

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

NOVEMBER, 1921



THE RAILWAY "SITUATION"

PRICE 15 CENTS

A STUDY IN RELATIVITY

I JUST GOBBLED UP
ALL THE SWILL IN
THE GARBAGE CAN

I JUST LAPPED UP
A COUPLE OF MILLION
BUCKS IN WALL ST.



"WHO'S WHO AND WHY"

ACQUISITIVENESS—THE CHIEF INCENTIVE UNDER CAPITALISM.

The Industrial Pioneer

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Serial No. 6

The Railway Situation

By F. McKinley

AS ONE of the most important questions before the workers today is the impending railway strike let us review the situation and see to just what extent it will affect us as railroad workers.

In 1916 we saw the same comedy acted with which we are being entertained today. We all remember how a strike vote was taken, the Rails voting almost unanimously to walk out if their demands were not granted. The most important of their demands at that time was the eight hour day. Congress hurriedly passed a law known as the "Adamson Eight Hour Law." Most of the rails threw their hats in the air and shouted in celebration of the victory and have been working from ten to sixteen hours ever since.

Then again early in the summer of 1918 the brotherhood leaders began collecting figures on "Average Wage" and "Cost of Living" to present to the Railway Administration in support of their argument for an increase in wages for railroad men. The men got tired of living on "coffee and" and promises, and a few weeks later the shopmen went on strike in different parts of the country. Of course they were "outlaws", so in order to be respectable union men they obeyed the orders of their "leaders" and returned to work.

In the meantime Pres. Wilson promised to appoint a Labor Board to listen to the pleadings (not demands) of the "labor leaders." A few more months of promises (but no Labor Board) and the switchmen tried to force the issue by walking off the job. The labor market was pretty well crowded at that time so it was an easy matter to find scabs to take the places of the "outlaws."

As a railroad worker myself I have had a good opportunity to see the effect of all this disorganization and have thought a great deal as to the cause. When we take into consideration the fact that there are sixteen different craft unions concerned in the present controversy we can readily see the cause.

Although 98 per cent of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen have just voted in favor of a strike, "King Lee" has washed his hands of the affair and has put it squarely up to the general chairmen of each railroad to call the strike. In other words, if the general chairman of one system calls a strike he is liable to find himself alone as the chairmen of other roads are under no obligation to follow suit. Then again the shopmen are waiting for and are suspicious of the roadmen and vice versa. When we stop to realize that an engine in a railway shop is worked on by nine or ten different men representing the same number of craft unions and that a train and engine crew of five men are divided into four different organizations, we have some more light as to the cause of the disorganization of the railway workers. How much different it would be with all of us in One Big Union standing side by side all fighting the common enemy.

If the average railroad man fully realized the importance of the industry in which he works and would organize accordingly it would eliminate the prospects of so many lost battles with the railway managers. By controlling a few of the most important railway centers it practically means control of the entire industry and also the allied industries.

For example, control of the Pittsburg, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, and Twin Cities terminals would mean control of the industrial life of the nation. Most of the anthracite coal is mined in the vicinity of Pittsburg. Also a large per cent of manufactured steel is handled at this terminal. Most of the country's exports and imports passes through the hands of railroad men of New York terminals. Chicago is to the nation what the heart is to the human body. A continual stream of live stock, grain, and raw material is being shipped in and meat, flour, and manufactured products going to all parts of the country are being shipped out. St. Louis, Kansas City, and Omaha are important live stock and packing cen-

ters. As most of the grain raised in the U. S. and Southern Canada is made into flour in the Twin Cities the railroad men of those terminals virtually control the bread of the nation.

From the fact that the steel industry needs the raw material and coal to operate, the packing industry needs live stock in order to turn out fresh meat, and the millers must have the grain before they can manufacture flour we can readily see what the railway industry means to the industrial life of this country.

Now, as the workers are part of an industry, if the industries are interdependent the workers must be also. It is useless for the coal miners to strike if the railroad men continue to haul scabs to take the place of the strikers, and company gunmen as well as arms, and ammunition with which to intimidate them. That has been demonstrated in West Virginia in the last few weeks where the railway workers (in order to protect their sacred contract) have done more to break the miners' strike than any other factor. Then again in the steel strike of 1919 there was more or less discussion among rail-

road men as to whether or not it would be a violation of "Labor Union Etiquette" to haul scab steel. There were a great many arguments among the rank and file and occasionally the remark "Contract" and "Not a railroad strike" was heard. But the grand lodge officers didn't leave them in doubt very long. An official circular letter was sent to all subordinate lodges calling their attention to the fact that their contracts must be protected and that if a railroad man wanted to refuse to help break the steel strike he must look to the steel strikers' committee for protection.

In other words, in order to be a good craft unionist you have got to be a scab. That has been the history of all craft union strikes. The only non-scab organization is the I. W. W. An organization where all the workers in a particular industry are in an industrial union regardless of their occupation. When the Railroad men are organized along industrial lines with the power in the hands of the rank and file then and only then will these strike votes cease to be a joke.

Stumping the Stump Ranches

By C. E. Payne

THE stump industry in the heavily timbered sections of the northwest is a very lucrative one, but the stump ranchers who make it successful have never yet been organized. Whether the Industrial Workers of the World can take it up with any degree of success will depend largely on future developments.

The stump industry flourishes when properly conducted. The first requisite is natural preparation of the soil for several thousand years, then a heavy growth of marketable timber on that soil. These, of course, must be attended to before ownership is attempted. For owners to prepare the soil, then plant the timber and protect it until marketable, would make serious inroads on the profits of the industry—a crime not to be contemplated.

The second step is to obtain ownership of the land and timber in large bodies. The methods of doing this are not subjects for public discussion. Scores of men have been, and are now in penitentiaries in many states for even making reference to some of the methods. An even larger number have been incarcerated (that means penned up, or jailed) for suggesting that corrections should be made after ownership had been obtained.

In many parts of the Northwest ownership of the land is not attempted, as that would also have made inroads on the profits. Where large bodies of timber are located, forest reserves have been

established. In those places the land itself is not owned, in the sense that ownership is commonly understood. The timber, however, goes to owners by various devious methods.

But it should not be thought for a moment that ownership of the timber is the object of the stump industry. That is merely preparatory for the great philanthropic purpose of the owners. The ownership is only for the purpose of removing the timber and getting it out of the way of the stumps. Nature has not been sufficiently considerate of the wishes of owners in this respect. There was never yet a stump that had not had a tree growing atop of it. The purpose of ownership is to remove the tree so the stump will be accessible.

Of course there is, even in the charitable act of owning, some small returns for such arduous toil. Ten years ago the cost of cutting the trees and taking them to a mill was less than six dollars per thousand board feet. The cost of running the logs through the sawmill, the yard, the dry shed and the planer was less than another six dollars per thousand. As the lumber was selling for only a paltry twenty dollars on an average, F. O. B. the mill, it can easily be seen that ownership of the timber was not the ultimate purpose of the owners. Not so!

Promotion of the stump industry was the purpose. But no one should run away with the idea

that the profits on the capital stock was two-thirds. That rate of profit was kept down to five per cent or less. Profits on expenditures is never talked of except in the most select circles.

Having removed the trees from the stumps, the next thing is to promote the basic industry—the stump industry. There are numerous promoters and each promoter has his own particular method, but all lead to the one end: **Get some stump ranchers.** The qualifications for stump ranchers are very high. They are much higher than for being a Mason, a Baptist or a United States Senator. There are innumerable neophytes—but few ever attain the superlative degree of entering the simon pure and unalloyed, stump owning class.

The first requirement for a stump rancher is great strength, excellent health and a firm belief in the divinity of ownership. He should have a little money—not much—to trade in on an agreement for some stumps. The less money he has the more firmly will he be convinced that the owners will provide him with a job in mill or woods till he has made ultimate payment for the stumps.

The second requirement is that the stump rancher shall have a wife who is tougher than a brindle steer. She must be able to live alone all week and comfort her worn-out husband on Saturday night when he comes home for a twenty hour stay. She must be able to do her house work, clear some land, raise a garden each year and a baby each two years, yet never be sick or require more than \$17 worth of clothes in any one year. Keeping a flock of chickens and a cow are merely side lines to keep her from flirting with other lumber jacks than her husband. Of course she does not pull the stumps. She does the clearing and gardening between them. The stump rancher himself will pull the stumps—"sometime, when I get around to it." The owners are furnishing him with work and he must 'tend to his job.

The price the stump rancher agrees to pay for the stumps he lets his wife live among, varies greatly, according to the number of stumps per acre and the location. Like food, cotton and other things which have been destroyed by wholesale to keep the price up, so with stump land. The fewer stumps per acre the higher the price the stump rancher agrees to pay.

The owners of the stump industry (often mis-called lumber companies) frequently let the stump ranchers remain at home for several weeks during a year. Some stump ranchers devote the time to pulling stumps and have been known to have vast tracts of five or six acres cleared of them at the end of ten years. This, however, is done only in exceptional cases. When the stump rancher comes home he is generally so tired that he can do nothing but hunt, fish, rest and tell his wife how to run a farm. But in ninety per cent of the

cases both courses lead to the same result—a different stump ranch in less than ten years.

It is necessary that the stump ranchers eliminate some stumps. Firewood cannot be obtained otherwise than from timber, and this necessitates some clearing. Also, the stumps will rot in time—tamarack and cedar in about one hundred years' time—if the brush is kept cut down between them. Add to this the fact that most stump ranchers or their wives have some ambition when they start in and are buoyed up by hope (Hope, not Dope) and you arrive at the fact that some clearing and plowing will be done between the stumps.

If some stumps are pulled before a rancher leaves a place, he may be sure he has been of some value in the world. The place will then be bargained to the next stump rancher for a higher price than to the one who first tackled it, making the possibility of final payment on the stumps just that much more remote. The bargaining and first payments are thus made endless, with ownership still in the hands of the masters of the Stump Industry.

Some eight or ten years ago the announcement was made by the Forest Reserve officials of the government that as fast as the timber matured from the Kaniksu Forest in Northern Idaho and North-east Washington the land would be offered for homesteading. But someone with more authority than any government official at once put a quietus to that notion. It would never do to have it suggested that the homesteader should have the timber to get a start in the stump ranching industry so that he could have some assurance of winning title to the land.

It should be noted in passing that the stump ranching industry is not the same as the stump industry. The stump industry presupposes ownership. The stump ranching industry means hard work, with ownership at the food of a rainbow.

When soldiers were started on the return journey from France early in 1919 there were some suggestions that the soldiers of Washington and Idaho should be given each a cut-over tract of land in the Kaniksu Forest. But even the soldiers who fought to make the world safe for democracy knew an impossible proposition when they saw it and the proposition died a-bornin'.

There have been a few stump ranchers lined up while they worked in the woods and mills. But men who work in the woods and mills are not much inclined to line up while chained to a bunch of stumps. Like horses in a blizzard, they are too badly bewildered by conditions to seek a way out. They drift with the storm and unless they can be turned from their course they will go over a cliff to destruction. The blizzard of conditions is growing worse; can the stump ranchers be turned toward safety?

Tieing the Shot on the Corpse

By Upton Hold

THE bosses with benign stupidity were the ones to put the poison in the icewater for the International Seamen's Union. With the Imperial Ukase, issued from the United States Chamber of Commerce, to the effect that the open shop shall be the uniform American plan, went the chance of the International and the other craft unions of the sea trades maintaining an existence.

The poison worked well, almost as well as some of the salt horse mulligan that is given to the marine workers at times instead of real food. The marine craft unions were forced on strike and because of their lack of organization went down to a heroic defeat that was ignominious only because of the lick spittle tactics of the officialdom.

There then remained for these officials but one job to do and they have done it very well. They have black bottled the remnants of the organization that was left to them by antagonizing the only fighting groups of workers in the organization. Then wrapping the shroud of reactionary patriotism around the corpse they tied on the shot by issuing a most astounding piece of literature as the official organ of the International Seamen's Union. This insult to the intelligence of the worker of the sea contains not one word of constructive advice. It gives no hint of the social catastrophe that is facing mankind. It has no encouraging note to the workers of the organization. Instead it is a direct tirade against all class conscious members that are yet to be found in the ranks of the union and reports silly lies as to the I. W. W. being a paid tool of the Steel Trust.

The pitiful terror of the pie cards who are responsible for all the articles that appear in this orgasm of hate betrays nothing so much as their fear that they may have to get out and work on the job with their much scorned rank and file. We recommend a copy of this periodical which is known as "The Seamen" for the members or past members of the Union it is supposed to represent. Consider well the lack of a program of action put forward to fight the boss. Consider even the lack of a real program laid down to fight the I. W. W. which it is evident to the reader must be the purpose of the officials of this one time organization.

Without a word of cool consideration of the situation either as regards the attitude of the boss or the necessity of industrial unionism that the rank

and file now so plainly see, this tirade only exhorts the sailors to pay their dues and obey the official mandates.

This would not be so bad provided that the official mandates were issued to deal with the concrete situation of unemployment and hostility on the part of the employers. Instead however the only command is that the sailors shall hate a member of the I. W. W. like rat poison and distrust any fellow worker that uses his head for anything except a hat rack.

There is no denying the fact that the situation of the marine transport industry is as badly off or perhaps even worse off than the rest of the broken down industries of capitalism. Thousands of unemployed workers of the sea crowd every port. A berth is as hard to secure as a gad fly in mid ocean. The employers are fixing to make it harder. All California yards that are under control of the Steel Trust have been or are being converted to the production of the Diesel type of motorships. These vessels operate with crews cut from two-thirds to a half of the original size.

The turbine-electric drive equipment for bigger tonnage lops off from ten to seventeen per cent of the fuel expenses and with cargo space economies also cuts down the amount of labor time needed to transport a given amount of material.

There can be but one answer to the situation that is facing the marine worker today. He must so improve his own conditions of work and hours as to be able to make room for those that are unemployed at present. In order to do this the workers of the entire industry must be organized in one industrial union. This union must be a fighting union and not a dues collecting agency only. It must accept the fact that the employers on land and sea are united in their determination to crush out every form of unionism and reduce the workers of the world to the position of industrial serfs.

Therefore there must be a close affiliation with the rest of the militant workers in One Big Union. The I. W. W. has always stood for such a union. It still is the nucleus of such a union and the rapidity with which the workers of the sea are lining up in the Marine Transport Workers' Union of the Industrial Workers of the World indicates that the realization of the mission of the I. W. W. will soon be achieved.



Panama and Marine Transport Workers

By Tom Barker

JOHN Benjamin King, the greatest I. W. W. exponent that ever popularized the industrial unionist ideas in Australasia, used to say that the two greatest things in the modern world in compelling the workers to organize internationally and industrially were the Panama Canal and the Diesel motor. Time is proving that, even though J. B. has served seven years in an Australian jail for having two I. W. W. stickers in his possession, since making use of the above statement, he has been a true prophet.

In the marine transport industry these effects are already noticeable, as these two outstanding features are transforming every phase of shipping, and also revolutionizing the ideas and the lives of the men who work on ships and in ports. In my book "The Story of the Sea" I deal particularly with both matters, and point out all the labor that they will displace. In regard to Panama I say: "The recent opening of the Panama Canal was another great event in the shipping world and also had its effect upon the men who man ships. It shortened the sea distance between San Francisco and New York by more than one half. Instead of the long trip around the South American continent, it is now possible to travel through the locks in Central America. This gigantic enterprise cost millions of dollars, and hundreds of lives—working class lives. It also shortened the distance between Europe and Chile, Australia and New Zealand, and thus abolished the risks incurred by sailing in the low latitudes off Cape Horn. It has made a large difference in the sea distance between the Northern Pacific coast ports and those of the River Plate, and also between the Atlantic Coast ports and the nitrate ports of Chile. It strengthened enormously the position of the United States economically and politically. It has transferred the carrying of cargo from the U. S. railroads to the ships, for it is now cheaper to send a ton of cargo from Seattle to Philadelphia via Panama than to send it by freight train. Panama has strengthened the octopus of shipping, the autocracy of merchant shipping."

At the end of the fiscal year for 1920 the Panama canal authorities have issued their report. In their report they have proven that this immense canal is going to displace thousands of our class in the marine transport industry. During the past fiscal year 11,599,214 tons of cargo passed through the Panama, without mentioning a minor item of 453,769 tons of government cargo that did not pay dues. This represents an increase of 23½% over the previous year. Of this, United States ships carried 45%, British ships 32% and

Japanese ships 7%. During the year 2,892 ships passed through the canal, including 1,212 U. S. ships, 970 British, 140 Norwegian and 136 Japanese. The total income was \$11,276,890, an increase over the income of the previous year of 32¼%.

At a conservative estimate deep-water, long distance freights are costing about \$2.50 to \$3.50 per 1,000 miles. Calculating at \$3.00 per 1,000 miles we find that the income at Panama is equivalent to the saving of over 3,500,000,000 cargo miles, or 1,000,000 miles for a ship with 3,500 ton cargo capacity. Reckoned at the most reasonable figure, Panama is equivalent to 300 voyages. But in considering that an average amount of \$1.00 per ton cargo represents compared with pre-canal days a saving to the ship-owner of anything from \$1.00 up to \$10.00 a ton, it will be easily seen that Panama must dispense with the need for thousands of ships, particularly when the readjustment of war disorganization is completed. We cannot compute with any degree of exactness the number of ships that will be permanently put out of business, nor the number of our fellow workers who will be scrapped. But the fact is as J. B. King prophesied that nothing can meet the needs of the marine transport industry today, except the immediate creation of ONE union on the sea, capable of developing the power to take charge of the industry, and running it for the working class. Again, we must remember that the ships that are scrapped are the more costly, old fashioned ships, which usually carried big crews, particularly in the engineers' department. The oil-burning ships with their small crews will carry the greatest part of the cargo in the future. Panama, like Suez, is saving millions of ship miles, as its annual report proves, and what is more important it is displacing thousands of mates, skippers, firemen, sailors, cooks, stewards, oilers, galley boys, etc. It has almost as great effect in Great Britain as in the United States.

Now we come to the crux of the question, you sons of the ocean. What can Andy Furness and his yellow outfit do under these circumstances? What did the International (?) Seamen's Union ever do, except leave its chiefs hanging around Washington, pushing along by intrigue and soft-soap, that old Seamen's Act that doesn't mean anything to anybody? Did all the lobbying stop the cutting of Panama, or will it alter one of the effects of Panama? It is a question whether Andy and his crowd have yet heard that Panama has been opened. It is up to someone to tell them that Queen Anne is dead, and send them to Baffin Land to chloroform the walruses with nice talk.

If you think you can get the best of the U. S. Shipping Board, the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, Panama Canal and Diesel motor with sentiment, sweet reasonableness, the Seamen's Act, and an obsolete agreement signed in war time, you have another think coming.

The M. T. W. is the only way to get out of things as they are. Every class-conscious man on a ship if he is sick of capitalism, poverty, prison-cells, loggings, hard work and nothing to show for it, must join up with the I. W. W. in the ranks of the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 510. Unionism of the right kind, with everyone from the bridge to the firehole in the ONE union regardless of the workers' nationality or the flag of the ship, or the port in which you happen

to be. Andy Furuseth and dear old senile Have-lock Wilson have got to go. They are wooden ship men, with iron heads. They learn nothing, know nothing, and the world has gone past them. Mustard plasters are no good for our modern complaints. Panama is good. It drives us to organize, and to organize right. We must have class organization, and develop sense enough to run ships for ourselves. Say, fellow worker, they are getting wise overseas. In Australia they are doing this thing. Why? Well, just because the I. W. W. showed them the need some years ago. In all the ports of South America they are coming into line, and in Germany, England and Scandinavia. Join the M. T. W., read the literature and fit yourself for running the industry. Do it now!



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BREAKERS AHEAD

TO THE craft unions there never appeared such a time of trouble as the near future promises. Unemployment has made paupers of the membership and defeats have broken their morale. Now on top of this comes the consistent and orderly campaign of the employers for the open shop.

The steel workers, the seamen, and the packing house workers have been broken up by the lock-out by the owners and the craft tactics of the unions made defeat sure. Now next on the list according to the well laid plans of the Wall Street Strategists come the railroad workers.

The big unions having economic power are to go. The United States Chamber of Commerce balloted on the subject and it was so ordered. The cringing, whining tactics of the brotherhood chiefs will not avail them now. The bullying and bluffing will gain them no concessions or better terms. The issue will be one of fighting ability. The railroad workers can depend but little on their leadership in such a case.

Fight or die! That is the ultimatum before the crafts. They have refused to organize so as to fight. Will they now also refuse to fight and go down into that inglorious death which they are directly headed for? The future will tell.

UNITY

THE greatest factor in a working class or other social undertaking is to have united effort behind one. Today we have the greatest opportunity in the history of labor unionism to build up the fighting machinery of the workers.

The General Executive Board has decided to exert the full pressure of the organization machinery on two of the most important of the basic industries. In order to carry out the program of organization it will be necessary to secure the unified action of the entire rank and file. The two industries that present the greatest possibilities of organization at this time are the marine transport industry and the oil industry.

The big harvest drive has been carried through. The carrying on of the agricultural organization work throughout the final harvests will take but a few weeks more. Then the splendid machinery of delegates with all their enthusiasm and pep from months of hard work victoriously done will be over. It is the desire of the G. E. B. to urge these active and class conscious workers to concentrate when practicable on the two industries mentioned above.

All the footloose workers everywhere are urged to get in touch with the M. T. W. and the general office and get ready for the big campaign that will organize the marine workers into the I. W. W. for all time. Those who have no knowledge of dock or marine work and are capable of oil work are asked to get down into the oil fields of the mid continent territory and start the organization drive in this industry again.

The other industries important as they are will not be neglected. The industrial unions that are carrying on the work in these industries will continue with redoubled vigor spurred on by the knowledge of the success in the other fields.

Get into these two industries and carry the agitation to the jobs. Write in articles and give us facts and news items so that our entire press can be turned to featuring the news of the big new drives. Unity will win. All together now and the One Big Union will retrieve the ground lost by craft unionism's failure, for the fighting working class.

Dual Unionism and the Closed Shop in Italy

By Angelo Boni

THERE is no open shop fight in Italy. The squabble over jurisdiction and dual unionism is undreamed of. The reason for this fact lies not in the submergence of all minority unions in the larger Confederation of Labor but in the inherent nature of the labor movement.¹

In Italy there need be few arguments made to convince the average worker that he is better off organized than he is in paddling his own canoe. From the days of the Guild battles against the nobility and the church the solidarity of labor and the class struggle have been living facts accepted by the rank and file of the organized workers.

No idea of a community of interest between the workers and the owners of the means of life has ever perverted the minds of unionists and made them scheme for agreements with the master class so that their union could close the doors of any shop against other members of the working class with the aid of the boss.

All the real labor unions in Italy are fighting unions who have in no instance made closed shop agreements with the owners. Even the Catholic Workers' Union which numbers close to 150,000 members and is composed of peasants and farm laborers are actuated by ideas of class interests and have waged battles against the farm conditions. During strike periods they cooperate with their more revolutionary fellow workers wherever points of contact exist.

There has never been such a thing in Italy as the closed shop in the sense which the A. F. of L. applies the term. So far as securing the job from the employer the only advantage that the union man has over his non-union fellow, or the worker that is organized in another union, lies in the fact that the union members give notice to their unemployed fellow workers of openings and opportunities. Mutual aid is not a vapid theory but a living practice.

There is no attempt made by the unions say of the big Socialist Confederation of Labor with its 2,000,000 members to keep off members of the Italian Syndicalist Union with its membership of 600,000 from a job where Federation members dominate. But let a traitor to the working class come on the job and, while they do not apply pressure on the boss to get rid of this man, the traitor finds himself in such a miserable situation that he feels lucky in escaping with his life.

All jobs are closed in the Italian industries for the real and conscious members of the working class not because of agreement with the boss but because of militant class conscious action on the part of the workers both on and off the job.

Jurisdictional fights and closed shop advantages

are the very backbone of American craft unionism. In order to maintain the bosses permission to force dues from every worker on the job concessions are made by the officials of the union to the owner.

During strikes and labor battles with the owners of industry the craft union officials nearly always line up with the owners so that they can continue to force dues from the workers, and can have the aid of the boss in the process.

In Italy such a process is of course unthought of. Labor treason in that country is in the hands of the politicians. Labor battles are handled and under full control of the striking workers themselves who use the efficient method of strike committees. Funds are rapidly mobilized to the sections where need is greatest by appeals to the different chambers and divisions.

American militants may sigh for the Italian spirit among the workers of this country but the Italians fighting ability does not come from anything inherent in his race but from the advantage that revolutionists have taken of the economic and social situation.

From the first to the last the Italian labor movement has been frankly based on the real class struggle. None of the methods of class cooperation have been intruded on the economic field that have emasculated the political socialists. The ideals of class revolution have been the foundation from which it was possible to build unions that made no quibble about duality and the closed shop.

The glorious spirit of the Italian workers is a thing created and maintained by tremendous effort on the part of the different organizations. In every city and town and country village the workers hold incessant meetings. Dramatic clubs, study classes, singing societies, athletic associations, open forums, and above all the press, consume the energy and time of thousands.

The result is the winning of the workers from the control of the middle class institutions. The workers never read the capitalist sheets unless it is to point out the lies and rottenness of such organs. They have their own theatres and their own sorts of recreation and the necessity of these things is shown in the resultant spirit of class solidarity.

With this spirit of class consciousness the capitalistic minded worker is surrounded on all sides. His social life directs him into the battling unions. When he goes on to a job at once the organized pressure of the workers' union is brought to bear on him so that he joins the union as the easiest way out of the difficulty.

That does not complete the process of organization. This member forced to join the union by his associates' persuasion and action is also forced to

read and think of the social problems. It is a slow hard process but in the end it spells success in the labor battle.

The Italian movement was once wiped completely out of existence and again after a new start was made, was so weakened by the repression of the reactionary ruling class as to be able only to survive in fragmentary groups. But the process has been carried on. The emphasis on the class nature of the struggle has prevented any such atavism as Gompers or Lewis from dominating the movement. It has prevented any attempt at class

cooperation which makes possible the craft union closed shop, and the idea of dual unionism has been smothered in the demonstrations of class solidarity. This same class spirit has made possible the reorganization of craft and local unions into industrial units fitted into the industries. The continued process of change will some day make of all the Italian Unions real industrial unions capable and trained to run the industries for the benefit of the workers themselves. Their spirit of direct action will overcome the resistance of the bourgeoisie and usher in the workers rule.



PROPPING THE SICK MAN.

The Red International of Labor Unions

By George Hardy

AT LAST we are able to speak authentically of the resolutions and decisions of the congress of the Red Labor Unions held at Moscow in July. The congress itself, from the angle of unions and minority delegations surpassed all expectations. With 17,000,000 organized workers represented, can there be anything but enthusiasm for the future of this virile new Economic International?

At the birth of all new movements there has always been some slight difference of opinion until things get "ironed out" a little. Possibly there will be some varying ideas on this movement, but it is safe to say, judging by the thesis at hand, that the I. W. W. members will be gratified to know the outstanding features of the program are their ideas and tactics. For sixteen years we have been advocating factory or shop committees to care for, not only the ultimate but the immediate demands of the industrially organized workers. These committees and their functions are to be brought into being and internationally recognized by the International Bureau of Red Labor Unions, as the decisions show these were decided upon by the Congress.

I. W. W. TACTICS.

Recognizing the above, it naturally follows that the congress had to be in favor of industrial unionism as opposed to craft divisions as they exist in the A. F. of L., therefore, revolutionary tactics had to be endorsed. The Intermittent Strike. (or irritation strike) is one method the workers are urged to adopt. The membership of the I. W. W. has had this as their tactic from the very inception of the organization. The Lumber Barons of the Northwest learned in 1917 how quickly our members struck and got back on the job, when the eight-hour day was denied, only to find another boss who also refused to give the shorter work-day. More irritation by another strike!

International Solidarity is to be an actual fact instead of a mere phrase The Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions (this is the official name) has decided—with the authority of the Congress—to create an International Strike Fund, to give aid to any part of the working class who may be engaged in a life and death struggle with the capitalist class. They also decided on the General Strike in place of local or district, but the congress recognized the lack of international solidarity, at present, hence the above fund to give immediate aid as soon as possible.

The Blockade of Russia has given us a real idea of the practical weapon—the Boycott. The blockade is only another form of strike. The capitalist class had an international strike on against Soviet Russia for three years, they refused to give goods or trade

with the revolutionary working class who had shaken themselves clear of wage slavery. The Red International of Labor Unions now says the Boycott is one of our weapons. We will not support a capitalist country that refuses to settle a wage dispute. We witnessed the American ships arriving with coal in British ports during the recent coal miners' strike. These incidents must and will, stop with the growing strength of the new Economic International.

CLASS SOLIDARITY NECESSARY.

There is no question of the necessity of coming together in a strong, class-conscious International. We have before us an example of master-class solidarity. As soon as the railroad workers voted to strike, the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, which is only a part of the national organization—the One Big Union of the master-class—sent out a letter to all members to "use their influence and enlist the aid of their employes in sustaining the position of the railway executives."

The railway executives combined, make up the executive council of the industrial union of the railway bosses—another part of the O. B. U. of Employers. The same solidarity the masters show nationally in U. S. A. will come by adherence to the tactics of the Red International of Labor Unions.

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE OF DELEGATES.

There is one resolution which calls for departure from the policy of the I. W. W. We are asked to support a resolution carried to have an exchange of delegates on the 3rd Communist International executives. There are to be three on each bureau with a decisive vote. This resolution caused more debate than any other one at the congress. Many were afraid that too much domination might be attempted by the political international. On the other hand, it was pointed out that the Executive of the Red International of Labor Unions had an equal number on the Communist Executive, and that owing to the three delegates being hopelessly in the minority, it was impossible for "domination" to exist on either side.

Supporters of the exchange of delegates also claim as their cardinal point: that an exchange will ensure an unanimous opinion during a revolutionary crisis. They point out international documents drawn up satisfactory to each executive will avoid at all times contradictory statements, being issued from the two internationals, thus avoiding friction and unnecessary discussion, which would avert action at a time when decisive, quick action wins. Against this resolution is the traditional policy of neutrality towards all political parties. This is not surprising, because the yellow reformistic socialists have given good grounds for this attitude.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS INTERLOCKED

Notwithstanding everything that has happened in the past, most of the delegates knew we are about to make our own political institutions and that every strike of any importance today takes on a political phase even when it is only a question of resisting the downward tendency of wages the masters are so anxious to give impetus to. President Sproule of the Southern Pacific Railway brings politics into the rail-strike by stating:

"I cannot conceive that the employees of the Southern Pacific will strike when the matter of fixing wages and hours of labor is in the hands of the United States government. If the men do strike, they will be practically striking against the government. The United States Labor Board and not the railroad have the power to fix the wages of railroad employees."

The above, we know, is not true. The railway executives are the controllers, with their political institution existing in the form of the United States Railway Labor Board. The government of all countries reflect the interests of the ruling class. Who owns America? Rockefeller Morgan and the Vanderbilts, etc., own America. The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway is created out of the profits of the Standard Oil Co.—out of the hide and carcass of the workers. This system covers 10,000 miles, so "J. D." together with the Steel Trust and meat packers, who also own railways, have their political machine to look after their interests and to fool the workers into the belief that it is a public board, hence the supposed impartiality.

As the workers become more and more class-conscious, strikes will become determined attempts at upsetting the capitalist system. This will bring them into conflict—whether they like it or not—with the established institutions. Witness the recent miners' strike in England—mobilization of the army and navy to deal death to the workers had they challenged the right of the coal owners to control the mines. Look at the speedy array of the state against the American miners. So the International of Red Labor Unions believes that there is a political or civil side to the labor movement. This side will show itself as we become more determined and assertively organized. We will meet the masters by throwing our economic pressure up against them, but as soon as we feel their pressure which is not economic we have to manoeuvre our forces so as to bring our own social pressure into action.

Strictly speaking, the two phases cannot be separated. Politics does not commence inside of parliaments, but outside and about the social system. Any act that upsets the social arrangements comes within the category of politics, because it is a communal affair. Of course, the I. W. W. has never denied this, we believed that we could take

care of this phase by creating communal councils. However, no serious attempt has been made to do so. The internationals now say the communist parties throughout the world should be the communal councils.

An International Policy

What should always be remembered is: that the policy of the Red International of Labor Unions is a world's policy, and the decisions are based on the revolution and working class control of industry which might come sooner than we realize. They will, according to the congress decisions—maintain control by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was recognized as essential during the transitional period from capitalism to a workers' communistic republic.

An almost super-abundance of the world's workers being organized into the old unions, especially in Germany and England, where approximately eight millions are in the central and trade unions respectively, compelled the delegates at the congress to vote in favor of recommending revolutionists to stay in the old unions where they are indisputably in control of an industry. This means the I. W. W. will be asked to concentrate its efforts on industries where we are in control and on the unorganized fields. This will build up revolutionary unionism in spite of the fact that some would have us liquidate ourselves completely. The congress recognized that independent unionism outside of the craft unions was a problem and calls on us to do exactly what we voted for in our own general convention last May—unite all independent unions.

Unity the Clarion Call

If we can carry out this unity movement by calling a conference as soon as possible, we will be doing a real service for revolutionary class-unionism. I feel conscious of the fact that we are at the turning point in the history of the labor movement of America. We want the message of direct action put into every place where labor congregates. This is the super-slogan of the Red International of Labor Unions. The American workers will be as susceptible to real unionism as are any other part of the world's workers, because they will be forced into action, owing to the inability of capitalism to maintain itself and provide jobs.

If we believe what we have taught: "That capitalism carries within itself the germ of its own destruction," let us be up and doing, lest we miss an opportunity of proving our assertion that we are capable of rising to meet all changed conditions and tactics from time to time.

The new unified movement in America will be one of the greatest driving forces and inspiring features to the old craft unions. It will lend impetus to the revolutionary minorities inside the A. F. of L., and will create a new appeal to the unorganized.

Moves Towards Industrial Control

The Italian workers had possession of the factories, and will always think in terms of control of industry and how to hold that control. Every day that passes brings out more determined action on the part of the syndicalist unions of Italy. They remonstrated before the American embassy on behalf of Sacco-Vanzetti. The Communists and revolutionary syndicalists have curtailed the activities of the Fascisti to a great extent by retaliative measures resulting in death to many of the illegal nationalist elements, who did similar deeds to those committed at Centralia, Butte, and Tulsa, etc.

The German situation is somewhat similar to Italy, with two millions represented by the minority groups at the first congress of the R. I. L. U. The Free Arbeiter Union which is led by anarchistic elements was represented at the Moscow congress. All know some day unity must come in Germany. The upper Silesia question has produced an unprecedented drop in the currency, causing the cost of living to rise to a hopeless level in comparison with wages. Thus we see strikes and demonstrations and a demand for the control of industry which is bound to come.

The English minorities and workers' committee movement is well known to the I. W. W. members. Tom Mann, this indefatigable warrior, has been elected on the executive of R. I. L. U. We see in him and his kind a policy which will put to flight the yellow Amsterdam International as quickly as the death blow given the Second International put it into oblivion. The French left wing—the Revolutionary Committee of Syndicalists—put forward a resolution at the recent congress of the C. G. T. for affiliation to the R. I. L. U. which came with in a couple of hundred votes of carrying. They are out to oust Lonquet, Jouhaux and the Thomases from control and reactionary power.

The slogans of the new movement have been formulated—unity, discipline, centralization, revolutionary action instead of words, death to Amsterdam International, general strikes to prevent future wars, to protect the Russian Revolution, and to forward the working class generally.

It looks like with these militant tactics the I. W. W. might well adopt the slogan of "All power to the Red International of Labor Unions and on with the workers' society."

WORDS OR WEAPONS

By John Hammer

THE struggle for life is about to be staged between the new, virile, well organized and disciplined ranks of the bosses' One Big Union and the only industrial union in the A. F. of L.; the coal miners, of the United Mine Workers of America.

The Employers' New Weapon

The employing classes of America have been quietly and efficiently forging their weapon, which appears today in the form of the United States Chamber of Commerce. This body, dominated by and subservient to the financial oligarchy, yet goes through the motions of democracy amongst its capitalistic members.

The Steel Trust and the Oil Trust with their machinery of finance and banking are the absolute dictators of the financial power of the country and are well in the saddle in the Big Chamber of Commerce that has taken to itself all the duties of the old Merchants and Manufacturers' Associations and other partially organized anti-labor groups.

This body exerts systematically all the economic power of the country through their control of industry and finance, they exert all the political power of the country because having the economic power, they own and operate the political machinery of the state. They are in a position to control opinion and ideas by means of the control of the

avenues of information, the press, the schools, the libraries, the churches and the host of public and private lecturers and speakers that they can and do route.

The Open Shop Program

Five years ago there was no efficient machinery to dictate and direct this social power. Today the United Chamber of Commerce with its sub-committees, looks into and formulates active plans for the successful control of every phase of our social life.

It was about the time of the completion of this organization that the policy was laid down to carry out the open shop idea in the entire list of industries in the country. The only hope of the workers of America then lay in so organizing themselves immediately that they would be invincible in the storm of repression and battle that was to sweep over them.

The Blind Stagers

In convention after convention the different craft unions met and threw into the discard, plans for amalgamation, plans for federation, plans for fighting agreements, and alliances. Every progressive move was scorned and flung out by the compromise loving officialdom that wanted nothing but to continue feasting at the tables of the masters.

There is the crux of the whole position. The

working class representatives have become hypnotised with the machinery of arbitration and class compromise and agreement that they have been dabbling in so long. The class war is a dream to them. They refuse to know that it exists and so they have gone down because they would not cast off their old outworn weapons and rearm with sharp and decisive fighting tools of industrial and social unionism. The only way to fight the bosses' powerful One Big Union is with one more powerful.

The New Workers' Weapons

The weapons to use in such a case lie directly to our hand. They are the tools that we work with each day. Our jobs give us the power that we need to battle the boss with. We need but to organize that power to be able to replace the bosses' control of finance with workers' control of the industries. His political power can be superceded by our civil power which we can generate by intelligent holding up and distribution of the products which we create. His ability to control opinion can be taken over by us by developing the press for the workers, developing working class plays, working class speakers and letting the workers' study hall supersede the palaces of ignorance and superstition that abound.

The Coal Miners' Position

How are the coal miners fixed to go into the big battle that they cannot avoid and which is already in some districts being forced on them? Why is it that the first skirmishes where the open shop has been declared in the midst of a 100 per cent organization in Washington state have not aroused the entire organization to aid and lend

fighting spirit? Why is it that the battles of the miners in Kansas under the leadership of Howatt who can neither be bullied nor beaten into submission have brought down the anger of the Lewis machine which controls the general office? Why is it that the Illinois miners' strike to enforce some terms from the employers, and which was so successful as to speed up the arbitration awards from an eternity to a few months were opposed and denounced by the last convention? The answer to all of them is the same—they desire to conciliate the employers.

These questions and their answer do not point to success in the coming battle with the employers' well organized machine unless there is a different system used by the miners to counteract the false ideas that prevail.

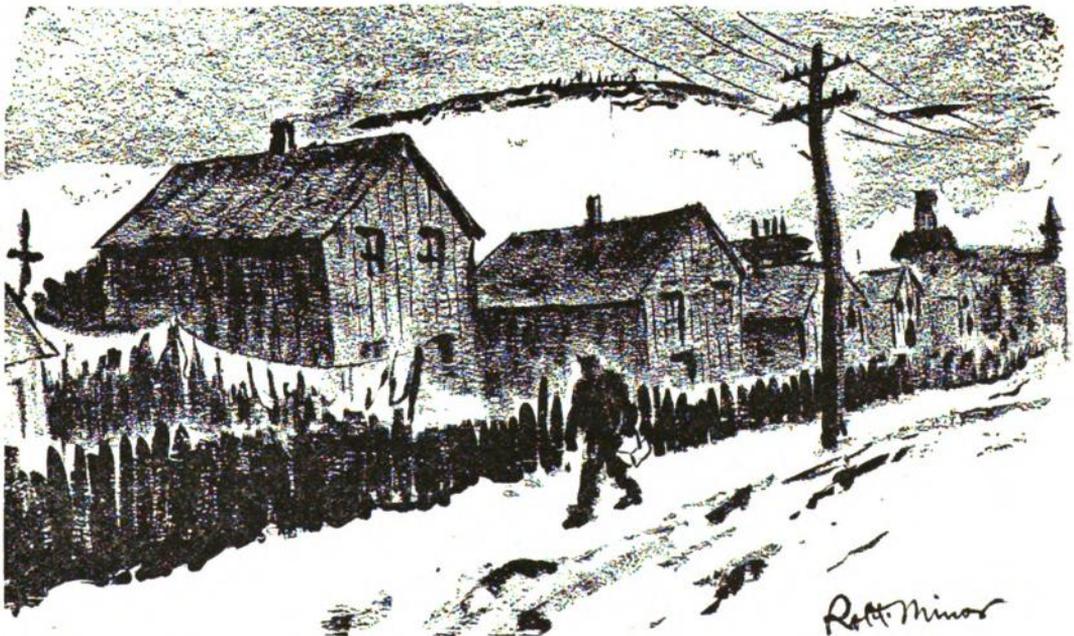
Miners' Fighting Qualities

On the other hand we all know of the heroic and self-sacrificing spirit of the rank and file of the mine workers. We know the long list of splendid battles that they have fought and fought well, but in the coming battle we do not hesitate to say that unless they start in now to arrange for different action than any which has distinguished their organization in the last few years they will be up against some bitter defeats.

Neglect of Education

The greatest and most criminal neglect that can be traced to the doors of the compromising officialdom is the lack of attempted class education. The sickening bunk filling the pages of the United Mine Workers' Journal has brought tears to our eyes

(Continued on page 18)



HOME FROM THE GRAVE YARD SHIFT.

Our Heritage

THE gray clouds of November again sweep across the cheerless skies. The aging year in callous wantonness tears savagely at the lingering blossoms of its earlier promises. The stacked up grain, the filled warehouses mock sneeringly at a propertyless and toil weary working class. It is a time of reaction, of disillusionment, and of despair amongst the weak ones. It is a time that brings to mind those brave souls who have in the past unflinchingly paid the supreme penalty to the greed of tyrannical oppressors.

Chill November winds whistled about the barred windows of the Cook County jail as one by one the victims of the Haymarket riots were placed on the gallows and with words of defiance to their masters and of good cheer to their struggling fellow workers gave up their lives in the strangling grip of the noose.

The eight hour day was the object of their fight. The working class movement was the cause they served. They were forced out of this life by the greedy brutality of capitalism but the eight hour day has swept on and on till now it has been won by most of the organized workers in America.

The cruel torture and death of Fisher, Spies, Lingg, Parsons and Engels stopped no forward tramp of progress. The cause of labor marched on. The martyred ones were kept in memory, an inspiration and a sign that brave souls were yet ready to carry on the age old battle and to suffer the age old crucifixion.

* * *

November drabs and browns colored the earth and sky when Joe Hill with understanding eyes faced the firing squad that sent the bullets into his singing heart. His great message sent to his fellow toilers rings now with louder, clearer call than when first he uttered them. "Don't mourn. Organize," he cried, and today the cry is echoed from every quarter. Utah state added one more name to the long list of the immortals.

The tossing evergreens of the Northwest dripping with the drizzle of November rains were given a day of sunshine and of respite from the gray pall of Autumn. A rain of bullets from a cowardly mob of human fiends swept down on the massed ranks of visiting workers crowded on the decks of the little steamer Verona.

The gunmen of Everett snuffed out the lives of Felix Baran, Hugo Gerlot, Gustav Johnson, John Looney, and Abraham Rabinovitz in their fusillade. Others unknown and unnumbered were done to death in the chill waters of the inhospitable bay. The traditions of November were upheld. Violence and reaction spread their fearful message of despair and death.

The loggers of the lumber barony were organized. They fought the battle of the working class against the slavery of degrading conditions and hours of work. They forced the master class to compromise but those November victims took but a silent part in the great fight. The five rest under the sod of mother earth. The unknown are under the waters of Puget Sound.

* * *

Then came an after taste of the great slaughter of young manhood that has glutted the maw of the modern Molochs. Hirelings of the Lumber Trust seized on a day which was to be used to commemorate the Peace that was no Peace and with cynical abandon stormed the workers' union hall in Centralia, Washington.

The intended victims of a tar and feather party defended themselves. The majestic law at once intervened. But when the brave upholders of the cause of labor were thrown into the prison unarmed and helpless, the law forgot its majesty and gave aid to the nefarious purpose of the crazy mob.

Under cover of the unlighted November night Wesley Everest was dragged from the floor of his blood smeared cell, bound in ropes by his inhuman captors and dragged behind automobiles until the foul fiends tired of the sport. Then they enjoyed themselves in true heroic style by unsexing the mangled but still defiant, half dead body.

Hung from the girders of a trestle the sport of seeking spot lights, that gloated on the swaying calmness of his gory body Wesley Everest gave his life. He was the most recent of the great list of American November victims.

November has come to us again. A November full of tense possibilities, a November of sodden days and intense repression and we, the Industrial Workers of the World, are reminded of our heroic dead. It is not for us to mourn their loss. They would scorn to be the objects of sentimental maunderings, of griefs and useless cryings.

They died fighting and with no regrets. Their scorn of the restraints and instruments of torture flamed forth to the very last. They told us then and their deeds tell us now to organize so that labor may be invincible.

WORDS OR WEAPONS

(Continued from page 15)

because of the tragedy of the circulation of four hundred thousand copies of harmful and misleading piffle. The only redeeming feature to the whole magazine was that no one ever was known to read it seriously in my history as a coal miner, at least.

To Arms!—Reorganize

Today before the battle breaks, the coal miners must, if they intend to win, go at the business of rearmament, of reorganizing. It is too late now to expect to gain an official agreement from the railroad workers not to haul scab coal. But it is not too late to propandize the rank and file of the railroad workers urging them to give active aid in time of need.

The sight is quite usual to see railroad men buying union shoes and overalls because of threatened fines and then going to work on their union job hauling scab coal, setting in cars on scab sidings and giving aid and comfort in every way to the employing class in their battle on the workers. There has been no determined effort on the part of the coal miners to carry on agitation for a change in this policy.

Then they must prepare working class literature and education for themselves. The damnable rot

put out in the Journal is no mental food for the creation of a fighting spirit. And it is that spirit that must be created and maintained.

Prepare Our Committee System

We all remember the betrayal of our strike by the officialdom refusing to function because of fear for their cowardly bodies in 1919. They have that same fear today. The miners now as then must arrange for carrying on their own fight. They must be prepared to get strike committees into action on a moment's notice. They must prepare to exercise discipline amongst the wavering groups of weaklings that are in every local.

These are the instruments of battle that the miners must adopt at once if they intend to give fight to the giant octopus who has determined to crush out the manhood and courage from the working class of America. They, the bosses, have thrown down the challenge. They have done away with the policy of class cooperation. There remains nothing for the miners and the rest of the working-class organizations to do but to fight or die. Courageous battle means victory and intelligent victory by the miners will mean the bringing out of that dark abyss of cringing, fauning boot lickery the American labor movement as exemplified by the policy of the A. F. of L.

On to victory!



THE MINERS' SHELTER.

METAL

WHEN we see metals fashioned and assembled into the purring motor or the panting engine we seldom take into consideration all the stages they have passed through, nor do we lay much stress on their importance or the necessary function performed by the workers whose labor is involved. Did you ever consider for a moment that modern life is almost entirely dependent upon steel or other metal and that it would be impossible without it?

The metal industry is a unit made up of thousands of parts and each part in turn has its many departments. Sections of the metal industry are institutions in themselves. The automobile industry is a good example for illustration. Here is but a part of the metal industry. In a few places whole cities are dependent and are responsible almost entirely for their million population mark upon the automobile plants. Detroit is a city of this nature. Its growth, its workers and its millionaires and shops covering hundreds of acres are all dependent on the automobile industry. This giant, producing millions in profits yearly is only a part of the metal industry.

Also there are the electric manufacturing plants such as the Western Electric located in Chicago, the Westinghouse in Pittsburg, the General Electric in Schenectady and all their branches which are all great metal working establishments. Each of these employ thousands of workers.

Another section of the metal industry includes the plants manufacturing farm machinery, such as the International Harvester, etc., manufacturing binders, reapers, mowers, tractors, etc.

Then there are the locomotive shops such as the American, Baldwin and Lima, as well as the firms manufacturing electric locomotives. In these great locomotive shops the jobs are done on a contract basis for the different railroads. Besides these, there are the firms building rolling stock, such as steel passenger coaches, coal cars, oil tanks, etc. This is another part of the metal industry which is a kingdom in itself.

Then there are the arsenals at Rock Island, Washington and other cities along with the mints located in Denver, Philadelphia and Washington. All of these are parts of the metal industry. It must be remembered that each part of the industry, such as the automobile, electric, farm machinery, locomotive, etc., carry along with them, in normal times, thousands of small shops who produce special parts, tools, dies, etc. In Detroit there are at least five hundred shops of this nature employing from five workmen up to five thousand. Small manufacturing and repair shops come under this classification.

When added together the workers in these shops and plants outnumber the workers in the remainder

of the industry. Every city of 5000 population, north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi has at least one shop or foundry of this nature and many small cities have ten and twenty.

Then there are the plants producing machine tools, milling machines of different descriptions, lathes, planers, drilling machines, lumber mill and mining equipment, saws, knives, etc.

Most important of all are the great steel mills. Here the steel is produced to be used in all of the manufacturing and assembling end of the industry.

When you think of metal, you have also to think of steel, of mills and stacks, of smoke and strong men. They are a part of it and cannot be separated.

In the small hours of the night when you and I and the average onlooker are resting comfortably in our beds the steel worker is putting in the 14 and 16 hour shift in front of the hot furnaces, or tending and watching the great machines. The machines are great, are big, are strong. The men seem but pygmies, small and weak in comparison. They are but the tenders and watchers of the machines.

The steel mills of the United States are located largely in an area from Pittsburg, Pa., west to Gary, Indiana. A few other mills are located at such points as Pueblo, Birmingham, Duluth, etc., but are not equipped as well for modern production as are the mills in the steel district proper, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

In the mills of this district are employed a quarter of a million workers in normal times. They speak as many tongues as the nations of the world have produced. They have as many religions as the superstitions of men have created. Their customs are the customs of the world. They are the most important part of the greatest of industries.

When the steel mills are busy, the rest of industry flourishes. When the mills are slack, industry closes, workers are thrown into the army of the unemployed.

Just why is Steel king of modern industry? Without steel and other metals all industry as we know it would be impossible. Industrial progress was made as man down through the ages learned to use metal. Look about you and every article which meets your eye has been contributed to by metal. Metal has cut, planed, sawed, spun or transported it. We of the Industrial Workers of the World are industrialists and that which contributes to industry holds an interest for us. Without metal we would be pulling our food from the branches and from the earth by hand, instead of using our modern tilling, planting and harvesting machines. We would still be propelling ourselves on the crude raft pushed about by wooden poles. Our oceans and rivers would still be uncharted, and our steam-

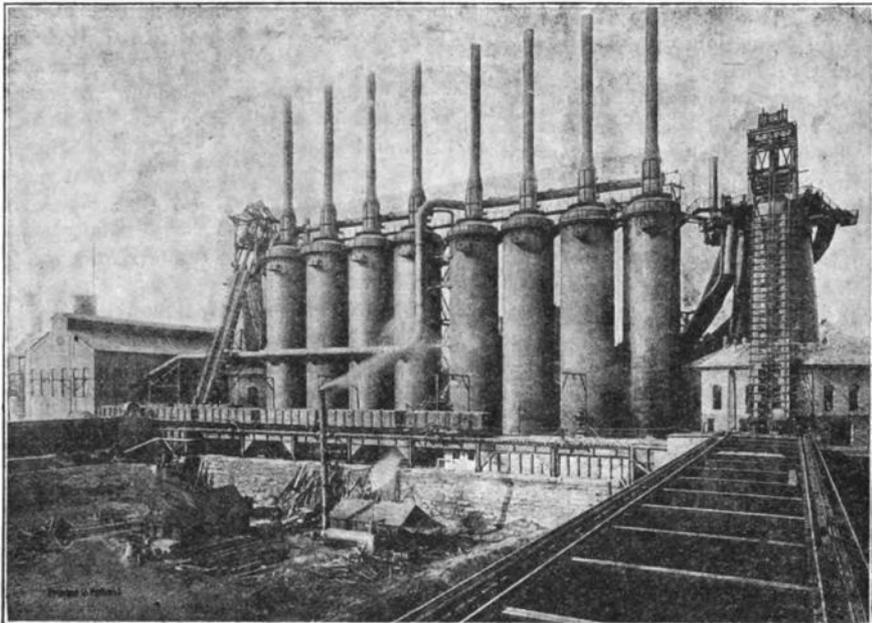
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

ships would be unknown and undreamed of. We would still travel by food or astride the burro, instead of crossing the country transported by the aid of the steam engine. We would be naked savages, having a scanty existence on but little of the fundamentals of human life—food, clothing and shelter.

This is the machine age and machines are dependent on iron, copper and steel. That is the reason that Metal is King. It makes all possible. That is the reason that the United States Steel Corporation is the most powerful of trusts or combines. It stretches out like the arms of an octopus into all industry. It is the governing lever on all society. Metal will remain the master of modern industry

Without your labor all this could not be. It is you who have forged our present civilization. It is you who have brought it into shape.

You are not even assured a living wage. You are allowed just enough pay to purchase the cheap food to fool your guts. Just as long as you have strength to drag yourself back to the next shift and produce more steel and profits, the boss considers that he is using you justly. Sundays have been taken from you. Your hours have been long and irregular, and you have left the bed and family at all hours of the night to answer the call of the mill. You and your wife have gone without proper clothing. You have worked such long hours that your children did not know you as a father but



PART OF THE MILL.

and those who control metal will have power to act. For the present it is controlled by the few at the expense of the many. It is the purpose of the working class to gain control of all industries including steel and use and develop them for social benefit.

Metal like every other commodity, useful to American society, requires the labor of man. It takes the effort and energy of miners on the Mesaba to remove it from the earth. It takes the labor of the workers on the Great Lakes to transport the ore from the mouth of the mines to mills at Pittsburg, South Chicago or Gary. You workers on the railroads help to haul the ore into Youngstown and help haul the finished steel sheets, bars and rods to the manufacturing plants to be made into metal products. And it is you, the workers in the mill, who give it birth in your furnaces. Out of your white hot hells come many kinds of metal, copper, lead, zinc, brass, silver, gold and aluminum.

saw you as one of the boarders who slept and ate at the house. The masters of steel have driven you such a pace in their great frenzy for profits and riches that the brain in you has not had time to look about and see all the wonders you were creating.

It was during the rush period that the steel industry boomed. Now it is different. You have plenty of time on your hands because the boss has decided to close down the mill. During the war you were speeded up and you produced enough by overtime to do for quite a while. You were called patriots and 100 per cent Americans then. You were the sons of Democracy working to make the world a fit place for the bosses to live in, and by the looks of things a pretty good job was made of it. The wages were made and exchanged for pieces of paper called liberty bonds and war saving stamps. But the market price for paper has decreased since the armistice.

It was only a short time ago that you decided to take a lay off and go on strike. Then you were called dirty foreigners and the gunmen of the steel trust came and shot you down. Nothing was too low for these leeches in human form to stoop to, to defeat you in that strike. The owners calling themselves 100 percenters and waving the flag called upon the citizens in general to stand behind law and order and then sent their policemen to drag you from your beds to the jails of Gary, Youngstown and Pittsburg. Congressmen made speeches and the senate sent an investigation committee, talked about Americanism and sent General Wood and the soldiers to break up your meetings. They threw your sincere fellow workers into the stockade at Gary.

Now the mill owners have decided to go on strike and close down the mill until the price and demand for steel rises. You make the living of your family in the mill but that does not make any difference to the owners, the fat congressman, the gunmen or the soldiers. They are well fed.

The boss or his friends are not worrying whether you freeze or starve this coming winter. All will not starve at once and the workers who do not starve will breed more to take your place. Labor is cheap now, like steel. Of course the boss thought about your welfare during the war, but labor was scarce then.

Unorganized, the majority of you are helpless at present. The A. F. of L. and its fat leaders have gone to where the terrors of jail are not so great and you are left to meet the coming winter and unemployment. You have been fooled and tricked by the steel owners and the A. F. of L. leaders until after all the mess you are worse off than before. It has been proven beyond a doubt organizing in 24 different unions is no way to prepare for battle. It was foolish to go up against the united forces of the Steel Trust with your forces divided. But you won something out of the strike at least, and that was a world of experience. Now will you benefit by that hard-earned experience?

While you were on the picket line, the union men who belonged to the Railroad Unions were hauling in scabs by night and hauling out steel by day. On the lakes, the A. F. of L. men were hauling ore into the mills for the scabs. Just as the steel strike was lost, so was the railroad and the miners' strike lost, a short while later. American labor had yet to learn its lesson of solidarity.

Those among you who are working have had your wages cut in half and they will be cut again

and then again. Whether you will be working, or without a job, you will all be crushed down at the command of the steel owners. Pittsburg, Rankin, Youngstown, Gary, South Chicago, Duluth or Pueblo; everywhere the unemployed are starving in the streets and the workers on the job are feeling their savings slip to make the low wages meet the high prices.

Now is the time to act. Alone we are helpless. We can do nothing so long as we remain unorganized. The private ownership of the steel mills must go, giving way to something better. The mills must reopen at the command of the workers, for production for use instead of private gain. The Industrial Workers of the World is an organization composed of wage workers, organized by the workers in the interests of the workers. We bid you join with us and help put an end to this damnable system which dragged us into the slaughter of the last war and now drags us on to low wages, unemployment and starvation as a reward.

The masters have controlled long enough. Too long have we bowed at their frown. They have exploited us as blacks and whites, religious and non-religious, Americans and foreign-born, and have kept us divided on these lines. It is time now that we begin to organize as workingmen and workingwomen. It is time that we organize as a class to battle our masters who are already organized to protect their interests. Let all the workers who work in the automobile factories, the foundries, the steel mills, etc., organize together into the Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W., and the tables will be turned.

Let all the other workers on the railroads, in the mines, in the woods, everywhere, build up their industrials unions and help crush out the parasites. Together we are a mighty tide. Divided we are broken waves. Let us build our strength by organizing industrially and bringing all our industrial unions together under the banner of the I. W. W., the One Big Union of the Workers. If we all do our part, no one will have to do it all. The initiation fee which is \$2.00 is within the reach of all, and the dues are \$1.00 a month. Many workers throughout the steel mill district have already made the start. Branches are being organized in many of the cities. Literature is being printed and distributed among the workers. Carry on the message of industrial freedom. Will you join? Yesterday is gone forever. Now is the time to act.

Fred Bowerman,
Sec'y-Treas. of I. U. No. 440.



As to Lubrication

By Nick Wells

SOME distance south of the exact center of California there is a barren desert stretch of land that to the casual observer bears promise of being a haven for hermits and rattlesnakes. Dame nature with her overgrown sense of humor saw fit to endow this section of the Devil's table top with a wealth of the most important of all the materials that are included in the list of essentials for modern industry. Crude oil underlies the barren wastes.

Trust Control

Far underground are the oil bearing sands and towards these sands the hands of the octopus have been driving wells. The hands were hired ones. The octopus himself would never, of course, think to soil his garments of broadcloth nor ruin the rotundity of his figure with the commonplaces of labor.

Rather has the oil trust studied the finesse of social manipulation and to great advantage it seems for the privileged characters that make up the number of beneficiaries of the more than questionable operations. These oil lands of California are mostly under government reserve. No one can exploit the resources except by the consent of the mighty powers at Washington. This relieves the Trust from worry over the big field being overdeveloped and the price of oil being forced to drop. Whenever the company gets through with one lease they are supplied with another and so the game goes on. It is a steady system giving permanence to the work and transforming to some slight extent the boomer oil worker into a home guard that confines his wanderings to fifty and hundred mile jumps instead of thousands. It is called oil conservation. It conserves all the oil and all the profits—to the octopus.

The Workers

These oil workers that drill the wells, lay the pipe lines, construct the tanks and tend to the refineries are a queer group, different from other workers and with characteristics of their own. So much so that in this respect they are exactly like other groups of workers who put in their time in one industry to the exclusion of others.

The workers in the section of California that we have just mentioned are even more different than usual. They have even completely astounded the boss by their difference. They have had the audacity to organize and go on strike to enforce the government award in the matter of hours, wages and conditions.

The Identity of Interests

They have been on strike since September the first, and great is the anger of the tools of the octopus thereat. The chief prostitute of a publication known as *The Oil Age* excremates editorially in the September issue as follows:

"If it were not for the fact that tar and feathers are quite plentiful commodities in some of the Mid Continent and Gulf fields, there is a possibility that there might be a union and some well paid leaders among the oil workers of those districts. Apparently California is one of the few if not the only oil state in the union where there was a shortage of tar and feathers at the time the I. W. W. element and the so-called labor union leaders were carrying things with a high hand while the war was at its height."

Thus is the dignity of law and order appealed to by the Oil Trust.

The Strike

The hour and minute of the strike was set by the organization which is known as the International Oil & Gas Well and Refinery Workers' Union. When the clock struck the minute on the first of September all tools were dropped in the Sunset, Midway, McKittrick, Lost Hills, Beldridge, Coalinga and Kern River fields. Drills were left in the wells sometimes as deep as 1800 feet, surface tools were dropped, refineries were deserted, and labor folded its arms as far as producing oil was concerned.

The Shell Co. met the terms of the strikers before the strike was pulled. The Pan American signed up immediately after the walkout. The loss of production is estimated at 100,000 barrels a day by the operators, who are chiefly worrying about the casings which in most of the leases will "freeze in" and make the wells partly completed, impossible of further driving. Water infiltration on pumping wells also presents a danger that the bosses can think about but can do little else than that, until they kick through with the government award.

Outraging the Trust

The striking oil workers further outraged the idealistic proprietary notions of the financial heavyweights by the way that they behaved towards the constabulary. Some hundreds of strikers were sworn in immediately that the strike broke out as constables and were issued arms and ammunition along with the regulation shiner.

Swearing in deputies in time of a strike is a time honored procedure with the oil companies but never before have the strikers been the ones to go on special duty. Guards of constables were at once thrown out around the property of the absent masters. The sworn declaration was extracted from each new constable that they would see to the protection of private property. This oath has been so far rigorously lived up to. Too much so, it seems. For when some of the companies sought to send in gunmen and scabs to operate the refineries and drilling rigs and to cause trouble, the constables, realizing that the scabs would but damage the ma-

chinery that they knew nothing about and that the gunmen would only create riots and loss of life, excluded them from the strike zone.

Protecting Property

Near Maricopa the constables took possession of a train bearing 250 scabs and gunmen and sent it back out of the county. Because of these tactics there has been no loss of life nor damage to property. In fact the peacefulness is even irksome, especially around the store fronts of certain cockroach business men in the towns of Maricopa, Taft, Fellows, McKittrick and Coalinga. The spider can well spin his widely known web across the doors of some of these establishments without fear of injury to his happy home. All of this of course lends enchantment to the scene and the sabbatical calm appears to spread even to the minds of those 100 per centers that persisted in scabbing on their class to the feeble extent of wandering aimlessly about the deserted towers and pump houses.

Using Tactics

For this strike has been well planned in certain ways that should bring joy to the heart of the wobbly, as he can see that his teachings in the past sixteen years of strife have not been entirely overlooked. The strike agitation was so well centralized in the outfit that supplies the Southern Pacific with fuel that out of 1000 supposed to be loyal slaves there remained but 65 on the payroll when the clock said strike. Most of these were supers and younger sons that only came in contact with oil when pulling up to a filling station.

The electric power plant at Coalinga was also concentrated on and was closed on October 3, the electricians walking off the job and picketing the plant. The power to operate most of the rigs in the fields is thereby cut off and the owners would be powerless even if they could get a few scabs into the refineries or onto the towers.

Industrial Consciousness

The Union though only organized locally in California with any strength is purely on industrial lines. The organization extends even among the clerks, warehousemen, checkers, stenographers and telephone girls. The bosses are so dumfounded over this fact that they can hardly control themselves through the columns of their journals.

We will probably see some of these telephone girls neatly gowned in winter coats of tar and feathers if the ravings of some of the law and order squad are carried into effect.

No doubt the Union has committed some errors as to tactics. It could hardly be expected that an organization that had applied for a charter from the A. F. of L. would pull off a strike without doing so. Yet in the peculiar situation in which they find themselves they seem to have acted with remarkable precision and clear headedness so far. It must be remembered that California is the only

section of the entire country where the government award was ever put into effect for the simple reason that they were the only oil workers who were organized. As our honorable editor of the Oil Age has said there is no foolish talk of unionism in the Mid Continent fields. Tar, feathers and hemp rope has gotten the best of the oil workers' organization started by the I. W. W. in this section.

The Rest of the Industry

Everywheres except in California the twelve hour tower is in effect on the wells and the ten hour shift is supposed to be the rule on the pipe line gangs. In California where the union has hold the eight hour shift is universal. So it can be seen that with only one section of the industry organized local battles must be well managed or they are liable to redound to the detriment of the organization that attempts to fight. The oil workers that belong to the union in the southern and coast fields have not been called out.

This on the face of it appears to be a breach of I. W. W. tactics. Yet there may be some excuse for the strikers' attitude in this matter. This remains to be seen, however. The strikers maintain that they cannot enforce the discipline in the southern and coast fields that they can where the strike is on. The strikers are, however, drawing heavily for support on those members who are at work in these fields and as the operators have not attempted to violate the terms of the government award here it is claimed that it is better to fight it out locally where the award has been violated.

Strikers Recognize Themselves

On one point particularly have they to be commended by the I. W. W. They have told the bosses that they do not want recognition nor the closed shop. They have demonstrated their ability to close the shop to scabs without any aid from the boss. The threat of blacklist has not alarmed them and it need not as long as they can retain the discipline and spirit that has been shown so far.

The Background and the Future

Looking into the background upon which this union has been formed we can easily trace the effect of I. W. W. education and organization work. Today the entire industry is ready for organization into one big industrial union. If the I. W. W. so makes up its mind to tackle the oil situation as it has just finished tackling the big harvest drive the organized oil workers of California need not worry long over having no support from the Mid Continent field. With one big union organized in the whole industry the I. W. W. would be in position to wield more economic power than any other organization in America barring none.

The oil workers can never be organized from halls or soap boxes. The job is the place to organize these workers from. Lets get on the job and get started. Let's lubricate the bosses' skids.

PAUL FREEMAN

A Russian inventor had perfected an engine and car that running on an ordinary railroad track could make speed up to a hundred and fifty or seventy-five miles an hour.

Many trips and experiments with the type of air propelled motor had convinced the authorities of its practicability. On July 24th in Moscow a number of delegates to the Congress of the Third International (Communist) embarked with the inventor to Kursk for a trip, to inspect the coal fields.

The machine left the rails before the coal mines were reached and of the passengers six were killed. Among those killed was Fellow Worker Paul Freeman of whom Tom Barker, his old friend in the battles of Australian labor, writes below. (Editor.)

I HAVE known Paul Freeman since August, 1916. I had just come out of prison and was on a propaganda trip to the famous desert mining camp of Broken Hill. Paul was, like myself, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, the most universal industrial organization in the world. I have a lively recollection of a wild ride on the back of Paul's motorcycle from the Broken Hill prison—where we were visiting an I. W. W. prisoner—to the cemetery to attend the funeral of another member who had died from injuries received in a mining accident. I little thought as I stood side by side with Paul by the graveside in a howling desert blizzard, that we should meet again in a far country where an old corrupt autocracy was about to crash, and where Paul himself would rest among, and as a worthy associate of, mighty heroes of a revolutionary epoch, and beneath the walls of a wonderful, ancient city. But so it is!

I do not know where Paul was born or when. In the I. W. W. we did not worry about these details. Only the Australian government did that. In the cyclonic career of the Australian I. W. W. Paul played his part. After the savage sentences upon Glynn, Larkin, Reeve and their other nine fellow workers, came the outlawing of the organization. Paul was then mining on his own claim in Queensland but he was arrested in company with about seventy others.

Most of these men, including myself, after nearly a year in prison were deported to all the corners of the earth. Paul was a problem to the government as there was doubt about his nationality. They deported him to the United States but the administration of President Wilson returned him with thanks. Once again he was sent across

the Pacific and once again he was returned. His mine was sequestered in the meantime.

The Australian government was neither satisfied nor particular. They then decided that he was a German, although he did not speak a word of the language, and placed him aboard a prisoner transport and sent him to Germany as a war prisoner. On his arrival he spent some time there and made many friends. He came on to Russia and attended the sessions of the second congress of the Third International. Here he modified his industrialist views and joined the Communist Party. Afterwards, he returned illegally to Australia—a very long and dangerous journey over many countries—where he worked underground in the establishment of the Australian Communist Party. He then returned via Japan, Vladivostok and Siberia to the third congress.

I met him in Moscow after five long years and he was the same ardent spirit that I had known in Broken Hill. He confided to me in the sessions at the Duma Soyozov that he intended to stay for the future in Russia. We never thought of the dreadful catastrophe that was about to happen at Kursk, which was to put an end to the usefulness of a brave, unselfish and generous proletarian.

Paul Freeman was one of that great army of the tireless, world-tramping, universal I. W. W. He passed from land to land and continent to continent with as little care as some men cross the street. Down in the coal-bunkers of ships, passing frontiers secretly in the dead of night with the World Revolution ever foremost in his mind, ever guiding his footsteps. His death will be deplored in the deep levels of the mines of Broken Hill, and thousands of workers in the great Australian cities will stand in silence to honor his name. Out under the light of the constellation of the Southern Cross, far out on the Western Plains, the lonely shepherd and the migratory worker will visualize the Kremlin Wall, the world-striding Freeman who sleeps beneath its shadow.

Paul Freeman was one of an army who were ejected from one continent to bestride other continents and leave behind them a fiery trail of work for their class. He will rest well in goodly company, as true a man as ever stood in shoe-leather, one of the old guard of the hated, outlawed, deported I. W. W.'s of the Southern Hemisphere. Men with greater names, of world celebrity may sleep beside him under the Kremlin Wall, but they will never honor it one iota more than all that is mortal of Paul Freeman.



A THOUGHT

By Nuf Ced

DOWN through the ages men and women have struggled, with the problem of how to free themselves from oppression.

During all the periods of strife they realized, that there were but two methods, by which they could solve the problems of slavery, that confronted them.

Organized force, that recognized Violence, and destruction.

Organized force, that recognized Education, as the constructive, and enduring weapon.

The struggle of labor in the past has concerned itself more with securing an increased amount of the product.

The struggle of labor today is to secure more and more of the product, a shorter workday, and to banish the thought from the minds of the people of the world, that it be just, for the few to live from the effort of the many.

It is almost inconceivable, that an enlightened people can and do ask the assistance of a Divine Providence, to enable them to live in ease, idleness, luxury, and riotous living, at the expense of the blood, and lives of the mothers, and little children of the working classes in society.

The late European war has demonstrated that private property rights are more sacred than human rights; the latter to be considered only as a means to preserve, and extend the former.

These conditions must of necessity continue, until labor, the sleeping giant, is awakened to the need of combined action and with its super in-

tellect, and physical forces—if need be—take possession of the . . . machinery of production, distribution and transportation, socializing, and democratically administering the same for the common good of all.

Then will human rights be held more sacred than private property rights, and not until then.

Poverty, the world's almoner, is stalking through a land of plenty, some alone with the dogs are living on bones, others on hope, kindling each morning, dying slowly each night.

However, philosophy brings home its stores to the lone man. Money is not in his hand, but knowledge is in his brain, and from that brain he draws faster, as he draws more slowly from his pocket. He remembers and on remembrance he can live for days and weeks.

He crowns himself with glorious memories, of labors directing units; if he nights it under the star lit heavens, he dreams heaven sent dreams of the prisoned, and martyred heroes of labor; men, women and children who gave their lives, so that mankind should progress to the goal sought, Emancipation, and economic freedom.

He muses with his soul of reason, and laughs at the world; for the world, thank heaven has left him alone.

Keep your money, old profiteers, your industrial and political control for the present, for upon the horizon, in crimson letters, are the words emblazoned: Abolition of wage slavery.—Victory is near!



THE STAR BOARDER GETS HIS.

Planned Action in the Industries

By Jas. H. Larsh

THE working class is now face to face with a pressing problem—one which cannot be side-stepped indefinitely. This problem is the present unemployment situation and the misery and poverty that is increasing amongst the workers from day to day.

Regardless of the fact that we are not ready either technically or with well developed industrial unions, the workers are going to be forced to help themselves. Their first actions in the direction of helping themselves can be directed by members of the working class that understand the class struggle. The action taken must be simple yet positive.

When conditions warrant, the workers should be appealed to by industries. Mass meetings of the workers and unemployed from each industry should be called and other means used where ever possible so as to reach the entire working class and get them to act in coordination.

For example the railroad industry's workers and unemployed together should meet and be reached by definite propaganda. They in connection with the workers of other industries should formulate plans of action which can put the workers into the industries with industrial control of society.

The food industry and the transportation industry are of prime importance. It is highly important that the new workers regime should be started out on filled stomachs.

The great requisite is the coordination of plans and action. Things must be so arranged that the hour and minute of the taking over of the factories, mines and other industries should be understood and agreed upon. With the start of well filled warehouses and by means of keeping the wheels of industry turning we would soon be able to perfect a system of management by the institution of the well known and ancient institution of industrial councils.

These councils will include of course the best of technical and practical workers or the new system will fail, but there is no good reason why the greatest epoch in human history cannot come swiftly, efficiently, wholeheartedly.

The working class of this country are today getting keyed up for just such a program, simple yet revolutionary, direct and far-reaching. We have nearly all of us felt that we were not prepared for the next great change in our lives. Somehow the changes have a way of coming in spite of our timidity. Surely we can manage industry right from the start in a way so as to receive a greater return than capitalism ever gave us. We have always known hardships under its mismanagement. With time and opportunity we will perfect the workers' control so that every form of human life will be better off than at present.

From the hour and minute that the workers' program of taking over the idle and half empty factories and shops goes into effect the bosses pay-checks shall play no important part in our lives. The boss may remain on the jobs with us, and welcome, as a Fellow Worker, but from the time we change our methods of production our products belong to us, to be used according to the needs of the working class, as proper co-ordination of the industries and as the workers' industrial councils direct and determine.

When we control the means of subsistence we will control everything. Bourgeois political institutions will automatically lose power. We will hold out the hand of fellowship to any and all who WORK with us. To the parasites that refuse to produce we will give treatment accordingly.

Capitalistic power (the power of finance) will have to show inherent powers of self-sacrifice and voluntary effort to cope with this sort of situation. When we have generated our own power we need not fear them. Time would solidify the workers' industrial and social victory.

Fellow workers, this is not an elaborate plan but is simple and direct as action itself. It may be the germ of other plans that are more complete and may be more easily put into practice.

The taking over the industries should be our near aim. Let us consider the facts and go ahead with our actions accordingly. Let us get ready to start the ball rolling, the game will be good, the players enthusiastic and the goal certain.



The Great Kataklysm



A HISTORICAL REVIEW of Latter Day Capitalism
Covering the Wondrous Era Extending From Smith's
Discovery of Radium in the Human Eye to the
Devitalization of the Supermen by Radioity in the
Hands of Revolutionists.

Being a series of lectures delivered by Snow All-
brayne at the University of Timbuctoo in the Year of Our
Lord 9799.

Edited and published by Stanislaus McGee in the year 9800.



Lecture II.

I am surprised that there is a tendency, grown more common since I myself published the "Life of Dr. John Smith," to criticize this great man for appropriating to his own use the eyes of those who died within the precincts of his asylum and the remains of whom he had gone to great trouble to preserve.

It has gone so far now that some self-acclaimed authorities declare that Smith, under the laws and the morals that prevailed at that time, had neither a legal nor a moral right to such appropriation.

It is to be pointed out that this view arises from a wholly superficial knowledge of conditions which prevailed in that epoch, and accentuates the truth of that ancient remark to the effect that a little learning is a dangerous thing.

Smith was engaged, to be sure, as State physician, but he also was occupied with far nobler pursuits, and was wont to indulge in commercial speculations which were followed by all who were finest and best among the noble spirits of that age.

The idea of profiteering, the huger the better, was one that filled every mind worth while; and I rejoice to think that Dr. Smith, a man for whom I have more than usual veneration, was not behind hand in this pursuit. It added zest to life. It whetted the intellect as well as the appetite and rewarded those who followed it with handsome prizes, not the least of which was an increased margin of leisure and a very satisfactory security against the

uncertainties of life and the vicissitudes of time.

You know, too, that men laid claim to and held the land and machinery whereby things necessary to human life were produced. These they then called "their own" and their right to hold these things exclusively from the rest of mankind was known as the right of "ownership," the most precious, the most respected and the most venerated of all rights.

It was a very beautiful conception; and to it we owe some of the most glorious pages in all human history. In those days of old, when wars were fought and whole nations were overwhelmed in an august butchery of men by men, I must positively aver with admiration, this property or ownership idea was the main incentive to all such heroic and noble and valiant conduct.

Naturally, as the human race insisted upon increasing, it increased beyond the capacity of available property and this right each year grew to be an exclusive right possessed by the more favored in brains or physical capacity.

It is one of the most reassuring facts in all history that those who owned the resources, the land, the machinery and wealth of the world did not allow their less favored brethren to die. On the contrary, true types of Good Samaritans as they were then recognized to be, they permitted them in gracious fashion to labor in the fields, the factories, the mines, the ships and the shops, so that from the labor of the propertyless, those who owned the

property might increase the wealth of the world and certainly the poor could eke out a sufficiency from the remuneration which was most generously allowed them.

From the products of this labor the Supermen were able to enjoy the great and good things of life and to cultivate a superior wisdom that was most remarkable in that era.

They also with charity lavish and really beautiful, built huge libraries, hospitals and churches. They established Foundations to which I have already referred, and by the ramifications of their extensive charities and fine philanthropy they controlled newspapers, schools, courts and government in a most efficient and masterful manner.

Now I want to point out (as a justification for the course of Dr. Smith in appropriating the eyes, and the radium from the eyes, of the deceased within his asylum) that the rich invariably annexed this labor of the poor under the scheme of things that in those days so happily prevailed. They annexed the labor of the poor, and if an employer had an ethical right to do that, which strictly speaking meant the annexation of the flesh and blood—for flesh and blood were necessary to the functioning of labor, so also had they a right to annex the eyes of the pauper dead.

Before I have concluded these lectures, I hope to be able to quote from a decision by the great Abinadab Fudge, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, which fully justifies my position on this interesting question. My point of view in this is upheld throughout.

But to resume: For a long time Smith seems, for some occult reason, to have kept quiet concerning his great and interesting and epochal discovery. I observe that the public did not become acquainted with this momentous fact until he published his monumental treatise: "On the Classification of the Pauper Insane." It is really a notable work.

Dr. von Balderdash, the noted German pathologist, took occasion, in the Berliner Scientist, to ridicule the methods and conclusions of Smith. In the stress of the in-

ternational controversy that followed between these two eminent men, Smith was goaded to mention the secret that radium existed in commercial quantities in the human eye. Balderdash impetuously and very rashly replied to this assertion with open ridicule and most unacademically characterized the distinguished physician of Kalamazoo as both a mountebank and a liar.

I was really amazed at a man of the attainments of von Balderdash indulging in such vulgar expressions.

Smith's reply, perhaps naturally enough, was equally emphatic and startling, commenting freely on the ancestry, and the future destination of the soul, of Balderdash, hinting that had he (Smith) time to go over to Berlin, or had Balderdash time to come to Kalamazoo, the American would have extreme satisfaction in mending the manners of his opponent and in teaching him how to conduct a controversy like a gentleman and a scholar.

I shall not dwell upon the very unpleasant acerbity that followed this discussion except to say that the National Futurity League cited it before a Senate Committee to show that the navy program should be enlarged and that universal military training was essential to the safety of the nation. . .

Professor Shawtbeek asserts that animated controversies of this kind were not unusual at this period and declares his belief that the method was deliberately pursued for the sake of attracting attention.

This assertion is very unjust and as inaccurate as it is unfair. Even when disputes of this kind did arise, as they often did, the parties thereto were usually careful to speak of one another in the highest terms of respect. In academic circles, in politics, in newspaper controversies, clerical polemics, the most graceful methods were pursued and moderation was so common that a breach of decorum was a nine days' wonder. I have examined thousands of political speeches and controversies and in not a single one have I been able to discover the use of what was then called the short and ugly word.

THE POETS' CORNER

My Country

By Robert Whitaker

My country is the world! I count
No son of man my foe.
Whether the warm life currents mount
And mantles brows like snow,
Or whether yellow, brown or black,
The face that into mine looks back.

My native land is Mother Earth,
And all men are my kin,
Whether of rude or gentle birth,
However steeped in sin,
Or rich or poor, or great or small,
I count them brothers, one and all.

My flag is the star-spangled sky,
Woven without a seam,
Where dawn and sunset colors lie
Fair as an angel's dream.
The flag that still, unstained, untorn,
Floats over all of mortal born.

My party is all humankind,
My platform brotherhood.
I count all men of honest mind
Who for common good,
And for the hope that gleams afar
My comrades in this holy war.

My country is the world! I scorn
No lesser love than mine,
But calmly wait that happy morn
When all shall own this sign.
And love of country as of clan
Shall yield to world-wide love of man.

To the Unemployed

(With apologies to Walt Whitman)

On "Captain! My Captain!"

O Workers! All workers!
Rise up and hear the bells;
For you six million vagabonds,
For you six million trampers,
For you six million unemployed,
For you the bugle trills,
For you the crimson flag is flying,
For you we call all in a mass
Our eager faces turning,
Our hearts so keenly yearning.

Ex-soldiers! All Workers!
Rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up and see the Torch,
This torch that leads ahead!
It is no dream that for this Cause
So many have fallen dead.

Our ship has weathered many a storm,
But our fearful trip's not done,
We must not anchor! On, we warn!
Until the prize we sought is won.

Burn, O torch, and ring, O bells!
While the workers onward tread,
To join the hands of those
That have pioneered ahead.

Violet Kaminsky.



SPECIAL NOTICE

All the readers of this magazine that have received tickets for the I. W. W. picnic held at Floral Park, West Hoboken, N. J., Sept. the 4th, 1921, are kindly requested to return either tickets or money as soon as possible for we have to close the books and give account to the organization and to the public in general.

Return tickets or cash to the Picnic Committee.
23 Carroll St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

For the First Time

THIS appeal is a maiden attempt for the Industrial Pioneer in the field of donation soliciting. Realizing full well that we are filling a decidedly essential position in the revolutionary movement, we have at this time of need, no hesitancy in explaining to our readers our exact position and issuing this call for aid.

Never was there a time when the idea of revolutionary industrial unionism was so acceptable to the working class of this country. In the marine transport industry thousands are ready and anxious to line up in an industrial union with fighting organs. The ranks of the A. F. of L. are being smashed section by section by the planned onslaughts of the open shop movement. Now is the time when such a magazine as the Industrial Pioneer with its constructive policy and wide range of material is absolutely necessary to crystallize and get into action the fundamental ideas that the Industrial Workers of the World have fought and even died for these last sixteen years.

In the attempt to meet all the sudden drains on the organization because of the demand for speakers, organizers, and free literature the general office has had to retrench.

For this reason we have been forced to come out with this issue of thirty-two pages. The price of the magazine has been cut as you have already found out.

The Industrial Pioneer has been getting on its feet for the last three months. The subscriptions from our agents in the field have been coming in, in a larger and larger stream. Our usefulness is now being established firmly as the workers are commencing to recognize in the Industrial Pioneer a constant and constructive force well worth supporting.

A big deficit was carried over to the Pioneer from the old Oue Big Union Monthly. The early struggle to introduce the magazine piled up the deficit to large heights. Just now are we commencing to get down to a bed rock basis. The August

issue showed a deficit of \$194.23. The October issue showed a deficit of \$77.49.

These figures show that we are pulling through and will eventually come on top if we are not crippled and have to suspend because of the inability of the general office to continue to carry us for a few months longer. The total deficit amounts to \$4,201.24. This amount has to be liquidated as soon as possible. As soon as we can show substantial progress in paying off our debt to general headquarters we will increase the size of the magazine again.

Fellow workers, the future of the magazine depends directly on you. Fifty cents from each reader of the Pioneer would pay off our deficit and permit us to at once enlarge and make more readable the entire magazine besides permitting the engraving of better cartoons and photographs direct from the scenes of action. We realize that there are many readers of the magazine that cannot respond. Others will not take this appeal to heart and will pass on the burden to you, fellow worker.

So we are asking you to dig down deep and send us as much as you really think the magazine is worth. We realize full well the time of unemployment that has swept across the country and invaded the very stomachs of the readers with emptiness. Yet this hunger has set thousands to questioning and we must not fail to keep all our propaganda organs alive with special articles and with pictures of the latest developments of working class action.

Unless our readers come to the aid of the magazine financially at this time we will be compelled to continue in our restricted form. The field of industrial action is so large that nothing short of a sixty four page magazine gotten out with the cooperation of a competent staff of writers will suffice to cover the terrific events that are to come.

There is at present no other magazine in the country that attempts to cover the field

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

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

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

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

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

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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