantee the fundamental needs of life in the transition period that would follow the breakdown of the present system."

I next inquired of SB about the form of their organization and how they worked. He told me I had better go out to Los Gatos and have a talk with one of their delegates. He explained to me that their organization had perfected a wonderful delegate system. One of their delegates, K., was now going the rounds of the California District, and happened to be stopping at the present in Los Gatos. Delegate K. would explain to me in detail the workings of their organization.

"I met delegate K. by arrangement. He was a great big fellow, highly tanned, and had dark curly hair. He had been a lumberjack most of his life, so he told me. He seemed to be a man about forty-five, and to possess a remarkable bodily vigor.

"You are a delegate," said I, "what is the purpose of your delegate system?"

"At the present time," he replied, "it performs several functions. You see since the government agents have been arresting and persecuting us we have had to raise money for defense funds. For a long time we sent this money thru the mails. But our mail was held up and our contributions never reached our attorneys. Consequently, we are using the delegate system to collect our defense funds, to line up members and to issue them cards, to carry our literature from place to place, and to act as the connecting link and reliable information bureau to our members scattered throughout the nation. Once and a while they pinch one of our delegates but we always have another one to take his place."

'Do the authorities know about this delegate system of yours," I asked.

"Oh yes," answered delegate K., "but they cannot put us all in jail, and every one of us is just as capable of being a delegate as the other fellow. What we are going to prove is that our idea cannot be suppressed by force and that if we are denied our constitutional rights we will need methods that are quiet an dpeaceful to carry on our propaganda anyhow. As long as the present social injustice exists we are bound to grow, and tarring and feathering us and jailing or deporting some of our members, is not going to remedy matters one bit. The Czar of Russia sent every one to Siberia that did not agree with him, or who dared to speak out their convictions. But where is the Czar now? There are a lot of people in this country who have not learned the lesson of history, that the domination of those in power is not eternal, that some day those whom they persecute may come to power and then think of the reprisals!"

"To make this thought clear to you," continued delegate K., "let me read to you the closing remarks of Gustave Herve at the close of his trial before the Jury of La Seine."

He then opened the pamphlet, which he pulled from his inner coat pocket while talking, and read the following:

"It will require great courage on your part to acquit us. It will be necessary for you to act contrary to your every day belief, which has been imposed upon you by your newspapers and which paints us as demons, passing our lives in insulting

*Seventh Circuit Court Records, Report 1918.

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the military, and trampling the flag in the mud.

"It will be necessary for you to overcome the temptation to crush the adversaries you have in power.

"It will involve your exposing yourself to the reproaches and railleries of your friends, who will never forgive you for having freed 'the man with the flag on the dung-hill.'

"To those who reproach you with our acquittal, you will say: "It was impossible for us not to acquit men for having expressed frankly and regardless of the consequences their opinion. We were unwilling to throw upon the twentieth century the ridicule and the odium of having condemned men on the pretext that they were heretics, and their doctrines dangerous."

"Yes, gentlemen, I say it in all sincerity, it is in the interest of your own class itself, to bring in a verdict of acquittal. Although we do not belong to the same class, although we consider our class as an enemy to yours, our drawing of class lines has not killed in our hearts all sentiments of humanity.

"We know that under your bourgeois broad-cloth beats the heart of a man, like ours. We entreat you, in the interests of your class, even the men and women of your class, our brothers and sisters in humanity, not to exasperate further, by verdicts of ill will, our class, which is already sufficienly exasperated against you. We desire to save you from terrible reprisals. You are today the stronger, but your domination is not eternal. I have an inkling that it will not last a great while. Perhaps you do believe it. No more did the Czar, when he came, some years ago, to his full glory, believe the time so near when he would have to settle accounts with his people. In the day when our class will settle scores with yours, it will be a pleasure to us, your prisoners of today, to plead extenuating circumstances in your favor.

"Do not mistake my meaning. I do not threaten you with reprisals. I am not trying to frighten you. Fear is no nearer your hearts, I imagine, than it is ours. But, as we do hold you individually responsible for the crimes of the present society, we would wish that the Revolution, which is gathering, should seize as few victims as possible among you. When it shall be our class which judges, in its turn, the class to which you belong, we shall be happy to be able to say to the more exasperated of our members, that, at the time of your might, there were brave men among you—which is true. We shall be happy to say that there was a good judge Magnaud and a good judge Sere de Rivieres among your magistrates, that there were court presidents, like the present one, to preside over the Court of the Assizes; that there were advocates general who did not seek in the mire for insults to hurl at the heads of the defendants, and that there were good jurymen like those of Auxerre of Troyes, and even of patriotic Paris who would acquit their political opponents".

"Yes, I see your point," I replied, "but you speak of the social injustice now prevailing. Just what do you mean by that?"

"I mean," answered Delegate K, "I mean the great gulf between the poor on one hand and the rich on the other. Let me go into the house and get my copy of the Industrial Relations Commission Report, the commission that was appointed by President Wilson, and I will give you the government's own words to support my contentions."

Delegate K then read to me two statements from the report, which are as follows: "It is a sad commentary on our system that 79 per cent of the heads of our working families are utterly unable to support their families and to educate their children on a plane of civic decency." . . . "Two per cent of the people of this country own two-thirds of all its wealth, real and personal. Sity-five per cent of the people, comprising the working class of the country, own less than 5 per cent of the wealth of this country, and this wealth is represented in the mines, in the forests, in our national industries, and stands over and dominates all our industrial and social life."

"Now when we I. W. W.," continued delegate K, "hold, as we do in the preamble to our constitution, that there are two classes in this country which have nothing in common, you see we do not rely on fiction for our statement."

"What does the preamble to your constitution state?"I immediately asked.

I was given a copy. It reads like this:

"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 class and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

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

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

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

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

"It is the historic mission of the working class

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to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the 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."**

Delegate K excused himself, saying he had to catch a train. Another member, who had come up to where we were talking, took me by machine to Lawrence Station to meet "Fellow Worker" Conrad. Conrad had been a school teacher and was well informed on all matters, according to this member. At the time Conrad was working on a threshing machine crew.

I soon learned that Conrad was well informed on literature, especially was he fond of Milton, Shakespeare, and Ben Johnson. Our conversation drifted to the "free speech fights" the I. W. W. had engaged in. Conrad said that the I. W. W. took the position that Milton did when he wrote in the "Areopagitica" "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."

In response to a few questions Conrad went on to say, "Now we I. W. W. firmly believe our ideas to be correct. Those who oppose us are afraid that if too much light is turned upon them they will take hold of the working class and act in a way detrimental to the interests of the employers. Consequently, they are trying to crush us by lying about us, by using brute force against us, and by throwing our leaders in jail. But we expect this. Any new movement is subject to misrepresentation and its leaders are bound to be abused. You remember history tells us of a heretic named John Huss. A century in advance of Luther he heralded and demanded the Protestant reformation. For the crime the council condemned him to be burned. As the first martyr of Protestantism ascended the pile, an old devotee of the town of Constance came bringing yet another faggot, which she threw on the heap, evidently thinking it not high enough. 'Sancta simplicitas,' said John Huss, shrugging his shoulders in gentle pity.

"I tell you, young fellow," added Conrad, "that same devotee's spirit is exhibited in America today against the I. W. W. One of our able speakers, James P. Thompson, now sentenced to serve twenty years in Leavenworth Penitentiary, once said, 'The very people who are abusing the I. W. W., if they had lived in the days of our forefathers, would have been licking the boots of King George. They would have said of the boys fighting barefoot in the snow at Valley Forge, "Look at them! They haven't got a shoe to their feet and they are talking about Liberty!" The people who are knocking the I. W. W. are the same type who dragged William Lloyd Garrison through the streets of Boston with a halter; who killed Lovejoy and threw his printing press into the Mississippi river; it is the same type who murdered our comrade, Frank Little.' You will find this statement true a few years hence, mark my words, young fellow."

I asked Conrad as to what he thought was the effect of adverse public opinion upon the membership of the organization.

The reply was, "Well, of course we have lost some; it has had a cleansing effect, on the whole; the sheep are gone. On the other hand, we have greatly increased our membership so that we have about five hundred thousand fighters for industrial freedom in this country. We are spreading our ideas very successfully in a quiet and secret manner since the police will not let us hold street or hall meetings. You will see by the papers that the labor unions of Canada and Australia are adopting our idea of the ONE BIG UNION. Also you will notice in the papers today that the unions of Montana and Washington are voting on the same thing. This is all due to our continuous propaganda activity. I also noticed that the Triple Alliance of England is going to use our 'method of industrial direct action' in the place of the outworn 'political action' method to get its demands in the future."

I inquired of Conrad as to what he thought was the chief difficulty that confronted the I. W. W. in Santa Clara County at the present time.

He answered my question by handing me the bulletin of the California District Defense of August 4th, 1919, which read:

"A decision has been handed down by the Supreme Court of this state in the case of Thomas McDermott, that declares the Criminal Syndicalism Law to be constitutional. This action of the Supreme Court is no surprise to the members of the I. W. W., as they have long been aware that no law directed at the working class and benefiting the exploiting class would be found otherwise, but we are surprised that the learned judges of the Supreme Court come out so openly in a class distinction. At the least, it was expected they would ponder lengthily upon the meaning of the law until it would appear that in their superior wisdom they had thoroughly decided its status, but instead they apparently took snap judgment and arrived at a decision in a very short time, thus acting like ordinary mortals and very much belittling their exalted positi n and the honorable traditions of the slowness of the courts.

"The upholding of the constitutionality of this law will probably be commended by labor haters throughout this state, and well it should be, for, as a weapon to be used against the workers, it is exceptional inasmuch as it can be used to make a multitude of rights into wrongs, if so decided by any court. This law is at present being used to deny workers the right to organize, to spread the propaganda of their class, to assemble peacefully, and to freedom of speech. It is worded so that it can be used to abolish the right to strike if at any time it is so needed.

"For the above reasons it is essential that we fight every case in which a member of the I. W. W. is arrested under this law, as once a conviction is secured, it is a precedent for those who are fighting the working class to firmly establish the interpreta-

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tion of this law as being directed against the I. W. W. Our weakness as an organization makes it impossible to carry on the fight in the industrial field at the present time and win by the display of our economic strength, therefore, it is necessary to fight in the master's courts. Their weapons of warfare are controlled by the pocket book, and it takes money to get results. Money is needed for the defense. A donation is asked from every member of the I. W. W."

Two days after my interview with Conrad, I met by arrangement another member at a cannery in Campbell. This man was a Frenchman by birth. His strong point was his good knowledge of the Syndicalist movement in France, which he said was the same as the I. W. W. movement in America.

"The French organization," remarked F, "La Confederation Generale du Travail, is the most powerful body of labor in France. It is in France what the Triple Alliance of Labor is in England, only La Confederation long ago decided in favor of 'direct action' and against 'political action' as a means to get its demands. For example, in May, 1918, the organization called a general munitions strike. Two hundred thousand were on strike in Paris alone. Then Clemenceau, the Tiger, who eats syndicalists for breakfast, had to beg on his knees Merrheim, the secretary and chief spokesman of the Metal Workers, to settle the strike."

F— went on to say: "You see, we I. W. W. are internationalists. Raymond Pericat, member of the Administrative Council of the Building Federation of La Confederation Generale du Travail, is working night and day in our behalf and that of the Bolsheviki in Russia, with whom we are closely associated. Our members in this country are comrades in the world-wide movement of labor that will eventually come to rule. The preamble of the constitution, to which we workers in Santa Clara County subscribe, is in substance the same to which the revolutionary workers of the world agree."

Now, I met a good many more I. W. W. I met some in the towns of Mountain View, Sunnyvale, and Saratoga; I came across some at Morgan Hill and Cuperino, and I talked with some in Palo Alto and on the Stanford Farm. The conversation presented and the opinions set forth in this paper is representative of them all; that is, it gives a fair statement of what they are all thinking and doing.

There are a few other features about the Santa Clara County I. W. W. of interesting mention. One thing is the monthly report of their receipts and expenditures. Just a sample of the July statement is given here:

RECEIPTS

July 1	Stamps	$ 1.00
July 2	Donation jail comforts	5.00
July 5	List No. 13	5.75
July 7	List No. 65	9.80
July 10	Defense money	14.65
July 17	Donation	50.00

EXPENDITURES

July 1	Stamps	$15.00
July 1	Paper pad	.10
July 1	Registered letter	.10
July 2	Tobacco (jail)	.10
July 2	Telegram Chicago	1.00
July 2	Tobacco (jail)	1.00
July 5	Pills, bandage, peroxide, vaseline, shoe strings	1.09
July 7	Marmalade 2 lbs (jail)	.50

Total receipts, $319.72; total expenditures, $72.21. Turned over, $147.51.

A few other things were noticeable. On the whole the men were a jolly and good-natured set. And it is not at all a mistake to say that they were far above the average workingman in intelligence and alertness to vital questions. Practically all of them were readers of "The Dial," "The Nation" and "The New Republic." These they called "fair" magazines. Other magazines and newspapers they styled as "subsidized capitalist mouthpieces." Nearly all the men took pains to impress upon me the fact that the old days of the "mulligan" by the railroad track and the "jungle ups" in barn-houses were over. They said that if I should in my investigation pay a visit to one of their old "boiling up" quarters under some bridge, where a small boy on his way home from school wrote on a sign above "The Home of the Irresponsible Wandering Willies," that I would find those places deserted forever. Their motto was now, "Every man on a job for 'Education—Organization—Emancipation.'"

PART III
Critical Reflections

Now in the matter of personal attitudes toward our problem of social unrest, which, I pointed out, exists even in Santa Clara County, we are confronted with three possibilities. There is the ultra-conservative attitude which refuses to do anything but pass oppressive legislation; the liberal attitude, which proposes to bring about change on the basis of the present order, and the revolutionary position. All of us will have to choose either one of these positions sooner or later.

A typical stand-pat attitude, or the recourse to oppressive measures, two sides of the ultra-conservative position, will solve no vital issue. Measures such as the Syndicalist Laws and the Overman Bill, now pending before the Senate, are examples of pseudo-statesmanship. They aim at effects and absolutely fail to comprehend the underlying causes inherent in the system. Our famous bourgeois lynch law—by which we have had on an average of three lynchings a week—killing colored men and women for the past thirty years—3,224 negroes known to have been put to death since 1889, is a good sample of intolerance and club rule carried to its height; yet an utter failure to remedy causes.

We could build a Chinese wall around Santa Clara County, California, or the United States. We could expel all the I. W. W., or put them in jail or even put them to death, but if conditions remained the

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same we would have a bigger crop in a short while. Revolutionists are not made by propaganda to any great extent. If the conditions of revolution are not present no sort of propaganda will either hasten or impede it.

Our own revolutionists are a product of a natural evolutionary process. If the invention of gunpowder and printing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries presaged the Reformation of the sixteenth, and if the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century was the forerunner of the political revolution throughout the western world, we may well, after the mechanical and economic cataclysm of the nineteenth, cease wondering that the twentieth century is an age of revolution. The centralization of big business going hand in hand with the centralization of the political state, making it the reflex committee of the Capitalist Class, can produce nothing else.

The days of the reformer are over. No more can the politician grasp upon a compromise measure. The age is forcing the liberal either into the camp of the reactionary plutocrat and his vile way of doing things, or compelling him to go where he belongs, the camp of the revolutionist. The gulf between the rich and the poor is getting wider and wider day by day. Hope of a liberal position is only a phantom dream. You are forced to say whether you want to try to stop progress or whether you want to stand in with progress. If you are a little advanced above the dumb brutes you will realize that mankind can advance by taking thought about his environment. If you stop to think seriously at all about the present world-wide condition of the working class, you will be forced to accept but one position, that of the revolutionist.

This thought, therefore, will compel you to adopt the only motto worthy of utterance: "ALL POWER TO THE INDUSTRIAL UNION. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION. FORWARD! MARCH!

INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED RECENTLY IN A MODERN BASTILE (SAN QUENTIN, CALIF.)

Joe Martinez (serving four years for breaking jail while doing a six months' sentence on a trumped up charge of poisoning sheep) has his foot badly smashed by a rock rolling on it. The doctor dressed the foot but refused to give him a crutch. He went to the captain of the guard and secured a cane. The next day when he went back to have the foot dressed the doctor took the cane away from him and informed him: "You damned I. W. W., there is nothing the matter with you, only you want to get out of work. Tomorrow you go back to work."

This is only one of the numerous instances which show the manner in which the I. W. W.'s are being discriminated against by the prison doctor.

Recently one of our fellow workers was up before the doctor for examination of his lungs. The doctor told him: "Your lungs are in a bad shape, and if you were not a damned I. W. W. maybe we could get lighter work for you."

J. Malley went before the doctor with a bad cold and requested him to give him an order for some woolen underwear. Instead the doctor gave him some pills and had him punished for throwing the pills away. That is how they are trying to break the men's spirits.

Charles Bentley, convicted under the criminal syndicalism law, filled out a book slip in which he put in the names of ten liberal books, among which were such books as Mill's book on economics, Jack London's "The Revolution" and Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Did he get one of the ten? No. He did not, but instead got a book called "Two Patriots." Did someone say a man could think what he pleases? If so, that man never served a term in San Quentin, for there they carefully guide your thoughts so that when you leave there you will be a "well broken slave."—Card No. 391592.

"Great Britain has gained in the war all, and indeed, much more than all she SET OUT TO WIN. Our navy remains at the end of the war intact and unassailed. The principle of freedom of the seas, which is the basis of our national existence, stands unimpaired and unimpugned. The British protectorate of Egypt is provided for in one of the clauses of this treaty. We are demobilizing our forces, but we cannot lay down our arms; we cannot disband them altogether. We must still be able to FIGHT FOR WHAT WE HAVE WON, and be sure that it is not taken from us after we have won it."—Lord Curzon, discussing the Peace Treaty in the House of Lords.

"It is absolutely necessary at this time to provide for a strong regular military establishment in this country, not for the purposes of external defense or aggression primarily, but I believe that this country needs a strong military establishment FOR ITS INTERNAL PROTECTION FOR SOME YEARS TO COME, following this war, and we are providing, by this bill, such an establishment, sufficient to preserve law and order and civilized constitutional government." — Congressman Anthony, speaking in favor of the Army Reorganization Bill, passed by the House of Representatives, March 18, by a vote of 244 to 92.

Though we be buried in blood and filth up to our necks, though thick clouds of vile and disgusting vapor envelope our heads and blind our eyes, though it seems, at times, as if vulgarity had killed the beautiful dream we bore in agony and suffering, though all the torches that we once lighted on the path that was to lead us to a new and better world seem to have been extinguished, **humanity will win.** For that is the great meaning of life in this world. Life has no other meaning.

Perhaps, after all, we are doomed to destruction! Were it not better, then, to be burned up in the fierce fire of the revolution than to rot slowly on the dung-heap, as we have been doing?

—Maxim Gorky.

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SCENE: The shady side of a barn on a Sunday afternoon. It is a red barn with white trimmings. It extends across the back of the stage, and if the width of the stage permits, the round outlines of a brick silo will be visible at one end, with room for passageway. The barn door is rolled back—and if the opposite door can also be opened we will find ourselves looking through the barn and out over the rolling fields, yellow with wheat ripe for cutting.

BILL, the hired man, and BENNY and HILDA are sitting in the doorway, BILL on an overturned half-bushel measure, BENNY and HILDA at his feet. BILL is long and lean, of the Yankee type. In age he is probably in the late twenties. BENNY and HILDA are as young as children reasonably can be on the stage. BENNY is some two years the elder. There is an atmosphere of Sunday calm about the place. BILL is smoking a pipe. HILDA is humming the tune of a song popular some dozen or so years ago, by the name "San Antonio" . . . but the words she occasionally interpolates are strange.

HILDA

(Humming)

Tra-la la-la from the word go,
And to the master, they'll tra-la-la-la.
How do the words go there, Bill?

BILL

(*Keeping time with his pipe*)

And if you'll join them, they'll let you know
Just the reason the boss must go!
Say, kiddie, where'd you learn that?

HILDA

From Benny. He whistles it.

(*Bill turns to Benny, Puzzled*)

BENNY

You're always whistling it while you work.

HILDA

Then I found the words in your little red book.

BILL

Well, I'm darned. Where'd you get hold of that?

HILDA

Upstairs in your room when mamma was cleaning.

BENNY

What business you got monkeying with Bill's things?

HILDA

I wasn't . . . It was right there on the table . . and I read the words and mamma hummed some of the tunes for me . . . Wasn't that all right, Bill? Bill I want a little red book like that for my own.

BILL

What'd your mamma have to say about it?

HILDA

Nothing . . . I ast her did she think you'd let me have it and she guessed you thought a lot of it, and I ast her did she think you'd get me one like it, and she said maybe. Bill, will you?

BILL

Well . . . if she doesn't care . . . I wonder about your dad, tho. (*Grinning to himself.*) Did he ever hear that song?

HILDA

Oh, he doesn't pay much attention to us. He's always too busy.

BENNY

(*Insinuatingly.*)

Bill, if I had a new mouth organ I could play those tunes. My old one's no good anymore.

BILL

Sure, we could have a whole wobbly orchestra.

HILDA

I like the one about the red flag best **(Humming it softly—break off.)** Bill, you promised me a story.

BILL

(*Pulling her hair.*)

Story nothing. This is Sunday.

HILDA

That's why. You said wait till Sunday. (*Settling herself against his knee.*) One about giants.

BENNY

Ah, naw! A real one. You promised me a real one. You said some day you'll tell me about Joe Hill . . . You promised.

BILL

Well . . . all right . . . if I promised.

(*Enter Swanson.*)

Swanson is a big raw-boned Scandinavian farmer. He is taller than Bill and heavier. He was dressed up for Sunday earlier in the day, but is now in his shirt sleeves and has taken off his collar. His shirt is open at the throat with a gold

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collar button dangling. He looks cooly and searchingly at Bill.

SWANSON

You young ones, you run in to your mamma. She wants you.

BENNY

(Protesting.)

Ah!

SWANSON

Run!

HILDA

But Bill was just going to tell us a story.

SWANSON

The story can wait.

BILL

(*Quietly.*)

What is it, Mr. Swanson?

SWANSON

Well, now I find you out! So you been one of those fellows, heh? One of thoes damn alleged I. W. W.'s... and never said nothing!

BILL

(*Showing button on his shirt front.*)

Why, yes, Mr. Swanson. I've never made any secret of it. Here's the button. I've worn it out in plain sight.

"I LIKE THE ONE ABOUT THE RED FLAG BEST"

HILDA

Just let him begin it.

BILL

It's all right, kids. I'll tell the story after chores.

HILDA

Sure? And will you make it a giant story?

BENNY

No, a real one.

BILL

Well... maybe both.

(*Under their father's stern eye Benny and Hilda depart.*)

SWANSON

Well... Mr. Bill!

SWANSON

How I know what that thing is? I thought it was a lodge or something.

BILL

Well, so it is... sort of.

SWANSON

Hal of a lodge that is! Setting fire to barns... burning up crops!

BILL

(*Sharply.*)

Hold on, Swanson. You're going too far... making wild statements that have no proof. I've never mentioned the matter to you. Guess we've been too busy since I came, but I've thought that

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when things let up a bit, we might sit down and talk it over. I'd like to explain to you—

SWANSON

Explain nothing! Don't I know? Can't I read English? Can't hardly pick up a paper nowadays without reading about some damage done by those damn alleged I. W. W.'s.

BILL

Oh, yes, those damn alleged I. W. W.'s might do most anything.

SWANSON

And here I got one all the time on my place!

BILL

Oh, no. I'm not alleged. I'm real.

SWANSON

I know now what you are all right. And I guess you better get!

BILL

What's that?

SWANSON

Get! Get out! Quit! Vamoose! Get off my place. I got no use here for such a kind of a—

BILL

Oh, now, Mr. Swanson — If you say so, it goes of course, but I wish you'd think it over. Got any complaint to make about me personally?

SWANSON

No-o. You been good worker all right. But now when I know what you are...

BILL

Who told you?

SWANSON

Lindquist... damn him... he think he got laugh on me! I say we should drive all dose rascals out of the country.. and he said I got one on my own place... golly I not stand for that.

BILL

(*Placatingly.*)

I s'pose it did make you sort of mad... but I wouldn't let Lindquist scare me out that way. See here Mr. Swanson, you and I get along fine. Ever since the day I met you in town, you needing a man, I looking for a job... no questions were asked, but we hit it off pretty well from the start...

SWANSON

I know. I know. You been good worker. I like you. Those kids they crazy about you, and the women folks they think you all right... but I can't have you round no more...

BILL

And it's just the beginning of harvest. We were going to cut the south quarter section tomorrow.

SWANSON

Yes, I know it will leave me in bad fix, but I can't help it, I can't run no such risks...

BILL

Oh, hell, Swanson, you know I won't set the quarter section on fire.

SWANSON

Maybe not, maybe not you... but it's what you call a principle...

BILL

That's the idea. Let's get down to principles. You see Mr. Swanson, it's this way...

SWANSON

No—no. I don't care what way it is.

BILL

But take the meeting you fellows are holding in the school house Thursday night... the idea isn't so different. You want to organize...

SWANSON

That's different matter entirely. We got to organize to protect our rights...

BILL

That's the idea... that's what we think. Now you see, it's this way...

SWANSON

I tell you I don't care what way it is! I ain't going to listen to you, and you got to go!

BILL

All right, Mr. Swanson.

SWANSON

Tomorrow morning I hitch up bay team and take you back to town where you came from.

BILL

Just's you say.

(*Enter Benny and Hilda running.*)

SWANSON

(*Muttering.*)

And I suppose those kids going to make hal of fuss.

BENNY AND HILDA together

Automobile come up road... turned into lane... from town... big shiny car... man from town wants to see you... Ma said he'd find you round the barns somewhere... He said call you... she said he could find you... he's still talking to her... we run out to tell you... he said if we saw you to tell you...

SWANSON

All right, I guess he can find me.

BENNY

Go on up to the house and see his car. Gee, it's a swell one.

SWANSON

I guess if he got any business with me he find me.

BENNY

Hilda, you better run on and hunt those eggs like mamma told you.

HILDA

Smarty, she didn't tell me any more than you. (*To Bill.*) She's going to make a custard pie for supper.

BILL

Hurray! Then I guess we better get the eggs for her. Come on.

BENNY

Oh, if Bill's going... (*Follows the other two around the silo, whistling, "There all fighters...".*)

(*DUNCAN enters. DUNCAN is a man from town.*)

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DUNCAN

(*Genially.*)

Well, Swanson, how are you? How are you? (*Shakes hands as heartily as possible with no response from Swanson.*)

SWANSON

There ain't no interest due till November.

DUNCAN

No, Swanson, no. I understand that all right enough. Not till your crop is in — crops are looking fine up in this section too by the way. No, no, This is another matter entirely. I was driving by and just thought I'd drop in. You've heard, I suppose, of this meeting planned for Thursday night?

SWANSON

Well?

DUNCAN

Don't have anything to do with it, Swanson. I just offer that as a suggestion.

SWANSON

And, why?

DUNCAN

For your own good, Swanson. This man Bentley's a bad lot. Don't get mixed up with him. He's a smooth talker of course, but he's not to be trusted. Why, good Lord, man, he went bankrupt! (*Confidentially.*) Now we've always done business together Swanson, and I've liked you — you're straight and honest and tend to your own affairs — and I don't want to see you taking the wrong turning if I can steer you straight. Now, you farmers don't want to go mixing up in politics — all this talk of your owning your own elevators and running your own men for office and all that sort of thing, why that's pure nonsense! No man can run two jobs and it's the farmer's business to raise crops — the more crops and the bigger, the better off the country. See! And the better off the country, the better for the farmer, of course. Now as to this meeting on Thursday night — you weren't really thinking of going, Swanson?

SWANSON

Well, I think maybe I go over and see what they got to say...

DUNCAN

No! Take a tip from me. Stay away.

SWANSON

I think I yust go over and take a look around.

DUNCAN

Let's see, Swanson, What's the amount of that note you owe our bank?

SWANSON

I guess you know that, Mr. Duncan.

DUNCAN

Yes, I guess I do, Swanson. ... Due in November. And I'll give you another tip — wheat's going to drop. No more war prices for wheat ... and I may suggest to you that the bank might decide not to let these small loans run on... ther's nothing in it for us, you know. Of course I understand that you've had heavy expenses, with your wife's operation in the spring—

SWANSON

(*Fiercely.*)

That's my business.

DUNCAN

And your new binder not paid for—

SWANSON

By gar, how you know that?

DUNCAN

A banker knows a good many things that go on in his town. The North West Farm Machinery Company doesn't sell goods on time without knowing something of the man... besides I have a small investment in the business. ... And wheat's going to drop, Swanson. Put that in your pipe and smoke it — Wheat's going to drop.

SWANSON

By gar, let her drop! I will hold on to my grain till she goes up again!

DUNCAN

Will you, Swanson? You have storage space, I suppose, for several thousand bushels!

SWANSON

No Mr. Duncan, I ain't. So I will sell it to you at that dropped price, and you will keep it in your elevator till the price goes up, and then sell it to millers in Minneapolis.

DUNCAN

Now that's right, Swanson, don't get hot under the collar. That's what we're here for — to handle the stuff for you. Your business is to raise the crop. We'll look after the rest.

SWANSON

Yes, I guess you look after the rest all right— and I guess I go to that meeting Thursday night to hear something about farmers in North Dakota owning elevators.

DUNCAN

We won't beat around the bush any longer, Swanson. I've given you a hint. Now I put it to you straight. You've got the crop. I've got the elevator. You can't store your own grain. You've got to sell it to me. But I haven't got to buy it of you. See!

SWANSON

By gar, I get lumber and build something if it takes all the crop comes to!

DUNCAN

Need I remind you that you may not get credit at the lumber yard... and until your wheat is sold... I guess you better stay away from that meeting. And just let me tell you, if anybody around here begins to get too fresh, something may happen! I dare say you've heard how a meeting of the kind turned out over in Ferguson?

SWANSON

Yes. I hear about that. I hear they had little exercise with fire hose.

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DUNCAN

(Jovially—good-nature restored.)

You're right, Swanson. Little exercise with fire hose is good. I guess maybe we understand one another after all, eh?

SWANSON

I guess I understand.

DUNCAN

Good! I knew you were a man of sense, and maybe it won't be necessary to call in that note. Well good day to you, Swanson.

SWANSON

Good day, Mr. Duncan.

(Bill saunters around the corner, followed by Benny and Hilda.)

DUNCAN

(Turning back.)

Oh, by the way *(catches sight of Bill.)* Um! That's just what I was going to speak to you about. *(With lowered tone.)* Who is he?

SWANSON

My hired man.

DUNCAN

Get rid of him... dangerous character... agitator... one of these I Won't Workers, you know.

SWANSON

He work pretty good for me.

DUNCAN

Never mind. Send him about his business — the sooner the quicker, as they say. Well, so long.

SWANSON

Anything more, Duncan?

DUNCAN

No that's all. Good day. *(Exit briskly.)*

SWANSON

(Muttering.)

By hal! He own bank — he own elevator —

HILDA

Who is he, papa?

SWANSON

He is Mister Duncan. He own bank. He own elevator. He own lumber yard. And by gar, I gues he think he own me.

HILDA

O-oh! Then he's a giant. Is he a giant?

SWANSON

What's that you say?

HILDA

A giant — one of Bill's giants. Bill tells us stories about them. They have a hundred arms. They live in Town... in the vaults of the bank... in the big elevators by the tracks... and they reach out with their hundred arms... like those things in the sea... and wrap them around the farms, and around the grain fields and the farmers and the mothers and the little children, and when the time comes and they get good and ready, they *squeeze!* And down in Minneapolis there's the biggest giant of all, and he reaches out and wraps his arms around the banks, and around the elevators...

SWANSON

(Shaking her playfully by the shoulders.)

Now, that's a nice story all right — but these here giants, you know, have been dead a long time.

HILDA

That's what I thought, but Bill said—

SWANSON

I used to hear such stories about giants in old country. There was a snake like that, that reach all around the earth... Some day I tell you that story, if you want to listen to such foolishness... now you run in with those eggs to your mamma.

HILDA

Will you surely tell it to me some day? You never told me a story in all your life!

SWANSON

I aint got no time for stories. I got to raise crop for Mr. Duncan! Now you run... only look out for those eggs.

(Running.)

I'm going to tell mamma.

BENNY

Is Duncan one of your giants, Bill?

Ask your father that, Benny — after Thursday.

(Bill has seated himself in the barn door way.)

SWANSON

Benny, you run along and let them yearlings into the pasture. Pretty soon your mamma will be calling for supper.

BENNY

(Looking back at Bill.)

Just the same, I bet he is. So that's what you meant. I never knew before. *(Exit, thoughtfully.)*

SWANSON

(Sits down with Bill. Takes out package tobacco, fills pipe. Offering sack to Bill.)

Fill her up.

(The two smoke in silence.)

SWANSON

I guess we get nice day tomorrow.

BILL

Looks like it... If it's all the same to you, Mr. Swanson, I'll get up and hit the trail early. I can catch the way freight over at the crossing. I won't need any breakfast... don't want to put Mrs. Swanson to the trouble... and don't want to bother you either. You'll want to begin on that south quarter section.

SWANSON

(After a pause.)

If it's all the same to you, Bill, I guess you better begin cutting in that south quarter section. *(Another pause.)* I got to look around and see what I got in way of lumber to fix some bins. ... Then maybe I transact some business around the country in afternoon.

BILL

How you off for stack covers... if we had enough canvas...

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SWANSON

By gar, that's good idea! I send to Chicago for more canvas. Thank God, Duncan he don't own Sears-Roebuck... not yet.

BILL

How about Thursday?

SWANSON

I guess I go over to meeting, take a look around and see what they got to say.

(Bill grins appreciatively.)

SWANSON

(Knocking the ashes out of his pipe and turning around to face Bill.)

Now, about those giants! What you fellows think you going to do about 'em, heh?

BILL

(Swinging about to face Swanson — gesturing with pipe bowl against his palm.)

Well, Mr. Swanson, you see it's this way...

(Swanson leans forward listening eagerly, and while Bill expounds the principle of the I. W. W. as applied to agriculture, the curtain slowly falls.

END.

As a Doctor Sees it

Brief Notes—By Dr. B. Liber

1. He Is All Right—

I am a mason. I was always healthy and am not sick now, either. Have just a backache, or rather, a pain in the small of the back. It came after I carried a heavy stone—three months ago. Suddenly I felt an awful pain and it has not left me since. I am working, but it is very hard. Except that, I am all right.

—And this?

This was an operation on account of a fracture of the thigh bone. I fell down from a stepladder—not very high, fifteen feet. Was laid up for four months in the hospital, you know. But it is all healed. Only this leg is somewhat weaker than the other one. Outside of that I am all right.

—And this?

Here I suffered from an injury at work and the hand remained a little stiff. The doctors had to cut out something. But otherwise there is nothing the matter with me. I was never really sick.

—And this?

Oh, here? It was a burn with a hot iron, near the eye. But that happened at another kind of work, when I had no job at my own trade. It was terrible. The face is now a little crooked, but the eye has been saved, as you see, and I am all right.

2. Boxes and Legs—

—I examine the patient's legs, which are covered with ulcerations.

This is nothing, doctor. You know, I am a driver, and it often happens that the clerks, when they are in a hurry, throw boxes and packages on my feet, especially if there is no more room on the wagon. Of course, my shin-bones get hurt every day and are always sore. They never heal. But this is nothing and I would not have come to you for such a trifle. I meant to tell you that I have a cold.

3. Poverty and Sacrifice—

Just a news item: Her husband was crushed and killed by the elevator in the factory. She became insane. She has three young children and lives with them in her old mother's house. The old woman, herself weak and poor, takes care of them. There is the old father, too, who peddles the whole day, rain or sunshine.

Every minute there is a sacrifice.

I am called to one of the children and I see here that sad poetry that I so frequently meet wherever there is poverty.

4. Remembrance—

A case of lung tuberculosis. A young man. When I ask him about his past, he lifts his head, and his cloudy eyes glimmer. After a while he begins to smile and tells me the story of his adventurous life. Then he concludes with these words:

"Yes, it is difficult to stay the whole day in a shop, together with so many other people, especially for a man like me. I was born on the water, in Europe, on a river boat, of which my father was the captain, and I was always out-of-doors, under the broad, blue sky, until a few years ago. Here in the shop I am suffocating. I cannot breathe. No, I cannot breathe"—

And he has a fit of coughing.

5. Degeneration—

I am called to a man with a nervous attack. In the course of our conversation he tells me, among other things:

"Years ago I used to read very much. I was a Socialist. I knew the Communist Manifesto by heart. I was a workingman and an idealist, and I was always contented. But the devil inspired me to change my opinions, and now . . . now . . . I have a shop with fifty workers. Unfortunately, I am making good business. I think of nothing but my shop. If I can make something cheaper than my competitor I am glad. I am sinking deeper and deeper into the swamp. For five years I have not read a book. The people I meet are rough and unlearned; they can sign big checks, but they know nothing except business."

He stopped, cried like a baby, and then continued:

"The other day I met a comrade of the good old days. When he pronounced the word Ibsen, I was moved to tears as at the sight of a dead friend who had become alive again. He left a book in my house, by my mistake. I read it, and—this is the result."

"Yes, doctor," said his wife, "he is crying and shaking ever since he read that terrible book. He cannot go to the shop."

"What book was it?"

He: "Oh, it does not matter. It contained ideas, and, if I am to go on with my money-making business, I must not think."

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Future of the American Working Class and the I. W. W.

By HENRY VAN DORN

I

Anybody who is familiar with the present economic and labor situation in Europe and America must acknowledge that we are on the eve of events which will be of tremendous significance for the future of the American workingman. *Continental Europe is economically bankrupt.* It does not produce enough to keep its population from starving. With the possible exception of France, England, and the Scandinavian countries, the exchange value of European money is practically zero. As a consequence American export trade to Europe is but the ghost of its former self. This is one reason for a slump of production in our industries.

Russia is in great need of agricultural implements, rolling stock and many other things. For the last year it has offered to pay in gold for these things to any country which would sell to her. Anybody with an ounce of intelligence knows that the Soviet regime in Russia is there to stay. Nevertheless, on account of the stupidity of our so-called "statesmen" the United States has up to the present time refused to enter into diplomatic or trade relationships with Russia. Great Britain, however, has at last awakened to the folly of the Allied attitude towards Russia and has allowed Russian trading stations to be opened in London and other places. The indications are that Germany and the Scandinavian countries will follow her example. It is therefore a fairly safe prediction to make that thru the shortsightedness of her foreign policy the United States has lost the enormous volume of the Russian import trade, thereby losing what would have been a great stimulus to increased production in her industries.

While the war was on, a large portion of our working class was busy making munitions, or was engaged in other activities caused directly or indirectly by the war. Only just enough production for home consumption was going on to supply the immediate needs of the country. Since the armistice the entire man-power which formerly was engaged in war work of one kind or another has been diverted into fields of production for home consumption and for peace time export to those countries which are still able to pay. Now, it ought to be apparent to anybody who has a sound mind that if during the war this country could engage a very large part of its man power on war work and still provide its population with practically all the necessary things of life, that after the war, with our resources intact and our industries unimpaired and the countries whole man-power engaged in producing for home consumption and for a diminished export trade, it would only be a matter of time before the country would catch up with its partly neglected industries, would have the warehouses stocked with commodities and would be *confronted with overproduction, unemployment and an economic crisis.* How far down this road of economic disaster have we traveled?

After the armistice a number of factors combined to keep up for a while the appearances of war-time prosperity. There was a great deal of construction work to be caught up with, such as the building of dwellings, hotels, factories for the production of peace-time commodities, and highways would have been put off until after the end of the war. An oil boom was on in Texas and in parts of Oklahoma and Louisiana which supplied employment to thousands of men. The war had created a multitude of rich and and nearly rich men who were doing their best to spend a part of their easily-gained wealth. Automobiles were in greater demand than ever before and the factories that make them were kept working overtime while new factories were being built on an unprecedented scale. That portion of the working class which had made comparatively high wages in war industries had acquired the habit of spending their earnings somewhat more lavishly than before, which habit it kept up until their savings became exhausted and the high cost of living put a stop to it.

These combined factors have had the effect of stimulating production for a year and a half after the signing of the armistice, thus lending to the United States the appearance of possessing a healthy economic life. What is the situation confronting the American working class today?

II

The American working class as a whole is worse off today than it ever had been prior to the war. While the sturdy sons of this land of the brave and home of the free were over in Europe fighting to make the world safe for democracy, Congress "slipped one over" on them and made America safe for Autocracy. Under the pretext of war-time necessity it passed legislation which took away from the people their rights of free speech, free press, and free assemblage. To make a good job of it, most of the states have passed the so-called Anti-Syndicalism laws. Kansas and other states have recently passed legislation making strikes and other manifestations of industrial unrest a crime in the eyes of the law. To this must be added the arbitrary power of judges to issue injuctions against strikers, to pass unwarrantedly harsh sentences and to allow political and industrial prisoners to languish in jail for months and years before bringing them to trial. When some of the leaders of the recent coal and railroad strikes were arrested, one

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or the other of the above enumerated laws or usurpations of power were brought into operation. Thousands of I. W. W.'s, Communists, Unionists are today in prison, either serving their sentences or awaiting trial or deportation. *Thus has the American working class lost its civil and political liberties and its legal rights.*

The purchasing power of the dollar is now about one third of what it was in 1914. Have wages increased in a like ratio? Not by any means. Outside of a few crafts in the building industry, the wage increases lag far behind the rise in the cost of living. The wages of a large part of the population are so low as to bring it dangerously near to the starvation line. This has been the main reason for the very great number of strikes during the past year, — and especially of the so-called "outlaw" strikes. Which brings us to the *American Federation of Labor.*

Every big strike conducted since the Armistice by the American Federation of Labor has been lost. By losing the coal strike, the longshoremen's strike and the steel strike, the A. F. of L. has conclusively proven its utter inability to successfully wage war against the employing class. By trying to break the so-called "outlaw" strikes of printers and switchmen at least those brotherhood heads involved in these strikes have made an official entry on the side of the employing class. Being based on the antiquated principle of craft unionism, reeking with corruption from top to bottom, and being controlled by a group of well-to-do, self-seeking, old-time political traders, the American Federation of Labor has lost whatever value it ever possessed as a weapon for fighting the battles of the American working class.

This past year has also witnessed the break-up of the *Socialist Party* into three bitterly antagonistic factions. What remains of the original Socialist Party has been irretrievably discredited by its leaders, Morris Hillquit and Seymour Stedman, at the trial of the five expelled New York Socialist assemblymen. These gentlemen showed themselves up admirably in their true colors of smooth bourgeois politicians hostile to every truly revolutionary principle and to every move or genuine benefit to the working class, fawning and currying to the powers that be, in order to retain their finger in the political pie. On the other hand, the *Communist and Communist Labor parties* repudiate parliamentarism and political action in the commonly accepted sense of that term, yet they are political organizations; they profess to believe in direct action, yet they do nothing towards organizing the workers in their respective industries; they aver their fervent faith in industrial democracy and in the dictatorship of the proletariat, yet the members of these parties lift not their little fingers that the workers may get control of industry and may run it efficiently; they loudly proclaim their strict adherence to cold facts and realities, and they boast of the wisdom that they have imbibed from the mistakes of past ages, yet to the American working class they offer "mass action", which is so utterly unsuited to our political and industrial conditions as the weapon with which to bring down the beast of capitalism. In short, they are neither fowl, fish, nor venison. As far as its usefulness to the proletariat is concerned the Socialist party is dead, while the other two parties are tangled up in such a mass of contradictions that the working class has little or nothing to expect from them.

From the newly organized *Labor Party* we have no reason to expect more than we could have received from the Socialist Party of former years. Should the Labor candidates be lucky enough to get into office in some localities, the most that they could obtain for the working class would be a few mild municipal reforms. The same argument that holds good against political Socialism in this country applies with equal force to the Labor Party: if all the wage-earning men and women eligible to vote would cast their ballots for the Labor Party it would not receive a clear majority because our industrial proletariat entitled to vote does not form fifty per cent of the voting population.

Already signs of unemployment are seen wherever one may turn. It is a bet that this year the harvest fields will be overflooded with men. Our working class is facing a hard winter and a still harder spring.

While the condition of the working class has been becoming more unbearable day by day, and while their defenses have broken down, *the ranks of the employing class have undergone a process of solidification.* A number of anti-labor organizations, such as the American Legion and others have been formed and are steadily growing stronger. A nation-wide campaign for the open shop, backed by the whole money power of big business, is on foot. To give one instance of it: James F. Costello of the Brooklyn Central Labor Council declared at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Montreal that the Manufacturers' Association and the business interests of New York City were raising a fund of $5,000,000 to carry on an open shop war.

To sum up: *the working class has lost its political and legal rights; it has witnessed the breakdown of those organizations on which it formerly relied to better its living conditions; it has suffered a drop in wages as measured in terms of their purchasing power; and it is faced by a protracted period of un-employment; the employing class is stronger and more solidly organized than ever before.*

What is there left for the working class to turn to in this its hour of supreme need?

III

The only organization able to wage war for

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the working class against these tremendous odds is a class-conscious, revolutionary, industrial organization with a stiff backbone, which knows what it wants, realizes what it is up against, and is willing to pay the price in order to attain its ends. It must be an organization that cannot be cajoled into submission, cannot be bought, disrupted or corrupted.

That Organization is the Industrial Workers of the World. Founded on the rock of revolutionary industrial unionism, it has stood the acid test of time and of adversity. With thousands of its members in prison, calumniated and persecuted as no other organization in the history of America, it emerges today stronger and more buoyantly hopeful of final victory for the laboring masses than it ever has been since the day of its inception. The Industrial Workers of the World is the only bulwark from behind which the working class may successfully fight against our dollar plutocracy which is trying to impose a system of industrial slavery upon the American people.

The I. W. W. is the only labor union in America which organizes the workers by industries and not by crafts. What is more, it organizes the workers in all the industries. When the workers in all the industries are united together in a compact, class-conscious body which believes that an injury to one is an injury to all, then we have the One Big Union. The I. W. W. is based on industrial unionism, and its aim is to build up the One Big Union of all the workers.

When the workers in any industry, such as the building, the railroad or the metal and machinery workers' industry, are all united together in one union and act as one man, their power is almost limitless. By virtue of their absolute control over the industry to which they belong, as well as on account of the disastrous effect on other industries, should they go out on strike, they can obtain from the employing class any demand that they see fit and just to make. In the course of time these industrial unions would become so powerful and efficient that if they so desired, they could dispense with the capitalist class altogether, so that instead of working for the profits of a few individuals, from then on they would be working for the good of all the people.

The capitalist class of America realizes this and that is why it persecutes the I. W. W. and lies about it. It realizes that its game of robbing the people is up once the I. W. W. is given the chance to organize the workers into the One Big Union. So the mouthpieces of the capitalists spread lies about the I. W. W. and call it ugly names. They say that the I. W. W. preaches violence, murder and destruction, while the truth is that the I. W. W., by advocating a course which will save our working class from starvation and our industries from ruin, is the one sane and constructive force in America today, while it is the capitalists themselves who practice violence by the employment of thugs and gunmen, and who murder, — body, mind and soul, — millions of working men and women by imposing upon them insanitary and inhuman conditions of employment at insufficient wages.

Another reason why the capitalists are afraid of the I. W. W. is because it is so easily accessible to the working class and is practically corruption-proof. Its initiation fee and monthly dues are very low; it has a universal transfer system from one industry into another and from one locality to another, without extra charge, and its officers are elected by referendum, are subject to recall at any time, and their salary is equivalent to the average wage of an ordinary worker. Most important of all, only wage-earning men and women may become members of the I. W. W. All these things combine to make of the Industrial Workers of the World a tower of strength.

IV

The message that I hope this article will bring to the members as well as to the non-members of the I. W. W. is this: Your Salvation, my salvation, and the salvation of every working man and woman in this country rests upon the triumph of working class solidarity over criminal capitalism; that *Solidarity is the only thing that counts.* And the welfare, the growth, the coming into power of the organization which embodies that solidarity should form the uppermost concern of your mind. To *it* you should consecrate the choicest products of your hand and brain, at all times and under all circumstances, whatever you may do and wherever you may be. Let the three golden letters, I. W. W., which stand for education, organization, and emancipation become the three faithful seekers after truth and justice, you should follow them, looking neither to the right nor to left, until you see the glorious red dawn o fthe new day of Freedom breaking over the horizon.

Remember!

There are still many hundreds of I. W. W. men in jail.

There are three kinds of work in behalf of these men that must never stop:

1. **Raise bail for them.**
2. **Raise money for defense in the courts.**
3. **Raise money for jail comforts and for family relief.**

But most important of all:

Push the organization work to the limit of your endurance. Without that, all the other work will fail.

Buy the stamps!
Send contributions!

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Instinct and Better Organization

By RALPH WINSTEAD

To the Industrial Workers of the World a suggested change in structure does not seem like sacrilege. Battling as this organization does against terrible odds, it is forced by the unremitting ferocity of its struggle for existence to change its organs and use them for the best advantage as every new difficulty presents itself. Without this capacity for adaptation the I. W. W. would have gone under while still in its swaddling clothes. So it is with no surprise that we loggers of the Northwest find presented at this the most crucial hour of our existence both as an organization and perhaps as human beings, a new plan, or modification, of organization, o fthe whole One Big Union.

Throughout the camps and mills of the lumber industry the workers have been discussing this proposed change, so perhaps it will not be out of order to examine the new plan here and compare it with what we have at present. In Solidarity as well as The One Big Union Monthly a chart was printed giving an outline of the change, which is to be based on shop or job units.

If the arguments here presented give only examples of how the change will work in the lumber workers' organization it is through no thought of local or industrial union patriotism but only because the writer is more familiar with the workings of the Seattle District of L. W. I. U. No. 500, and believes that members of other units can apply the thoughts here expressed to their own branch.

The new plan provides for job organizations in an industrial union with more than 5,000 members. When any job can scare up seven members of that union in good standing they are entitled to send a delegate to a central job council, which must have seven jobs in an industry represented before being founded. These central job councils elect delegates to the District Industrial Union Council, which has an executive committee which will function somewhat as the present District Organization Committees function. Then the District Industrial Union Councils will also send delegates to the Industrial Union Headquarters Council, which in turn will have a General Organization Committee, as at present, and will nominate members of the General council.

The District Industrial Union Councils will elect delegates to a District Joint Council composed of delegates from all the Industrial Unions in the district, and this District Joint Council will, in addition to looking after general organization work in the district, have charge of propaganda, defense and auditing the district clearing house books as well as regulating the personnel of the clearing house clerks.

Now this is a radical change or departure from the system now in practice, even when the present system works smoothly without any friction with the police. At present district membership meetings are held, which, as rule, accommodate only a small fraction of the membership that could attend and scarcely a fraction of those who are in the organization. These Industrial Union meetings attend to the routine business, handle complaints, listen to the meows of malcontents, and in general are inefficient and unsatisfactory. In the lumber industry especially, with the great number of members who can never travel clear across the district to attend the meetings, this form of transacting routine business and of supervising the various committees is unsatisfactory. It has been felt so, and a move has been made already to have a delegate council to meet in Seattle every month to transact what business lies in their province and to discuss their various jobs, with their problems, and to get literature.

So it is no new thing to the loggers to hear about job organization. That emphasis has been placed for quite a while but as yet no system has been installed that will enable all the different isolated jobs to keep in touch with one another and make industrial effort replace job effort. This new plan of having councils solves the difficulty.

The one great fear of the membership is that their officials may become autocratic and that control of those officials may pass out of the hands of the interested members. So we find in a district all standing committees and officials being nominated from the floor of the district business meeting or in the job branches and voted on by a referendum of the entire membership. In theory this is the most democratic way of election, but in practice we often find that men are elected to responsible positions and then after a few days refuse to either resign or to function properly. They can be recalled by a referendum, but such a proceeding is costly and usually the organization worries along with the fifth wheel until the next election, when there is another attempt made.

Now under the new system each delegate will be picked from the active members by his fellow workers on the job. After functioning in the central job councils and proving his worth, he may be elected to the district council and from there, still keeping his connection with his job, he will be eligible to the district joint council and the general council. If at any time the workers on this job do not like the way he is representing them he can be recalled at a job meeting and a delegate sent in his place to the central job council with demands for his withdrawal.

Still, if the method of general referendum is preferred for election purposes, such a system could easily be worked out so far as the election of permanent committees was concerned, such as the District Organization Committee and General Organization Committee, along with district clerks and

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the like, without interfering with the council principle.

The main factor in favor of the new plan is that it favors cohesiveness, renders each part of the organization susceptible to movements and dangers of the other parts. It establishes means of intercommunication that are absolutely necessary if the I. W. W. is to carry out its mission and to establish order out of misery and chaos.

The very basis of the whole Revolutionary Industrial movement is social feeling, SOLIDARITY, the realization that the workers must act together. Those industries have responded best to the agitation of the I. W. W. wherein the workers live group lives. In the camps and other social aggregations the Wobbly could impress his fellow slaves with his teachings and so they, because they could not segregate themselves, were forced to learn and adopt the new social philosophy. Solidarity has slowly been built up in the camps and jobs, till every one can boast at least of a small group of earnest-eyed workers who know and belong.

At this point, in the lumber industry, at least, we seem to have halted temporarily. Job action there has been—lots of it. Some has paid and some has failed to produce definite results. But the point is that beyond job action there has been little activity since the general eight-hour day strike. Why? The answer is plain. THERE ARE NO CONSTANTLY OPEN CHANNELS OF INTERCOMMUNICATION UNITING ALL THE WORKERS ON ALL THE JOBS IN THE INDUSTRY TOGETHER. Two or three jobs in the same locality suffering from the same conditions call job strikes at different times without knowing that the other neighbor camps are ready to act. Job bulletins are splendid things but by the time the news filters in to the printer and then gets distributed to the camps weeks may elapse. By having the job, central and district council system in operation all that great fund of solidarity which in most cases lies unused and unexpressed with little chance for expression except in the little group on the jobs, would be called on to work for the whole organization intelligently and not blindly as at present.

Working class solidarity is an offshoot or development of an inherent instinct. It cannot be eradicated—because that instinct is as old as life. It is called gregariousness, and through its aid the old primitive herds of men fought and conquered the giant mammoth, the saber-toothed tiger and all their other mortal enemies. It is closely bound up with biological instincts of fear and self-preservation. The herd developed, even before speech was possible, means of intercommunication.

Sometimes, when chattering and searching for their food, gathering berries, munching roots and searching for shell fish, an occasional alarm was given. How they all closed ranks, deciding in an instant the line of action to take, and then, their fear overcome by that feeling of courage which touch and communication with the herd always gives one, they would fall on their enemy, would start an orderly retreat, or would return to their eating satisfied that the alarm was false. Ingrained in each of us is that instinct of gregariousness, and we workers have translated it into terms of solidarity to members of our class.

Last November came from Centralia the terrible news that our fellow workers were being slaughtered by howling mobs. Everywhere that story spread, of the bloody lynchings with more to follow. In the heart of every true worker who had listened to the message of class consciousness flashed that herd concept of instinctive fear. That old impulse to gather together and act against the enemy surged into the consciousness of every one of us.

In every camp and job where there were wobblies working men stumbled out into the night when they heard the word, seeking their fellow workers, gathering in groups, talking, worrying, wishing for something to do. But there were no means of communication. There was no way to take intelligent steps or to use that great conception of solidarity that flared up on all sides. The Scissorbill used it, and a hundred raids testify to the herd instinct that was aroused in the henchmen of the powers that be. But we could gather no force for either protection or offense. In a few days the herd instinct of gathering the forces had spent itself and there came—as always comes when fear finds no antidote in intelligent action—panic.

Scattered were the organs that had been built up. Gone were the fighting members who would have stuck to the last ditch could they have been able to communicate and act intelligently **together**. So, starting with a handful of cynical members, those whom neither fire nor water cause to flinch, the weary, back-bending task of reorganizing the old structure and getting the defense ready for the victims commenced. These fearless warriors have done this job not once, but a dozen times in the last few years. Each clash proves how deeply ingrained the teachings of the I. W. W. are in the minds of the workers and proves further than a structure capable of supplying social action rather than only job action must be raised if we are to go into the bigger fight, the social fight, and come out victor.

Could the members on the different jobs have called their meetings, elected delegates to specially called Central Job Councils, and so got into touch with the whole organization they would have felt their strength, they would have at least known that they **were doing something** and the panic would have been averted even though they could not strike a blow at their enemy that would stagger him.

It is the concept or feeling of action that strengthens the courage of the group and which is capable of calling all the latent solidarity of the masses into action. **Nothing is so demoralizing as lack of communication and the consequent feeling of isolation combined with inaction.** Even in those members who have been unflinchingly on the battle front for years, isolation and inaction produces a querulousness and a nervousness that prevents the full application of fighting ability to the immediate task.

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The I. W. W. is a solid unit, unsplit by factional fights or warring egoism, yet so great is the isolation of its members that there is developed in times of need a nervous reaction of anxiety, of pessimism, and we see an alarming spread of rumors of all sorts among members who would refuse to listen to such guff or be disturbed over little things in other times. All these happenings are symptoms of repressed panic and are there because their is no opportunity for concerted action on the part of the group.

This lack of inter-communication causes in many instances a lack of unity between the rank and file and the officials as well as disputes between officials. Gossip finds listeners and breeds distrust while intolerance in personal peculiarities developes because the channels for diverting all this nervous and critical energy are blocked.

With the full development of the job unit system there will be formed the District General Council which will take charge of general organization affairs. Their functioning will tend to nullify any tendencies toward Industrial patriotism and make of all the workers in all the industries, fellow workers, with a chance for development and expression of true solidarity.

Let us perfect our lines of communication. The job unit and council plan show the way.

Conditions on the Pacific Coast

By A WANDERING WOBBLY

The Canadian "One Big Union" claims to have considerable vogue in Los Angeles, Oakland, and other California points, and in Butte and Billings, in Montana. Just to what extent I am unable to determine, for the movement seems to have neither head nor tail. It is too cowardly, in my estimation, to arrive anywhere. It seems to want the workers to think it is the same as the I. W. W. and the authorities to think that it is not. To the workers it makes the claim to be the logical "successor" to the S. T. and L. A., the Knights of Labor, the W. I. I. U., and the I. W. W., while the testimony of its officials in recent trials in California are frantic denials of the slightest connection with a revolutionary purpose.

George W. Graydon, secretary of the O. B. U. in Los Angeles, testified in the criminal syndicalism case of Syndey Flowers, that "We are trying to organize the wage workers for the purpose of getting better wages and better working conditions and solidifying the workers' political power. The One Big Union stands for political action and is opposed to strikes unless they are forced upon us. We will do anything we can to keep from striking. We believe strikes are a loss to the workers.

In Seattle this "One Big Union" is safely in the hands of a very few doctrinaire Canadian and English "commodity struggle" socialists, who are busily engaged in splitting hairs as to the exact meaning of the word "political" and in deriding the idea that an industrial union could possibly build the framework of a new society within the shell of the old. As these men have no citizenship, it follows that they have no votes, and their grouping is not industrial lines. In fact they seem afraid to hold an open meeting except in the form of a "study class." They are making no headway.

The Seattle situation is peculiar. From one to fourteen years just for packing a red card, and yet everything the wobblies say can be said by those who do not carry cards or whose membership cannot be proved. The building laborers, the longshoremen, many of the machinists, some of the electricians, laundry workers, shipyard laborers, shipwrights, carpenters, and others in the craft unions have absolutely no use for the A. F. of L. and will accept the I. W. W. plan and program, but will not join the I. W. W. itself at this time. This feeling is purely a rank and file development, scarcely a radical in any of the bodies mentioned could be called a "leader", and the few who might be thus termed are holding back the mass so that, when the break does come, as inevitably it must, there will be a large enough body to hold its own against the combined onslaughts of the capitalists and their agents, the international union officials.

The actions of Seattle radicals seem peculiar to anyone who does not know of the conditions mentioned. The choice rests between "boring from within", splitting into an "independent industrial organization," or joining the I. W. W. at a time when the organization is honeycombed with spies and its membership lists are constantly falling into the hands of the employers and the police.

The craft unions are in the last ditch. This is not solely due to craft weaknesses, for there has been a shut-down in the shipyards. Boilermakers, heralded as having the largest local union in the world, has dropped in one year from more than 17,000 members to less than 4,500. Shipyard laborers, riggers and fasteners, which was the second largest union, is now one of the smaller unions with an average attendance of less than 35 members. This union, however, which was industrial to the extent of being recruited entirely within shipyard construction, is a victim of craft unionism, for, as soon as a decline in membership started in the other unions, there was a scramble to partition its members among the different international unions. The machinists admit that their union is on the down grade with no hope in sight unless they quit the A. F. of L. and unite industrially with other workers.

The tailors, strong advocates of industrial unionism even to some of the higher officials, and with a shop steward system second to none, lost their recent strike and returned to an open shop. They are getting the wages and hours they sought, but they lost

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shop control and will have to rebuild their shop committee system.

The longshoremen lost their last strike, both truckers and stevedores having to relinquish the list system of calling gangs, but this is no victory for the employers either, as practically no freight is moving to the port of Seattle since the "outlaw" switchmen took a vacation and the waterfront workers of Japan cut off much of the Oriental commerce.

The typographical union strike was lost, the building trade strike was lost, the dye works strike was lost, and the bakers are now on strike, but with some chance of success. There is talk among the bakers of an amalgamation of foodstuffs unions, which is not industrial unionism by any means, but has such significance since it proceeeds from the rank and file.

The Central Labor Council lacks life or purpose. The seats are half empty. Scarcely a week that some pseudo-intellectual, broken-down preacher, hare-brained visionary or governmental propagandist is not introduced to make a talk. The council has no economic function at all since its component parts have lost all economic strength.

The leaders of the craft unions, in fact, are opposed to economic progress for it always takes a turn that they are unable to control. So they are devoting their time and attention and the money of the dues-payers to a fake outfit called the Triple Alliance, which is vainly trying to unite on the political field the farmers, the railwaymen outside of the A. F. of L, and the craft unions lined up in the State Federation of Labor.

In addition to that they are furthering all sorts of co-operatives, some of them with the most honest of intentions, however, misled, but many of them with the deliberate purpose of faking the deal. Neither the craft union leaders nor the Rochdale brand of co-operators have any use for the three non-profit co-operatives—the Equity Printing Company, operated to insure some freedom of press; the Co-operative Cafe that puts all surplus into radical propaganda; and the People's Park, which was started because every picnic ground in the Northwest had been closed to the radicals.

The union leaders are also whooping it up for a group of allied stock-selling schemes of the get-rich-quick order:—the Deep Sea Salvage Company, Federated Films, United Theatres, Co-operative Stevedoring, Padillah Bay tide flat lands to be reclaimed with a dyke at some future date, and then to clinch the hold—a Producers' National Bank. The Union Record bunch is in this muck up to its neck.

The State Federation officials have had to get into peanut politics because there is not enough economic activity connected with their jobs to justify a State office. With a few exceptions, the radicals wisely refrained from accepting any offices in the last union elections, so none of the blame for all this muddle can be saddled on the element that favors a different form of organization, a different set of tactics and a social system different from that which seems so dear to the hearts of the advocates and supporters of craft unionism.

The encouraging feature of the situation of the entire Pacific Coast and especially in the Northwest, including the copper region of Montana, is that there are thousands who have sufficient understanding of revolutionary industrial unionism and the historic mission of the workers to withstand the attacks of enemies and false friends on the I. W. W.

Give Us a Photo Play of Life

By Raymond Corder

Give us a photo play of life—
Banish the tinsel from the screen;
Do away with the heroine
With lips that suck at saccharine
Nymph-like shapes and naiad curves,
And doctored hair like burnished gold;
Such stuff is stale, it's getting old.
It's getting on our jaded nerves.
Won't some one write scenarios
Void of the sickening weeps and woes
Of a bourgeois wife with an aching heart,
A vampire fluff with a powdered nose,
And a silk hat spouse to cap the part—
Give us a play of life.

Give us a photo play we live—
Show us the life of a common slob,
With unshaved chin and a slanted nob,
Empty bellied, out of a job.
Give us a look at the factory Jane
(And damn the dashing pink tea tout,
Who meets her, loves her, takes her out)—
Let her marry an overalled swain.
Give us a show of the bloody strife
On the picket line, and the traitor's knife,
Of gunmen, hunger, cold and dirt,
Hell and pain of a worker's life,
Idyls of the knights of the greasy shirt—
Give us the play we live.

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A Near Industrial Union

By MATILDA ROBBINS

Those who read the "New Republic" have recently been introduced to a series of articles on an organization known as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, written by William Hard, star journalist of that periodical.

Hard is a very clever writer—clever with that superficial knowledge and play on words so peculiar to his trade. It is amazing with what degree of sureness he discusses things that are seemingly foreign to him and how misleading the whole tone of his articles is while appearing to be well-informed. He tries to show a familiarity with labor union jargon, with proletarian jargon, with revolutionary jargon. But his mind and his pen constantly run on bourgeois ethics, on "business" methods, on "specialists" and on leaders. The great mass of workers that comprise the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America counts for nothing in his articles; he dwells among executives, officials and "leaders," and it is from them that he gets his estimate of problems and conditions of labor. He may be a good observer, but labor organizations need more than observation; they need study. This he has not done, and the result is that he gets over, under guise of progressivism, a most pernicious set of practices by as unscrupulous a set of "leaders" as ever took root in the American labor movement.

I cannot quarrel with Hard too much. He is just a journalist, writing for a periodical whose readers are mainly liberal harmonizers between capital and labor and would always welcome such labor leaders as have fastened themselves on the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. My protest and the protest of my earnest and class-conscious fellow workers is against this newly powerful group of leaders who have come among us to cloak their conservatism, if not reactionism, with honeyed and "revolutionary" phrases; who speak of the A. F. of L. as reactionary and undemocratic, only to become as that organization and even worse.

A convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was recently held in Boston. According to William Hard this is "the most proletarianly advanced trade union in America." The president of this union, Mr. Sidney Hillman, who addressed the delegates to the convention—workers from the clothing shops of New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Rochester and other places—as "fellow workers," costs the union $7,500 a year in salary alone. Small wonder that Hard saw in Hillman a "neat, trim, quiet, collected" (I should say collecting), agreeable, smiling . . . extremely successful manager of the most proletarianly advanced trade union in America."

I think that Samuel Gompers is a much underpaid official, for he, president of the whole American Federation of Labor, gets only a little more than Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, only lately a secession union of one of the A. F. of L. internationals.

I don't know how much Sidney Hillman earned as cutter in a clothing factory five years ago, but I strongly suspect that it was considerably less than $7,500 a year, even in rush seasons when he worked overtime. Five years or so of managing a "proletarianly advanced" union, however, has a tendency to raise the standards of the manager. When I think of Lenin and Trotzky and other members of the Central Committee of the Federated Russian Soviet Republic receiving about $90 a month, and how little this sum can now buy in Russia, I wonder if those delegates who cheered Russia's Soviet Republic and Russia's Red Army could have remembered their $7,500 a year president and their other expensive officials.

A strange anomaly are these clothing workers! They fought their way through the most pernicious system of sweat shop exploitation known in this country into some semblance of organization in the A. F. of L. years ago. It took them more years to find out the corrupt leadership in their unions, the chicanery, the trading with the bosses. Then came the split of their international in the A. F. of L. and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was formed.

This latest organization came into existence with the class-conscious element as a leaven. These were the rebels against the tyrannical domination of the A. F. of L. machine; against high-salaried, swallow-tail coated, Civic Federationized officials; against autocratic executive boards; against the old form of craft union morality of "identity of interests between capital and labor." This was to be an industrial, democratically managed union; a true workers' organization. Such was the wish of the rank and file of the seceding faction. But such was not the will of the crafty ones who saw opportunity for themselves in the turn of events.

After five years of life, the Amalgamated came to Boston for its 1920 convention with a swollen treasury, seeking an outlet in enterprise. It brought with it as expensive and domineering a set of officials as can be found in any of the A. F. of L. old internationals. It listened without rising in revolt against President Sidney Hillman's plea for **increased production!** It silently concurred in the opinion of Executive Board Member Hyman Blumberg as to standards of work and the grading of workers according to measure of production in the clothing shops. It listened, although somewhat bored, to the lengthy reading of the secretary's printed report, and it found no criticism with his juggling of "the philosophy of work and wages." It was perfectly behaved, this erstwhile rebellious contingent from the clothing shops, and it let the official machine run away with it.

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I say "run away," because the Hillman type of officialdom is too shrewd to run over it. This type found the steam roller of the Gompers official machine too crude and in the long run inefficient. It knows that the tendency among the workers is to recoil from craft union blows and strike back. So it has adopted the suave persuasiveness of certain lawyers in defense of ousted socialist assemblymen. It uses the term "comrade" a lot. It uses a certain kind of "good-fellow" diplomacy. It uses, above all, much verbiage—soft, superior, equivocal verbiage. Verbiage designed to show why it should get $7,500 a year jobs from the workers in the clothing industry; why these workers ought to be for increased production, for standards, for the "shop"; all these things, which really mean the maintenance of harmonious relations between the union and the boss.

It is no mere accident that the discussion of "standards" for increased production and measure of output by each "grade" of workers in the clothing shops, according to pay, was left to the very last hours of the convention. It has always been the game of officially manned conventions to leave important and delicate business to as near the close of the convention as possible, anticipating the waning freshness and patience of the delegates, and then rush it through with machine-like speed.

So the protests of those delegates who saw in this pernicious system of standards of output and increased production the revival of the old sweatshop, speeding-up, piece-work slavery were squelched by these "radical" labor-union diplomats and the convention went on record as endorsing it. These have become Amalgamated standards.

At this writing the report comes from Baltimore that 3,000 workers who pursued "Amalgamated standards" in the factory of Sonneborn & Co. are locked out. The firm claims that the manufacturing cost of clothing is too high, consequently clothing in the market is too highly priced and under-consumption ensues. Or shall we say "overproduction"? The firm proposed putting the workers with their Amalgamated standards on half time. This the union refused. So it was locked out—standards for increased production and all.

According to William Hard's enthusiastic report of the executive board member's emphatic demand that the opponents of standards at the convention "know that the workers in Sonneborn's believe in standards" was about the biggest thing that happened at the convention. This grading and standardization of work and workers so impressed Hard that he could only compare it with one thing—perhaps the one he knows most about—"handicapping in golf." I'm sure the readers of the "New Republic" will understand what that means.

To the workers in the clothing industry, however, these standards that their officialdom foists on them are a real handicap—a handicap to efficient, revolutionary organization. What are these "standards" but the old "identity of interests between capital and labor"? This old wolf in his new sheepskin proposes increased production—increased production so that the workers may all the sooner be thrown out of employment; increased production so that the lines of unemployed may grow even greater.

Ah, yes, but the convention voted that "The Industry," the bosses, that is, should provide an Unemployment Fund of a million or so, which William Hard (whom it gives me pleasure to quote) declares to be "a principle natural to a truly industrial union." I wonder if the officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers told Hard that this joker, designed to lead the workers away from the problem of organization along revolutionary lines, was a "principle natural to a truly industrial union." Or else, where did he get his information? It could not come from the workers, for those who did not protest against the crumbs of benevolent industrialism to be thrown to them by the bosses when they have produced too much wealth were just dumbly quiescent.

So at the convention of this "most proletarianly advanced trade-union" increased production and standards of grading were fastened on the workers in the clothing industry in the attempt of the officials to insure some degree of amity between the bosses and the union and to avert strikes. For the leaders are always against strikes. Strikes threaten their berths and disturb their peace and plenty. Anything but strikes. So the workers are led into intricacies and entanglements for which these "leaders" and interpreters and harmonizers and adjustment boards and all the rest of the legalistic machinery devised by "labor experts" must be retained at high cost. And the workers pay.

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If you fail to receive your magazine regularly, we suggest that you send in an additional 10 cents for each copy, and we will send it by first class mail.

The post office accepts our publications for insurance and registry, but if we mail it as plain "printed matter" the Palmer-Burleson servants hold part of it "for inspection."

As it will be several months before we get rid of this obnoxious gang of politicians, we have to ask our subscribers to be patient. Perhaps it will be better afterwards.

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Strike on the Job

By FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM

At a time when the class-conscious workers of England, France and Italy are systematically decreasing production in order to help put the final crimp into the capitalist system, and when the I. W. W., at its Annual Convention, adopts a resolution advocating the "strike on the job" as an effective weapon against industrial tyranny. the "radical" leaders of the Socialist unions in the textile industry are running true to form as defenders of the capitalist system by introducing *speeding-up methods* in order to ensure the boss's profits against any slowing down on the part of the workers. This is on a par with their system of contracts forbidding strikes and goes further than the A. F. of L. in increasing the employer's profits at the expense of the workers.

The official ring of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in spite of feeble protests from the more enlightened and courageous portions of their membership, are establishing "production standards" in connection with week work. Under this system, a worker must turn out a certain amount of work per day. If he falls below this minimum, he will be discharged, with the consent and approval of his union. This is even worse than piece work, as, under that system, if you produce less, you earn less but you hold on to your job.

In similar manner the officials of the International Ladies Garment Workers are adopting *"efficiency systems"* for their branch of the industry. In Cleveland, for example, they are paying $10,000 from union funds to "efficiency experts" to work out methods of increasing production. In other words, officials who get their salaries from the workers are using the workers' money to install a system by which the boss will be able to drive his slaves harder, increase his profits and get the same production with fewer employees!

In the contract entered into on April 9 with four leading ribbon manufacturers of New York and vicinity, the minister-reformers at the head of the Amalgamated Textile Workers followed the seductive example of their evil genius, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and made careful provision for keeping production up to standard. "Public interest," the preamble to this contract declares, "requires increasing production as a PRIME factor in reducing commodity prices. (Not a word about decreasing profits!) Weavers should not intentionally restrict individual output."

Any ruling of the Impartial (?) Chairman with regard to wages, the contract expressly stipulates, "must provide for DEDUCTIONS of pay for any failure to accomplish fair production on the part of the individual weaver. Any such ruling or regulating of the basis of compensation of weavers shall be ordered by the Impartial Chairman which permits decreased production or fails to guarantee fair production. Any ruling which results in decreased production shall be immediately revoked and rectified. Every wage scale shall be accompanied by a scale of production."

These leaders, even if they are honest, are misleading the workers.

Increased production means more profits for the boss, but more unemployment for the workers. The more they produce, the sooner the market will be filled with goods and the factories will shut down.

Speeding up wrecks the workers' health, throws them out of employment and strengthens the system under which they are exploited.

Slow down, fellow workers! Speeding up wears you out and makes you old before your time. When you are broken down from overwork, the boss will throw you on the scrap heap like a worn-out piece of machinery. Take it easy and save your strength.

Slow down, fellow worker, and make a place for the man or woman who is out of work. The less you produce, the more employees the boss will have to hire. If you speed up, you keep someone else out of a job. Take it easy and give the other fellow a chance!

Slow down, fellow worker, and make your own job last longer! The faster you work, the sooner the boss will lay you off. *Don't work yourself out of a job.* Take it easy!

Do not listen to the fools and fakers who try to persuade you that "the prosperity of the industry is your prosperity." You have no interest in the business beyond your daily wage. Whether your boss makes thousands or millions, you will never get more than just enough to live on — and often not even that. If you increase production, you are merely making more profits for the boss and providing him with more money to fight you when you go out on strike. Why kill yourself making ammunition for your enemy? *Slow Down!*

Profits are the life-blood of capitalism. Without them, it cannot live. When you increase production, you increase profits and thereby build up the capitalist system — you help to prolong its life. If you are a revolutionary worker, therefore, if you want the day to come when the workers will control industry, you will turn a deaf ear to the union officials and other servants of the employing class, when they urge you to "increase production." Instead, you will resist every effort to make you speed up, whether by "production standards," efficiency systems, bonuses, premiums, overtime or any other slave-driving trick.

Slow down fellow worker! Help to strangle the capitalist system by cutting off its profits. *Strike on the job—all the time!*

STAND BY YOUR CLASS! SLOW DOWN!

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The Germans and the I. W. W.

White Guard Atrocities Against the German Workers
(Translated from the German by Wm. Weyh)

"The General Workingmen's Union (Allegemeine Arbeiter Union) is a part of the international revolutionary working class movement which is trying by all means to bring about the overthrow of the capitalist system and to secure for the proletariat political and economic control in order that it may use the soviet power against the counter-revolutionaries.

As an economic revolutionary organization, we are in goal and in fighting spirit most like the I. W. W. of America. (Here follow extracts from "The Revolutionary I. W. W." by Grover Perry, with which we are all familiar, and then the article continues.)

A literal translation of this shows plainly the international and revolutionary character of the I. W. W. and that its goal is the same as ours.

Before all else, the I. W. W. has to vanquish the guild-crazy, nationalistic and race-prejudiced Gompers unions. Not the craft, but the **industry,** is the foundation of the I. W. W. The different branches belonging to one industry unite in that given industry. In accord with American conditions, where the power of the trusts and other organizations of exploiters is more far-reaching than in Germany, the structure of the revolutionary I. W. W. must also be different from ours. We concentrate first on the trade organization, then on the industries and districts and still further, organize these into a big national union (One Big Union).

In contrast to this, the I. W. W. concentrates on the industrial organization, as in America an industry rules whole districts and even wide areas of land. But in tactics and aims the A. A. U. is fully in accord with the I. W. W. in America."

The following articles, dealing with the movement of the German working class, require a brief foreword to English readers.

"The *"Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands"* is the remnant of the Spartacan movement founded by Liebknecht, Luxemburg, etc. But today it is only an organization in decay, dominated by a few politicians like Levi and Duwell. Recently those who were expelled from the K. P. D. formed the Kommunistische Arbeiter Partei. (They have as many splits and names and parties as we here!) The most important revolutionary class organization is the Allgemeine Arbeiter Union (General Workingmen's Union) *besides Die Freie Arbeiterunion — the Syndicalist organization of Germany. Ed.*)

It is an organization which is in full accord with the spirit and principles of the I. W. W. and works along the same lines. That union already embraces **over a million** class-conscious workers, and therefore in the near future will be a power with which the reactionary socialists, the militarists and the capitalists will have to reckon. They will not again be able to crush its members as in the recent bloody White Terror. The slogan of this union is **Organization on the Job,** and in the next battle it will be seen that the workers will be victorious through their organization power. It is expected that in the near future the Kommunistische Arbeiter Partei and the Allegemeine Arbeiter Union will amalgamate.

The Communist Party of Germany (Kommunistische Partei, originally called Spartakus Bund), founded by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and others, became bankrupt morally and politically after the death of those pioneers of the international proletariat. A clique of ambitious and corrupt leaders, eager to control the organization for their own egotistical interests, succeeded in sabotaging every thought and aim of the Proletarian Revolution. They succeeded in steering the Spartakus Bund into reformistic lines, although the great majority of the membership were emphatically opposed to the reform methods. The executives (Zentrale) succeeded in ousting all the districts which were actively opposed to the "Counter-revolutionary institution known as Parliament," to the craft unions and to the "lawfully" organized worker's councils (a la Legien) without giving those districts an opportunity to bring the matter before the party, although they were the largest districts in the organization. The "Zentrale" thereby proved that they deliberately attempted to bring about a split, because the revolutionary activities of the rank and file were out of harmony with their counter-revolutionary tendencies.

The revolutionary opposition, determined to bring the German Revolution to a successful conclusion, is known as the Communist Workingmen's Party (Kommunistische Arbeiter Partei). **That organization is not a "Party" in the exact sense of the word.** It is no party of leaders. Its chief aim is to help the German proletariat with all its power to get rid of the last vestiges of leadership. To free the workers of the traitorous counter-revolutionary leader politicians is the quickest way of uniting the proletariat. The K. A. P. D. is nevertheless conscious of the fact that the union of the workers, the unity of those elements striving for the soviet idea, shall be the aim of the Revolution.

Workers! The K. A. P. D. is the pioneer of the revolutionary proletariat. Help us put our party on an efficient basis, which will insure a successful conclusion of the struggle.

Long live the World Revolution!

Signed:

COMMUNIST WORKINGMEN'S PARTY.
OF GERMANY"

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Massacres in the Ruhr District

(Translation from "Kommunistische Arbeiter-Zeitung," Hamburg, April 17.)

The "police action" which was instituted by Zeitung," Hamburg, April 17.)

Ebert and Muller to restore "order" and "constitutionality" in the Ruhr district gave the White Bandits an opportunity for the perpetration of such atrocities as were not committed during the world war nor have been written of in any revolution in any other country. The reports of the refugees, who with the greatest difficulty escaped the claws of the blood-thirsty soldiery, tell a fearful tale. Among others, there has come into our hands the letter of a Ruhr fighter to his relatives, which illustrates with terrible forcefulness the motto under which the executioners of proletarians marched into the district: "No prisoners will be taken!"

In this letter, which was written in the town of Walsum, there are pictured in unexaggerated terms the events of Easter Sunday.

The Whites attempted by all means to get out of the fortified towns of Munster and Wesel, which were surrounded by the workers. They put on the civilian suits of the captured Red Guards, tied red bands about their sleeves, and so approached the lines of the worker troops. When they believed themselves near enough, they ordered, with an accompaniment of bullets, "Hands up!" Unprepared for such trickery, the workers had to withdraw their lines three miles. The Whites followed in armored autos. With reinforcements the workers again drove them back. Then came a bath of blood. As the above mentioned letter describes:

"The captured Red Guards were compelled to walk as fast as the armored cars retreated. Many a one succumbed on the long stretch, and every one of those who were left behind was murdered."

Then there is related the almost unbelievable barbarity with which the Whites treated the prisoners and workers whom they picked up later.

"Some were found with wrists and ankles burnt through; others had the mouth slit from ear to ear; still others were disembowelled. And often the sex organs were cut off. Men were found whose legs were bound to trees and whose head and upper body were buried in the earth. We also found naked, charred corpses. Even seven Red-Cross Sisters who were captured were not spared; the stumps of their bodies were discovered."

These things explain why the workers, even when their battle was lost, stood together like an iron wall. As the letter continues:

"We have begun the fight and must carry it to the end, for when Noske arrived here we had nothing to laugh about. Without any ado, every worker was stood against the wall."

Following are other facts bearing upon the frightful deeds of the Whites.

The leader of a company of Red Guards, Stephan Brohl, of 168 Hindenburg Street, Muhlheim, Ruhr, declares as follows:

"I went to Streckrade with Company Liebknecht. We lay there at the depot until 1:30 a. m. By that time the company was reduced to three men. Of these three I had sent two to bring reinforcements, as we could no longer hold the position. But they never returned. In the meantime there arrived a Sister of Mercy, Wilhelmina Cullikes of Wehofen. Then a depot official came and announced the approach of an armored train with reinforcements. But when the train halted the "reinforcements" were revealed as Noske "brothers" and cavalry. We were immediately taken prisoners by a young lieutenant. I was severely beaten with the butt of a gun and the Sister was hit across the face. We were then put into a shack in which we were for more than seven hours. During these hours the Sister, and I also, were undressed to nakedness. I was left lying, but the Sister, within my sight, was used sexually by all comers. We did not get our clothes back. My watch and 124 marks, and a medal, and 40 marks belonging to the Sister, as well as every piece of clothing, disappeared.

After the passage of these seven and a half hours we were enabled to escape. The Sister of Mercy found an old torn blouse and a skirt and I a pair of overalls and a jacket. And so we went to the Red Army the Saturday after Easter and put ourselves at its disposition.

Sworn to in the presence of A. Ploeger, Notary Public, Elberfeld, April 9, 1920.

(Signed) STEPHAN BROHL.

168 Hindenburg Street, Muhlheim, Ruhr.

The revolutionary workers do not wonder at the fact that the capitalist press, even when specially informed, kept dead silence regarding these "heroic" deeds of the "brave" troops; and it is significant enough that the successor of Gustave Noske, Reichswehr Minister Gessler, at the National Convention, could speak of these beasts in human form as "the safeguards of the people in their evolution toward freedom" without being cried down. By the thousands they fled into the arms of the entente troops, though they were Senegal negroes. Every man knew that no such fate awaited him at their hands as that from which he fled.

The industrial proletariat is beaten. Betrayed by its leaders, from Legien to Levi, the Ruhr proletariat, the bulwark of the proletarian revolution in Germany lies bleeding of a thousand wounds. We must look the fact in the face. **By means of unequalled brutality, the White Terror is triumphant.** Undeniably it is again forced upon the proletariat that there can be no negotiation between revolution and counter-revolution. Hard and thorny is the road which the German working class must go. But let us grit our teeth. The hour is coming when the proletariat will settle its accounts with the enemy. That hour must come!

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The Labor Movement in Argentina

By TOM BARKER

During the last eighteen months the industrial organizations in Argentina have almost trebled their membership. In all directions and all industries the strides made have been phenomenal. The impetus has largely come about as a result of the brutal attack of the Irigoyen administration upon the working class in Buenos Aires in January, 1919, when the streets literally ran with blood.

The **National Socialist Party** is an influential institution with a bad reputation. It stands for national defense and its leaders are middle-class bell-wethers. Their daily organ "La Vanguardia," opposes, tooth and nail, the militant campaign of the **Federacion Communista.** During the boycott of the "43" cigarettes by the industrial organizations during 1919, the Socialist daily published the advertisements of the company, thus earning the well-deserved opprobrium of being a scab newspaper. It is the intrigues of this outfit that maintains a very deplorable division in the industrial movement in the Republic. **The International Socialist Party** is the political equivalent of Moscow, and is a divergence from the National Party. Politically it is of minor importance, and it has little marked industrial inclinations. They publish a weekly paper, "La Internacional."

There are two **"Federacion Obrera Regional Argentinas"** (Regional Labor Federations). The one of importance is known as the **"Quinta" and adheres** to the principles established at the Fifth—or Quinto —Congress, in which the organization declared itself for the proletarian revolution based upon the principles enunciated by Michael Bakunin. The dissenters broke away and created what is known today as the **"Decimos,"** or Tenth Congressionales. This outfit is of little importance, and sizes with Sammy Gompers and the A. F. of L. It is, however, as is to be expected, on good terms with the exploiters, who always manage to send some of the "Decimos'" bell-wethers to foreign conventions. The "Decimo" Marotta, who toured Europe and America during 1919, was a person of the rottenest industrial type.

The Quintos, on the other hand, cannot obtain passports from the government, and, in addition, had all their premises closed by the authorities. It is a secret organization, but contains affiliated members numbering over 200,000 organized workers. I am carrying credentials from the Federacion, and represent them in Europe.

Affiliated with the Quintos is the **"Federacion Portuaria,"** numbering 47,000 members. This is the longshore organization in the Republic, and to it belong all the ports excepting two yellow sections in Buenos Aires, known as the "Carboneros" (Coal Workers) and the "Diques y Darsenas" (Docks and Basins). These two organizations have been a constant nuisance to the fighting Federacion. Run by pimps, many of whom are secret service men, they are constantly used to scab on the militants of the branches at California and the South Dock. One of the secretaries of the Diques and Darsenas was found embezzling funds. He disappeared for a few weeks and then he was found to be a police commissary at a small town out in the country.

In October, 1919, in Rosario, there were only 500 members in the Federacion. In this year they had the closed shop with 6,500 members. In Bahia Blanca, Santa Fe, Ensenada and Campana, the Federacion has grown and taken control. In Rosario, in December, the authorities arrested the secretary. They held him a few days, and then one day about 3,000 wharf laborers suddenly appeared before the gaol with knives and revolvers. He was immediately released.

In Villa Constitucion, late last year, there was a strike. Scabs were brought in. The union men attacked them. The police were sent to protect the scabs. The next thing was that the police and the union men united, and what they did to those scabs would shock Mr. Gompers. But, of course, this was in Argentina, where people are not civilized!

The Federacion Portuaria was founded in December last year, and aggregeated, less the two "carnero" (yellow) unions, all the port workers in the Republic. Among the port workers the names of Damonte, Vidal Matte and Armada Lopez will long be remembered for their fearless pioneering of an organization that is to Argentina what the I. W. W. is to the North.

The **"Federacion de Transportes y Rodados"** is another excellent and militant organization. The secretary, F. W. Sanmartin, is a capable industrialist and knows his work. The Federacion contains the chauffeurs, wagon drivers and quite a number of railwaymen. When the latter are brought in, the "Wheeled Transport Federacion" will be powerful, and will strengthen the Quintos Federacion. The "Conductores de Carros" (wagon drivers) is very militant, perfectly organized, which is: quick in action and sparing in words. The bosses hate it, and so do the port authorities and their tools in the yellow union.

Then there are **several textile unions,** including the **Boot and Shoe Workers,** who adhere to the Federacion Communista, and lastly comes the U. T. A., **"Union Trabajadores Agricolas"** (Union of Agricultural Workers), the new and rapidly growing child of the Federacion, which secured 30,000 members in its first three months of existence, and which, as I described in my article in the March "One Big Union Monthly," transformed conditions and wages from the day the enthusiasts of the Federacion Communista launched it. Long may the Federacion Obrera Regional Communista de Argentina continue to live and fight for the proletarian Revolution. I lift my hat to the enthusiasts of the "Quinto" Congress!

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of the I. W. W., and at all their conventions they telegraph their greetings to Chicago. They are out to establish the "Pacto de Solidaridad" with all the advanced workers in all countries. Their form of organization works upon the same line as the delegate system of the I. W. W. and the shop steward movement in Great Britain. The executive committees of the organizations in the transport industry meet every night. They take action quickly and drastically. The secret executive meetings are connected with each other, and the well oiled machinery not only stops the ships loading, but also the wagons that carry the cargo to the waterfront, the handlers in the depot yard, to the man who loads the railway cars at the country depot.

One of the most important events in the history of the Argentine labor movement took place last year, when the **M. T. W. (Marine Transport Workers)** was established in Buenos Aires by 250 homeless and hungry marine workers. This proved to be the great connecting link between the Argentine and the outside world, and there is surely no country in the world where the interests of the foreign-going seamen and the shore organizations are more closely allied for action, offensive and defensive.

A flattering thing was said of the M. T. W. branch a little while ago by a member of the local union, "Los Marine Transport Workers se habla poco, se hace mucho." (The Marine Transport Workers say little, they do much.) And that is the spirit of the class-conscious organizations in South America, to act, and to leave talking to the Gomperians of the Decimo Congress. By the way, when the M. T. W. got its foothold in Buenos Aires, Gompers sent a wire to the Argentine authorities to root it out, as it was a branch of the I. W. W.

The telegram killed the A. F. of L. in South America, and Gompers' Pan-American F. of L. is dead as the dodo there as a result. Which is as it should be. In closing, I may say that there was not a delegate of the M. T. W. who wasn't in the calabosa less than four times. But gaol deterred them not, and the result is that the ports in Argentina belong to the only sound industrial organization for marine workers, the Marine Transport Workers.

In the Republic over the Hills (Chile), the I. W. W. increased its membership from 200 in August, 1918, to over 25,000 in January, 1920, due to the magnificent work of the fearless fighter, Juan O. Chamorro of Valparaiso.

In Uruguay, the "Federacion Obrera Regional Uruguay" is I. W. W. in sentiment, and although it is small in numbers, the day is rapidly coming when it will, like its peers in Argentina and Chile, throw down the gauntlet to the ruling class of that republic.

Viva los Portuarios, los Rodados, los Conductores de carros, los Agricolas. Y Viva Los Quintos, y los Trabajadores de Ultramar!

VIVA! VIVA!

One Big Union in Japan

We have not sent any organizers or agitators to Japan but we have been expecting good news from there anyhow. And here they are, in a letter from one of our friends in that country:

"Dear Friends:—

In our country the socialist and labor movement has become lively since the Russian revolution and a labor movement has developed with the rapid progress of the industries in war time.

The Yu-ai-kwai (Friendly Society which Sen Katayama called a "yellow movement" in his "Labor Movement in Japan") has been reconstructed and is now red. It has established the principle of **One Big Union** in the last August. Baron Shibusawa and other yellow men were excluded from it. In Tokyo Yu-ai-kwai, Shingu-kwai (the printers' union) led by some syndicalists and Nippon-Kotsu-Rodo-Kumaiai (The Tram Workers' Union in Tokyo) are active now.

There have been many labor strikes in the last year; for instance the remarkable strike of all newspaper printers in Tokyo, the sabotage in the Kawasaki shipyards in Kobe, the great strike in Ashio copper mines resulting in riots, and the subtle sabotage of the tram workers in Tokyo in December.

In this year great strikes were made twice in Yawata iron works of the government, the tram car strike in Tokyo, and the workers of the Sonoiki iron works get the right of a Shop Committee first in Japan. These labor movements and numerous articles of magazines stimulate the workers very much.

Owing to the severe suppression of labor movement and the unsparing censorship of books, sacrifices were made by many workers, professors and others. Our workers do not yet understand socialism and unionism very well. So we must propagate them in pamphlets, leaflets and other methods. In Japan there are not many pamphlets.

The panic is coming. The number of the unemployed is increasing. The propaganda of socialism and unionism are indispensable at this time.

I am sending you best wishes to the socialists and members of the One Big Union in America.

Your comrade,

Koji Nakada."

WHAT IS BOLSHEVISM

In our last number we stated that we would in this number give the facts about the taking over of the large industries by the Russian people and the status of the unions. Unfortunately the matter was crowded out. We will return to the question at our first opportunity. Among other articles on the subject we will publish "The Communst Party and Industrial Unionism" by G. Zinoviev.

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I. W. W. MEMBERS OF STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, ON AN OUTING AT VÄRTAN, NEAR STOCKHOLM.

THE I. W. W. IN SWEDEN

The above photo shows the branch of Marine Transport Workers No. 8, I. W. W. on an outing at Värtan, near Stockholm, Sweden. The members of this branch have later asked the I. W. W. for a recruiting union charter, but the General Executive Board has, after looking into the question thoroughly, decided not to issue industrial union charters in countries where there are already organizations in existence with a program similar to ours, and as the Syndicalist movement of Sweden organizes the workers for about the same purpose as the I. W. W. The I. W. W. prefers to seek federation with that movement to entering into competition with it.

(In our next number we shall have an article on the origin, growth and present status of the Swedish Syndicalist movement, by John Anderson, member of the Executive Committee of that movement).

The Stockholm branch will therefor, probably, have to establish itself as a propaganda league with the object of making the Swedish workers more familiar with the American method of organizing the workers industrially.

The Swedish Syndicalist movement has, due to the low industrial development of the country, devoted itself more to the creation of local samorganizations, or organs of local administration, than industrial unions on a nation wide scale.

The social democratic unions have for years had under consideration a plan of changing from craft unions to industrial unions (industriforbund). If they do, it seems that the proper thing to work for would be a consolidation of the social democratic and the syndicalist unions. The former would supply the organs of production and distribution through their eventual industrial unions, and the syndicalists would supply the organs of local administration. Thus the Swedish working class would be better prepared for a bloodless solution of the social problem than any other country.

Let us hope that it will be so.

AUSTRALIAN WORKERS DEFENCE COMMITTEE

28 East Rd, City Rd, London, England

Have for sale the sensational pamphlet of 52 pages, entitled, "Guilty or Not Guilty," by Henry E. Boote of the Australian Worker.

This pamphlet is a masterly analysis of the evidence against and for the men. The I. W. W. Treason Cases is the most sensational case in the history of the Working Class Movement of Great Britain. Proceeds to the Defence Fund and the Wives and Children. 13 copies, $1.00; 100 copies for $7.50, express paid.

Address Tom Barker, Hon. Secy., A. W. D. Com.,

28 East Rd, City Rd, London, N., England.

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Mexican I. W. W. Permanently Organized

By Jose Refugio Rodriguez, Secretary-Treasurer

The Mexican Administration of the I. W. W. which was provisionally organized in September, 1919, with a committee of three in charge, has now been organized on a permanent basis with a General Executive Committee in charge of the six departments of industry, following conferences between representatives of workers' organizations from various parts of the country. The headquarters will be in Mexico City as formerly and the post-office address of the administration will continue to be P. O. Box 985, Mexico City.

The officers are as follows: General Secretary-Treasurer, Jose Refugio Rodriguez; General Executive Committee: 1. Hipolito Flores, in charge of agriculture, land, fisheries and aquatic products; 2. C. F. Tabler, in charge of mining; 3. Vicente Ortega, in charge of transportation and communications; 4. Francisco Cervantez Lopez, in charge of manufacturs and production; 5. Maclo Pacheco, in charge of construction; 6. Linn A. E. Gale, in charge of public service.

Of the officers, Rodriguez is a printer; Flores is a farmer; Tabler is a miner employed in Guanajuato; Ortega is a bridge-builder and has also worked in oil wells; Lopez is a printer and pressman and now has a little job printing office in which, however, he does most of the manual work himself; Pacheco is a carpenter and has worked in various factories; and Gale is the editor of "El Obrero Industrial" (The Industrial Worker) official organ of the Mexican I. W. W. in Spanish and of "Gale's," his own Communist monthly magazine published in English, besides being an extensive contributor to the working class press. All of the men are wage slaves in the fullest sense of the word with the exception, perhaps of Lopez and Gale, who might literally be styled small business men. However, both work as hard as any wage slave and neither makes a profit, each having a constant struggle to make both ends meet. Although the American I. W. W. prohibits membership or offices to those not actually working for wages, the Mexican I. W. W. has believed it wise to stretch the point in these cases as both Lopez and Gale are valuable elements who are strong advocates of Industrial Unionism and have long rendered important service to the movement. Lopez has for some time been National Secretary of the Mexican Socialist Party and was editor of "El Socialista" until it suspended. Gale has been a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party since its inception. The two parties have effected a union recently. Both reject political action and are committed to Industrial Unionism so there is no friction between them and the I. W. W. A national I. W. W. convention will be held later in the season.

The Auxiliary Executive Committee of 6 will be named shortly and later committees of 21 workers in every department. Active propaganda by means of job delegates will begin at once among all unions. The workers are very enthusiastic feeling that with the permanent organization of the Mexican Administration, a long step has been taken toward the Industrial Republic in Mexico.

I. W. W. members and unions in the United States and in foreign countries are invited to correspond with the Mexican I. W. W., addressing Jose Refugio Rodriguez, Secretary-Treasurer, P. O. Box 985, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico.

Scandinavian Workers in U. S. A. Endorsing I. W. W.

At the time of the suspension of the Swedish I. W. W. paper "Nya Världen" we announced the prospects of a landslide of Scandinavian workers to the I. W. W. These prospects are now taking shape in quite a satisfactory manner.

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation is a body of Scandinavian workers which up to about a year ago paid dues to the socialist party. At the time of the split in that party in the summer of 1919 this Scandinavian Federation cut loose from the political program and refused to join any of the fragments. Some were in favor of joining the socialist party, others preferred the communists, still others the communist labor party, while some wanted to go over to the I. W. W. In spite of this friction the Federation has kept alive by remaining independent. At the present time it is publishing three weekly papers, one in Swedish, one in Danish and one in English ("Truth" in Duluth, Minn.) It has between 60 and 70 locals, we believe, and several thousand members.

Through the Swedish paper "Nya Världen" the I. W. W. came with a proposition to unite all the socialist elements among the Scandinavians in this country on the basis of industrial unionism, dropping politics altogether, and the I. W. W. Scandinavians issued a pamphlet stating their proposition, which was received favorably.

The Eastern conference of the Federation has now, recently voted to have the Federation remain an independent, educational body, but gives an unqualified endorsement of the I. W. W. The conference of the locals of the Central states, held in Minneapolis on July 4-5, adopted a resolution of the same purpose but with the qualification that it expects the I. W. W. to take the initiative to the forming of a real One Big Union or to unite with others who take the initiative.

The General convention of the Federation will be held in September, and we have the best hope that this convention will come to decisions which will place another large body of workers in the ranks of the I. W. W., much as the Finnish, Hungarian, Russian and Roumanian and other federations have done.

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PHILADELPHIA STRIKE IS OVER

The strike on the Philadelphia waterfront has come to a close. The conditions of the settlement are best told in the following report of the committee, which was accepted at a general meeting of the strikers on July 7th. In brief, it is:—

The Employing Stevedores and Shipping Interests on foreign shipping trade agree to pay off all scabs before we return to work.

All strikers to return to work as union men and to receive the same scale as was paid at the time of strike, **this wage to remain in force till September 30th, when new awards are made by the U. S. Shipping Board.**

If the Adjustment Board makes any awards to the workers in other ports, we are to receive same automatically.

(Note: The union does not bind itself to any time agreement nor does it agree to accept an award. The union agreed to return to work if the old scale is paid and all scabs cleared from the docks.)

The grain ceilers are to get $9.00 a day instead of $8.00, which they formerly received. The bosses wanted to know from the grain ceilers if it would be all right for them (the bosses) to hire non-union men in case there were not sufficient union men to handle the work. The grain ceilers informed the bosses that they would refuse to work with scabs and that extra men could always be gotten at the longshoremen's hall.

The checkers reported that they had the assurance that their grievances would be satisfactorily adjusted by the following morning. They also refuse to work with scabs.

After discussion the report was accepted and a motion made that we return to work on Thursday at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. The motion was carried by a great majority by the men in the hall and the overflow crowd in the street.

Everyone was then given a new work button free, so that everybody could get to work with an up-to-date button on his hat.

With the adjourning of the meeting the waterfront took on a new hum, bosses hiring men, rigging going up, all noise and racket.

THE STRIKE COST TO BOSS AND WORKER

That the strike, which has just come to an end, was one of the most bitterly contested, is proven by the figures given in the Philadelphia Public Ledger of July 3rd. At the time the strike started there were 140 ships in port. Many of these were nearly loaded and some left without completing the loading of cargo, yet a month after the strike began there were 173 ships in port. The tie-up was as complete when the strike was voted off as when the strike started.

The Ledger article follows:

LONGSHORE STRIKE FIGURES SHOW APPALLING LOSS IN LIFE AND MONEY

Figures on the longshoremen's strike and the cost to the city in casualties and business since the walkout May 26:

CASUALTIES

Number of persons killed	5
Number of persons injured	200
Number of persons arrested	80
Held for murder	1
Number of riots	20

MATERIAL LOSSES

Number of vessels lying in port today awaiting loading or unloading	175
Daily cost of operation of average vessel while idle	$2,000
Estimated cost to merchants and ship owners, due to demurrage, insurance, loss of business, interest and ship expenses	$50,000,000
Number of working days lost	34
Number of striking men	7,800
Estimated daily loss to men in wages	$63,000
Loss last month to the men	$2,142,000

CAUSES

Demand for closed shop and wage increases.

Hourly rate for "deep-sea" stevedores, of whom there are 3,000, is eighty cents; they want $1.

Hourly rate for "coastwise" stevedores, of whom there are 4,800, is forty cents; they want sixty-five cents, which was the United States Shipping Board rate, reduced to forty cents on relinquishment by the board and increased to forty-five and fifty cents at beginning of strike.

OTHER POINTS

Called the worst strike in Philadelphia since the street car strike of 1907.

Among vessels tied up are two loaded with sugar from Cuba.

Of men arrested, the greater number were found to have no permanent address; none had been at boarding house more than two weeks.

ONE DOLLAR PER MONTH AFTER THE FIRST OF AUGUST

The SPECIAL REFERENDUM on the raise of the dues has been taken and the General Ballot Committee finds that the majority of those voting are in favor of the change.

After the first of August the monthly dues will be $1.00 per month, and all who are paid ahead of that date will be required to pay an additional fifty cents ($ .50) on each month so paid ahead.

A special fifty-cent stamp will be pasted over the stamp that was paid ahead. The regular stamp that has been used all along will be issued for the regular payments of dues as orignally fixed, the delegate writing "one dollar" across the face of the stamp, along with the date and his credentials number.

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HEADER CREW AT WORK IN THE KANSAS HARVEST FIELDS

The Modern Agricultural Slave

By E. W. Latchem

HARVESTING IN KANSAS

The parasites of the State of Kansas are having their yearly spasm over the I. W. W. Ever since 1915 when the first concerted move was made by the I. W. W. to organize the harvest workers, the ruling powers of that state have had a brainstorm of some kind, just about harvest time.

Conditions in the Harvest Fields

Every year large numbers of men go to the harvest fields in answer to calls in the newspapers asking for men at big wages to help harvest the crops, but who find that they are not only forced to work at less wages than promised, but that nearly everything else in connection with the harvest has been misrepresented.

During harvest the farmer seldom works longer than 10 hours owing to the fact that horses and mules cannot stand the intense heat longer than that. When the harvest is over and threshing starts there is little or no stock used and the hours are lengthened to as long as the slaves will work which sometimes is as much as 14 or 16 hours of pitching headed wheat, which, is the hardest kind of work.

During harvest the sleeping facilities are fairly good as a rule, but when threshing starts the worker is forced to shift for himself, and must find a bed in the barn in a space not used by four legged stock, and if no room is found there, he can hunt up a discarded horse blanket and hunt sleeping quarters in a straw pile or keep company with the coyotes on the prairie.

It was only natural that all self respecting workers should resent being classed as beneath the so-called "lower animals," but they found themselves powerless as individuals; against the well organized financial interests and an overstocked slave market.

Enters the I. W. W.

In 1915 harvest workers organized in the I. W. W. presented the first wage scale ever set by themselves as follows: A minimum of $3.00 for a 10-hour day together with decent food and sleeping quarters; this to apply all over middle and southern Kansas, and the heavier fields of the northern part of the state to receive a higher wage.

These demands served to cement the harvest workers together with a common aim and they discovered that when they stood solidly together as one, that they had the power to force decent working hours as well as good food and better sleeping quarters.

Seeing the results of the Solidarity of the workers through organization, the harvesters joined the I. W. W. by the hundreds, and this of course was a challenge to those who live by robbing the bread basket of the nation.

No matter how well off a farmer appeared, he was, as a rule completely at the mercy of these exploiters, because of being head over heels in debt

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and could be easily handled; but if the harvest workers should be able through their organization to get and hold better working conditions, it opened up the possibility of the farmer getting next to the skin game that was used on him, and the thoughts of the possibility of having to earn a living by honest toil drove these so-called respectable citizens frantic.

Insurance Capitalists Traffick in I. W. W. Scare

The papers of the wheat belt were filled with weird and fantastic tales about the I. W. W. burning wheat crops, etc., but very rarely did a bit of truth get into print.

The insurance agents were quick to take advantage of these fantastic stories and use them to get money from the farmer to insure his crop against fire, etc., when in reality they knew that the I. W. W. was not setting out any fires and that the stories printed in the papers were lies published with the object of creating prejudice against workers who were trying to better their working conditions.

In spite of all misrepresentation and abuse the I. W. W. continued to grow by leaps and bounds. This served to make the parasites more frantic. Their lies and abuse had failed of its object. What were they to do?

When the United States entered the war against Germany it suggested another chance which they grasped like a drowning man grasping a straw. They lost no time in making use of the war hysteria in an effort to deal a blow to those who had challenged their right to live by robbing the nations' bread basket. The mental prostitutes of the newspapers were again called into action and this time the I. W. W. was "pro-German" and "out to destroy all the nations' food so as to keep the United States out of the war."

But this did not have the desired effect of stopping the I. W. W. The only result was an increase in the number of insurance agents who reaped a rich harvest from the ignorant farmer who had become frightened at the lies he had read.

Our Enemies Become Frantic

By this time the parasites had become desperate and dropped all their camouflage of respect for the constitution and laws of the United States and in the later part of Nov., 1917, about 25 members and delegates were arrested without warrants or due process of law and thrown into jail and held for two years without trial in a desperate attempt to stop the work of organization, but to no avail as the work of organization went along anyhow.

The failure of their efforts to stop the I. W. W. found these parasites and their henchmen on the verge of insanity at the opening of the harvest of 1919.

They again called on the prostitutes of the press, each of whom, this time, tried to outdo the other in committing terrible crimes on paper and blaming the I. W. W., in an attempt to get the ignorant workers and farmers worked up into the same insane state of mind as themselves, and act as their catspaw. Members and delegates were arrested all over the wheat belt, but all were released without trial as they had committed no crime.

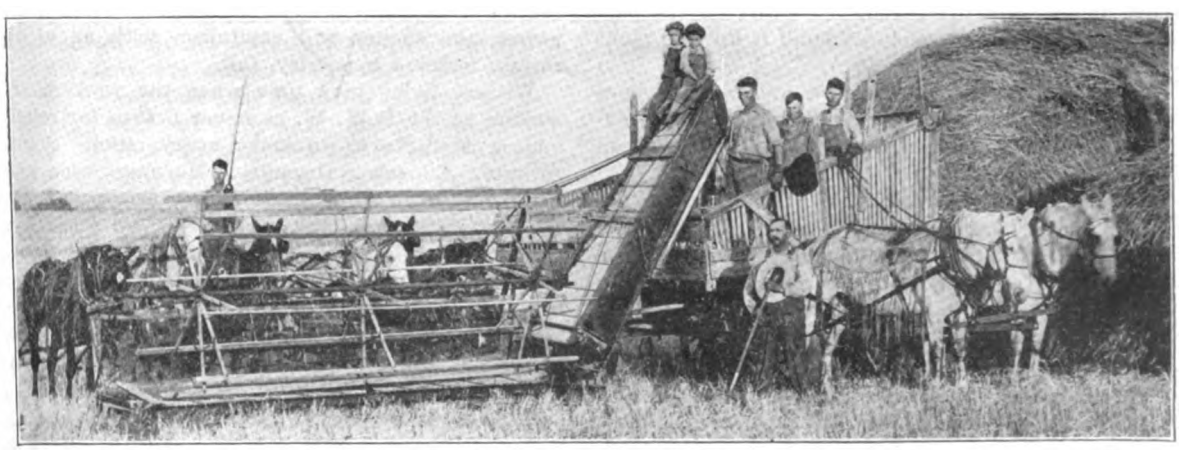
While the people's minds were still stultified from reading the ravings of insane newspaper prostitutes, 28 members and delegates who had been in jail for 2 years without trial were rushed into court convicted and sentenced to the Federal Penitentiary for from 3 to 9 years. Their only crime was activity in the organization that had challenged the worst set of brigands that ever lived off the labor of another.

Enters the Interchurch Movement

Another feature of the harvest of 1919 was the opening of reading rooms and "community kitchens" under the auspices of the Interchurch World Movement, in an attempt to keep the workers under their influence and away from "those terrible I. W. W.'s" who might tell them some truths. These were usually under tents with hay or straw flooring on which the harvest hands were allowed to sleep at night, and which soon became vermin infested owing to lack of proper care, as the principal function of those in charge were to act as stool pigeons for the powers that be and they had little or no time to look after the cleanliness of the place.

Flooding the Country with Men

This year most of the old stunts for flooding the country with men were tried. The newspapers



HEADER CREW BUSY FILLING THE WORLD'S BREAD BASKET

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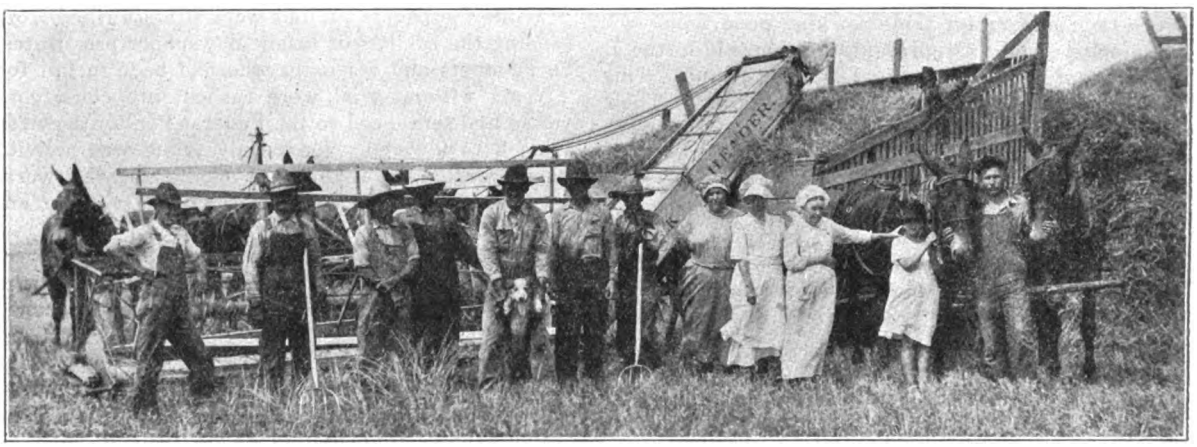
stated that the farmers had set the wages at 70 cents per hour, but on arrival you were told that the farmers could not afford to pay that amount. Also that the farmers did not have anything to do with setting this wage and that it had been set by the bankers and business interests without consulting the farmers and that they were not under any obligation to abide by it.

If any suggestion was made to the effect that the harvest hands should have something to say in regard wages, you were told that you were welcome to all that you could get as an individual. **But there was to be no pooling of interests among harvest hands, and that anybody attempting it would land in jail pretty d—— quick.**

You are deliberately told that the business interests have set the wages and if you attempt any effective resistance, you will feel the "mailed fist" in the hands of our modern descendants of the "cave man" who has been dressed as officers of the law and who are usually ready and anxious to show that they still have the same stupid mentality as their ancestors.

A talk with any county or state official in the harvest belt is sufficient to convince all workers of the necessity of organization among the harvesters, and if his mentality be above that of the "cave man" he will also see the need of a society that is not based on robbery and ruled by those who have inherited the ferocious instincts and stupid mind of the cave man who scientists claim passed away centuries ago.

It is time to abolish the savage remnants of the past which remain in our so-called civilization, and when we do, we can say that we are above the savages, but until then we have nothing to boast of.



HEADER CREW READY TO GO HOME

Who Does Not Work Neither Shall He Eat

The Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union is a more important industrial union than most of the membership give it credit for. In fact, it is a very important industrial union, as I will try to show in this brief article, in the hope that it will bring renewed effort on the part of the membership to help us build it up to a point of vantage.

We of the hotels, restaurants, etc., are the ones who will be called upon to take charge of the feeding and housing problem when capitalism has been abolished.

We are the ones you will have to look to for the regulation of your food supply, especially so during the period of reconstruction, and we are the ones who will have to organize the distributive forces of this particular industry and completely change the existing order of service in this line of human activity.

Organization is absolutely necessary and so is education, for without the latter we are helpless and can be driven anywhere, but if we understand, we can do anything, for we all know by this time that might makes right, and it is up to us to organize and educate that might.

From all indications we are going to be successful, perhaps more successful than most of us think, but that should only spur us on to do something greater, for we realize that the sooner we get the organized power, the sooner will capitalism with all of its rotten, festered hypocrisy, fall.

We are living in a time when the workers are looking to the I. W. W. as never before for relief, and it is up to us to make every minute count. Agitate. Educate. Organize. Morning, noon and night, and even while we sleep, let us dream I. W. W., for it alone is the remedy for all humanity. Others come and go, some stay longer than others, humbugging and fooling the workers, but now we have about arrived at a stage of the game where the workers refuse to be longer humbugged and are demanding the real thing, and the only real thing for them is the I. W. W.

Now as to the hotels and restaurants, etc., again. Today a man can start a small place or perhaps a large one, and exploit his slaves to the limit of his

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ability. The dishwasher, the waiter, the cook and so on, all down the line, they work long hours and receive a bare existence wage, simply because of their disorganization. Some are organized in craft unions, some are split over religious issues, some over politics, and all are split over something that does not concern the workers in any manner whatever.

But no matter what they are split over, the fact of the matter is that they have only ONE recourse in the long run, and that is Industrial Unionism. They must unite as ONE. They must organize and educate their membership so that they will be able to not only shorten their hours and raise their wages, but for the final and most necessary reason, of taking over and operating the hotels, restaurants, etc., of the workers, by the workers and for the workers. For under the new order that soon will be established we will have to know how to manage our own affairs, not only for ourselves, but also for all humanity, because we will have to feed and house all the people.

How are we going to do this? Simple as can be. We are the ones who do the work, all of it, but we let the boss do the dictating. Under the new order we will not alone do the work but we WILL DO THE DICTATING. We will find out the number of workers engaged in this industry, we will wipe out all unnecessary small places, and have the ONE LARGE PLACE, or whatever is necessary, and then the subdivisions near the places where the workers work. There will be no profits; there will be service. For our wages we will receive according to the time we have put in in necessary work for society. The time cost of production. By eliminating all the small, unnecessary places and establishing the large ones where we find it necessary, we release a great majority of workers engaged in this industry and we place them at work in the places necessary, thereby reducing the hours of labor to the very minimum, and yet the workers will get more, by at the very least two-thirds, than what they receive today under capitalism. It can be best illustrated thusly:

We recognize first that all workers engaged in useful occupation are necessary. One is no more necessary than the other. Now, then, that being the case, we say that they should be paid according to the time they put in in work, and not according to what the boss can get them for so he can make a profit. Then, if you work three hours a day under the new order you will receive more of the social products of labor than you would if you worked twelve hours a day for a master as you do today.

We will take over all hotels, restaurants, clubs, boarding houses, etc. That will be the first step. Then, by committees as a whole, we will get together, and whatever we decide will be the thing done, regulated as we go along to suit the best interests of all society. **We will establish as one of the first edicts of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers that if a man do no work neither shall he eat.** We will e to it that nobody gets food or lodging unless he proves that he has earned it by useful labor, or can show cause for exception.

So, Fellow Workers, in closing, let me say this: That we are numbered today in this country in the millions; we are a factor to be reckoned with; we are determined that we are going to rule; we are out to do all in our power to make the other slave wake up to his true position in society; we are out to win, and we ask all workers to think over what his course will be. Will it be with the workers in our common fight for emancipation, or will you stand with the masters and fight for them, so that they can prolong the agony of wage slavery, where all workers are compelled to be slaves to a parasite who does no useful work and who is no more necessary to society than the flea on the back of a dog.

Fellow Workers, I appeal to you in the name of the workers who want to live as human beings should live. I appeal to you in the name of suffering humanity, I appeal to you, to all that is good in you, to your sense of duty to your class, and to your sense of JUSTICE. ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE!

C. DEVLIN, Sec'y-Treas.
Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers I. U. 1100.

Some Timely Remarks

The arch traitors against all humankind have been the kings, the czars and the profiteers, with their long train of soothsayers and politicians.

* * *

All wealth is produced by human effort, and those who take no part in this production should have no part in the affairs of state.

* * *

An itemized account of the expense of the visit of the Belgian "royal" family to America indicates that Americans vastly overcontributed to the Belgian relief fund.

* * *

The people of 1920 are not repeating, after some bemedaled commander, "My country, right or wrong." They are saying "War must cease; and **in order that war may cease, profits must cease.**"

* * *

So many orators and would-be orators are beating their breasts and shouting "Americanism" and "Democracy" that they are in danger of cheapening those terms. Americanism and democracy are both susceptible to the progress of evolution.

* * *

The people of the United States have paid millions of dollars in taxation to keep state and national legislators engaged in drafting laws, until it now takes hundreds of heavy volumes to contain the copies of these laws. From this great mass it would probably be difficult to select a score that are of undoubted benefit to the rank and file, the people who make up 90 per cent of the population.

J. C. C.

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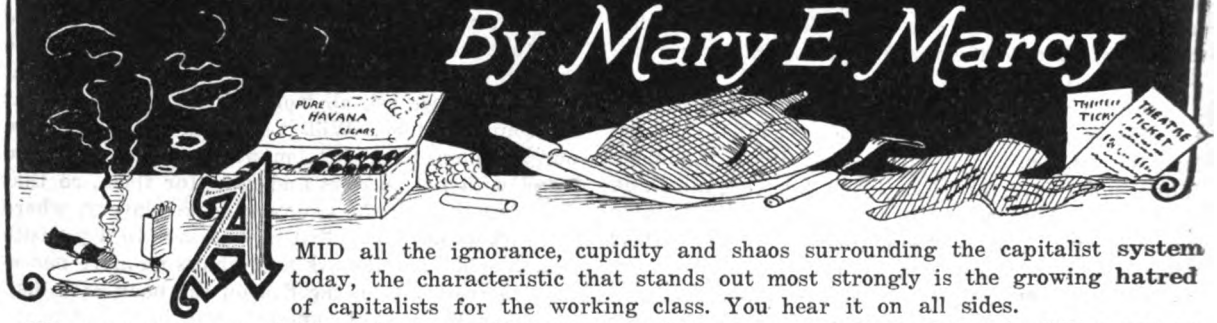
THE SPENDTHRIFT WORKERS

By Mary E. Marcy



AMID all the ignorance, cupidity and shaos surrounding the capitalist system today, the characteristic that stands out most strongly is the growing hatred of capitalists for the working class. You hear it on all sides.

When an employer of labor, for example, sees a workingman who has slaved away in some machine shop or mill or factory for twenty years, riding around in a Ford automobile of his own, he just naturally foams at the mouth and shrieks that the only way to save society from utter barbarism is to lower wages right away.

When a magazine writer, who has done nothing in a long life of uselessness but dress up the ideas of the owners of industry in forms to fool the workers, sees a workingman buying a ticket for a vacation and riding in a PULLMAN, he goes home and breaks out in a long article showing why the extravagances of the laboring classes is raising prices and driving the old ship of state straight for the rocks.

He exclaims with horror that the workmen today are demanding good and "expensive" clothing instead of shoddy, and to prove his statement he tells us how the second-hand clothing dealer has gone out of business and how a bang-up haberdasher is doing a land-office business at the old stand.

Working girls are known, during these unprecedented times, to go about wearing silk stockings, occasionally, and the clergy are shocked and grieved to learn that plumbers and steam fitters and electricians are to be seen now and then wearing SILK shirts.

And during all these outrages the employers of labor have been forced to sit back helpless and grind their teeth and endure these sights and plot to bring back the good old days when the workers who produced everything had to be satisfied if they had any sort of clothes to their backs and to eat the tougher portions of beef, when they had any.

The workers have had the employers in a corner owing to the great demand for American goods the past year and the shortage of labor, but the old politicians and the capitalist class are preparing to give us a great jolt in the near future.

Now that the bank deposits amount to about twenty-two times the currency in this country, the banks are up against the proposition of obeying the banking laws and holding the legal reserve in bank to (partially) protect their depositors, or of starting the printing presses going again and loading us all up with more paper notes and thereby lifting prices another thirty or forty per cent.

And so the banks are going to curtail credit. They are going to refuse credit to "legitimate business enterprises." We know it because they have all said so. And, knowing the banking fraternity as we do, we may rest assured that each and every banker is going to preserve a noble exterior and tell the world he yields to social needs and social welfare, while he will secretly extend credit to favored clients—for special considerations. And so the banking situation is going to be acute before long.

There simply will not be enough credit to go around, so that some industries are going to find their loans called and the capitalists in these fields will probably have to dispose of their stocks at a reduction to meet the bank calls; some will be put out of business.

And while the press and the politicians, and, above all, the capitalists, are crying for "increased production" out of one side of their mouths, they will be forced to refuse credit where it is necessary and will thus cause DECREASED production in certain industries.

Now some capitalists are up against this curtailment of credit. The banks have called their loans; they know they are up against a stiff condition; the banks require additional security for any loans. But the employers of labor, the exploiters of labor, are so obsessed with their growing FEAR and hatred of the workers that in spite of their own economic dan-

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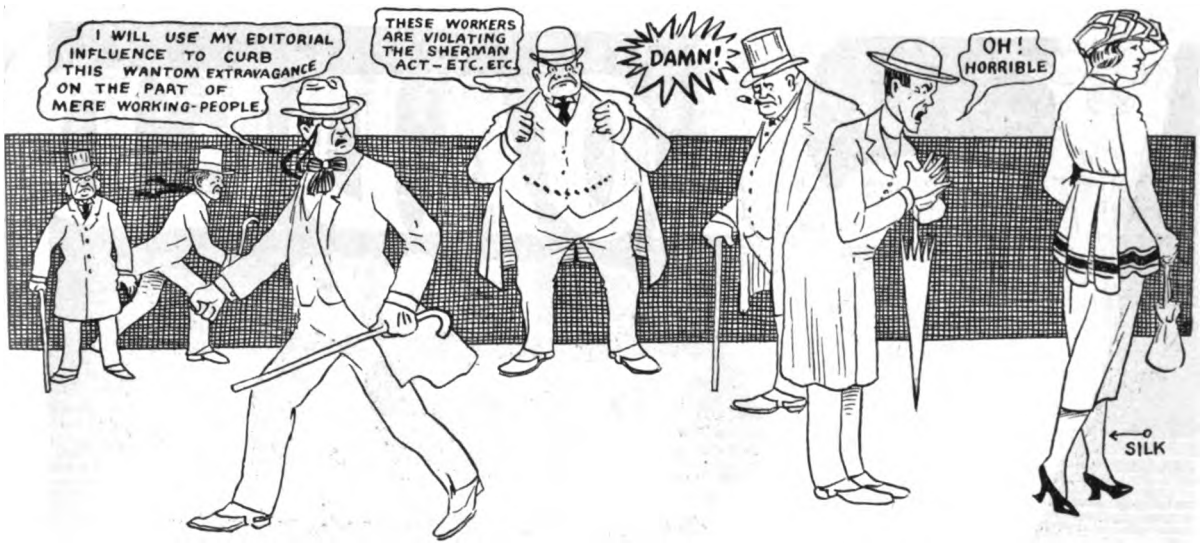

ger they often welcome a situation that will throw labor out of employment. They imagine unemployment will take out the new backbone the workers have developed during the past two years and make them servile wage slaves once more.

The capitalists regard it as perfectly right, justifiable and natural for the financiers, bankers or other groups of capitalists to prey upon any social group, to hold them up when they can do so, to squander, and loot and lie and steal. They admire and envy the capitalist who toils not and who is known as a conspicuous waster, but their bile rises when they read about a teamster eating porterhouse steak or a mere producer owning his Ford, or wearing a silk shirt.

A silk shirt on a workingman unites the entire capitalist and parasitical classes against the productive workers in society as nothing else on earth can. It draws attention so patently to the difference between the new and the old conditions, and it strikes the fear of the giant home into the hearts of those who prey upon society.

The workers in America today are in no mood for curbings, and the capitalists are in danger of losing all the power they have misused so long. Consequently, they are organizing to put up the fight of their very lives against the working class.

We shall see the waging of a giant battle during the coming months, in which it is not unlikely that the old craft unions may be torn and rent asunder never to be united again. For the pure and simple craft union will prove utterly unable to stand up before the onslaughts of united capitalism, and great numbers of men in the old unions will refuse to suffer disaster for the sake of an outgrown and dying institution.

These months ought to be the great harvest days for the I. W. W. It would be an extremely wise man who would be able to foresee what the next year will bring forth. But of one thing, I think, we may feel rather certain. It will bring us the greatest opportunity for the organization work of real class unionism that we have ever seen.

SOME FAMOUS DRIVES

St. Patrick drove the snakes out of Ireland, but overlooked the capitalist class.

It remains for the I. W. W. to drive out the capitalist class, not only from Ireland but from other countries as well.

Part of that drive falls on the lot of the One Big Union Monthly.

For that reason we have started a drive to increase our circulation from 15,000 to 25,000 by Christmas, as a starter.

Who wants to give us a hand?

Better order a bundle today.

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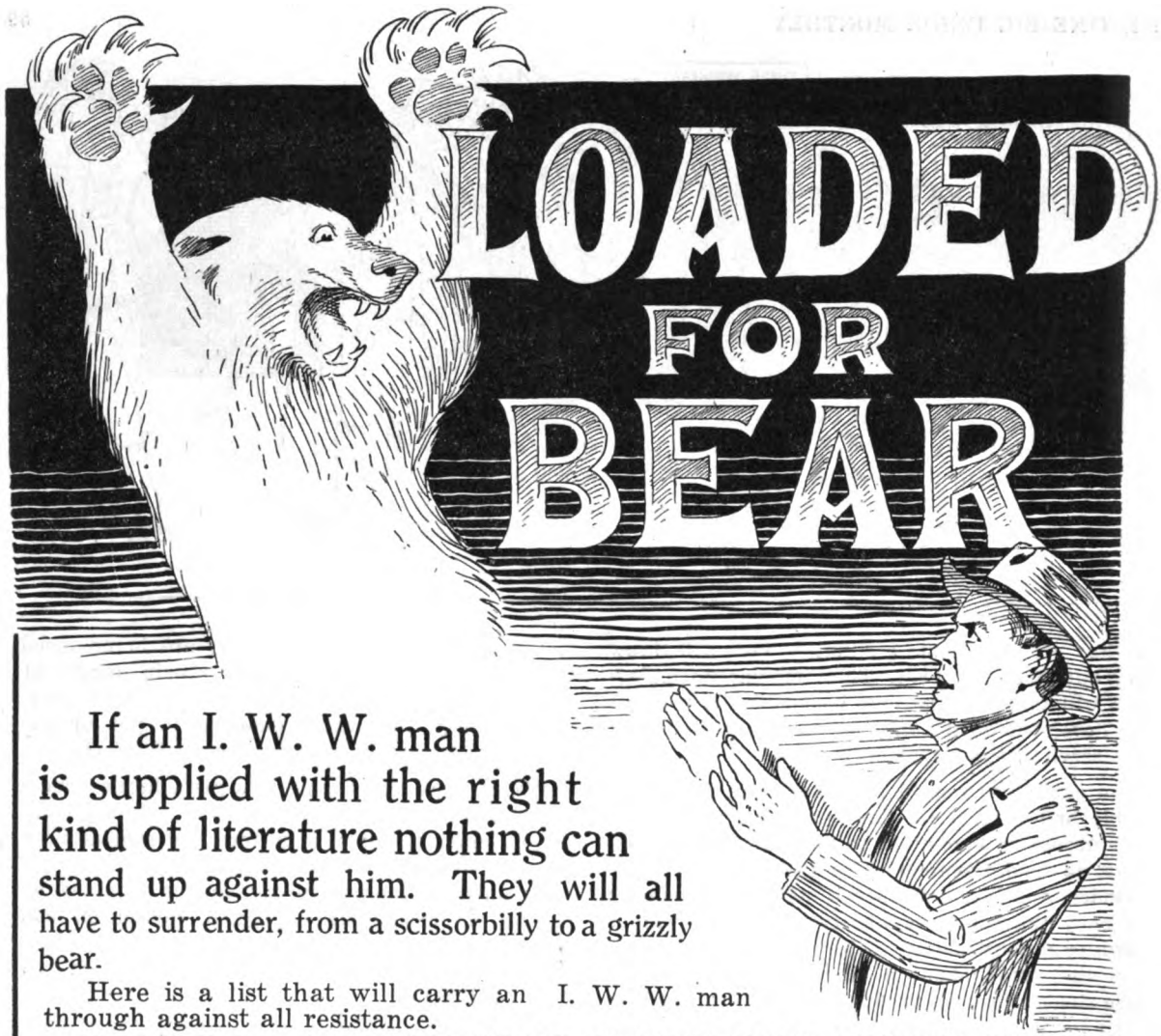

If an I. W. W. man is supplied with the right kind of literature nothing can stand up against him. They will all have to surrender, from a scissorbilly to a grizzly bear.

Here is a list that will carry an I. W. W. man through against all resistance.

THE I. W. W.—A STATEMENT OF ITS PRINCIPLES, OBJECTS AND METHODS.

This is a big 4 page leaflet just out. It was printed in the May issue of The One Big Union Monthly and is the first leaflet issued by The Educational Committee provided for by the last convention. It is expensive but we could not make it any cheaper. $1.50 per hundred and $12 per thousand. But that should make no difference. Every branch should lay in a big supply. This leaflet talks for you to strangers. It is a wonder worker. Every I. W. W. man should carry some in his pocket all the time. If you can do nothing else in your locality, you can buy some of these leaflets and distribute them. You will soon notice a change. Send for some.

Next on the list is:

THE I. W. W. IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, by Justus Ebert, the first book to be issued by the said sommittee. See advertisements in other places.

Next we recommend:

THE CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY by Ralph Chaplin. See advertisement elsewhere.

And next:

THE I. W. W. WEEKLY PAPERS and
THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY.

If you are supplied with this literature you can go anywhere for then you are truly,

LOADED FOR BEAR.

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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, 138 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.; Geo. Williams, Box 1873, Seattle, Wash.; Thos. Whitehead, 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 Montesano, Washington, January 26th-March 15th, 1920
By FRANK WALKIN
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