

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

OCTOBER, 1921



WAR IN WEST VIRGINIA

PRICE 25 CENTS

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

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

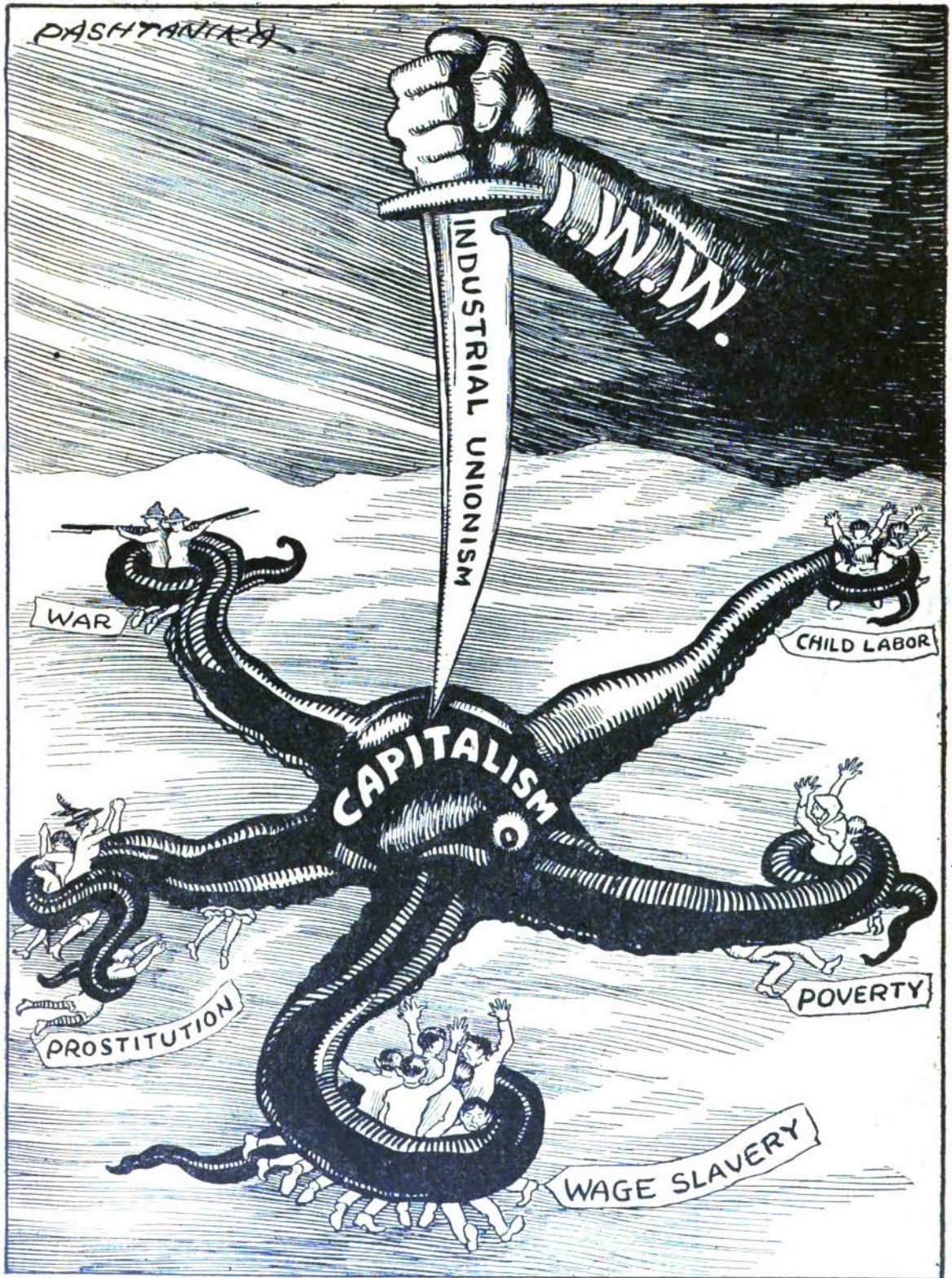
By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.





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MORE POWER TO THE ARM

The Industrial Pioneer

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War in West Virginia

By Art Shields

Williamson, Mingo County,
West Va.

"Boys, there is just naturally going to be no end to the gunmen and to this kind of fighting till the railroad men stop carrying scab coal."

A big miner in an army shirt was getting this off his chest as I joined the knot of a dozen men at the village store in one of the little mining towns in the Coal River Valley, just a mile below the hills that had been crackling with rifle and machine gun fire a few days before.

"The railroad men are all right," spoke up a young fellow; "didn't a bunch of them get into the fighting, and didn't one of them give his life for us — that Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen fellow?"

"Sure they are good men, the best in the world as men," said the big miner, "and I sure appreciate the work some of them did up there in the mountains with us. But I'm talking of them as railroad men now, not just as men, and I'm saying that if the railroad men stopped carrying that scab Mingo County coal there wouldn't be any strike in Mingo County for this year past, and we wouldn't have needed to get our high powers and set out for there."

A few days later I got down into Mingo County and heard that the railroad men had been so stirred there by the mighty and dramatic workers' movement in the northeast that one railroad craft local had come within a hair line of passing a resolution against hauling any coal trains from the mines in the gunmen-ridden fields of

the southwestern part of the state. I talked to a good many railroad men and found a fine spirit among them—they want to take some kind of action to help the miners and they are beginning to see now how they can all get in on it.

The railroad men, like all other workers of West Virginia have been shoved into thought by the tramp of those ten thousand pairs of feet in the mountains, and the spectacle of ten thousand men saying good-bye to job and family and risking their lives in a desperate journey to the succor of oppressed union men.

The Battle Hazards

All the world loves courage, especially courage to fight for another. Just consider what these men undertook. From Marmet, in Kanawha County, where they mobilized, to Mingo County, it is full sixty-five miles by air line and much further by mountain road and rail. Only the first part of the trip, across unionized Boone County, would be safe and easy, and then would come the journey through the mountainous, and far from safe county of Logan which lay between them and Mingo. It might mean defending themselves against an army superior in number to their own, and equipped with the machinery of modern warfare.

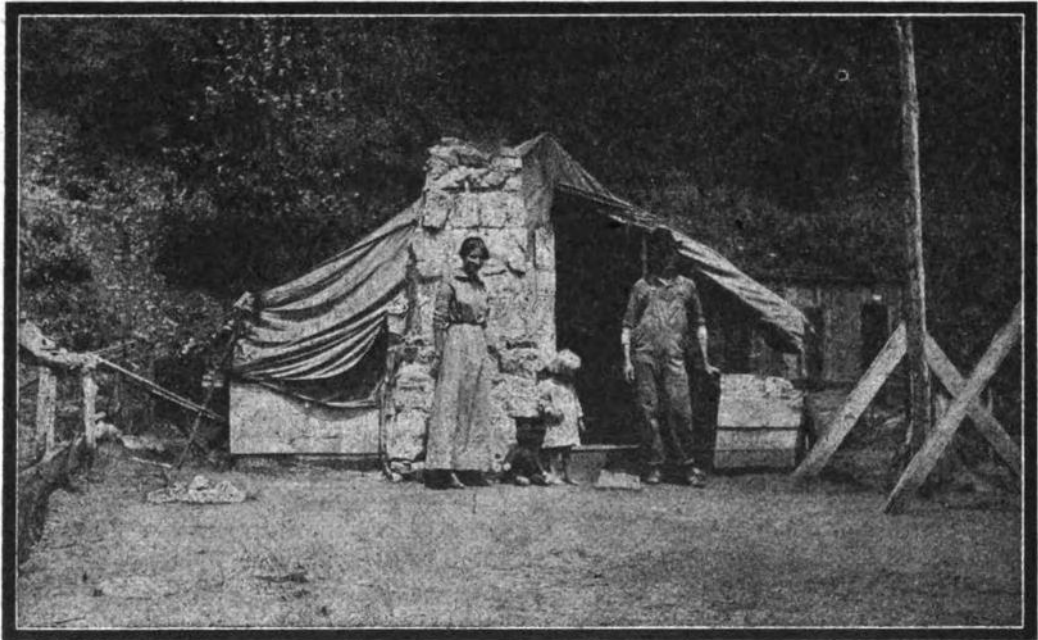
And all these astonishing hazards they took gladly, not because they were looking for trouble for its own sake, but because the West Virginia workers' habit of sticking with his class was strong upon them. It was this instinct by which the union

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fields of West Virginia were organized. So when reports had kept coming in all through a long year of the Mingo strike that this miner or that miner had been terrorized by gunmen or state police shooting up the tent colony where they had been living since they were ejected from the company house, then the miner living a hundred miles away felt this injury as his injury. The wrongs done to his fellow workers were calling to him to right them. And when the cold blooded murder of Sid Hatfield and Ed Chambers occurred on the court house steps in another county to which they

which saved the scab gunmen in the nick of time. These union men were beginning to drive back the army which the coal operators sent against them in the mountains that lie between the scab lands of Logan County proper and the unionized strip in the Coal River Valley. In a little while—perhaps two days, perhaps three days, they would have been at the Chesapeake and Ohio branch line in Logan County and on their way to the borders in Mingo.

Six machine guns had been captured, the operators' army had suffered several times



An Ejected Miner's Family Tenting It Out.

had been lured by a bunk indictment, then there was nothing they could do except come to the rescue with the old high power rifle. So they felt.

Union jobs and union contracts couldn't hold them.

Success in Military Tactics

But their courage in starting the campaign was not the only thing which inspired the railroad workers and others. It was the success, in spite of the delay caused by their turning back at Madison, which attended the movement till the federal troops came and brought the armistice

the casualties the workers had suffered, and had been driven back from one to two miles along a front of more than ten of the total fifteen miles of battle line. And all this the workers had done against an enemy entrenched in the hills with superior military equipment. It was the other side that had the machine guns in the beginning and the automatic rifles and the airplanes dropping bombs and poison gas. But the workers pushed them back.

Fighting Enthusiasm

I tried hard to find out just what made for the workers' superiority, and I am con-

vinced that the fundamental reason was that they put enthusiasm into their work; the fact that they were inspired by the cause they held as sacred, and were not just in the hills with a gun for a mere five to twenty dollars a day like Don Chafin's mercenaries, or out of fear like his conscripts.

The workers were spurred on with an intense feeling of indignation against the thugs who had murdered so many union men, and who had just committed a fresh outrage, for on Saturday night, August 27, the night after the miners had dispersed and started to go home at the request of President Keeney, four hundred gunmen swooped down over the mountain on the now unprotected village of Sharples, in the unionized corner of Logan, and murdered two union men, wounding two more seriously, and taking four prisoners back into the hills with them. Memory of this murderous arrogance gave a fresh edge to their fighting spirit.

The Thugs Lineup

The workers on an average were much better marksmen than their opponents. Nearly every one of them had been born and bred in the mountains and had gained a deadly accuracy shooting at targets and squirrels, and more than two thousand of them had fought in France. The army of Sheriff Don Chafin, on the other hand, while it had a goodly number of fairly efficient gunmen and some ex-service men and Legionaries, yet was weighted down by the thousands of conscripts or unwilling volunteers who didn't know how to fight or didn't want to learn under those circumstances. This was especially true of the miners of the Guyan fields, who were forced by fear of prison, death or loss of jobs to join up—many of these were men from other states and even other countries, brought in from the outside by labor agencies—men who lacked the West Virginia mountain training and had no love for their tyrannous masters in any case.

Press Prophecies

Loud and long some of the coal owned newspapers of the southwestern counties had been boasting of what Chafin's machine gunners would do to the workers entering the "forbidden lands" by way of the mountain passes. But the miners and the worker-volunteers with them were in no hurry to play the other fellows game. Their policy was to clear the path first before any large number tried to go through. Advance guards worked their way through the underbrush to advantageous posts where they could begin operations on the machine gunners. In the course of this work they had a good many brushes with other advance guards, but little by little they were posted so that one machine gun crew after another began to find their nest to hot for them. In the course of about four days of the fighting most of the machine gun crews along the lower ten miles of the fifteen miles of mountain where the work was going on had been forced to retreat, or their guns had been captured. One crew captured included a Justice of the Peace named Mitchel of the county of Logan. Two machine guns were captured by storm in sensational fashion, no proper cover being available.

Bombs and Gas

Chafin's forces were getting the worst of it and the news was going out by word of mouth over the southwestern part of the state. In vain an effort to recover his prestige was made by a series of futile airplane bombing raids, extending over a period of three days, from September 1st to 3rd. The mining villages behind the lines in the Little Coal River Valley were the targets. The raids were failures because the bomb makers bungled their job; few of the bombs exploding and those doing no damage. I saw one of the ugly cast iron things, a six by thirty inch gas main, loaded with powder and iron nuts. It had crashed to the ground between two women who were doing their washing near the little town of Jeffrey, but had failed to explode because the guide or "rudder" had

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fallen off. One of the gas bombs, made of a bottle filled with a chlorine gas preparation, made a house wife of Jeffrey quite sick as she was rushing in an automobile towards the school house near the firing lines on Hewitt creek, used as a field hospital. But after two days of shooting pains in the head and nose bleed, she, too, was all right.

The operators' forces bungled their fighting and bungled their terrorism and lost as much prestige as the miners gained. Mismanagement marked Sheriff Don Chafin's handling of the entire situation and he has undoubtedly come in for many unkind remarks from the operators who used him as the agent for the hiring of the army of Baldwin-Felts thugs that govern the non-union mines and mining towns of Logan County. The U. S. Steel Corporation and the other big interests who exploit the hills of Guyan are not accustomed to bungling of this kind. It is also true that they have seldom or never had to deal with such a determined body of fighters.

Don Chafin, the Sheriff, the boss-gunner of the Guyan fields, is regarded as the

Czar of his county, with word of life and death. He is comparatively rich, his fortune being estimated in seven figures,—a fortune taken from a mine of his own and his office as sheriff—but to the men in Wall Street, whose ownership is masked behind the operators' association of the Guyan Valley, Chafin is their boss-gunner, and they are the real rulers.

The Steel Trust Control

United States Steel, the largest producer of coal in West Virginia, is heavily interested in Logan, owning a total of 53,736 acres of coking coal and 32,648 surface acres of surface coal in Logan and Mingo Counties. This means that the great corporation controls a goodly portion of the ten million ton annual production of the county. The same giant concern also has 50,000 acres of the best coking land in McDowell County, the extreme southern county of the state; its annual production from that county alone ranging up to 4,680,000 tons in its boom year of 1918, and not falling much below that figure even last year. The same comparative evenness of



"Black Berry City"—A Tent Colony of Ejected Miners.

annual production applies to Logan, Mercer and Wyoming, the other non-union counties which are getting contracts and working during times of depression while union mines are shut down or on part time.

It follows as the night the day that since the U. S. Steel and similar corporations are such important factors in these counties that their gunman system exists at its worst. Anyone knowing the tactics of U. S. Steel in Gary, Pittsburg, Homestead and the Mesaba Range knows that thuggery is their idea of law and order; thuggery for the purpose of beating down unionism. But in these counties thuggery surpasses itself. Logan is sufficiently notorious, but the other counties are just about as bad. In Logan the Baldwin Felts army ranges from five hundred to a thousand on different occasions, except in the fighting of early September when it ran much higher. In McDowell County Sheriff Bill Hatfield deputizes more than five hundred gunmen regularly from the agency. This is the Bill Hatfield who promised his distant relative Sid so much protection and gave him none when he came to the court house in the town of Welch.

Mingo, the solitary union field of the southwest counties has on its back the weight of a state martial law system, with some eight hundred constabulary and militia men.

Strategic Position

Another large operator is the Norfolk and Western Railroad which holds 296,000 acres of coal land in McDowell and Mercer Counties.

It must be clearly understood to place a proper value on the shrewdness of the other side, that the reason money is poured out so lavishly to keep these southwestern counties non-union, is the strategic importance of these coal fields in regard to big industry, especially the metallurgical industries. Mingo and McDowell alone have a prime quality of coking coal which is generally agreed by geologists to be the equal of that in the Connellsville region in Pennsylvania.



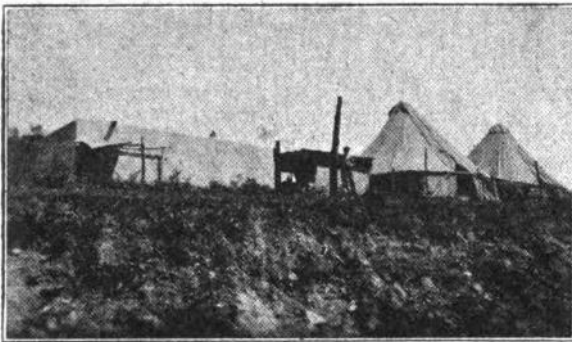
Sid Hatfield—Three Days Before His Murder.

With these coking coal fields non-union, and part of the Pennsylvania fields also, the steel industry will be able to carry on its major operations in the event of a general union mine strike. Consequently it is worth millions of dollars as an insurance against strike times, as well as for other reasons, to keep McDowell non-union and to break the union in Mingo, the only one of the five gunmen counties where the union has lined up the workers.

Logan coal veins contain some of the best high volatile coal in the world. The all around general utility of the Logan fields for industrial and bunker and by product purposes has been recognized for the seventeen years the fields have been operated. So shrewd an industrial manager as Henry Ford has been quick to perceive the advantage of such coal as that of the Logan field with its high fuel content and low ash, and today half the coal burned in the larger Ford plants comes from Logan County. The fact that this is scab coal does not detract from its fitness for the Ford plants, of course. Logan coal is burned generously in other Detroit industrial plants, and in Toledo and Chicago.

Organization Needed

It has been the boast of Logan operators since the coal strike of late 1919 that their production increased about thirty percent during the five weeks of walkout in other fields. And the Guyan Valley Operators' Association and the other operators' associations in the southwestern counties are



A Miners' Outpost.

never weary of urging on business men in advertisements the need of supporting their fight against unionism in order to defeat any general mine strike movement. In fact big business has been quicker than labor to recognize the strategic importance of these southwest counties.

Fifty billion tons of good commercial coal lie under the ground in the southwest counties (including other fields than the five counties previously mentioned) according to Dr. I. C. Whute, state geologist of West Virginia, and he further estimates that there are one hundred billion tons more of lower grade coal which later processes will make practicable for mining. The wealth and industrial power which the operators have at this stage in the fight on unionism is readily seen.

Mingo County Fight

The operators are fighting grimly with their backs to the wall. They have never forgiven the loss of the Kanawha fields to the northeast. These fields were organized in the early years of the twentieth century and again won back by the operators, then unionized again after the Paint and Cabin Creek strikes of 1912 and 1913 when the miners finally won after taking the most aggressive action against the Baldwin-Felts thugs. Now crowded against the southwestern part of the state—still holding the richest fields, it is true—scabbery is determined that it shall lose no more. The fight is waging stubbornly now for the control of Mingo County. Here a strike has been in effect for fourteen months. Its history

is as follows: organization in early 1920 of some of the mines; then the lockout and dispossessing from company towns and cutting off of credit from company stores. The union then countered with a strike, pulling out and organizing more mines till a more or less general tie-up prevailed.

Some operation is going on, but there is not very much strike breaking by local men. The miners are all home guards and keep track of scabs. What scabbing there is comes largely from outsiders, who are brought in by labor agencies. Many of these have been pulled out by the miners, and last month several hundred quit when their wages were cut. Production is about thirty to forty per cent of normal now.

Five dollars a week relief is paid single men on strike by the United Mine Workers, with two dollars more for a wife, and more for children. Fourteen hundred men and women live in the tent colonies along the Tug River between Matewan and Williamson.

I cannot see any sign of surrender on the part of the Mingo strikers, but of late some of the local superintendents have been making some overtures to their old men. Losing capable miners who worked steadily for years on the same job, and getting in exchange inexperienced miners who pull out just about the time they get on the job, is very annoying to the bosses. On the other hand the union scale of 61½ cents a ton seems much worse to them than compensating by the unweighed car. But when they figure in the losses due to inexperience of the scabs, and the charge for ten cents a ton for publicity and union fighting expenses which has been exacted by the Williamson Field Coal Operators' Association it seems almost like a losing proposition. That might well be the attitude of the unfortunate petty operator, but the Steel Trust can well afford to lose all profits on that particular field for a year in order to win this strategic section for the open shop.

The Open Shop Gunmen

And as an integral part of the open shop program the armies of deputized gunmen,

Breaking the System

deputized by the county but paid by the operators, are needed, the interests judge. There is little doubt that the gun and the blackjack will continue to be used against unionism as long as there is a chance to beat unionism. No one seems to dispute that proposition with conviction, and I do not see any serious intention on the part of political authorities to interfere, notwithstanding the fact that the present governor, Morgan, was elected on an anti-thug platform. Of course, the real government, as distinguished from the political government of West Virginia, is standing there large as life for anyone who wishes to see. The so-called "invisible government" is not invisible in West Virginia.

A Gunman's Life

Of course the path of the gunman, himself, is not strewn with roses. Only the most desperate of men will take a chance at that job in West Virginia today. While his pay is good and his work light, yet the more efficient he is as gunman, the less likely he is to continue the exercise of his craft indefinitely. Of the twenty-seven lives estimated to have been lost in the Mingo labor field since the present strike trouble started, the majority have not been members of the working class. Even in the non-union county of McDowell gunmen are not good insurance risks. It is only a year and several months ago that Tom Felts, the head of the agency, was suddenly stripped of his brothers Albert and Lee Felts, at the battle of Matewan in Mingo County. It is a risky job, being a professional gunman.

But gunmen may come and gunmen may go, but the system goes on. The system can stand a reasonable loss of gunmen and still replenish its supply. Such big outgoings, however, as in the Cabin Creek affair, or in the battle of Logan County, to a lesser degree, are injurious to the system, but those do not occur often.

The miners have to get the industrial backing of the railroad workers. That much seems pretty plain. With that backing they cannot be stopped. I put the case to a former hard rock miner and western wobbly who is now digging coal in West Virginia. He had come down from another county to take part in the fighting.

"What they need in every mining district is industrial education," said this fellow worker. "The trouble with so many of them is that they don't see how one industry hooks into the next. If they did they'd have an argument for these railroad men. Of course there are some who do see, and are carrying on educational work, but there ought to be more of it."

He told me that very little literature, outside of the West Virginia Federationist of Charleston which has some good general matter, came into the fields. The only new literature that reached his mining village, he said, was brought by an agent for *Il Proletario*, who sold some forty or fifty copies of his paper and several *Industrial Pioneers*.

"We want all the good industrial literature we can get," he said, and with education added to the West Virginia fighting spirit the boys of this state will lead the world."





Famine has been a periodical event in Russia as well as in the other backward countries of the capitalistic world from time immemorial. It was taken as a matter of course.

The late government of the Czar was even opposed to the futile philanthropic relief organizations that spring up among well to do individuals at such times of social calamities. Any organized attempt to deal with the situations created by the famines in an adequate way were never considered and even opposed.

About the only thing that could be said for methodic relief measures was that the prayers of the priesthood were raised concertedly while the government organizations were used with precision to keep foreigners from penetrating the stricken regions and getting news out to the rest of the world.

The Soviet Government is now faced with a famine in some of the districts about which the famine history of the past is well remembered.

The Volga region like the areas of Kansas and North Dakota is subject to periodic droughts. Also like these regions they have a fertile productive soil that supports many

millions of people in normal years. The average production is well capable of sustaining this life.

Conditions in 1917

In 1917 the Russians were faced with acute hunger as a result of the destruction of food stocks and the break down of the capitalist industrial processes. Then came the revolution. In a country with no economic organizations to seize the factories and keep the wheels of industry running there was little acceleration of production if any. The only achievement from the point of view of food supply was the equalization and the apportionment of those stocks that were on hand so that all workers might as nearly as possible receive the amount necessary to sustain life.

Imperialist War and Blockade

For three years the imperialist war had depleted and disrupted the inter-related processes of industry. The international exchange of commodities that is so necessary in carrying on production were severely crippled. The whole system of production was broken down before the revolution took place and indeed the break down was the fact that made the revolution possible.

Then came the terrible civil war fomented by the vultures of capitalism of the whole world. Soviet Russia in revolt was forced to turn all her energy, all her forces that could be and were anxious to be used for reorganization purposes to the destructive work of civil warfare.

White guard invasion was followed by the dynamiting of factories, bridges, mines, workshops and every other factor in industrial life. The cattle and horses of the peasantry were run off and the depleted stocks of food were further destroyed. The ability of Russia to organize her productive forces was made into a huge problem and task which could only be solved by the closest application to detail. Efficient organization was the prime necessity in both war and peace and vast unions of productive workers in industries were organized to create the machinery by which the industrial processes could be carried on in

some measure and eventually in the course of years restored to the potential capacity of pre-war days.

The Famine Strikes

Then came the final blow on a people suffering under nearly every affliction which a rampant capitalism could inflict. This last catastrophe was a natural one. It had happened before. The great drought of 1891 was repeated.

Never was the necessity of efficient organization so clearly shown. A district larger than France and Germany combined, was affected by the drought. Before the famine actually started full facts of the impending catastrophe were had in the centralized offices of the Soviet government. Early in June the preparations were started to deal with the situation even before it had developed into the stage where actual starvation was staring all living beings in the Volga region in the face.

The Famine Committee

The Non-Partisan Famine Relief Committee was formed early in July and at once every department of the entire industrial processes of Russia and the points of contact with the rest of the world were put under the closest scrutiny in the work of organizing the greatest relief work of modern history.

The dependence of the people of Russia on their fragmentary and dislocated industrial equipment with its workers cannot be emphasized too strongly, especially in such work. Amongst the unions of these workers rapid mobilization of relief bodies and mechanical equipment took place, so that the entire machinery of transportation could be shifted so as to handle and transport materials from other points in to the stricken regions, instead of the customary course of traffic which was the other way.

All organs of publicity were at once enlisted in solving the problems of the famine. The entire staff of the department of health was mobilized to overcome outbreaks of epidemics. Everywhere to the best of their ability effective organization was put into action and a program was laid down to work, too.

In foreign countries committees were established which were empowered to collect funds and transport materials to Russia for the famine districts. Negotiations were at once entered into by the state department of the Soviet government and the administrations or subservient groups of the various capitalist countries were enlisted for the purpose of extending aid.

The Motives of Capitalists

The motives of the vampires of capitalism in extending this aid may be loudly questioned. No one considers that after doing every thing that dirty, underhanded villiany could suggest to beat down the Russian workers in their battle for working class supremacy that the capitalistic masters have suddenly been stricken with last moment repentance.

This is not the idea that actuates them. There are three factors that enter chiefly into the motives for such organizations as the Red Cross sections of the allied nations and the American Relief Administration, entering into Russia to do relief work. The first consideration was the opportunity to duplicate the counter-revolutionary work which had been so successful in the historic case of Hungary.

The second and perhaps the most powerful factor is the fact that such an invasion of the country would furnish an admirable opening for trade, provided that counter-revolutionary plans fell through. Then the chance to get a good whack at the concessions offered by the Soviet government may have been a powerful motive.

The American Committee

With due regard to these things the Russian Famine Committee have gone with concentrated thought and action at the proposition of effecting relief. Donations have been asked for and committees of various organizations have been set up to collect such funds. In America the funds and materials for such work are being collected by the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St., New York City. Other organizations have been set up in other countries with similar purposes and using similar appeals.

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Industrial Aid

To members of the I. W. W. such active organization work seems admirable. The quick decisive maneuvering of forces and materials is the object sought by industrial organization. It is through efficient industrial organization only that the greatest efforts along these lines can be exercised.

The dynamic force of industrial action is all powerful in society today. The ability to handle this force depends on the extent and character of the organization that exists in the industries. With the One Big Union operating in the whole of Russia as at present, they are able to mobilize and exert the energy of the entire Russian working class for the great battle of famine resistance.

That they will improve and develop this One Big Union on industrial lines is assured. But this can be only of local assistance to the Russian workers or the workers of other countries in their fight with the capitalist class.

Industry is an international and interdependent series of processes. In order to produce really effective relief work in Russia or in order to produce any other really effective, constructive or revolutionary work any place else it is necessary to have the workers of the industry organized not off the job in clubs and sections but on the job according to industry. It is necessary to have industrial organization on the same international and unified basis as the industries represent.

Industrial Power

Industrial power, the ability to control and do things on the job is the secret of success which any group seeking social power must understand. The working class of Russia, in order to extend the forces of working class control, in order to build up and develop the organs of constructive

effort that they now have, must have the aid of the workers of other lands.

This aid under present conditions of capitalist control as well as under conditions of future workers control must be industrial in nature. When the capitalist class wanted us to load munitions to send to Russia to kill our fellow workers there we had but one arm of action to resort to and that was direct economic action.

Weakness Caused Failure

That we failed in stopping the shipments and the movements of munitions was not because our tactics were wrong but because we were not organized strongly enough to enforce aid for our battling fellow workers.

Today the comparative strength of the organized workers of Russia prevents it being of the fullest aid to the workers of Russia again. We can produce all the many things that are so necessary to furnish the workers of Russia. Yet because of our own lack of organization in the industries and on the job we are impotent. We are only able to express solidarity with the world's toilers.

Organize Our Power

The thing for the workers of the world to do in order to place themselves in a position so that it will be possible to extend aid to the workers everywhere is to organize the economic power of the working class. We have that power. It is vested in us. The only thing that is needed is to organize it.

In respect to our power we are like the Falls of Niagara. We have the potential source of strength and action but because the workers of America are not organized on the job where that power resides, we can do nothing but go tumbling down the great cliff of capitalist imbecility and repression. Let's get organized industrially!



The Negro Worker Falls Into Line

By Robert H. Hardeen

IN ACCORD with the historic tendency of a wide-spread group sentiment to crystallize into organized effort, it has long been expected that the general discontent among the American colored people would sooner or later express itself through militant bodies with the broad general object of emancipation by any or all of the means that other peoples have always employed to rid themselves of oppression.

The Nationalist Quagmire

The great danger attendant upon all the movements for group emancipation is that they may become purely nationalistic or racial in their aspects, rather than built along lines that take into consideration the economic foundations of society. This, as every class conscious worker knows, accounts for the strange anomaly that so many workers (most of them in the craft unions and some few in industrial unions, too) have never lost their nationalistic tendencies, as witness the Polish workers who loaded ammunition for Wrangel, and that strange creature whom we encounter now and then—the Zionist radical.

Two points explain this anomaly: first, all of us have been thinking as races and nations for a hundred centuries, and only a very few are beginning to think as workers; secondly, the well known campaign of the capitalistic class to assiduously cultivate every line of working class division possible, which just now during the present economic crisis is being kindled into a fury of veritable nationalistic madness never known before, evidenced by anti-English, anti-Japanese, anti-Catholic, anti-foreigner, anti-Negro, anti-Russian, anti-Jew and especially anti-everything that portends social change.

Divisions of Ideas: The N. A. A. C. P.

Out of this pandemonium of shrieking, clawing class war, with its variegated false and real issues, from "white supremacy" in Tulsa, Oklahoma, to the miner's insur-

rection in West Virginia, have emerged three distinct types of negro sentiment and lines of action more or less defined. The oldest of these is represented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This is an organization comprised of Negro scholars and business men, together with quite a number of white journalists, liberals, philanthropists, etc., The official organ of the association is "The Crisis," of which Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois is the editor. Its activities are confined largely to awakening a wide-spread sympathy for the Negro's problem. A well managed publicity bureau endeavors to investigate lynchings, riots, etc., and carries on a ceaseless campaign against Jim Crowism, and all legislation aimed at depriving the Negro of his rights as a citizen. Further than this, the Association does not attempt to go.

The U. N. I. A.

By far the greatest Negro organization in the world is the Universal Negro Improvement Association, at the head of which stands a full-blooded Negro publicist of the British West Indies, named Marcus Garvey. The aim of this society organized only three years ago and now numbering two million members is a free Africa. They have adopted a flag and racial emblem comprised of red, black and green stripes, running parallel. A steamship line, made up of six vessels, all named for colored writers or poets, and called the Black Star Line is already plying between New York, Liberia, Jamaica and the northern coast of South America.

Approached with a discussion of the class struggle, the members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association insist that no mere change of social structure can be expected to eradicate a century-old race hatred overnight in America and point to that almost solid wall of opposition which the Southland offers to every progressive idea, and Garvey himself, while recognizing that the race question is basically economic,

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maintains that an ethical superstition forms another important factor that no possible rearrangement of society can eliminate, not even education, that is conventional education, for educated folk and educators are often prejudiced.

Of course the flaw in this reasoning is not that they seek a free Africa; all peoples desiring freedom should have it and no one can dispute Mr. Garvey's reasoning that racial antipathy will, like every element of human consciousness, live somewhat longer than the conditions that gave rise to it and have kept it alive. But just as the decapitated serpent without its head must die and the engine that has exhausted its fuel must stop, just so the race problem bereft of its economic basis must vanish from American life.

The same danger lies hidden in the Garvey movement that is to be found in the Sinn Fein movement or the Zionist movement, namely, that in fleeing the claws of a lion in the form of foreign capitalists they may rush pell mell into the jaws of a tiger in the form of capitalists of their own group.

The Real Radicals

The third division of Negro sentiment, and by far the most prominent of all so far as vision and perspective of the true nature of their problem is concerned, is represented by a rapidly growing group who call themselves the "New Negro," in contradistinction to the black man with the vestigial slave psychology, whom they contemptuously designate as an "Uncle Tom" or an "Old Negro." This "new Negro" is at once the most interesting as well as the most intelligent of colored folk. The type is that of the awakening millions of toilers of the changing world, done in blacks and browns. The leading mouthpiece of this section of the race is the "Messenger," a magazine published in New York City by two young Negro socialists, A. Chandler Owen and Philip Randolph who, in spite of the fact that they have gone far in putting the economic question before their people, have, nevertheless, all the short-

comings of political socialists of every race the world over.

A smaller but more dynamic force among the colored radicals is the "Crusader," official organ of the African Blood Brotherhood, edited by a militant, class conscious man named Cyril Briggs. The African Blood Brotherhood is an organization that was originally formed to protect the race from armed attacks by its enemies and to prevent lynching, in accord with the world-old law of self defense. The Brotherhood educates its members in the class struggle and at the same time functions as an underground answer to the Ku Klux Klan. Their motto is, "Better a thousand race riots than a single lynching!"

Lest anyone think that this is only race-consciousness, we hasten to append the following from their manifesto issued at the last convention held in New York City, August 1921. "Negroes of the World, the day the European (!?) workers rise in armed insurrection against the capitalist exploiters of black and white toilers, we must see to it that Negro troops are not available as "White Guards" to crush the rising power of the workers' revolution! On that day, Negro comrades, the cause of the white workers will be the cause of the black workers, the cause of a free Africa, the cause of a Europe freed from capitalist control."

The I. W. W. and the Negro

In no organization is the colored worker made to feel more welcome or given a better chance than in the Industrial Workers of the World. Throughout the West and Southeast as well as the docks of Pennsylvania ports such as Philadelphia, great headway has been made in lining up the colored worker. The I. W. W. tolerates no race lines, plays no politics, discriminates against no groups because of color or creed. The program is industrial organization of all the workers of a given industry into job or city branches which, in turn, are part of the One Big Union built to fight the battles of the present and so organized that at the collapse of the dilapidated old

structure of capitalism the workers may assume control of industry and administer it to serve the needs of humanity and not for profit as at present.

In this program lies the greatest hope for the solution of the Negro problem, which is in reality only a special phase of the international labor problem. That this is the case cannot be disputed by any black man who will but reflect that wherever colored people live in small numbers as in France or Canada or New England, no race problem exists, but as soon as black men come in sufficient numbers to become a factor in the labor market, the race problem appears.

In conclusion, let us note this "New Negro" has completely exploded the ancient fallacious doctrine of Prof. Booker T. Washington, by showing their people, through practical demonstration, that merely getting educated, learning a trade, going into a profession or becoming a petty bourgeoisie would not solve the race problem, but on the contrary it only intensifies it. They do not hesitate to show their brethren that if the young colored medical graduate takes the patients of the white physician, the white man will not love him for it, but on the contrary is likely to join the Ku Klux

Klan; that the white tradesman and white business man will hate him for taking away "their" job or patronage as long as the present competitive system stands.

They point out the folly of Du Bois' continual petitioning of Congress to pass an anti-lynching bill which must result in allowing the spirit of revolt to grow among the cotton workers and so curtail the profits of the Southern planter. They point to the economic roots of the World War that centered around colonies, most of which lay in Africa, and try to tell the Garvyite that without the Social Revolution a few million poverty-stricken black men cannot hope to establish a free Africa with the combined armies of the whole capitalistic world waiting to crush them.

Indeed, this "New Negro" is a force to be reckoned with in the class struggle. Already he is causing those that have used him so long as a strike breaker, many a sleepless night, and the authorities are steadily "investigating."

The writer who is one of them wishes to say to our white fellow workers: "Move over, fellow workers, move over. We're coming in. We've heard that the water's fine!"

The Hand - Out Route

By Hambone Bill

O judge him not too harshly
As he raps at your back door;
Just because he looks untidy,
You needn't get so sore.

Mayhap tomorrow your own loved one
Will join the hobo band,
And on some woman's door-step
Hand-out bumming stand.

For the jobless army grows
As the jobs grow less,
When your turn is coming
Is a thing you cannot guess.

How about your boss;
Is he, too, on the road?
Or is it he that kicks you out
When you rap at his abode?

If you care to change conditions,
If you care to own your job,
UNITE AND TAKE THE WORKSHOPS!
Cut out your whines and sobs.

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THE IRON HEEL

Craft unionism has depended for its existence on that division in the ranks of the owning classes which will permit groups of employers to "recognize" the various unions.

This slight breach of employing class solidarity was first brought to an end by the Steel Trust some years ago. It has been decided to abolish it altogether in American industry, by the substituted American plan, within the last year or two.

The Pennsylvania railroad, the Chicago packing houses, and the oil industry are the latest and most glaring examples of the fact that capital is closing up its ranks for the final struggle. A strike is threatened in all these places by the partially organized crafts who have solidly refused to form industrial unions or even to amalgamate or consider affiliation for fighting purposes. They are doomed unless they use better and more class conscious tactics.

The increased solidarity amongst the ranks of capitalists can only be opposed by increased solidarity and activity in the ranks of labor.

Organize industrially on the job whether the boss likes it or not and by linking job to job and shop committee to shop committee we will build in each industry the easily mobilized force which will be able to win from the employers of America not only recognition that we exist but the control of the industries and our lives.

TO MEMBERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Let's wheel into action!

The long predicted failure of capitalism is close at hand. Society is entering a crisis from which there can be but one way out. That way is through the working class of the world, organizing on the industrial field, taking over the industries and the social power and wielding both for the benefit of society as a whole.

Action on the part of the membership of the Industrial Workers of the World is the necessity of the moment! The great social change which we contemplate can only be brought about with the aid of intensive activity on the part of every member. Millions of workers are unemployed. They are eager for the propaganda of the I. W. W. Get it to them!

The miserable conditions forced on the workers of the country make a fertile field for our organization on every job. Remember that we must be organized on the job in every basic industry or our action will be far short of that which is necessary in order to build the new society.

Our immediate aim is the FOUR-HOUR DAY. That is the only solution to the unemployment problem facing the working class as long as capitalism remains in existence. Take out credentials and get busy with both employed and unemployed workers at once.

Organize and act, and capitalism will soon be a matter of history. On with the organization! The agricultural industry, the lumber industry, the mining and oil industries, the rail and marine transport industries, the steel industry—these are the basic industries that we must control. In order to bring this age of misery to an end, get busy on the job — AGITATE, EDUCATE, ORGANIZE!

Yours for Industrial Direct Action,

**General Executive Board
of the Industrial Workers of the World**

EMPHASIS

THE program of the I. W. W. is definitely conveyed in the slogan that has been heralded far and wide—Education, Organization, Emancipation. This program has been laid down in an industrial country and has been the guiding light of an industrial union organization of working class members.

Action has ever been the outstanding feature of the militant I. W. W. Action was the method chosen in putting across the first part of the program. Education was carried to millions by means of precept and example. The whole I. W. W. was used primarily as a means of educating the workers of this and other lands toward militant class consciousness.

Tons of literature have been circulated in every language that has any importance in the world. Regular periodicals have been printed in seventeen different languages besides English. The entire emphasis of the I. W. W. was laid on Education. Our big successful strikes were used to educate the strikers and the rest of the workers as well. Free speech fights were waged and court battles fought all for the sake of the education that would accrue to the working class.

Sometimes we neglected our organization chances. Sometimes in order to get across the ideas of industrial unionism and workers solidarity we lost many active members into the ever ready maws of the capitalist prisons. But the work of education went on.

Today we stand at a point in the development of social events where we must change our emphasis. We have succeeded so well in our educational campaign that wherever you go you will be met with the class ideas of industrial unionism. We have succeeded in educating millions into the ideas of industrial class unionism.

We must not cast aside our educational activity. We must not forget to play up the class struggle and the horrors of wage slavery but we must change our emphasis to organization of the working class on in-

dustrial lines. This change in emphasis has taken place in the chief organs of the I. W. W. press and was emphasized in the resolutions of the General Convention.

Organization of the industries is the big job ahead of the I. W. W. right now. Our past experimentation with forms and theories of organizing industrially has brought forward the present industrial unions and units that are the basis for one big union of all the workers. Building up these unions is the part of the original I. W. W. program that we must lay our emphasis on now.

The critical condition of the capitalist industrial and social system force this change of emphasis upon us. We know better than any other group what those conditions are. Six million workers are unemployed and the unemployment is increasing in alarming fashion. Misery and want stare us in the face on all sides. Overhead indebtedness of staggering proportions for each man, woman and child of the capitalist nations precludes any revival of the capitalist system without cutting off the owners of the mortgages on the wealth of the world, from their expected interest, and strangling hold on the workers' throats. No way out of the dilemma is apparent without a change in the social system. That is the outstanding fact of the moment. Capitalism has dealt its own death blow and while it may hang on miserably and viciously for years, still there is no other alternative than the transfer of all power to the working class.

This is the historical fact that faces the I. W. W. The I. W. W. is facing this fact as it has faced all facts, looking it straight in the face. There is but one way to act in the presence of such a situation and that is to get the organization ready so that industrial power will be on hand when the conditions become so unbearable that we will be forced to take over and operate the industries ourselves.

The first step to be taken in putting across big organization drives in the industries is to know where the industries are located. This requires industrial research. Some of the industries have been

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charted out to our complete satisfaction by the capitalists of the country. We need all the industrial charts that we can get from the capitalists. We need to use them for the purpose of our organization work. We need to know the industries in their relation to raw material and the finished product so that we may organize in strategic places. Above all we need to organize and then organize more strongly.

This is the point of emphasis which we must use. We cannot neglect our educational purpose but we must emphasize organization, else the collapse of capitalism will be upon us and we will have nothing of a constructive nature done to insure the carrying on of production.

We need industrial charts, industrial knowledge and organization plans now in our daily struggles and activities. With definite knowledge of the industries we can be more successful and efficient in our literature drives upon which depends much of the organization success. Organized industrial knowledge is as much more powerful than unorganized and uncollected industrial knowledge as organized workers are more powerful than unorganized ones.

If you have knowledge of the industrial processes and the way in which maps of the industries may be easily obtained get in touch with the central office and give them the benefit of your knowledge. We can get much of this material that is so necessary right now from the capitalists but much we shall have to dig out ourselves.

The path which future events shall take depends on how strongly we emphasize and put across industrial organization today. The organizations of the craft unions are of little value for the purpose of either fighting the daily struggles of the workers, as active units in the forces of social revolution or for the purpose of carrying on production when all power has been placed in the hands of the workers.

Industrial unions built into the functional and physical structure of each entire industry are structurally prepared to carry on smoothly the complex and intricate work of industrial production. Such organiza-

tions are the only ones that are capable of resisting the efforts of the organized capitalist class to grind down and keep in subjugation the workers of the world. Such an organization is the only one that can during periods of revolution exert the full power of the industrial processes on the side of the working class.

To intelligently produce such an organization means the acquisition of industrial knowledge and the putting of such knowledge to work right now in getting our organization into the entire structure of the basic industries.

Productive organizations do not spring up spontaneously. With the abolition of capitalist control tomorrow we would be faced with the greatest chaos the world has ever seen. We would, to be sure, have all the workers that knew all about every process in every industry. We would have all the material that the government and the technical workers had spent years gathering and tabulating somewhere, but we would have no organization to handle it. To depend on spontaneous organization on the spur of the moment to efficiently carry on the industrial processes would be the beginning of the greatest disaster that ever struck the world.

In the process of constructing a building the blue prints are all laid out beforehand. Each operation and each contact joint is thought out by the architects and is checked off by a fellow technician. The plan for the structure is complete before the earth is stirred to erect the building.

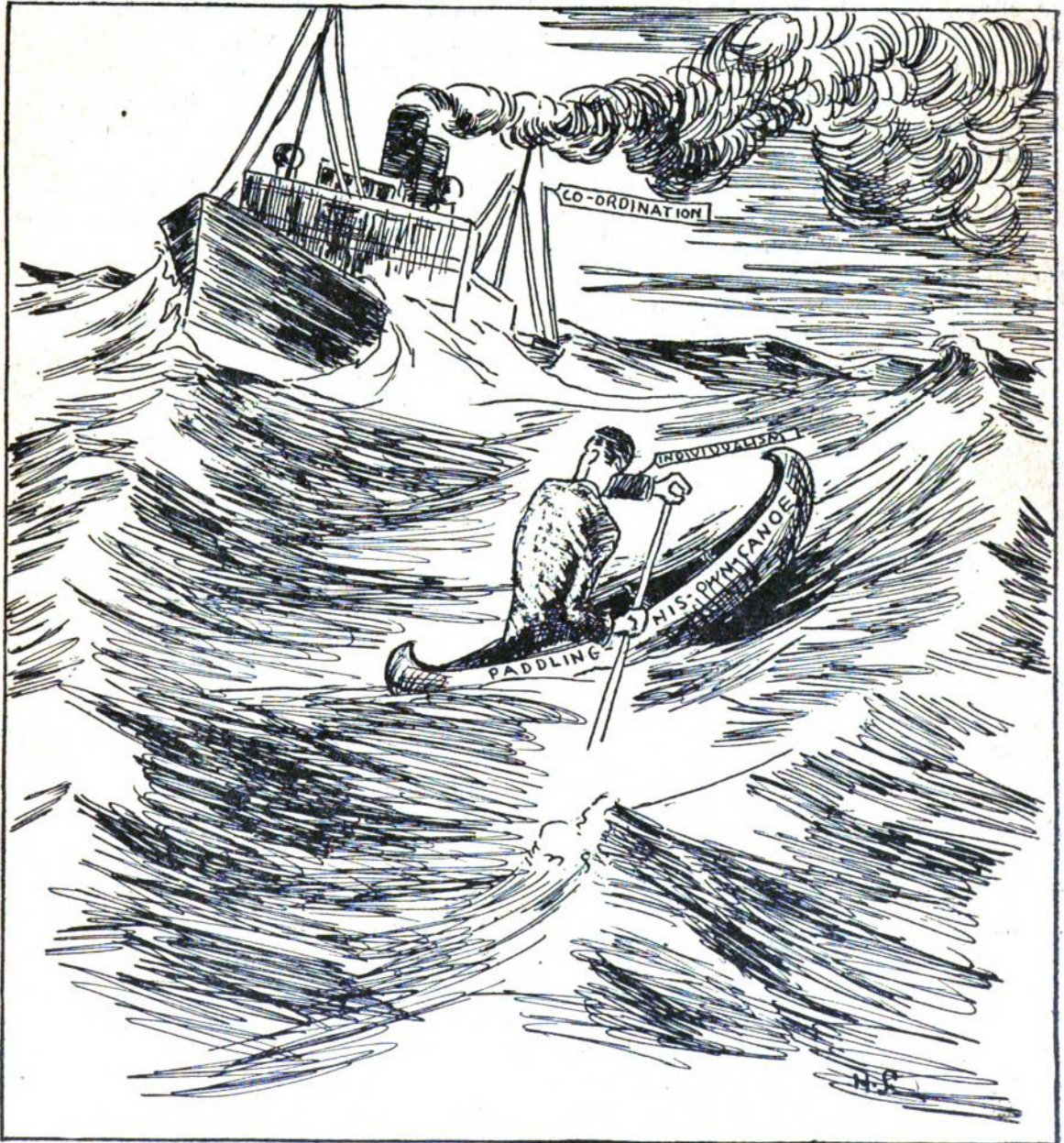
We know that such minute detail can never be achieved in regards to preparing the organization of the industries. We also know that some measure of such preparation is necessary or our attempt to operate the industries during a transition period will be a tremendous fizzle.

Operating the industries efficiently is not a matter of enthusiasm or of revolutionary zeal. It is a matter of careful organization according to facts of industry. We know that in an industrial country the processes are interacting and interdependent. We know that the millions of people de-

pend on the functioning of industry for their daily food and daily lives.

Should the workers of the industrial countries step in and attempt to take over the social power before the organization in the basic industries is strong enough to carry on and ensure production, then indeed they will be like the contractor that gathered his shinglers on the job before the foundation was laid.

It will be more tragic than that, for the lives of millions of persons will depend on the functioning of the processes of production and distribution. So we see the big fundamental reasons for the change in emphasis in the matter of the I. W. W. program. We still stick to our guns. We will educate, organize and emancipate the workers but just now we want to emphasize organization.



United Action Wins Power

Copper Smelting

By John Hammer

THE smelting of copper is only one of the processes that copper is put through in modern times to produce the lustrous metal so necessary to industry.

It is a process, older than civilization, that has come down with the ages linked up always with the most brutal forms of slavery and repression in each succeeding generation.

Native copper implements were in use among the races of savagery long before smelting was discovered at all. The use of the rough beaten bits of metal hammered from the living rock was widespread and helped tremendously in the urging forward of the meagre savage intelligence to make the later discoveries of agriculture, of home construction and of smelting copper and iron.

The introduction of private property, with agricultural advance, heralded the system of exploitation. Slaves were the natural result of progress under the current ignorant and superstitious system of ideas.

The Coming of the Slave State

With slavery came the great boom in the production of copper. There were no mines at first. The primitive smelters were fed with loose oxide ore easily fused in the little clay lined basins by simple methods of fueling and attendance.

The metallurgists of that primitive day made some wonderful discoveries. They mixed tin and copper and produced bronze, a metal that builded the civilizations of antiquity. The forms of slavery that fed the copper industry were indescribably brutal. At first the tribal wars fed the little smelters with men, women and children slaves who existed from day to day knowing their lives to be forfeit, but later these captives produced whole generations of men and women that were born in bondage and accepted their position as inevitable.

It was not till the firm establishment of the state with the complete breaking up of the old tribal and family system of government that slavery grew into the most brutal and degraded forms seen on earth. Egypt and Asia Minor were the seats of the mighty and the millions of toilers were always in deadly fear of the fate that might fall on their heads at any time. They accepted the old tribal idea that the life of the captive belonged to the master.

The public works needed slaves and so the dragnet was spread in the form of ruthless laws, high taxes and slave drives so that rebelliousness or initiative in a worker was sure to bring down the most terrible of fates on himself and family.

The Slave Unprovided for

Thousands of these "criminals" were annually gathered up and herded to the copper camps or to the public works of the day. There was absolutely no provision made for their upkeep. They depended on the charity of their families. There were no houses supplied, no food provided. The only thing furnished the suffering mass of humans was the lash.

They worked in shifts of twelve, twenty-four, or forty-eight hours as the boss dictated and had to rustle their sustenance after their labor was performed and they had escaped from the brutality of their labor but not of their guards.

No sanitary provisions were made whatever and the workmen died like flies. Fresh hordes were ever impaneled and on and on the tide of suffering and death swept while copper and tin were being produced in ever greater quantities.

Every conceivable plan was used to keep the soldiers and guards from feeling the spark of human pity and sympathy for the unhappy industrial slaves. They were rewarded for brutality and later were carefully selected from provinces that could not speak the language of the slaves. They

were educated to look on the working group as beings of an alien nature and unspeakably inferior.

That great slave revolts broke out cannot be denied. But there is no record of any success in these uprisings. Bodies of desperate men sometimes escaped and fled perhaps to safety but the system rolled on down the thousands of years claiming its millions of victims for the vilest degradation. The savage mind was impregnated with superstitions. The slaves were bound in chains of fear of the supernatural. It was the system of ideas that kept the copper smelters alive with scenes of the most horrible brutality and submissiveness.

Slavery and Progress

The one outstanding feature of this long period is that from the foundation of the first slave monarchical state till the breaking up of the Roman Empire there was not one single advance in copper smelting methods. During the previous era when the tribal structure still allowed personal thinking on lines of inventions and operations the knowledge was arrived at that later made possible the production of metals.

The small clay lined furnace was improved in those early days of comparative freedom by the use of a bellows which was operated by leg power. This was the forerunner of the great modern blast furnace that today consumes thousands of tons of ore and coke weekly and turns out hundreds of tons of copper matte.

The first copper furnace handled at the most but a few pounds of ore and the processes were so primitive and wasteful that the bronze of the period must have made necessary many thousands of such furnaces with their poisonous fumes and their scurrying activity.

From Egypt and Mesopotamia the copper center moved to the Island of Cyprus from which is derived the modern name of copper.

The Phoenicians

The first improvement in the organization of copper production came with the

taking over of Cyprus by the Phoenicians. The Phoenicians were a mysterious people. They seem to have appeared suddenly on the horizon of history and to have been endowed with considerable mechanical knowledge and skill. It has been logically presumed that they were a group of escaped smelter slaves from the horrors of the Euphrates slave pens.

Be that as it may they presented qualities of workmanship and efficient social organization that more than any other factor made possible the development of latter day civilization. They were the first to take the primitive fisherman's scallop and raft and turn them into the galleys that plied the high seas till the day of Columbus. They improved the methods of weaving and were the first to dye cloth.

Maintaining the Slaves

They made the highest grade of bronze implements and spread their products throughout the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa in the course of their wide trade. They were slave holders and traders but their rule was as a rule of mercy compared with the wasteful destruction of human beings in the older slave states. For the first time on the island of Cyprus the copper workers were provided with food and shelter in return for their work.

By organizing the workers better and by using sly methods of encouragement the copper production was increased many times over the old more brutal system. The hills of Cyprus were in places covered from top to bottom with the little pit furnaces with their bellows and attendant slaves.

The poisonous fumes rolled up with increasing density to the top of the mountain while the day and night work went on. There in the thick choking air the smelter slaves moved breathing and choking even as they do today when caught in the puffs of gas and smoke that comes from tapped reverberatory or settler and from ladled matte or metal. The latest improvements in converter structure have only recently helped to overcome the enervating poison of smelter work. What

the slave of today breathes chokingly in the process of making copper from the ores is only an echo of the fumes and gases that once assailed his forebears.

Spreading the System

The Phoenicians spread their slave system over all the world. They mined copper in Spain and used Bilboa for their smelter town and export port. They mined tin in Cornwall, England and in the great smithies and factories of Tyre and Sidon they turned out the bronze that is scattered throughout the Eastern Hemisphere. The slaves of the Phoenicians were granted food, cloth and shelter as a right and to this day the slave labors on the basis that he is entitled to the wage equivalent of food, cloth and shelter.

Previous to this time the slave was not given anything. Slavery meant life forfeiture in so far as the copper men were concerned.

Carthage succeeded Tyre and Sidon and became the port of the Phoenicians. Located midway between the tin of Cornwall and the copper of Cyprus they soon took the lead in the production of bronze merchandise. They instituted harsh slave measures but they never attempted to take away the great principle advanced that food and shelter was the right of the working slave. It was found that this measure was a profitable one in the production of goods.

Rome arose and in the trade wars that followed Rome emerged victorious. The copper slaves of Cyprus labored for their new masters in the same old way. Iron, by this time was creeping in more and more to replace copper. Shipbuilding, however, needed copper and the world was entering on a great era of trading. Copper fastenings have marked the grave yard of ships till modern times when the steel hull replaced the wooden one.

Barbarous Democrats

When the break up of the Roman Empire by the barbarian hordes of the north and east came about there was injected a new spirit in the attitude of slave to master. The Barbarian victors were not slave holders and came from a democratic tribal

society. Their ideas forced a great surge forward in the ideas of the mass. The methods of old time were held no longer to be sacred principles of the Gods. New ideas smoldered and grew into being.

Mohammedanism swept the island of Cyprus out of the hands of the Byzantine empire again and again. The Barbarians of the western empire used new methods and experimented in the production of copper. Spain, Austria and Scandinavia developed copper production.

The New Age

The copper smelters entered into the handicraft era along with all the other workers. They perfected their guild organizations and worked in guild cities. The free cities of the Hanseatic League worked and dealt in copper and copper products. During this period when labor organization was the rule and a certain democracy existed among the workers new methods were tried out and new basic principles were developed. The old principle of air pressure was added to and enlarged and produced the first blast furnace with tuyers and stack.

Blast furnaces were developed in Spain, Germany, Austria, Scandinavia and France. Connected with this new blast principle was the great demand for charcoal and for years the charcoal woodsmen and the smelters were closely allied as interdependent units of production. The great struggles of the workers of this era were largely led by these two units. The charcoal burner has come down in history as the personification of the rebel. His fellow worker the smelter man was by his side in the great revolts that took place against king and nobility. Many of the copper towns were wiped out by royal order and overwhelming forces. But the new principles of workmanship which they developed were the very basis on which the industrial era of modern society has been built.

The Coming Wage Slavery

The workers of this period were the forerunners of the industrial workers of today. They were oppressed slaves and

though not according to law the property of their masters yet in point of fact and in the application of the law of indenture they were private property.

During the turbulent times of the English revolt which covered many years of action and reaction the small minority of copper smelter men played their part along with the rest of the working class. However, copper was by no means an important commodity so they were not in a strategic position.

During these revolutionary days there grew up the idea and the practice of wage payment and in the earliest copper smelters of Keswick, England, we find wage slavery in full swing. This system rapidly replaced the old Phoenecian principle of the slave being entitled to food, cloth and shelter and spread throughout all the changing forms of British production.

Wage slavery was developed in England more rapidly than anywhere else in the world. In the accelerated production of steel and iron that followed on the wake of wage payments the British capitalist only continued and elaborated this idea. Labor power in Britain was for the first time reduced to the commodity level which has distinguished it everywhere under the capitalist economy.

The Welsh Process

In Wales owing to a lack of charcoal material they attempted to use coal in the smelting process. There were many great failures and disappointments. Expert workmen were brought over from the German and Austrian works and were given a free hand by the Britons to go ahead and experiment. From their experiment developed the famous Welsh process of smelting.

The principle of the blast was abandoned. The reverberatory furnace was installed. By repeated experimentation it was found that by drawing on different ores with a different chemical base that great quantities of ore could be run through these small brick furnaces that looked like so many dutch ovens of large size. Coal was used as fuel and at Swansea Wales

was built up the biggest smelting works that the world had ever seen. Ore was received from every climate and land and the dictatorship of the Copper Barons of Swansea was felt wherever metal was mined or used.

The labor involved in tending an old reverberatory furnace of this type was tremendous. Facing fearful heat the furnace men worked over and over the calcining ore or skimmed the smelted charge with heavy rables, big hoe like tools that are in use to this day.

From Wales the reverberatory method was spread to all the modern countries. In Baltimore, Maryland, the Welsh system was installed and a regular colony of Welsh smeltermen imported to operate the furnaces. This occurred about twenty years before the opening of the American Civil War and created quite a demand for American copper as the Baltimore product was the best in the world, in quality.

America Enters the Field

Baltimore remained for many years the only great American copper smelter worthy of the name. It handled the ores and mattes of Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, Vermont and Lake Ontario as well as rich ores from Chili. After the Civil War California and Arizona both sent quantities of rich oxides and mattes to be smelted and refined in the old Welsh way.

The rich native ores of Superior were also treated in Baltimore and later the process was installed in Cleveland and Detroit to handle the Superior output. To intimate at this time that the blast furnace principle could be installed to oust the reverberatory method was laughed at as absurd; yet, in a few years after the discovery of the water jacket type of blast furnace the production of copper by this method greatly outstripped the reverberatory system.

The Blast Furnace Comes Back

In connection with the introduction of blast furnaces there occurred the new method of matte conversion known as bessemerizing. Huge blast converters handled

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the liquid mattes from both reverberatory and blast furnaces and turned out high grade refining copper with a tenth of the labor power and time formerly needed.

Today Great Britain produces so little copper as to be uncounted in production charts, while at one time seventy-five per cent of the world's copper was smelted there.

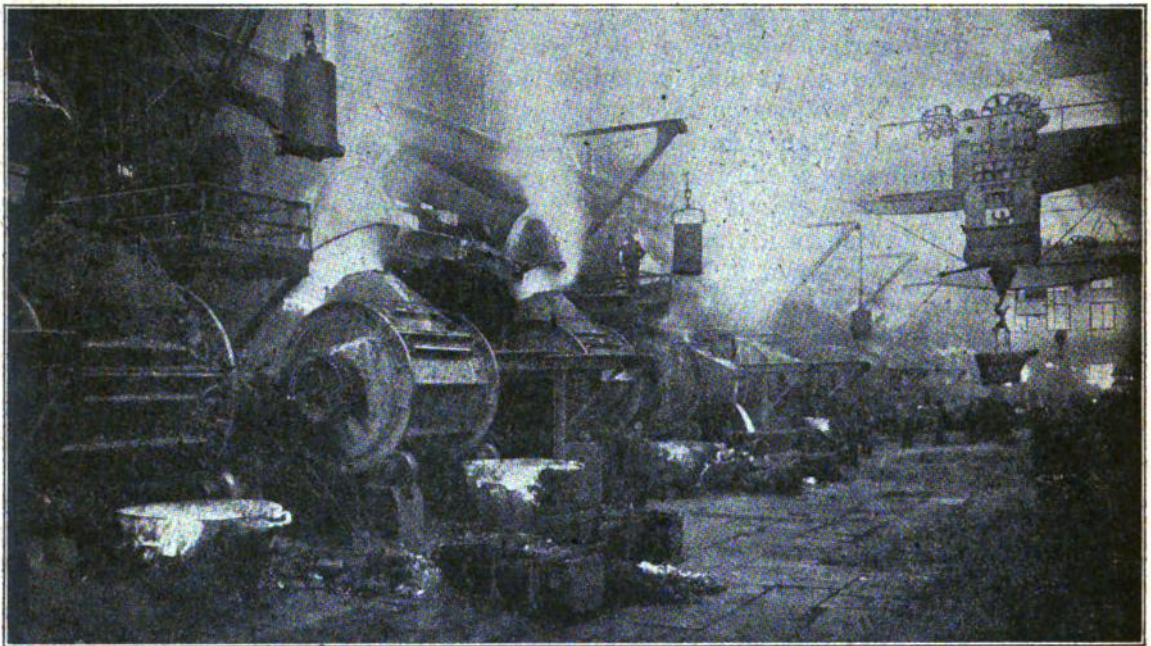
• The Labor Struggles

The new efficient method of copper production like new and efficient methods

the copper smelting of the world been a concerted planful attempt made to organize these workers as an industry.

It is true that organizations have sprung up in various smelters and after giving battle to the boss on local questions have been overcome either by repressive force or cunning compromise and strategy.

In Butte, Montana, there was once considerable unionism amongst the smelter men and they sent a representation to the first convention that brought the I. W. W.



These Early Bessemer Converters Are Now Replaced with Big Ones with Ten Times the Capacity..

everywhere produced no change in the lives of the copper workers. The regular twelve hour shift was enforced in the making of copper from Baltimore, Maryland and Perth Amboy, New Jersey, to the Selby works on Frisco Bay.

The big demonstrations and strikes of 1885-86 and 87 left the smeltermen still toiling in their old accustomed heat and sulphuric misery. True their lot was improved slightly over the workers of more primitive days because of the greater mechanical aids and methods. But hours and working conditions did not improve in other ways than the technical needs of the processes demanded.

There has at no time in the history of

into existence. It is this radical spirit amongst the smelter men of Butte that first broke the back of the twelve hour day. The hours were not cut to ten but owing to the shift system so necessary for smelter work they were forced down to eight at one crack. The laborers were working ten hours for a long time after the eight hour day was installed in the furnace and converter rooms.

The smelter in Butte was discontinued and Great Falls and Anaconda became the smelting points for the Butte ore. The segregation of the smelter men seemed to deaden the organization spirit to some extent but nevertheless the ideas that induced the smoke eaters to send a delegation to

Chicago in 1905, kept alive the spirit of revolt and when the I. W. W. reached down into the copper country with the arm of organization they responded quickly and the smeltermen of Anaconda and Great Falls were among the earliest to line up.

The Owners Come Through

The organization of these workers inspired the owners of the other big smelters of the country to philanthropic action. From San Antonio, Texas, to Tacoma, Wash., in fact wherever the oligarchy of copper exerted their rule there were sudden concessions made the men. Eight hours a day they suddenly claimed, was enough for the furnace man and helpers to work. They went further and formed welfare clubs and all sorts of institutions to further the "beauty" in life for the employees.

In Tacoma the common laborers out in the yards were not included in this philanthropy. They were asked to continue at ten hours and being unorganized they did so. But organization crept in. The I. W. W. had been doing wonderful things with sudden spontaneous revolts and the spirit was in the air. When the copper kings decided to cut down to the very limit the wages of the common slaves they revolted.

Isolated Strikes

For months the smelter of Tacoma was an armed camp and scabs were recruited from among the scum of the nearby cities and from the elect of the universities and Y. M. C. A. crowd. The strike was broken without pity and there was no lack of brutality and gun play in the breaking. The strikers were mostly Austrians and Irish, a combination that hung together tenaciously and fought to the bitter end but they were not organized solidly nor carefully enough. Their strike, however, brought returns to later workers, for after the strike was lost at last and more prosperous times confronted the industry there came the eight hour day to all the workers in the plant for the bosses figured wisely in the matter and gave scraps to the workers before they took things into their own hands.

In other places the same thing happened.

There have been local battles in nearly every smelter town and camp on the continent, but today there is at no place a real permanent organization with industrial power. The I. W. W. with their active class struggle program inspired the most of the struggles either directly or by precept, but the I. W. W. never succeeded in laying down and putting across a planned campaign of organization in the entire copper industry at once.

Industrial Plans

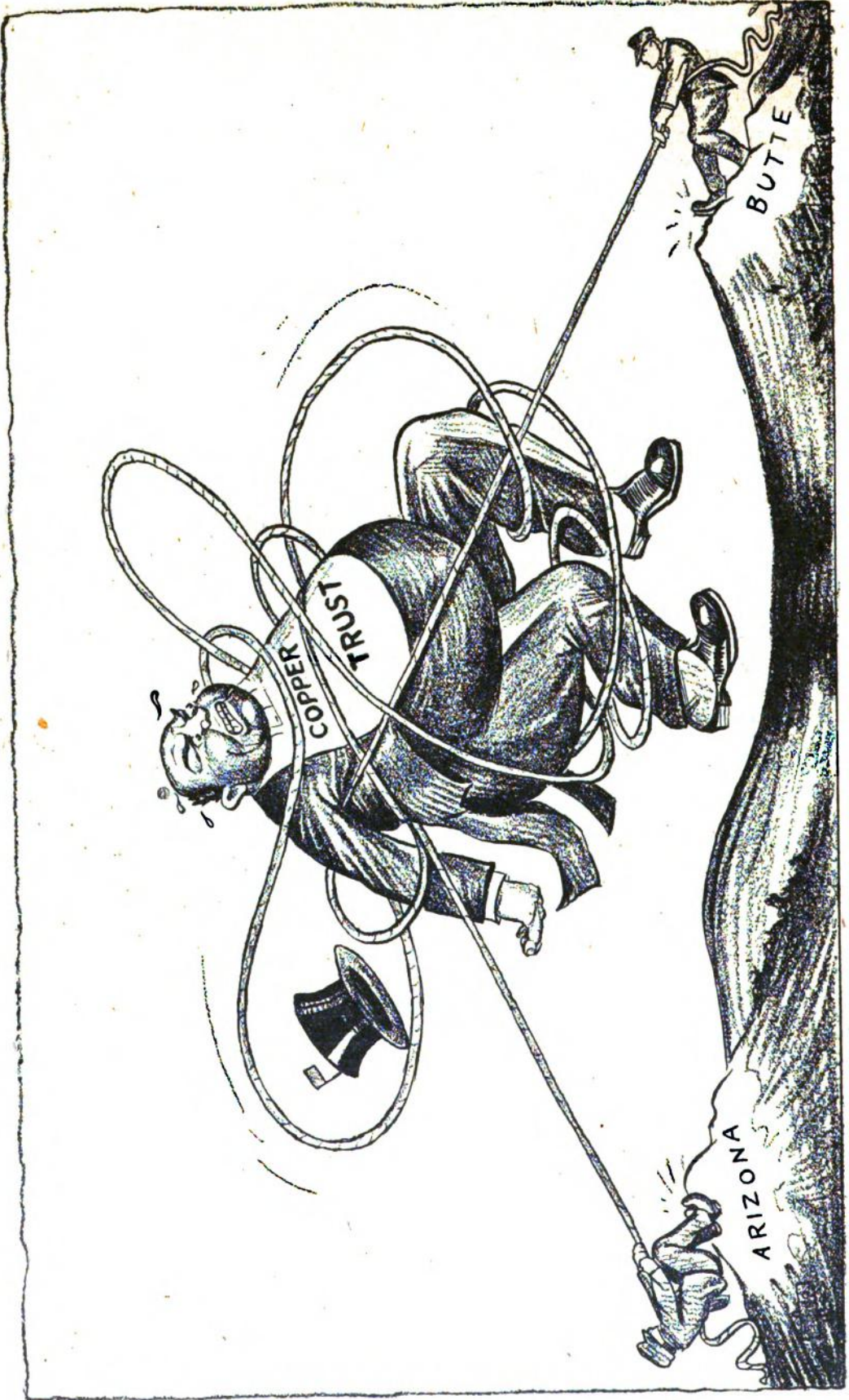
Such well laid plans were discussed and even ventured on as beginnings, then came the sudden storm of repression and they were given up for the time being. But today the inevitable necessity of such organization drives presents itself to us forcibly. The copper industry is no different from the other industries. They all need organizing and the production of copper is an essential in the industrial life of the world.

The Late Growth of the Industry

Many great technical changes have taken place of late in the industry of converting ore into copper for industrial use. The first Bessemer converters were replaced with big berthas working on the same principle but of such gigantic size as to make the original marvels look like little bean pots. Smoke and gas conveyers today make the life of the converter man with his puncher and helper more livable because this smoke nowadays is settled in the big Cottrell plants along with all the rest of the smoke and gases, and brings in returns for the valuable by-products so rescued.

Today the reverberatory furnace is coming back into its own as the big economical feature in copper production. Today the oil burning reverberatory furnaces are giant expanses of brick and steel and stretch from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet long and are from forty to fifty feet wide.

In the latest and best managed ones the back breaking rabble is no longer the tool of constant use. It is ever on hand but the furnaces flow in the skimming except in rare instances of exceptional hard smelting ores.



TACKLE THE BRUTE FROM ALL SIDES

The Great Productive Power

These furnaces handle in a twenty four hour shift as high as four hundred tons of mixed calcined ore, concentrates and fine material while but a few short years ago the supermen of Wales were crowing that they had reached the ultimate in copper production when their furnaces ran four tons through the smelting process.

Is it any wonder that copper production makes millions in profits for the venerable and venereal gentlemen that by means of title deed and organized force extract it from the slaves that toil by day and night in the glare and heat of the dancing sulphurous flames?

The smelter men of the country are a truly industrial type although perhaps they are more actuated by the spirit of workmanship than the average migratory worker. Yet that spirit can be taken advantage of for organization purposes, especially in times when there is little work and that workmanlike factor of their lives is thwarted.

The New Tactics

No longer can the old tactics of the agitator be of the value that they once were. The thing needed now is not thrilling revolt and tenacious battle but day by day efficient organization. Industry has grown so big and the measures of the boss have grown so powerful that nothing short of industrial organization can get the goods.

Pulling the job is no longer the efficient way to battle the boss. The big thing that is facing the I. W. W. in the future is to pull off the biggest strike in history and go back to work when the boss has shut the industries down and thrown away the key.

To be able to do this successfully means organization work from right now to the finish. The I. W. W. has never failed in what it started out to do. Sometimes what we started out to do was abortive of results but we arrived at our goal anyway.

The copper smelters of the country are tangible industrial facts. They are sources of organized power that are essential to the purpose of revolutionary industrial unionism. Let us lay down our plans and taking all the industrial facts of the industry into account start our organizing attack on the entire copper industry so that they cannot defeat us section by section.

Let us start five thousand mile picket lines in the copper industry. We have ever been the finders of new methods and better ways. Here is the next logical thing for us to do.

Let us study the facts of every copper unit from Perth Amboy, New Jersey; to Kennecott, Alaska; from Selby, California, to Truro, Nova Scotia and coordinately with a unified plan start out to organize all these workers and all the works into the One Big Union of the Working class—the I. W. W.

Slavery

Whirr and buzz of belts and wheels
Sings slavery.
Gross and grime the life blood steals
In slavery.

Hours of life ground into gold
For slavery,
In factory, mill and mine and road
Of slavery.

Ill roofed shacks and tattered clothes
In slavery.
Empty guts when ill wind blows—
Our slavery.

The days bright morning soon shall break
On slavery.
When rebel slaves their own jobs take
From slavery.

James Rohn.

The Great Kataklysm



AN 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 Radioactivity 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.



BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

SNOW Allbrayne was an Ethiopian of unquestionable intellect and was just forty-nine years of age when he delivered the lectures which are here for the first time printed.

Few particulars are known concerning his younger years. He seldom spoke of his parentage and of the details of his childhood. For some reason he was very reticent.

His folks had a homestead on the Sahara where Snow was born, but it is known that they later came to the metropolis of Timbuctoo where the boy was educated in the common schools, entering Timbuctoo University when but eighteen years of age.

From the first he manifested an extraordinary aptitude for archaeology and became one of the ablest investigators of the old civilization under the capitalist economy, especially during that period known to historians as the Golden Age of Democracy—a phrase, I believe, which originated with Dr. Allbrayne.

His research work took him to many countries, but his greatest achievements were, beyond doubt, accomplished in America, where his discoveries on the sites of the older cities and the excavations which he personally conducted are of priceless value to historians.

He was elected custodian of the Paris Museum which owes much to his tireless investigation and persistent industry of research. He resigned upon the advice of

his physicians who urged a change of climate, to accept the Chair of History in the University of Kalamazoo, one of the oldest collegiate institutions and the most distinguished in the world.

Here he became captivated by the career of Dr. John Smith who forms such an heroic figure in the historical features of these lectures and whose life Allbrayne wrote after two years' sojourn in Kalamazoo.

Following the publication of the life of Dr. Smith, Allbrayne was the center of a terrific controversy which raged over his attitude toward the Supermen and Employing classes of the age which he delighted to discuss.

Dr. Allbrayne resigned the Chair of History in Kalamazoo University to take charge of the destinies of the University of Ivangorod, and there he displayed extraordinary talents in administration and organization. Much of the general esteem which this center of learning now enjoys is owing to the really splendid work of Dr. Allbrayne and his associates. After eight years in Ivangorod, the professor was invited to deliver the Nigritic lectures on Ancient History, perhaps the most highly revered honor in all the academic world, at this, the University of Timbuctoo.

I shall not venture to comment on these notable lectures. The greatest authorities on ancient history were proud to boast of their unflinching attendance in the lecture room to hear them and their fame has travelled far afield.

Yet I would say a word about the profes-

sor's attitude to the Supermen whose uniform admirer he has been blamed for being. The fact is, that Allbrayne was such a student of that epoch that he became intensely devoted to the capitalist economy; became simply saturated with the psychology of the supermen and was as one of them.

I shall never forget the wise remark he made to me when I took occasion to express my disagreement with his attitude, as being somewhat too friendly to those ancients.

"My dear M'Gee," he said, "No person can properly study and understand any period of history unless he places himself positively in their environment and lives and moves and has his being once again with them."

This will probably explain in a measure the Professor's standpoint.

Professor Allbrayne was killed in a dust storm when riding his private airship back to his residence in Ivangorod, declining to be guided by my urgent plea to take the regular airship back to that place.

His is a loss that will not be easily filled.

A collection of the works of Dr. Allbrayne is now under preparation for the publisher, but the student will recall that the principal volumes identified with his name are enumerated correctly as follows:

The Life of John Smith, M.D. of Kalamazoo.

The Rockabilt Syndicate and its Amalgamation with That of Morganheim.

The Compensation Philosophy of Ivan Ivanovitch.

The Religious Sects of the Ancients.

The Greatest Jurists of the Golden Age of Democracy.

The Necessity for Social Discipline among the Great Unwashed.

An Important Monograph upon Wage Workers and Commercial Serfs was incomplete at the time of his death.

Stanislaus M'Gee,
University of Timbuktoo.

July 4, 9800.

Lecture I.

When Dr. John Smith, a citizen of the great American city of Kalamazoo, discovered the important fact that radium existed in commercial quantities in the human eye, then and there he opened the gates of civilization to the human race.

I have held this opinion in the face of contrary views so often expressed by men who have given little more than a superficial study to the subject, that I am very glad indeed of the opportunity that these lectures afford me of showing the true facts regarding the final passing of Individualism in that long-past era.

I rejoice also in believing I have very good grounds for entertaining the hope that my lectures will dissipate the unfavorable views so many conceive concerning that system of political economy generally called Capitalism, and concerning also those

splendid fellow creatures of ours fittingly appreciated under that system as true types of Supermen.

The subject is so vast that I can hope, in this series, to do little better than dwell upon the salient facts, which, failing a better phrase, we may consider the immediate causes for the various consequent effects it will fall to my lot to describe; I shall, in other words, merely point to the milestones of that road along which human beings journeyed in their progress to real civilization.

My life, as you all know, has been devoted to this important phase of human knowledge, but I have to warn you at the outset that although a vast quantity of material is available for your study, it requires the judgment of a trained mind like my own to distinguish between the true

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and the false, between fact and fiction and the really valuable from the unimportant or even misleading data which you may encounter.

It was very essential in those far-distant days to make learning a privilege of the elect, and it was also important that learning in return should protect the generous Supermen who donated so lavishly to its support.

Hence we must receive with considerable caution those "Histories prepared for the use of schools," as they were somewhat ingenuously proclaimed, lest we fall into some errors of rather serious consequence.

Because the supermen supported the universities, the churches, the newspapers, those in whose care was the work of imparting knowledge had need to teach the facts with caution, and to temper their zeal for Truth itself with something akin to discretion which might occasion, now and then, a grosser name among the envious and discontented.

It was an age of lofty purity of mind and it was held that there was something in the Naked Truth that might suggest obscenity, and hence it was considered wise and prudent to clothe that nakedness from too prying and too lustful eyes.

I need not point out that this attitude was based upon a very beautiful but far more ancient allegory wherein the dangers of such a Forbidden Fruit as that of the Tree of Knowledge were clear to all minds save those which had listened to the tempting words of the Evil One in the guise of a serpent.

I have mentioned John Smith, the eminent chemist, biologist, physician and surgeon and his great discovery of radium in the human eye: let us first consider the man's most interesting personality and his work.

Radium had been discovered prior to this, many years before in fact, as a chemical element by a French chemist but except for its use by physicians who seized upon everything from toad heads to grass roots to exercise their craft, radium, to all intents and purposes, remained a scientific curiosity.

Smith was born in some western city. I have been unable to determine exactly which American town gave him birth, for you see, immediately any person became famous, a dozen or more cities, thereupon laid claim to him as a native son. This has led to some amazing historical errors, none of which is more annoying to read than that Julius Caesar, a Latin general, was born in Rome, New York.

Smith, however, was the son of a very wealthy business man and this, one might have imagined; would have cleared all actual obscurity concerning his birthplace, but strangely enough it did not; and the first time that we can say authoritatively that we know the facts concerning him is when he received the position of chief physician and surgeon in the Insane Asylum at Kalamazoo.

Dr. Smith owed this appointment, which he was later so brilliantly to adorn, to the attainments of his father, that venerable gentleman having donated the generous sum of three hundred thousand dollars to the Republican National Committee during an election campaign. When that party came into power in the state, it rewarded the son for patriotism of the father by this appointment. It was a really noble custom gratifyingly prevalent in the politics of the time.

Smith was apparently normal in all respects for a physician, except that he had one superstition which, in him, one might almost say amounted to an obsession. This was that every illness of mind or body had a cause which might be ascertained by a study of the anatomy of the person so afflicted.

For this reason, therefore, when any of his insane patients died, as indeed most of them did eventually, he did not dispose of the bodies in any such idle fashion as before him prevailed, by wasteful interments or distribution among the medical schools, but retained them after proper dissection, in various sections of his museum. He preserved the various portions of the body in embalming fluids awaiting such time as he could give them personal attention and investigation.

Doctors and other scientific men would come many a mile to examine and discuss with Smith most profoundly, the abnormal structures observed in a kidney and jawbone. It is a delightful picture of domestic felicity that has been drawn for us by the worthy surgeon in showing us himself and his colleagues seated, of a winter's night, before a warm fire, with well-filled pipes of tobacco, discussing together the various peculiarities of a specimen between them.

Smith, who has left behind him fragments of an autobiography, was, I observe with deep satisfaction, an eminently religious man. This piety threw a sanctity around his operations quite unusual in the atmosphere of the laboratory and the dissecting room.

One day, he describes the occasion very vividly himself, he was making a post-mortem examination on one of his former patients. It was the body of a pauper. It was while so doing that he made his most memorable discovery. "The body was emaciated and proved to be rather a poor subject for the scalpel and the microscope," writes Smith. He had about finished the entire frame and all that remained were the eyes. Smith had the interesting habit of searching in out-of-the-way places for rare chemical elements and, having finished cutting up the optics of the deceased pauper, he dried the eyes and submitted the resultant dust to spectroscopic analysis.

His discovery was as simply made as it was unexpected. He found positive traces of radium in the desiccated remains of the eyes. A careful examination proved that radium existed in immense quantities in each eye, and the astonishment of the modest doctor was, naturally, very great.

I do not wonder that Smith observed the hand of Providence in this. "Surely," he writes in his memoirs, "it was a divine dispensation of which I was made the humble instrument, that this great discovery of radium should have been made while experimenting with a pauper's eye."

Smith has a very fine passage in his

autobiography wherein he comments upon the fact that this pauper patient had become insane through mal-nutrition due to extreme poverty "while all the time he carried about his person, concealed in his eyes, a fabulous fortune."

Dr. Smith had an ample stock of eyes, carefully preserved by him, of the patients who had died while under his care, and setting to work to investigate these he discovered the fact that in every one of them radium was present in the same large and constant quantities.

I think it is a fine characteristic of this scientist that one of the first things he did upon satisfying himself of the approximate amount of radium he had thus at his disposal was to carefully review the possible gainful uses to which his great store of wealth could be put. This store, he felt, was entirely due to his own foresight and sound judgment, a conclusion which he certainly was justified in reaching.

"Was not this given me," he asks with praiseworthy piety, "by Divine providence that I might, by my thrifty use of these generous stores of hitherto unknown wealth benefit the more careless people as His steward?" This fine religious sentiment, I discover, was wonderfully frequent and admirable among the Supermen of that epoch.

There was one regret, to be sure, somewhat saddened this most satisfactory consideration. Smith deploras the great number of eyes that he had carelessly wasted in anatomical investigation, prior to his discovery.

"I compute," he says in his autobiography, "that I have let slip through my hands, by wasteful disposal of eyes before I made my discovery, a fortune worth at least five million dollars, basing this estimate upon the lowest market price of radium. I ruefully regret this imprudent lack of foresight."

Dr. Smith, it is interesting and important I should remark, was of Scotch-Hebrew descent.



1st Capitalist: "My handle ain't payin' dividends. I'm layin'
2nd Capitalist: "That so! My axle is not profitable either. G
Worker: "Wonder why I can't learn to put this thing together



off.
"I'll give it a rest."
"I'd run it. I've pushed it around long enough!"

Salting Down the Marine Workers

By Upton Hold

THE marine transport industry is one of the key industries of modern capitalism. Its position is of tremendous importance today and tomorrow it will be much more so. The big financial interests are laying plans to solidify the world control of finance that they have. Industry from its very nature is a world process. It depends on the moving of materials from one part of the world to another and the marine workers are the boys that do this essential work.

The future labor battles will be between international capital, engaged in its merry program of holding back efficient production for the sake of high prices so that they can gather in the profits, and the workers of the whole world. If the capitalist class can keep the world's workers divided into craft unions or even national unions they can use the age old tactics of divide and conquer.

International Nature of Industry

Especially is this fact shown up strongly in the marine transport industry. The international character of industrial production is nowhere so easily seen as here. The workers of the sea form the connecting industrial link between the diverse fields of production. They are the ones that overcome the factors of wide spread and unhandy natural distribution of resources, and climatic products.

The lumber of the North Pacific, the tea of Ceylon, the nitrates of Antifogasta and Iquique, the grains and meats of Argentine, and all the endless variety of products that mark the interdependence of the world's production, depends on the marine worker for delivery.

The Important Link

The capitalist class realizes the importance of the position that the seamen occupy. They have deliberately sought by



View of the Docks of Barcelona, Spain, During the General Strike.

every possible means to eliminate the power of unionism from the seaports of the world. The Hooligan sailors that posed about the ships and wharves during the war were just part of the scheme of the master class to keep the unions from gaining enough power to really amount to anything even nationally.

Then when the war was over the slashing of wages and the revoking of conditions granted, commenced. The unions were practically forced out on strike. It was an international move. The first country to go to bat was Denmark whose marine unions were denuded of power in the late months of 1920.

Taking Them One at a Time

In the port of Barcelona and among the Spanish workers the battle was fought during the same period and the hold of the syndicalist marine transport workers of that country was practically broken of its economic power.

Then in Norway and America the battle was forced and in May and June of 1921

the unions were shoved out of any powerful position that they might occupy. Broken and with no sort of recognition from the owners the men have been forced back to work, or into the lines of unemployment.

Where was the great British force of seamen all this time? They had not even put up a battle. Their union officials had sold them out without even a fight. Their conditions had been given up while the white spatted members of Parliament who are the leaders and official jinxes of the sailors movement were quite at their ease.

The M. T. W. of the World

The seamen have not had a real union in their industry. Even those groups that take in the dockers are only industrially organized at the very most as national or regional unions and can be broken by the forces of the united internationalism of capital.

The marine transport industry must be organized by the workers as a world industry. All the workers in this industry must belong to one union so organized that



Barcelona strikers being taken "En Conduccion" across country. The jails being full and there being no more handcuffs, the workers were bound together with wire and scattered out through the prisons of the whole of Spain, under guard.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

the entire force of the working class can be brought into action against the encroachments of the capitalist class. The I. W. W. stands for such organization. It is willing and anxious to affiliate with any groups that have been formed on such lines in other countries and already has an exchange of cards with the M. T. W. of South America which is the only union in the marine industry so far which has not had its job conditions taken away.

The Worker and the O. B. U.

The sailors of the world are waking up to this need. They are discussing it in every language and every jargon. In Japan this summer the craft unions of all the Japanese Marine Workers held a convention and formed the first real M. T. W. of any nation in the Orient. It was no mere amalgamation of crafts either. It was organized as a real O. B. U. of the industry.

The I. W. W. is always willing to cooperate with such organizations and if possible amalgamate with them. It is only through the formation of ONE BIG UNION of all the Seamen that the International processes of industry can be controlled and economic power developed in the unions.

The reason why the Japanese took the action of forming an industrial union was because they too were defeated in their battle with the boss. They found out at once that their craft and local unions were powerless and could only be used to serve the employing class.

America and Japan

The same lesson has been given to the American Seamen. That many of them are profiting by it is plainly seen in the numbers that are lining up in the I. W. W. But there is a constant hobnobbing and association on friendly terms between the employers and the union officials. There is no clear conception of the class conflict in the unions of the crafts. Therefore in America the workers are not forming industrial unions out of the broken remnants of the craft unions. There is no spirit of reconstruction, no far seeing program expressed to build better than that which has been destroyed.

The Jap workers have been under severe repression. They have been forced to acknowledge the fact that there was a class conflict and they know without urging that they have no interests in common with the owner. Therefore when they have their petty craft unions smashed, they do the logical thing and rebuild on a powerful scale regardless of craft and local prejudices.

In the U. S. any attempt to reform the old craft unions and swing them bodily into a real working class organization is bitterly fought and denounced by the leadership and the machine which they control. They will not stand for it and the membership are compelled to advance the cause of unionism by deserting the wreck of their old crafts and forming the new M. T. W. They are joining the I. W. W.

Conditions in the Ports

Conditions in America at present are proving to the workers of the sea the fallacy of the capitalist system. Everywhere throughout the industry is unemployment and stagnation.

On the Great Lakes things are not moving. The shipments of iron ore and coal are less than a half of normal. Total ore receipts at Lake Erie ports in July showed only 2,798,955 tons of iron ore. In the same month last year there was 7,076,357 tons received. In fact the total shipments for the entire year of 1921 up to August First was only a few tons more than the shipments during July in 1920. The total up to August was 7,249,435 tons.

The Great Lakes

Ore stocks at the receiving docks on all lake ports are much higher than at any previous time. Every where we see the Marine workers unemployed disillusioned and questioning. They are ripe for I. W. W. propaganda. Now is the time to get amongst them with the message of Industrial Unionism. The Great Lakes once had well organized craft unions. They were as militant as craft unions can be expected to be but they depended on the usual craft tactics and when the steel trust locked them out they stayed off the job till the union was

killed. The open shop or company union has prevailed on the ships of the Lake district ever since. The Docks have been partially controlled by that queer organization of Longshoremens known as the I. L. A. Today the M. T. W. of the I. W. W. has more members working on the docks of the Great Lakes than has the I. L. A.

The "Activity" of the I. L. A.

The program of the I. L. A. and the company unions seems to include a great desire to help the boss keep other workers from employment. The Steamer D. G. Kerr was loaded lately at Conneaut with 14,045 tons of coal in 4 hours and 25 minutes breaking all previous records at that port, and as far as could be learned, breaking those of any other port. On the same week at the same place the Steamer E. W. Pargny unloaded 12,417 tons of ore in 3 hours and 25 minutes which was the record of the year.

For service so liberally granted to the employers by these workers, and because he had so consistently fought any attempt on the part of the longshoremens to show their solidarity with the rest of the working class T. V. O'Connor, International President of the I. L. A., has been promoted to a place on the U. S. Shipping Board, that body which has been so over-worked battling the workers to keep them

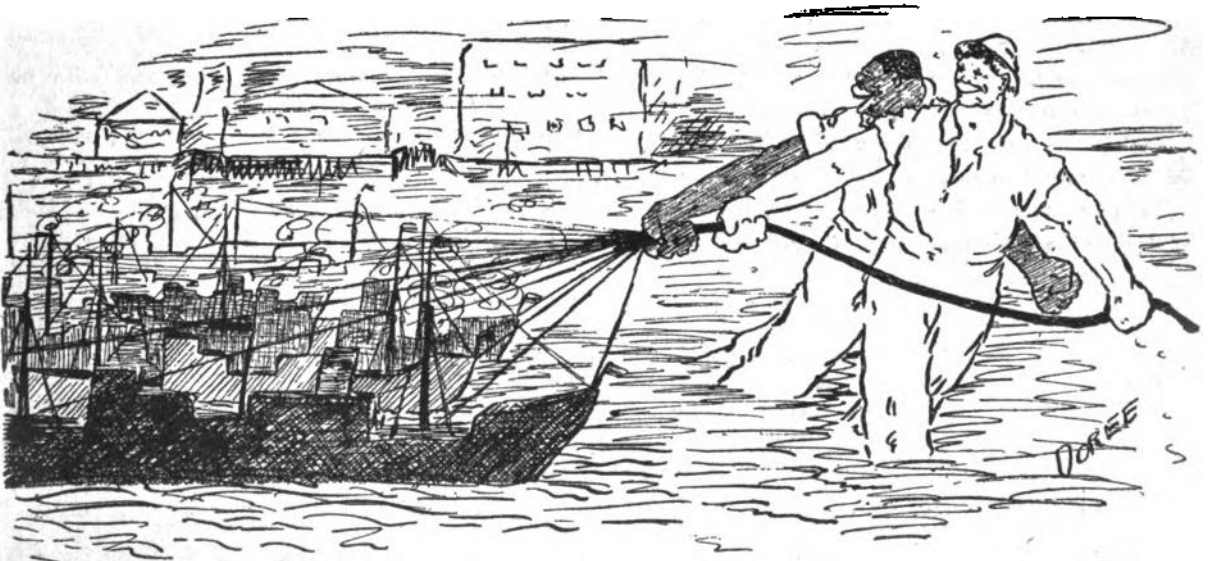
from getting a living wage that they have not had time to look after the few hundred million dollars that were being stolen every few months or so.

T. V. O'Connor was elected by the delegates at the annual convention of the I. L. A. at Buffalo to the post of honorary president instead of being thrown out of the assembly for the dirty traitor to the working class that he really and consciously is.

He was further presented from the funds of the I. L. A. with a \$5,000 automobile. Not only does he receive his pieces of silver from the vaults of the master class but by improving on the methods of Judas Iscariot this one time bartender draws down fat fees from the pockets of the very workers that he betrays. Would Jesus weep at that?

Cutting the Wages

While this pleasant little love feast was going on, another wage cut was handed out to the workers on the Great Lakes of fifteen per cent on their wages. The deck watch will now gather in the mazuma at the rate of \$68 per month while the ordinary seamen will be made to feel their inferiority by receiving the sum of \$60 for the same period. Watertenders, oilers and firemen will receive \$85 while the coal passer will get by with \$55. Other crafts and lines of work were cut in proportion. No action is contemplated by the I. L. A.



Let's Line Them All Up.

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or company unions. Any action that is taken by members of the I. L. A. will be promptly put down by the officials. The I. W. W. is organizing to get the power so that economic action can be taken.

New Orleans

New Orleans is comparatively the most busy of all the American Ports. There are thousands out of work there from the union members of the crafts. The bosses however do not seem hard hit. The profits of the dock department of the port commission increased from \$365,987 for the nine months from Sept. 1st 1919 to May 31st 1920, to the neat sum of \$1,165,277 for the same period in this last fall, winter and spring. While the workers are out of work and wondering what is the matter the parasites seem to be doing nicely, that is the big ones do. Chances for work in New Orleans are much better than in New York or any of the other big ports.

The North Pacific

In the North Pacific Coast the shipping is picking up but much of the new output

is lumber to Japan which is handled by the Japanese boats. 100,000,000 feet have been ordered for this year for export so that the Marine workers in that section will have work at least.

The big fact before the workers of the sea and the docks as well as the rest of the workers of the world is the fact of decreased production. There are no jobs. There is no capitalist competition. The bosses have so organized that the big fellows no longer compete with one another. The workers are left to struggle along in the competitive field which is the "life of trade". Let us get organized in One Big Union and we will see the death of one form of competitive trade — the wage slave trade.

Now is our Chance!

Now is the time to organize. Now is the time to get out our publications and show the unemployed workers the tactics to use to fight the boss. The first step in applying those tactics is to **LINE UP IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.**



Strength

It takes great strength to train
To modern service your ancestral brain.
To lift the weight of the unnumbered years
Of dead men's habits, methods and ideas—
To hold them back with one hand, and support
With the other, the weak steps of some new thought.

It takes great strength to bring your life up
square
With your accepted thought and keep it there,
Resisting the inertia that draws back
From new attempts, to the old habits track.
It is so easy, to drift back and sink;
So hard to live abreast of what you think.

It takes great strength to live where you be-
long
When other people think that you are wrong—
People you love and who love you, and whose
Approval is a pleasure you would choose.
To bear this pressure and succeed at length
Is living your belief—and it takes strength.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

Petrograd in July, 1921

By Tom Barker

MOSCOW and Petrograd are two cities distinct in their outstanding differences. Moscow is ancient, holy,—Muscovite. Petrograd savors more of Teutonia, a modern city with wide streets, wood pavings, cleanly canals and a lordly river with graceful bridges which seem to almost hug the water.

I saw Petrograd in the winter, with a hurrying populace. Winter quickens your steps in Russia. The streets were white, relieved here and there by the newly dumped piles of pine logs, each pile guarded by a woman hugging a rifle and almost hidden in a gigantic sheepskin coat.

Food was very scarce, and fuel was a serious problem. Petrograd has undergone these privations for four successive years, and the proletariat of this northern city is inured to these disadvantages. Yudenitch's army was smashed by these revolutionaries on eight ounces of black bread a day. There is little that is exhilarating in a famine stricken city in the winter time and Petrograd was no exception to the rule, in January.

Street Repairing

I return in July and see a different city. People are congregating in the 25th of October Prospect—once the Nevsky Prospect—and the laughter and merry chatter go well with the summer days. The main streets are clean and the street pavers busy with wood blocks, repairing the wastage of four years of war and revolution.

Everywhere we see heaps of these blocks waiting to be set in their places, to restore Petrograd's streets to their former smoothness and resiliency. I see a small party of men carrying wrecked electric standards and other old iron to a tram wagon (flat car) and clearing away the impediments that have steadily grown in the streets.

The Potatoes

Wherever one goes around the city all vacant plots of ground, no matter how

small, are found to be planted with potatoes and beets which grow with the greatest profusion. In once royal parks about the feet of the statues, in the gorgeous Palace of Labor grounds, around the precincts of the once dreaded prison of Peter and Paul, in the courtyard before the Winter Palace, everywhere the humble potatoe is obtruding himself, demonstrating the superiority of use over ornament or tradition. And the city so lately ringed with trench and barbed wire entanglements, is now ringed with green potatoe beds, well designed to resist as deadly an enemy as the worst of the white armies and their ally, famine.

The River

We walk along the side of the Neva. The golden spires of the Admiralty building and Peter and Paul fortress are reflected crookedly in its strong imperative waters. An occasional tug pants along towing a huge barge laden with fuel from lake Onega or priceless plows from the German vessels down in the harbor. The smooth hull of a capsized ship bulges out of the water on the other side of the river waiting for the engineers to get her on to her keel again. The shore of the river is a hive of work.

Thousands of people are working—and it is 10 P. M. They are in the river tearing to pieces the dozens of sunken barges that litter the rivers brim. There are no idlers here, and there are all types. Women of sixty are busy with cross cut saws cutting the pieces in handy lengths while red navy men are splashing around like New Foundland dogs, up to their waist in the water, tearing away huge timbers. Small boys are in everybody's way, wet from their yellow hair down to their sun burned feet, but as enthusiastic as can be in the business of destruction.

Working men and women of all sorts are pulling, chopping, prizing, and tugging with willing hands. These people

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are clearing their great river of her incubus, and are making the banks accessible to the hundreds of barges of fuel that are lying up in the rivers, or in the great expanses of the lakes of Ladoga and Onega. Along the shores of the river in the city, great piles of timber torn from these wrecks lie stacked up. They are steadily growing.

Most of this work is done in the evening when the routine of the day is over, by voluntary labor. Here and there are groups with wagons conveying the rescued timbers to fuel centers for the coming winter.

The Street Cars

We pass over a bridge and we see that a quarter of a mile of paving is torn up. They are putting down new tram rails. On examination the old ones prove to be worn down in places to a half crown in thickness. Not a day too soon were these old rails torn up.

Petrograd tram service is an excellent one and a credit to the administration. Many of the cars are newly painted and the under gear seems to be in splendid condition. The passengers line up for entrance and take their seats or standing room in an orderly fashion without any interference or orders from guards or officials. The soldiers on guard at some of the corners do not display the slightest interest in the car or its passengers. Traffic rules are strictly obeyed by the motormen and the system runs smoothly and efficiently.

They must surely send down some of Petrograd's tramway administrators and workers to Moscow, to straighten up the tramway service there and get it on its feet again.

Industrial Revival

We see on it being called to our attention several large chimney stacks emitting heavy black smoke. There has been no smoke problem in Petrograd for some time but evidently from all signs there will be one soon. I remember that we passed seven freight trains of more than average length between Vishera and Petrograd on our way up to the city. Overseas trade is slowly generating new blood in the heart of Russian industry.

We walk down to the harbor. The "Transbalt", a huge Russian steamer, once a hospital ship, is flying the "Blue Peter," and her sides are lined with faces—German war prisoners on their way back to the Fatherland. Tomorrow early she leaves for Stettin. Then we see the Russian ships, "Karl Marx," "Sophie Peroskaya," "Delegate," "Proletarian," "Bakunin," "Zinoviev," "Bela Kun," and many others bearing names significant of world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We see the Saltburn, an English ship that has evidently been there since the latter days of 1917.

Foreign Trade

Further along we see the foreign trading ships tied up to the wharves. There are six Germans and one Swede. Huge heaps of agricultural implements are stacked on the waterfront. But rice, sugar, flour and herring are carefully tabulated and securely placed in the huge sheds. The handling gear is still in poor order, and most of the work is by hand, but the ships all get away to time. Last Sunday there was congestion in the yards and 5000 communists invaded the place and in the course of the day they loaded all the accumulation into the cars and left the ground clear for Monday morning. This was quite a different kind of Voskresnik to the ones I have seen in Moscow where people shoveled snow very indifferently. The Petrograd proletariat are much more practical in my opinion than their colleagues in Moscow.

Out in the Gulf can be seen the white sails of many yachts taking advantage of the long hours of daylight. The sun is not yet set but has already tinged the sky with a red flame. The dome of St. Isaacs stands red, golden, high over the Red City. The trams have stopped running, an occasional light flickers from a window, and the last of the toilers from the wood piles have gathered together their saws and axes and are sauntering homewards.

They say that Russia will have another hard winter, but Petrograd is proving that Russia is finding her feet, and that out of chaos, order and system are coming.

In Petrograd, July 29th, 1921.

An Appeal for Spokesmen

By Robert Grayson

IT IS natural that those industries commanding most prominent numerical places should furnish the greatest number of exponents of industrial union activity. And that is why so much of our literature has found its source in individuals working in basic industries, which have, of course, great masses of workers. These basic industries are keystones of the industrial structure of society, and as such are of first importance as strategic points of the immense industrial arena. By far the greatest power of the organization lies in the fact that it has almost from its inception made a vital appeal to workers of such industries, which are, frequently, of a migratory nature.

A few years ago I was speaking to an earnest student of economics who chanced to say that when the New Order became a fact, those, such as myself, a glass worker, would be placed at some "socially useful labor." The remark, thoughtless, on his part, caused me to seek the facts as to how workers of a migratory nature viewed their stationary class fellow sufferers. This led me to the conclusion that important as are basic industries from a purely strategic point of view, the value of of the home guard brands of employment are not rated highly enough.

To emphasize all the phenomena, or any considerable part of them, peculiar to industries not really classified as basic, though of true social necessity, calls upon us who have either a little or much knowledge of such facts to volunteer our best services to make them known.

The education of the working class is, after all, a big job for the workers to perform. And while the majority of the fellow workers are members of industrial unions connected with basic industrial enterprise, it is also true that the organization has obtained some foothold with stationary workers, or those we call home guards. It then becomes the duty of such rebels as find themselves with the home guard elements to act as best they know how to spread the One Big Union idea.

The home guard element has really been the very hot-bed of curses against the Industrial Workers of the World. We know the peculiarities of this particular twist of the genus homo. We admit that the home guard is the ugliest animal alive.

Their kind comprises that vast army engaged in all manner of gainful occupation not necessitating migration as an inherent condition of continued employment. This mass of slaves exists with a most narrow and astigmatized vision. It

owns a fierce provincialism readily susceptible to the calculating whims of the masters. They feel the possession of real and fancied property appendages, and yearn with all their might for what they conceive to be respectability.

Outrages practiced upon our members have usually been perpetrated by business men and their hired assassins, professional thugs, and even police officers. But behind them has always been either the general approval or apathy of this same home guard element. The attitude of a majority of this stationary element inspires the Chambers of Commerce stamp of courage. And it should be remembered that qualities of both mercy and savagery are strangely confused in the masses. The path of revolutionary industrial unionism will never be a thornless one but if we could effect any considerable organization of this stationary army of toilers it would act as an accelerator in favor of the final overthrow of the existing unsocial derangement,

Growth is often like a contagion. Some sociologists opposed to our plans have said we are pathological. Our ideas have made us sick, or we received the ideas because we were sick. Well, I think some of us feel healthy enough to risk contaminating the rest of society, with a clear conscience. Let us make the bosses sick. We want the home guards, skilled mechanics and unskilled alike. They are the "solid citizenry," the ones who take an annual auto ride with the boss to the polls to vote for democracy.

We have been content long enough to fling our scorn broadcast upon these ugly slaves, and with justification, but now let us deluge them with our ideas. When we succeed at that task we will bring a change that will create new standards of value in them. The three most powerful letters in all this land, with all their gigantic meaning, are I. W. W.! And by the power of the magic of these three stupendous letters, with all that they represent, the ugliness of the home guard must be transfigured. This transfiguration is nothing more or less than changing them into men and women, erect of posture, with knees that refuse longer to genuflect to bourgeois morals, with minds capable and willing to reason, with class consciousness animating their whole beings, and agitation for The One Big Union filling their lives.

The working class has many rebels. Many of these have powers of expression hidden away, asleep. It doesn't do any of us any good that our bright lights hide away. We can elect editors to edit our revolutionary periodicals, but that only begins our honest responsibilities. It is up to the

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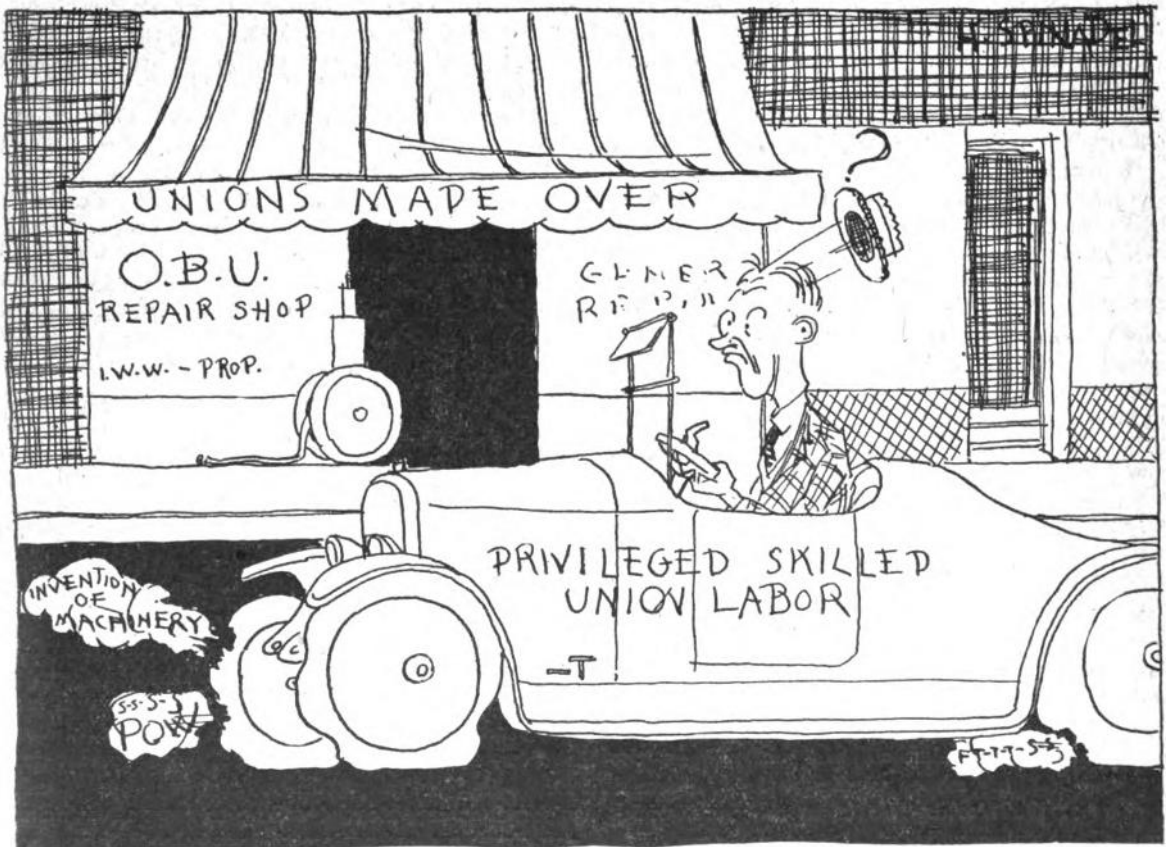
membership to cooperate with these editors to make up magazines and newspapers that reflect the myriad aspects of the revolutionary industrial union movement. We have long taxed the energies of those fellow workers whose names quickly come to mind when we think of good rebel songs, of masterly studies of class war battles, of speeches that still ring to the depths of our souls, and of drawings that inspired and educated the workers.

Most of these fellow workers are now paying the awful price that all leaders of human thought in all ages have been compelled to pay. If the I. W. W. was destined to doom that doom would have been sealed with their incarcerations and with their deaths. But we remember the old song with a mighty and defiant challenge: "As fast as they can pinch us we can always get some more"! Well, let's show the truth of this,

not only with more members in all industries, but with new blood to strengthen the old, with new intellects to carry the work along, with new songs and new singers, new thoughts and new thinkers.

Write about Your Industry!

Can you write, Fellow Worker? Try it! Nobody is going to emancipate the workers but themselves, and if we had the choice between an Iron Heel damned by our portests and a benevolent feudalism proud of its benefactions we would take the Iron Heel! The whole working class, militant and envisioned and understanding, must face the masters' oppressive renaissance squarely, and by its great activity forward the work of agitation, education, and organization. And if we fail the age-long march of proletarian progress will soon look like Custer's Last Fight.



A Handy Place to Discard the Wreck.

An Ill Wind in the Palouse

THE Palouse Harvest being in its full twelve hour swing, "Rhode Island Red" and I, "Plymouth Rock Whitey" decided to give the struggling farmers a lift and help them "gather in the sheaves."

Now, for some reason or other, Red was not as enthusiastic over the harvest work as he should be. He claimed that even if he harvested all the wheat in the country, chances were he would be in the soup line in the winter time.

Whatever becomes of the wheat, he says, is a deep mystery to him, except that he knows Wall Street stores a lot of it up where the stiffs can't get at it.

Anyhow, we landed in the town of Colfax with Red growling over conditions, bum grub and high prices of the local restaurants. After eating some of their "coffee and at two bits a throw," we sauntered out on the main street to look for a farmer who wanted a couple of enterprising harvesters.

We were approached by a long, thin individual with close set eyes of the codfish order. He was wearing a disguise of spinach on his chin and inquired in a high pitched voice, "Were ye boys looking fer work?" To which I says: "Yes, we certainly are that!" Red busts in then and asks him how much he pays and how many hours he works.

This seemed to be a leading question, altogether irrelevant and immaterial to the farmer's point of view. He looks Red over and says, "Guess you boys ain't looking for work, be you? With that parting shot he walks away and leaves us standing there like a couple of lost dogs.

New Red has no diplomacy whatever so I told him to keep his remarks to himself, and the next time I would do the talking.

Then we removed ourselves to another corner as our chin-whiskered friend was pointing at us from across the street and waving his hands in the air. He seemed to be delivering an oration to some of his fellow farmers.

Red says they ain't really honest to God farmers in this section but are illegal descendants of horse thieves and train robbers and we would be better off if we got the hell out of the Palouse district and into the United States again.

But his brain storm was cut short by another "son of the soil" planting himself in front of us and asking in an oily tone of voice, "Gentlemen, are your services open to negotiations? I need a couple of scientific side hill shockers and thought that you probably would consider a proposition of taking on a little labor."

I was about to accept his offer of work but Red "horns in" again about the hours and wages and our friend left us with the remark that he thought

we were gentlemen when he first sized us up but now he knew different.

He even went as far as to remark that he thought we might be connected up with that infamous organization known as the I. W. W. and ought to be in the county jail and that we better be a look-in' out or he would get a bunch together with a rope and a bucket of tar and a few flags and show us if we could fool around with a real 102 per cent American and his wheat crop. By Heck! Conzarn ye!

I then took Red up an alley and had a short talk with him about keeping out of these arguments and letting me get a word in now and then.

Red agreed to keep quiet next time, but I had very little confidence in Red's being able to hang onto himself so I steered him into a pool hall and went out on the street by myself.

While walking down the street a bright idea permeated into my "ivory dome" as Red calls it.

You are all aware that when a farmer buys a horse he sizes its muscles up and inquires about the price of it. He don't ask the horse how many hours he will work a day. That, I surmised, was probably the reason the farmer gets hostile when you ask him how many hours you are supposed to work per day. It is contrary to his purchasing habits.

Putting myself on the same basis as the farm horse I accordingly went into an alley and took off my shirt, rolled back my undersleeves and wrapped a couple of old gunny sacks around each arm.

When I put the shirt on over that rig I had a regular set of arms on that would make the world's champion strong man turn green with envy. "Now watch me captivate the old farmer," thought I as I burst into view again on the main stem.

A half dozen farmers were lolling and milling around on the opposite corner admiring each other's twelve cylinder cars and spitting tobacco juice on the sidewalk.

But they forgot all about the late war and the price Wall Street was going to give them for their wheat when they laid eyes on my muscular arms.

A wild scramble ensued in my direction. One farmer tripped his fellow farmer up and "blood flew freely." They surrounded me like a bunch of wild Indians with loud howls for me, Plymouth Rock Whitey, 100% to go to work! It kind of reminded me of the old times of work or fight in 1919.

But who was it said that "the best laid plans of mice and men will sometimes land you in the pen"? The sons of Colfax got hold of my shirt in their wild excitement, and tore it off, exposing my gunny sack camouflage.

Now just to show you the inconsistency of mankind, these Palousers got angry. In fact they got violent and if I had not been a good sprinter I fear I would have never lived to tell about this. I left, going strong and decided then and there that a pleasant position circulating among the best people would be preferable to a life of unconventional freedom amongst toilers of the soil.

As for Red, he stuck to his cruder and more common methods of selling himself and eventually found a master. That the results of the bargain were mutually satisfactory cannot be stated unreservedly. However, Red gained some accomplishments that in due season will probably come in handy.

For instance he is now quite as able to see in the dark as in the day. He claims that he owes this accomplishment to his labor in the Palouse country as they seemed to have no clear conception down there as to just when day stopped and night commenced. At any rate Red has a distinct taste for poultry which, so he says, was highly exacerbated by the sight of fat pullets and the absence of any such from the fetive board. Being able to see at night he informs me is one of the first requirements for a poultry dinner.

'Tis an ill wind that never stires a chicken feather.
E. H. H.

They'll Soon Ring Out

By John E. Nordquist

Tune: "Where the sunset turns the Ocean's blue to gold."

We are looking for that time,
When the bells of earth shall chime
To proclaim a world of workers really free.
I can see that joyous day
Not so very far away
And the vision puts a hopeful heart in me.
I can see the wage slave free
With his children by his knee,
And his darling wife is bubbling o'er with
cheer;
And the childish faces smile,
Nothing can their joy defile
For they hear the bells of freedom ringing
clear.

If you wish to speed those times,
If you long to hear those chimes,
Do your part in organizing all the slaves.
If we're going to see that day
You must help to clear the way;
We must end the reign of cap'talistic
knaves.
We must capture industry,
All the ships upon the sea—
Ev'ry fact'ry, mine and mill, we're going
to take.
When the boss gets overalls,
Then the cause of mis'ry falls
And those sleeping bells of freedom shall
awake.
Cho.—

CHORUS

Oh I hear those free bells ringing
And the toilers are all singing,
For the mis'ries of the past have flown
away;
And a worker's world I see,
Where no misery can be;
How I long to hear those bells on freedom's
day.

Brains or Brawn

By Jim Morris

WE HAVE been told so often that the capitalist class owe their wealth and prosperity to the fact that they possess both the brains and the ability to do things, that the constant repetition has almost hypnotized us into believing the claim to be justifiable.

The rather critical situation that prevails today, contains within itself abundant proof that the brains of our masters are conspicuous by their absence. Their much vaunted initiative has proven to be a myth and it is very evident that all their present actions are governed by precedent.

The late war, that devastated the whole of Europe and brought most of the nations engaged to bankruptcy, has, to a very remarkable degree, shaken their confidence in the stability of the present order. Now driven frantic by the magnitude of the task of rehabilitation, they are milling around aimlessly fearful, and with no constructive policy.

It is well to remember, in passing, that the European war was the outcome of a bitter competition for markets among the leading nations of the world, and yet, after four years of war, we are again confronted with the old competition for markets, a competition that promises to be more bitter and more intense than its predecessor. If our "brainy" masters in America are to win out in this commercial war, they must be in a position to manufacture their commodities and place them on the world's market cheaper than their competitors. This necessitates far-reaching and drastic changes in their method of production and to that end they are reducing the wages of the American workers, introducing efficiency systems that enable them to dispense with great numbers of workers besides maintaining or increasing the rate of output.

They have forsaken the old cry of "more production" for the up to date one of "cheap production," hoping, to use the words of a Pacific shipping magnate, "to successfully compete with the low manufacturing costs of our European competitors." But Europe has been under this "cheap production" system for quite a while, and the result is somewhat disconcerting.

It is generally conceded that the main function of the Allied Army of Occupation in Germany is to prevent the German workers from breaking out into open revolt against the brutal system of production operating in that country.

It is safe to say that the conditions that have brought the German workers to the point of rebellion will, if transplanted to this country, have a somewhat similar effect upon the American worker.

But the American worker is an unknown quan-

tity. Only upon rare occasions has he displayed a desire to remove the evil effects of the capitalist system.

He never succeeded, of course, owing to a lack of proper organization and a thorough understanding of the class nature of the conflict.

It is interesting to note that each succeeding revolt of the workers of Germany gains greater momentum, and it is just this experience that is coagulating their forces, rendering it more and more difficult for the Powers That Be to crush them and keep them in submission.

And so, in the early part of his campaign, the American capitalist, fully alive to the danger of organization on the part of the workers, launched his attack upon the unions in an endeavor to thoroughly demoralize them. The measure of success obtained by him can be gauged by the miserable failure of the unions to offer resistance to the reduction in wages.

Of course, the employers have stated that a reduction in wages is the only alternative to a complete shutdown of industry, but like most everything else they pass out for our consumption it is devoid of the faintest semblance of truth.

What they really mean is that without a reduction in the wages of the workers it would be impossible to maintain the same rate of profit as heretofore.

And so, in order that our masters may continue to have their limousines and Indian guides, their "girl and wine" parties and their licentious and riotous orgies on Broadway, it is deemed necessary to compel us workers to toil harder, produce more and do with less for ourselves. The rapidly growing army of unemployed will be used to intimidate us and frighten us into passivity while women will be brought into the factories to take the places of men because their labor is so much cheaper, and the women, in their turn, will, if the logic of capitalism is carried to the utmost, be displaced by the still cheaper labor of children.

We will then witness the rather elevating spectacle of millions of ablebodied men and women walking the streets of our cities and begging for food and raiment, while their children are sweltering away their lives in the slave pens of our factories. We will, by then, have reached the ultimate in logical capitalistic civilization. That is, of course, if no organized resistance is offered. But before we can have organized resistance we must have an understanding as to what we want and how to get it. But even before we can come to an understanding of what we want we must be convinced of the fallacy of the individual ownership of the means of life.

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In order to combat the "private ownership" idea, we must ask ourselves this question, "What is the real function of industry?" The correct answer, of course, is, "The function of feeding, sheltering and serving the people."

If a captain of a ship proved himself negligent and incapable and ran his ship ashore at frequent intervals, he would be removed from his command, would he not?

If a building contractor discovers that one of his carpenters is inefficient and wasteful with the timber upon which he works, the contractor would immediately dispense with his services.

And when our "captains of industry" display a palpable inability to run industry as it should be run, when by the application of their ridiculous theories of self-aggrandisement, they not only violate the law of reason and common sense but endanger or render intolerable the lives of millions, we are compelled to realize the necessity of taking the control of industry out of their incapable hands.

But while we may agree that the welfare of the majority of people namely the workers, would dictate that this should be done we find that a great deal of opposition to such a proposal is engendered through a superstitious idea that the function of the man with the power of wealth or "directive ability" is of more importance and consequently should be entitled to a greater reward than that of the ordinary worker who is not supposed to possess the aforementioned qualities.

But such an idea is an illusion, only to be dispelled by a careful consideration of the facts. Suppose we take the case of Henry Ford to prove our point. Ford conceived the idea of building a certain type of motor car. But before his ideas could be put into effect, he had to erect a factory wherein to produce the motor car. He had to have the products of labor, as he possessed none himself.

Without them his wonderful brains got him nowhere and right here is where we witness dwindling in the importance of the function of Henry Ford.

His brains could build an idea but not an automobile factory. And after the factory was built, and the necessary machinery installed, machinists were needed to construct the motor cars.

The function of the machinist is of equal importance to that of Henry Ford's himself, because without them both the cars would not be built.

It is obvious then that the thousands of motor cars turned out of the factories owned by Henry

Ford, are not the result of the brains or wealth of one man but rather are the outcome of the technical directive ability of Henry Ford and the executive ability of the workers who built and operate the factory.

This line of reasoning applies to all the industrial concerns in the country and when given due consideration we will be able to understand that it is not a question of "brains" or wealth but rather one of the performance of a useful function in society.

Industry of today is so interconnected, inter-related and interdependent that it is ridiculous to speak of the function of one worker being more important than that of another except as supply and demand creates definite needs and surpluses.

If we can thoroughly appreciate this point of view it will help a great deal towards an understanding of the task that confronts us, the task of rebuilding society upon a more equitable basis.

It would be stupid of us to suppose that the present controllers of industry are going to give us the industries the moment we present our ultimatum. It does not matter how just, how humane or how sensible our proposals may be, the interests of the millionaires are so inextricably bound up in their control of industry that they are not going to give in of their own volition.

Furthermore, if we are to secure control, we must be organized in such a way that we will be enabled to not only obtain control of the industries but to run them efficiently, directly we succeed in our initial purpose.

The control of the industries will then be vested in the hands of those who work in them, and to that end we are building our industrial organization of the workers that will take the place of the present decrepit system.

We are, therefore, calling upon the workers to rally round the banner of the One Big Union by joining our ranks or by rebuilding their unions along industrial lines.

Let us consecrate ourselves to the task before us and spread the gospel of industrial unionism that we may achieve our objective.

Let us give to the workers a new hope, a new outlook, a new way out of the darkness that has enshrouded our class for centuries. By the use of our brains, we workers can purge society of its parasites, prostitutes and poor houses, and to that end let the land resound with the slogan:

"The industries to the workers, the wealth to the wealth producers."



The Emancipation of Louie

THE 1912 model gasped its last gasp at the farmhouse door. Louie stepped out of the battered wreck to view the surroundings that he expected would welcome him for the next 60 or 90 days. As the new hand, he was eyed keenly by the farmer's wife standing, arms akimbo, in the doorway. They result of her appraisal is not recorded in history except for the sweeping motion of her arm which seemed to refer to the two milk pails on the porch and the dilapidated cowshed some distance to her right. 9 cows to milk before and after 10 hours field work each day, hogs to slop, wood to split and other little jobs to do if the farmer's wife was lazy and shirked, and Louie had never known them to be otherwise.

One glance at the herd of Texas longhorns and Louie knew they would fight every inch of the way without yielding as much milk as one good Jersey. Broken down equipment, harness and implements, scattered or left wherever they happened to be dropped, pieced and repaired with haywire, told the tale. He was on a jerk-water wheat ranch located in the least-civilized reaches of western Kansas and 25 miles from the nearest settlement.

Six o'clock the next morning found Louie with his chores completed and ready for breakfast. The baker's bread, brought from town the previous evening, had by oversight been left out in the car all night and was served in soggy condition. The fried potatoes had not been in the pan long enough to become warmed through. The sow-belly was too strong for unaccustomed nostrils and skim-milk was used to dilute a decoction the farmer's wife called coffee.

Breakfast over, Louie stepped on the porch, now fully realizing what the future held in store for him. Not a redeeming feature to it all; not a

friend to turn to; not a hope to hope. Despair was written on his face until his eyes chanced to rest upon the old car he had ridden in with to the farm.

In a moment he had cranked the old galleon, swung over the side door and was wheeling for the road with the gear on high. The road, as in all outlying districts, was but a deep rutted, rock-strewn, crooked trail but that mattered not—despair was at the wheel and in sympathy the old Ford seemed to respond.

Distance dispelled misery, while the exhilarating effect of his new freedom and the crisp morning air stirred Louie to romance. "The Red Flag," "Hold the Fort," "Farmer John" and other rebel songs were shouted from his lips as the ramshackle car careened madly on its way to town, sometimes on the road, sometimes off, shooting down hill at a fearful velocity and turning sharp corners on two wheels. The last corner (alas for the abrupt ending of this tale!) led directly on a bridge spanning a shallow stream.

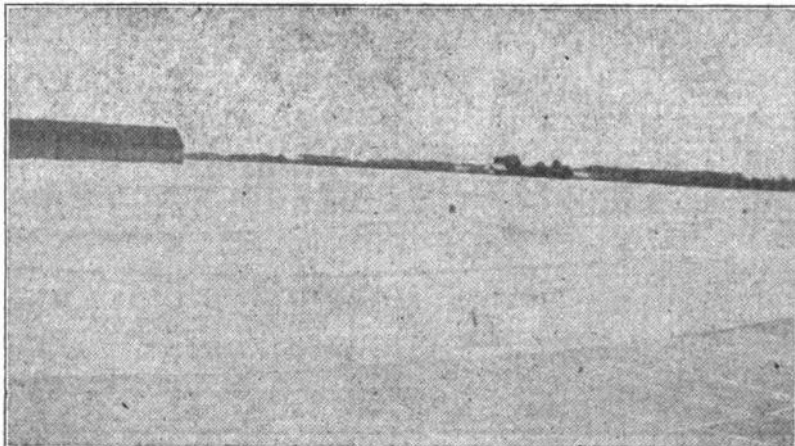
The weak wooden side railing held a second, just long enough to break the speed of the car and to permit it to gently flop into the water below. Not in like degree, but in the manner of the "One Hoss Shay" did the old 1912 model give up the ghost.

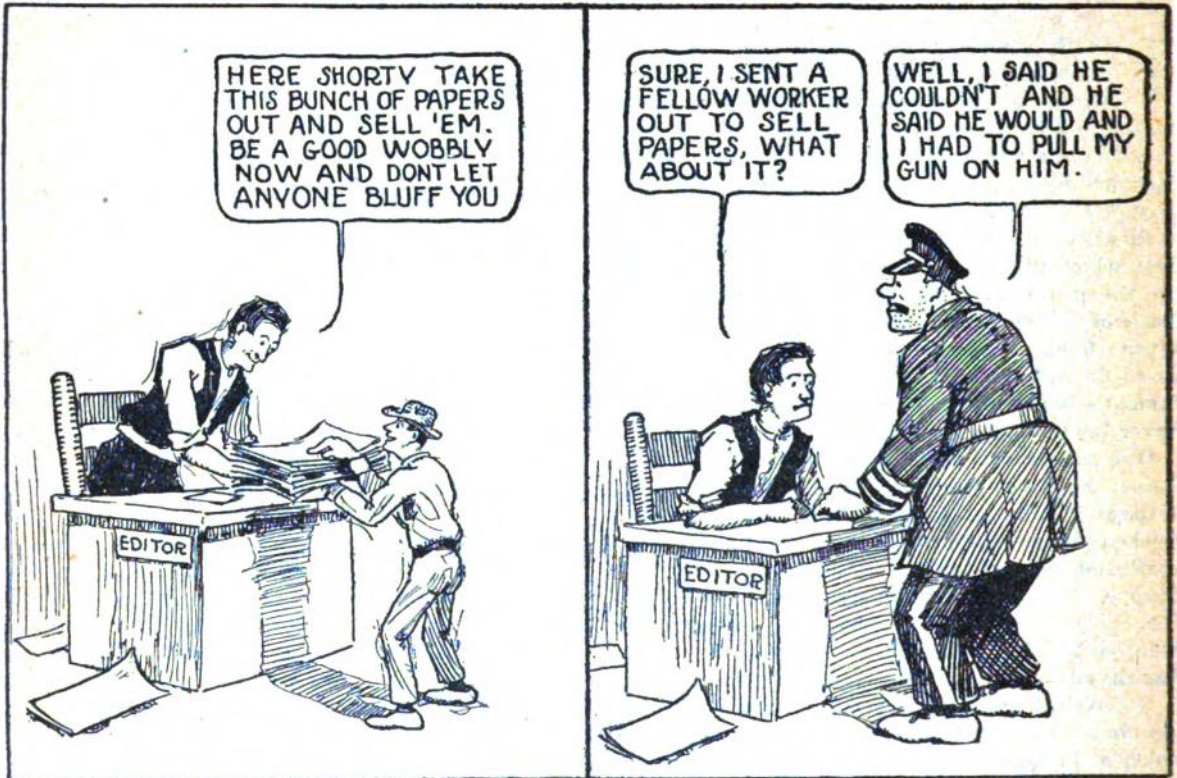
The wheels, unable to withstand the shock of the fall, broke from the axles, the engine dropped out of the bottom, while the top, released from the catches and broken straps, floated down stream.

Our hero, out of breath, but making a heroic effort to sing the last bars of "The Red Flag" waded ashore toward the town whose elevator tops could be seen in the near distance.

Louie was free. He decided to travel.

James Rohn.





WOBBLES

First Craft Union Official: What shall we do about this cut in wages for our members?

Second C. U. O.: That's easy. I'll spin a dime. If it turns Heads we'll tell the boys to accept the cut but keep up the union.

If it's Tails we'll ask the employers to hold a conference and plead for a compromise.

If it stands on edge we'll reorganize on industrial lines and use our economic power.

* * *

Judge Landis of Kenesaw Mountain has just "settled" the wages of the Chicago building trades workers.

The shrinkage due to the settling process has elicited some direct action from the rank and file.

Landis brings to mind such things as expelled big leaguers, twenty year sentences and twenty-nine million dollar fines.

With practice like this he should be competent to "settle" the direct actors.

* * *

Fatty Arbuckle, of the moving picture industry, is now working on a new picture it is said. The title suggested has been "The Death in the Party." Fatty as usual plays his silent part quite successfully.

* * *

Prosperity has been delayed again. The sale of the slaves on the auction block in Boston only brought from five to ten dollars a slave. In the good old days block sales used to return as high as three hundred dollars for very ordinary specimens classed as seconds. A No. 1's in proportion.—It's going to be a hard winter.

* * *

However, the Ku Kluxers seem to be coming along financially and as to business they seem to find the pickin's fair. Who said that the Yankee couldn't equal the Jew in money matters?

* * *

Business really is picking up. In North Carolina, for instance, the demand has been very heavy for rope lately. So much so that in the newest attempt to maintain white supremacy the mob had to use a tire chain for the supreme purpose. This industrial crisis is hell.

The influence of American diplomacy can now be seen in world events. Even the Irish seem to have taken notes and are using them instead of shillalabs while discoursing with Johnny Bull.

* * *

It is reported that the Greeks are about three times stronger for disarmament now than a few weeks ago. A constant diet of Turkey makes any one long for the simpler life.

Especially when Turkey disagrees with one.

* * *

The Ku Klux Klan rightly named would be Kidnap 'em, Knock 'em and Kill 'em.

* * *

It is rumored that the Imperial Lizzard of the Ku Klux Klan favors disarmament—of his opponents.

* * *

A. F. of L.: I tell you our organization believes in local autonomy.

Wobbly: Yeah! And where does your local monotony get you to!

* * *

It is rumored that Admiral Sims has been reading the History of the L. W. W. Free Speech Fights. Sims is thinking of starting a League to Acquire the Right of Free Speech for Admirals and Other Oppressed Peoples.

* * *

Latest Divorce Sensation! Fargo Chief of Police is separated from his gun! Wild auto rides and close association with different persons of disrepute are causes leading up to the scandal. The chief when interviewed claims that he is very much opposed to the separation proceedings and declares that he will have no more dealings with the red district in an intimate way.

* * *

Improving on Marx.

Socialists of America, organize! You have nothing but your weakness to lose and a strong Socialist Party to gain!

Reading Labor Advocate.

* * *

The National Commander of the American Legion has telegraphed Harding that a pardon for Debs and other political prisoners would be interpreted as a license to disregard law and order.

We always thought that the American Legion had that license framed and hung up long ago.

Mohandas Ghandi and Soul Force

THE following article written by a personal friend of Ghandi, the Hindoo rebel mystic, shows the great changes that are sweeping over the minds of the Hindoos. The basic philosophy of the I.W.W. of course rejects both the idea that personal leadership can generate such a sweeping change of even direct it without organized methods, and denies mysticism, of the sort that includes soul force, as a revolutionary factor.

The abnegation of physical force is played up over and over in this article but it seems that economic force, something more powerful and of greater strength and coercive capacity, is being used in nation wide general strikes under the term non-cooperation.

This confusion of ideas of force is not alone found in India but is to be encountered in every country. Force and coercion have their basis in the material nature of things and that the Hindoos have been forced into action is a result of great economic causes, we believe, rather than the formulation of mystic properties known as soul force. (Editor).

FIVE YEARS ago in India, there were constant brawls, many developing into serious disturbances of great extent, between Hindoos and Mohammedans throughout the country. The disagreements often arose over such features of Mohammedan festivals as cow killing. To Hindoos the cow is traditionally sacred. Then they quarreled over the use of wells, bathing places, in fact, over many scores of matters little and big in which the two peoples differed.

The English, craftily partial toward the minority (the Mohammedans) in every possible way accentuated these disputes. Divide and Rule was a successful policy.

The New Attitude

Today, Mohammedans and Hindoos drink from the same vessels (traditionally, hitherto, cause for instant "out-casteing.") They eat together, defer to each other's customs, inter-marry, ignore caste in all respects and make common cause together, at no matter what personal cost, against their common foe.

This movement can be practically identified with the life and work of one man, Mohandas Ghandi. There have been, of course, numberless anonymous forces contributing to this end, but had these forces not been sensed, coordinated, and constructively utilized, there would be only another tale of lost opportunities to tell instead of this outstanding thing, unique in the history of the world.

Ghandi's Influence

What centuries of vituperation, violence, and force could not accomplish, the example and teaching of this one courageous, invincible soul has brought to pass, in the space of a few years.

What millions of dollars worth of missionaries have failed to make so much as a dent in, this one man's honesty and disinterestedness has swept away in less than a generation. The caste system is destroyed. Pariahs (untouchables) are now asked to break bread in the homes of Brahmins (the highest caste). The great majority of these more than three hundred million people (a fifth of the whole human race) most of them illiterate in the sense that we use the word, are with slow but increasing understanding and sincerity following the guidance of this great movement.

His Personal History

Perhaps an outline of Ghandi's personal history will give some idea of the forces that he seeks to direct and the viewpoint that he holds.

Born of a wealthy family who were Buddhists since the time of Buddha, his father was prime minister of Kathiawar, one of the few native states still nominally under native rule.

Ghandi was educated in England, graduating with honors as a barrister. But even before the Boer war (he is now a little over fifty years old) the hideous system of indentured Indian labor in South Africa was brought to his notice in London and he finally decided to give up all thought of a "career" and to use his hereditary wealth and every power he possessed to "fight the fight of those who are helpless."

He fought with a weapon that appalled as much as it enraged the authorities, for they did not know how to combat it. A single man, alone, without following, he set himself against the whole British government, the long-entrenched economic system of all South Africa, in "passive resistance" only, armed with nothing but his invincible will to right wrong. He bought a tract of land where any escaped slave might find refuge, and slaves flocked there in increasing numbers.

Government Abuses

In vain the government abused, pillaged, sacked, and resorted to every method of organized violence. Huts were rebuilt, ravages repaired, and the movement went on as before, gaining, despite all losses, in momentum and following and intelligent direction. Again and again—some twenty times—Ghandi was imprisoned under the most cruel conditions, again and again abused almost to the point of death. All these things, and the

transparent sincerity of his whole life, only increased his power with his followers.

The fact that he withdrew his friendship from anyone who resorted to violence no matter in what extremity, kept his theories of passivity uppermost. A man might defend himself from abuse in any way that did not involve injury to his assailant, but "let it be said by future generations that the only blood shed was our own."

During the Boer war Gandhi organized an ambulance corps composed entirely of ex-slaves and worked impartially for English and Boer alike. He was seriously wounded on the battle fields, as were many of his men, in this work, some of them losing their lives.

Despite much cheap talk over this service while the British needed it the peonage of Indians in South Africa went on as before. Gandhi continued as previously in organizing methods to combat the system by legal arguments, arraignments and mass protest. At long last, only a few brief years ago, much of the legalized injustice was officially repudiated and conditions of work essentially improved.

Ghandi Goes Home

Then Gandhi returned to India to find his countrymen, despite fair general harvests, dying literally by thousands—whole families in a single hut, in heaps of twos and threes in village lanes, along the public roads—some thirty millions in a single year, of sheer starvation.

Taxes to support the war had been abnormally increased. When the peasants could not pay, their food, their household goods, clothes, huts, were taken, their ground sold under their feet. Train-loads of wheat and rice for exportation to the battle-front passed through villages of skeletons pleading, crying, for a handful, a mouthful.

The massed protest of even unarmed women and children was dispersed by armed men, killing and

wounding indiscriminately. With England's failure to keep the promises made during the war while draining India of men and money, and the arbitrary partitioning of Mohammedan territory in Europe and the near East, both Hindoo and Mohammedans realized that they had been again betrayed and despoiled.

Ghandi's Teaching

For two or three years Ghandi went from one starved district to another telling the terrified peasants, "Eat your grain. Don't pay it in taxes. Pay no attention to man-made laws if they are evil, as this tax law certainly is. Do not lift your hand toward any human being in violence. This is a law of God. I will stay with you when the tax-collector comes."

The results were various. Sometimes the tax was "deferred"—the collector "saving his face" under this disguise. Oftener there was violence, always begun by the collectors, occasionally joined in by the villagers, to Ghandi's very real grief. He himself was always in the fore of any combat, but never more than slightly wounded—his followers surrounding him, despite his protests, if direct harm threatened him.

Organizing the Propaganda

Gradually from place to place all over the country, he won many adherents as sincere as himself. A great company adopted his ideas and tactics and went about multiplying his influence and carrying his message throughout every part of the land.

Ghandi is a small man with a thin, plain face but his eyes are alight with fire and his presence carries an almost unbelievable power. His clothing is of the plainest homespun. Daily he weaves by hand the native fibres and as nearly as possible lives on the returns from this work. Wherever he goes, gifts are heaped upon him by an adoring people.



Agricultural Worker's Hut.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

He accepts absolutely nothing for his personal use, but suggests the sending of what can be spared in any one part of the country to those districts where there is the greatest need. This proves an additional factor in bringing these widely diversified peoples face to face, and breeding friendship between them—there are some two hundred different languages in India, and those in one part are often completely ignorant of what is happening in other localities.

The Big Strike

In the spring of 1919, England enacted new "laws" practically repudiating every war time promise made. Gandhi asked for an All-India day of "fasting". Every shop, every public utility closed, and men and women spent the day in prayer to their various divinities. Local officials ordered activities necessary for the continuance of the industrial processes resumed and resorted to violence when this was refused.

Gandhi hearing of this move started from Bombay to Delhi, the capital city of India to protest and to bring encouragement to those under severest pressure. En route, he was arrested, returned to Bombay and ordered to remain there but was not imprisoned this time.

Even before he was returned to Bombay the people of Delhi heard of his arrest and fearing violence to him they seemed unable to restrain themselves any longer and began tearing up railroads and burning government buildings, cutting communication wires etc.

It is significant of the position occupied by the Christian missions in the minds of the workers that they were included in some of the acts of violence on the part of the latest followers of Gandhi.

Holy Missions

I have stayed for considerable periods as a paying guest in a number of the missions in India, and easily realize that many an old grudge, many a heart-burning, was expressed in such action for the liberation of "Mahatma Gandhi."

I do not mean to imply that missionaries are evil. Many of those that I knew were agreeable associates—for at least a short time but the fact remains that even the "rice christians" (those who consent to be baptised, some times whole villages together in times of famine, for the sake of being fed) know that these people come to convert them for a salary, and that the numbers of converts in reports is the thing that counts. They know that almost invariably the missions pay the lowest wages to natives and exact the most in return and that despite all the brotherhood that is taught, many an injustice obtains and that they are forever looked down upon. It is common knowledge throughout all India that no single mission-

ary had ever uttered one word of protest even against the terrible English massacres of native women and children.

Soul Force

It was after the greatest of these massacres, that of Amritsar, that Gandhi formulated his religion of "Soul Force." This seems to be the real ruling sentiment in India today, despite sporadic lapses from its pacific teachings by the peoples.

Consider for a moment the nature of the social and psychological elements involved and the ideas of "Soul Force" will seem a natural thing. Gandhi's hereditary training is all against the taking of life. I have seen devout men of his faith going about with gauze over mouth and nostrils in tenderness towards microscopic creatures!

The Argument

Gandhi's argument is: "If you want to sweeten a cup of vinegar, do you add more vinegar to it? Does any intelligent man suppose that violence can be overcome by more violence? That war can end war?"

This is talk of unthinking children," he says.

He believes literally, that men are more than flesh and blood and that the greatest power is intangible. He believes that by complete concentration on a single goal (India's freedom), by bending every energy, every thought to this end, looking neither to the left or right, a psychic or spiritual force is generated, far greater than any mechanical or physical force can ever be.

He believes that there are powers in the world about us that can be laid hold of by the mind or "soul" of man and used to his own ends. But only by those who foreswear all use of brute force, violence.

"We can lay hold upon this, we can use it for the redemption of India, if we will, but keep our minds above all thought of physical violence and unite our faith, our wills, upon the one great goal."

Gandhi's Program

Gandhi is unique among statesmen in insisting upon absolute straightforwardness in every relation. He has openly declared his complete and irrevocable opposition to English government in India, and has openly formulated his program to end it by the rigid pursuance of "non-co-operation," and finally, if all else fails, that the millions of India shall surround the thousands (a mere handful, comparatively) of foreigners and escort them to the sea coast, there to embark for their native land, never to return.

This may sound fantastic to Westerners accustomed to "diplomacy" and violence. But when one has seen these millions of India marshalled and led by the power of sheer honesty of purpose

and singleness of faith disdaining all use of physical force, relying on "soul-force" alone, in the face of the most powerful government in existence armed to the teeth, one has to own that here is a new thing under the sun—and a great thing; perhaps, indeed, the greatest thing the world has yet known.

Present Revolt in India

The last news from India is of wide-spread bloodshed, and the reason given for this in dispatches is a "native uprising" near Bombay. One cannot, of course, rely on anything sent out by a subsidized press, but that anything whatever has sifted through to this side of the world, implies a matter of considerable magnitude.

The probability is of concerted refusal by the people of wide areas to hand over as "taxes" the last mouthful of food, and their wholesale murder in consequence. In frenzied reaction from such attack, the natives may have lapsed into violence—as reported. After all, they are only human. If the report that the government has appealed to Gandhi to "restore order" is indeed true, it does not, of course, imply that they have been converted to his principles, but merely that they have not enough men and guns to "see it through"

themselves on their own basis of physical force. But it also means that the overwhelming majority of police force (practically all native) and of native regiments, must have gone over bodily to Ghandi's standard. It may even mean, indeed, that the day when "every white face and every weapon of warfare shall leave the land and soul-force reign supreme" is not so very far in the future.

"Workers of India," Ghandi cries, "segregate this evil government by complete non-cooperation. Do not speak or even think about it. Waste none of your strength in hating it. For you it no longer exists. When you hate, it is as if you poured some of your life-force out on the sand. Whatever you do not believe in, would not use, ignore. Thoughts of revenge sap your soul-force, as a leak in a boiler lowers the driving power. Save every thought for the rebuilding of your Motherland. It is upon you workers that she depends. It is upon the workers of the world that the world depends. For all workers are brothers of one family."

This is sound common sense. And with a fifth of the whole human race, it has already "worked" in an almost miraculous manner.

P. D. E.



Industrial Pioneer Study Classes

Many groups of members in the I. W. W. are interested in obtaining knowledge of the theories of industrial unionism and economics. Such persons are anxious to start study classes in a uniform way in our organization.

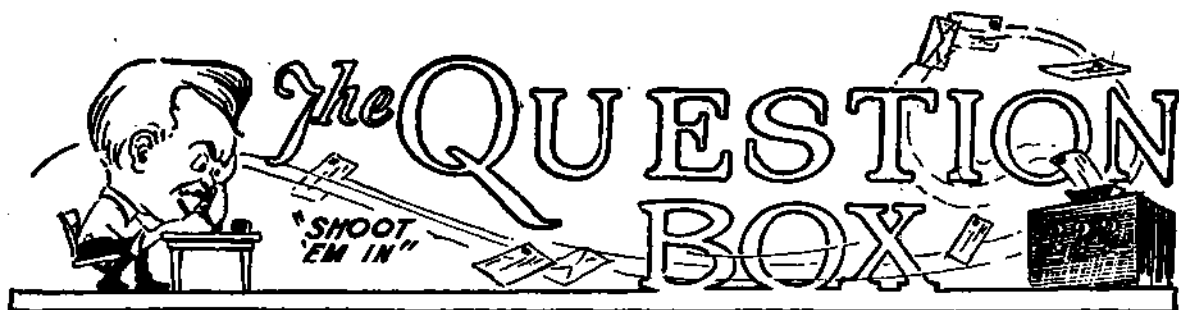
The Industrial Pioneer is now in a position to aid with a series of splendid lessons in applied economics to be held under the supervision of one of the best labor economists of the time, Fellow Worker Mary E. Marcy, author of the little hand book which the I. W. W. has so widely distributed—"Shop Talks on Economics." She will advise and help in every way possible the development of these classes by letter.

These lessons are ready for study class work pri-

marily but are also of value in personal study work. They deal with the industrial phases of the theories of economics and are a modern, up to date industrial application of the science.

The Industrial Pioneer is in a position to furnish to any person or club a full fifteen lesson course under this splendid instruction in return for four yearly subscriptions to the Pioneer.

Here is your chance to start a study class. Get a few of your friends who are interested, together, and get the four subscriptions from among them. Then the lessons will be forwarded to you and the classes can start at once. A five dollar study course for four yearly subscriptions. Get started now. Write to the Industrial Pioneer. 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.



Is it true that the last I. W. W. convention went on record as being opposed to the doughnut?—J. S.

This question is a very vital one. In order to answer it clearly it needs analyzing, however. "Doughnut", as here mentioned, has two separate and distinct meanings.

Taken literally as a fried cake with a more or less large hole in the middle the doughnut is not obnoxious to the I. W. W. But in its larger, symbolical and connotative sense the doughnut stands for much more than that. The doughnut represents to the worker his small share of the good things of life that he produces.

After plowing, harrowing, seeding and cultivating the world's crops the worker reaps the grains, gathers the fruits, milks the cows and manufactures all the flour, shoes, and clothing as well as the other comforts and luxuries of life. After having done all this diligently and faithfully in response to the urge of workmanship which drove man from one of the weakest to be the most powerful of the animals the worker gets as his life sustaining portion of all these products—a doughnut and a cup of coffee, relatively.

The doughnut stands without a quibble for that chaotic system in which persons gain their reward not in response to their usefulness to society but because of petty graft, thievery and inheritance of the fruits of such.

Without question the last I. W. W. convention as well as the first I. W. W. convention has stood resolutely in opposition to the doughnut. The I. W. W. from first to last has stood for the domination of the world by the world's workers and for the institution of a sane system of production in which full warehouses would mean a rich and well cared for people with equal division of the necessities of life among all and equal opportunities for education, knowledge and advancement to everybody.

* * *

Why does every one from Jack London down predict that Chicago will be a central point in the social revolution?—Z. B.

The social revolution means the transfer of the controlling power over the present means of production and distribution. It does not signify an uprising of the infuriated people. It does not signify the gathering of the revolutionists away off in some strategic mountain country where they can give successful battle to the forces of reaction. It means the successful taking over of the power

of society from the present ruling class—the capitalists.

Now the power of the present ruling class rests directly on their control of the big industrial machine of production and distribution. This big productive machine is centralized around certain highly industrialized points where men and machinery have been gathered together in great volume and where the lines of transportation and handling facilities make possible the receipt of enormous quantities of raw materials and the production and shipping of the tremendous output of manufactured goods.

As we have stated before and wish to emphasize again—a social revolution depends not on the capture of a court house full of archives or an arsenal of munitions excepting as they may be a means to an end, but the revolution depends on the taking over and operating of this whole complicated machine of the industrial processes.

A glance at the industrial map of Chicago shows that it is in a very strategic point in the industrial life of the country. The food of millions of persons is packed and shipped from Chicago. The stopping of this food supply alone would bring hardship on the whole country were it cut off.

Then Chicago is the greatest railroad center in the United States. The most important industrial factor of all the rest is the transportation system. Chicago is the key place in the network of railroads. It is located close to some of the best developed coal mines in the country. It has water transportation that gives access to products that are as varied as they are necessary in carrying on the multitude of processes that are vital to the functioning of modern industry.

Close to Chicago are the biggest and best technically organized steel mills in the world. In every aspect Chicago is the key place in all our American modern industry. Should the reaction maintain its hold on Chicago the revolution is hopeless. Should the forces of industrial unionism be so strongly organized in Chicago that they can step into the breach and operate the industry and speed up production right from the start of taking control, then the reaction is in a powerless position.

Who holds Chicago district holds the key to the advance of the American proletariat. It is considerations of this kind that have led various students of revolutionary tactics to believe that Chicago will be the place of future action on the part of the revolutionary working class.

"JUSTICE"

A BIRDS-EYE VIEW

The General Defense Committee has launched a new campaign for the release of our Fellow Workers from the hell holes of capitalism. The facts of the imprisonment of the victims of the I. W. W. and other framed up cases will be carried to every person in America if the new defense spirit lives up to its promise.

Every possible means is to be used to get the idea across to the passive workers of this country that the class war prisoners are in for all of us.

Not only must we get them out but we must put a stop to the vile tactics that are even now being used on some of the prisoners. The fair phrases of impartiality and justice show up quite spectacularly against the back ground of persecutions and brutal treatment that is the rule in the courts and prisons of our capitalistic masters.

We know the phantasy of that thing which the courts call justice. We know the vice and cynical brutality that surrounds the administration of the laws of this country. It is the facts of this administration that we must now present to all the people of America so that they may know the creature of horror and intrigue that is behind the scenes pulling the ropes of "justice" that try to strangle us in our onward march toward the Industrial Commonwealth.

It is perhaps fitting that California should furnish the background for the latest of the long string of sadistic outbreaks that have marked the progress of law and order in that state.

Esmond's Early History

Fred Esmond imprisoned in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary has been driven insane. Let us glance into the history of this educated worker's life and learn the facts concerning the treatment that has now ended in his losing the use of that wonderful mind that had defied and balked to the very last those who sought to stifle and pervert it.

Esmond is an Englishman and is now about forty-one years old. He is a graduate of Christ Church College of Oxford University. He came to Canada in 1910 and later to Utah in 1912, where he took active part in the strike on the Union Pacific against the damnable conditions that obtained in the construction camps of the Utah Construction Company. He loaned his talents as a speaker and writer to the prosecution of this strike and the furthering of the I. W. W. program of education and organization.

The Case of Ford and Suhr

He then passed into California where he was active in organization work for some short time

even before the terrible Wheatland riots when armed deputies shot into the ranks of striking men, women and children in August, 1913.

As is usual in cases of official brutality and murder on the part of our masters, they chose to send up to their prisons, innocent workers, named as guilty of crime in their courts. Ford and Suhr were picked as the victims.

Esmond's chief abilities were those of a writer and speaker. For Ford and Suhr he did both. He aided strenuously in the publicity work carried on both before and after the "trials" and soapboxed the California valleys in the prolonged effort to force Hiram Johnson to free the convicted workers.

So successful was he in getting the facts across that on two or three occasions attempts were made to buy him off. Many of these speeches and lectures were delivered in and around Sacramento.

The Housing Drive

Esmond likewise aided the late Prof. Carleton Parker in the investigation made of the housing conditions in California, after the exposure by the defense of the conditions at Wheatland had startled the state. This investigation was under the charge of Simon Lubin of the Immigration and Housing Commission and resulted in the big California clean-up that rendered conditions at least bearable in some of the camps that previously had been unfit for swine.

As a result of a fever contracted in Canada, Esmond had a weakened heart. His labors during the defense battle and the hard fight of the investigation and speaking tours now proved too much for him and the result was a total breakdown, with the development of his trouble into a severe case of valvular heart disease.

The Mooney Frame-up

Till 1916 Esmond lived in almost total retirement at Corte Madera, Marin County, California. The Mooney Frame-up brought him back into the ring, this time as a publicity writer. The condition of his heart made it necessary that he take the best care not to over exert himself. Esmond worked feverishly on the case however the results of which are well known and the rawness of the Mooney Frame-up is so widely acknowledged as to stand out glaringly among even the hirelings of "Justice" as to be recognized and pointed out as a bad piece of bungling.

I. W. W. Publicity

In December 1917, after the arrests on the Chicago indictment and the raids in Los Angeles and Fresno the need for I. W. W. publicity was imperative. Esmond fully recognizing the danger he was running took charge of their publicity.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The Fickert Election Bomb

On the 17th of December, 1917, came the bomb explosion at Governor Stevens residence which was the beginning of the Sacramento case. The explosion was such a palpable frame-up for election purposes as to arouse suspicions on all sides as to the truth regarding the bomb outrage.

Simon Lubin of the old Housing Commission, whose experiences in enforcing the housing laws of California had given him an insight into the lengths that the masters of California will go in their vicious policy of enslavement, personally hired a detective to investigate the explosion on the side.

There was a very prompt clash between the agents of Fickert and the U. S. Attorney at Sacramento on one side and the private investigator. Esmond became quite familiar with the work of the detective handling the work for Lubin and soon facts were uncovered which if followed would give conclusive evidence as to the real perpetrators of the bomb explosion.

Action was quick. Lubin's detective was promptly railroaded to an insane asylum. He has not been found nor traced since. Esmond was overwhelmed with work starting the publicity for the Sacramento Boys whole terrible tortures and sufferings have been covered in the "Silent Defenders," a pamphlet dealing with this one case of crooked politics, bombing, murder and every other crime on the calendar which was cynically committed in the sacred name of law and order by the powers that be.

The Sacramento Case

The individual trials which were first initiated against the defendants in the Sacramento case were lost by the prosecution. The case was too clumsy. A blanket indictment was returned and Fred Esmond with the entire group working for the defense was arrested. Esmond got out on bail and struggled along single handed to fight the cases through. All thought of his heart trouble left him. He threw himself into the work.

"Reforming" a Prisoner

Esmond's first arrest occurred on Feb. 8th, 1918. On March 9th the Federal Immigration Authorities, though Esmond was under bail, reordered his arrest. Esmond was beaten up. He was abused and tortured in every way known to the calloused preservers of peace. He was thrown in the detention home at Angel Island, but the conditions there were not horrible enough so he was removed from the custody of the Federal officers in whose charge he was supposed to be and returned to San Francisco where he was placed in the city jail.

For forty days and nights he was held in solitary confinement in the black hole, which is a torture chamber used in every jail in the country, most usually supplied with appurtenances that shame

the famous Black Hole of Calcutta for its mildness.

When at last he was rescued from this confinement which even the city ordinances declare to be illegal he was taken to the county jail, nervous, emaciated, suffering keenly from his heart yet sane and clear headed.

There is only one thing to call this dastardly treatment of a man as far gone with a chronic ailment of the heart. It was a deliberate attempt at murder.

A Little "Medical Attention"

From March 9th till August of 1918 no one was permitted to visit Esmond. Then his wife obtained permission to see him. He was in very bad condition. His heart was bothering him and he was very nervous from his long solitary confinement.

It was during this visit that his wife learned of the fiendish attempt made to infect him with syphilis. This was deliberate on the part of the police. A Negro in an advanced stage of the disease, with open running sores all over his whole body, was placed in the same cell with Esmond.

Protests were unavailing and all means of protection from contagion were denied the prisoner. This was continued until the condition of the Negro became so awful that a jailor complained to the health authorities, as he was afraid of his own safety. However, an examination of Esmond five months later found no trace of syphilis. This matter is of particular importance just now in view of the statement of the doctors, that Esmond may recover if no previous history of syphilis exists.

A Taste of Justice

Esmond was sentenced with the rest of the 43 Silent Defenders. His contribution from the scales of justice was ten years in Leavenworth. The only charge against these workers was that they distributed literature explaining the I. W. W. and the social system under which we live.

Now comes the recent history. Esmond has incurred the undying hatred of the entire gang, of perjurers, grafters and perpetrators of every thinkable crime, that pose as the upholders of law and order in California. He has come so close to getting the goods on the actual perpetrators of the Preparedness Day and the Fickert election bombs that he is feared and hated fanatically by the fiends that were responsible for these outrages.

The Final Blow

They sent Mathews, a private detective to him in Leavenworth. Esmond had had no trouble with the prison authorities. He was living quietly under the prison rule and showed no signs of mental aberration.

Then Mathews came. He purported to be an agent of the Department of Labor bent on finding

out the truth about the things which Esmond knew in regards to the real perpetrators of the crime. Esmond gave out some information which must have been close to the truth. This paid agent returned to California and the terror of his criminal employers knew no bounds. Esmond found out that he was tricked. The effect of this knowledge was to unbalance the delicate brain of this much tried Fellow Worker. Esmond went insane.

Seeking Cover

The California gang could not be secure in even such an instance. They caused the arrest on June 16th of Esmond's wife, Leone Esmond, and it was demanded that she confess that Esmond was one of the parties responsible for the Preparedness Day explosion. Immunity was offered her in return. On her defiant refusal she was charged with criminal syndicalism after being "sweated" for eight hours.

Still defiant she was admitted to very low bail and it was hinted to her that if she were to jump the bail no effort would be made to find her.

This she refused to do and the bosses' bluff being called the case was dropped. The attempt of the California Criminals to fasten the Preparedness day explosion on the I. W. W. boys so as to clear themselves and forestall further investigation failed. But it did not fail before the frame up gang had driven Fred Esmond insane.

Esmond was taken to Washington D. C. to the Federal hospital for the insane on the 28th of July, 1921. Chances are good that he may recover and take up the trail of the real criminals of the Bomb outrage once more.

Present California

There is so much other recent California history that it is appalling to try and relate the fraction of it. Fourteen Fellow Workers are in San Quentin penitentiary on infamous framed up or class prejudiced evidence. Three are in Folsom Prison in the same state and for the same reasons. There are twenty-two Fellow Workers behind the bars in county jails from Eureka in the northern part of the state where H. M. Edwards is awaiting trial for the terrible crime of circulating literature, giving some explanation of the I. W. W. and its principles, to Los Angeles where nine fellow workers are in jail for similar or less plausible reasons. These nine fellow workers: W. I. Fruit, Robert Engdahl, R. Bendig, L. Allen, J. Olsen, A. Shooker, E. Peters, B. Engel and H. Matlin are what is left yet to be tried, out of a group that varies with the passage of time and prison sentences.

A Sample Case

The case of James Price stands out as representative of the methods of vicious repression that animates our liberty loving courts. Price is one of the old time members that was in the picket

line at Wheatfield during the days when Ford and Suhr were getting the lash from the masters whips. He was one of those who were so criminally treated in the Sacramento trial. After the rigors of the years of prison life he was admitted to bail from Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary pending an appeal for a rehearing.

Price returned to California and at once became active in the defense of the Fellow Workers who had been arrested and were going through the treatment that he had been through himself.

He handled the defense office in San Francisco till the appeal for a new trial was denied by the Supreme Court when he started back to Leavenworth, was thrown again into the brutal prison pens and was sentenced from one to fourteen years in Folsom, where Ford and Suhr have been these many years. They would rather have Price close to home so that they can torture him themselves.

The Northwest

In the northwest the same unending fight has been going on. There are outstanding cases there as elsewhere that are typical of the methods used. But in the states of Washington, Idaho and Montana a revulsion of feeling is now showing itself. The insistent day by day educational matter that has been put out is taking effect and in some localities the prosecutions and brutalities have ceased. We need to go on more intensely with the work done. We need to carry the truth of the viciousness of law "enforcement" to every man woman and child in the entire country. There are still orgies of tyranny in the northwestern states. Centralia, Washington, has had many battles since the Armistice fight. Aberdeen in the same state has had members arrested and literature confiscated time and again. Spokane still maintains the well worn injunction of Judge Webster in periodical raids and persecutions. The Iron Heel is a universal phenomena.

There are thousands of cases all over the country that cannot be taken up here, but should be taken up in leaflets, local lectures and stickers, to show the people of each locality the dirty vicious methods that characterize all the various enforcements made by those protectors of civil righteousness, the police force, the detectives and other pimps and stool pigeons of degeneracy.

Central States

Half way across the continent from California the courts of American justice grind out their continued oppression and uphold the sanctity of their rule. The battle between the I. W. W. harvest workers and groups of organized high jacks or hold up men, who have preyed on these workers for years with the aid and connivance of the authorities, has been strong. Pitched gun battles have been fought in which in most cases the I. W. W. has come off victorious.

Growing out of the fight, against a species of

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

brigandry that more nearly approximates the capitalist system than anything that comes to mind, is the case of Frank Daring.

The High Jack Helpers

A battle was fought on a swift moving freight between some hold up men and a group of harvest workers who were following the harvest northward. As a result of this battle W. D. Henderson was killed. The law promptly caused the arrest of Frank Daring a member of the I. W. W. who was riding on another part of the train and charged him with the murder of the dead man.

There was no proof that Daring had been present at the shooting or had any hand in it. He however was a member of the I. W. W. and if the I. W. W. had not organized the harvest workers the rule of the high jacks would have been supreme and there would have been no fight. This is enough to furnish material with which to convict this worker. Daring was convicted of manslaughter and the kindly judge gave him fifteen years in the penitentiary.

This case typifies much of the methods of the masters in the middle west. The commercial clubs and banking interests rule this country with an iron hand. They have sent many good men behind the bars in their battle against labor organizations and education.

A Few Details

To attempt to give a complete list of all the cases would take pages and a full history of the sordid details of their captivity would fill volumes. Here are a few of these who just happen to be on the tops of the files of prisoners and victims from the Central States in the last few months: Harry Tonn, sentenced to three years in Iowa State penitentiary, J. C. Terrell, sentenced to seven years in the Oklahoma State penitentiary, Harry T. Breen, Thomas Payne, Robert Dilgar, and Wm. Murphy are all slated for terms in the Kansas penitentiary, John Downs will be tried in October, and so on and on through dozens of weary files of names that do not even represent the half of the membership of the I. W. W. that have been and are now in jail on framed up charges or on charges of being members.

West Virginia Participates

Further east in the coal barony of West Virginia we see the hired thugs of the capitalist hierarchy shooting down in cold blood an unarmed worker who has had the courage to face his enemies in battle time and again. Sid Hatfield was shot in the back by three of the Baldwin Felts gunmen while mounting the court house steps.

No attempt was made to rebuke his assailants. The murder was quite within the recognized tactics



OPEN THE DOORS.

of Justice and was committed with her sanction. When the miners rose to see that the murder was avenged, the whole force of the armed militia and trained thuggery of the country was called out to shoot down the miners bent on unholding the law—that written thing which has become a mockery and an outrage.

From "Coast to Coast"

On the Atlantic seaboard we see more of the sort of rule that is handed out to the workers of the industries as Americanism by the plutocracy of this country. Sacco and Vanzetti were close friends of one Salsedo whose body came crashing down from the upper stories of the Federal building where he was being illegally held by the agents of Justice. Sacco and Vanzetti were too active in getting evidence of this case. They were stirring up too much comment and besides they were laboring Italians who believed in unionism and were a detriment to the plans of the local group of capitalists. The agents of the department of Justice easily framed up on the two workers. They were charged with the murder of Parmenter and Berardelli, pay roll guards for one of the big shoe companies of Massachusetts.

Sacco and Vanzetti to Die

Perfect alibis were proven, but what does a matter like that effect the process of legal Justice? The two Italian workers were found guilty and will die in the electric chair unless labor intervenes. That it is intervening is the greatest news of the day. In Italy the prompt mobilization of all the working class forces possible in such a case was made. Economic blockades, mass demonstra-

tions, demands and protests have made known the organized spirit that is behind the victims picked out to die by the red handed murderers of Salsedo.

Carry the Word

This in very small part is the situation in regard the institutions of Justice and the working class in the United States of America. We know that we can not change this situation without organized power behind us to force a change. But one thing we can do and that is carry the facts in detail to every man, woman and child in America so that the very idea of Justice in a capitalist court will be laughed out of existence by the workers of the world.

This campaign of publicity will aid us in our organization work. It should at all times be secondary to that work. We must remember that we owe a duty to the Fellow Workers who are the victims of the prison manacles. We must free them from their imprisonment. That can only be done by forging the weapon, the economic power, that will turn the balance in the scales of Justice so that they hang the other way.

Funds are needed to carry on publicity campaigns. Funds are needed to continue the relief work of the wives and children and of the hundreds who are behind the walls for us. The General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. asks you to donate all that you can so that the big publicity drive can be put across and so that our organization work can be pushed at the same time.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE OF THE I. W. W.

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Work Peoples' College

By Rosa Knuuti

AMONG the millions of foreigners that have crossed the waters to this side of the world, are the Finns numbering nearly 300,000. Ignorant of the customs and language of the country, they with other immigrants were easily liable to become cheap slaves for the American labor market.

Thousands of these Finns located in the mining regions of Michigan and Minnesota. They were being educated to the ways of the country by the religious clergy, the obedient servants of the master class. In time they established a school or seminary for the purpose of putting forth ministers as educators among the Finns. It was first organized in Minneapolis, Minn., in 1903 and was called the "People's College." It was moved later, however, to Smithville, Minn., a suburb of Duluth, where it is situated today.

As a religious seminary, this school wasn't much of a success. The workers that enrolled for study demanded something in modern sciences. The liberal element among the Finns were interested in a project of this sort and began to purchase stock in the People's College Corporation. And along in 1907-8 they were holding the majority of the stock, which as a result meant that their influence began to be felt in no time. The radical element was injected into the school board and soon potent changes were seen. The name of the college was changed to the Working People's College.

The new policy was a change for the better. It created interest among the workers. They began to flock to the school in such numbers that it was necessary to build another building to house the students. In 1908 the Finnish Socialist Federation had full control and ownership of the college. Its

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membership was assessed one dollar per year for the maintenance of the school. One improvement after another took place. Important changes were made in the curriculum. Preparatory courses in Scientific Socialism and advanced classes for advanced students. The teaching of such subject-matter that was of paramount importance to the class struggle was given first consideration. This included history, political science and sociology. Commercial subjects were also taught, and while some of the students enrolled for the commercial courses alone, they were obliged to take the scientific courses in socialism. Each student spent part of his time in getting acquainted with the teachings of Karl Marx, Engels and Kautsky. Essays and lectures were prepared on topics concerning the class struggle. Students were put through rigid tests and examinations of their studies. In due time the Working People's College became a veritable factory for turning out finished speakers, lecturers and editors for the socialist movement.

A few years later, however, in the year of 1912 new ideas inoculated into the movement began to work havoc with the teachings of conservative socialism. A controversy arose in the Finnish Federation which resulted in a split. Incidentally, the College was affected. There, also, two factions arose. The conservative political socialists and the industrial socialists. It reached its climax at the annual college conference in the spring of 1913. The industrialist element dominated. Before the conference was over the conservatives had evacuated. They refused to abide by the rules of the College Corporation and automatically lost all control over the school. Since then it has been in the hands of the industrialists.

Again the curriculum was changed. Industrial socialism became industrial unionism, and was being taught from the viewpoint of the I. W. W. The most able teachers that could be had were obtained for the instructors along these lines. Men and women in sympathy with industrial unionism came flocking to the school, eager to know more about the scientific doctrines of the class struggle.

It was not long before the student body voiced their sentiments as to what subject matter was most important to them. They were not satisfied to confine their studies alone to the theoretical side of the class struggle, but demanded a new course of study in addition. Organization book keeping and the study of the delegate system appeared on the curriculum. Soon a miniature I. W. W. headquarters with all its various branches and officials was formed as part of the study.

Every student was a delegate, and efficiently and thoroughly the filling out of application blanks for membership, the lining up of new members, stamping cards, and making out intelligible report blanks were being learned. Side by side, the burly miner from the regions of Mesaba, the lumber jack from the west, the harvest stiff, the girl from someone's

kitchen or from the factory looms of the east, studied, learning to become fighters in the ranks of labor. What a vocation to choose, to follow. They were there for a specific purpose. They are learning the A. B. C.'s of industrial administration, studying the plans for a workers' system of society to replace the old.

But the mission of the Work People's College is not the education of Finnish workers only, but seeks to cater to the English speaking workers also. It is striving to become the working class institution of America. It has already been sanctioned by the 1921 convention of the I. W. W. which went on record to give it support and publicity in every way possible. It is the wish of the Work People's College that the English speaking workers rally to College this coming year.

School Year

The school year at the Work People's College commences on November 15th and continues for five months, until April 15th. Everyone entering the College may begin his course of study from where he left off either at the College or other school or at the place he had reached by self-study.

Courses of Instruction

1. Scientific department.
2. Technical elementary sciences and practise.
3. English department.
4. Organization bookkeeping department.

Scientific Department

Lectures in this department will be given on the following subjects: The construction and procedure of industrial unionism, commencing with the preamble of the I. W. W. and concluding in industrial society. Economics and sociology.

Literature which treats on these subjects will be used as text books. The teachers will guide the students in the obtaining of such course books which are collateral to the lectures. The College library has a good assortment of books dealing with these subjects, giving an abundance of material in this work.

Practise Department

Among other work in this department, two hours per week will be devoted to correct pronunciation, reciting poetry, reading and platform department.

Two hours per week will be given to public speaking and presentation, debate, parliamentary drill, and organizing work.

In addition to these hours the student body will arrange for two meetings per week in which subjects of the hour and other discussion will be carried on so as to give the students practise in speaking on his feet and conducting meetings according to parliamentary rules.

Department of English

The teaching of English language is divided into four classes. The first class learn the fundamentals of grammar, pronunciation and the diacritical marks.

The second class goes through the grammar thoroughly and in detail. Considerable attention is given to composition in connection with the points raised in the grammar. Attention is also given to sounds and the pronunciation.

The third class concentrates on composition with reviews now and then in grammar. Considerable time is given to reading.

The fourth class gives most of the time to the study of rhetoric; several long themes are written; some time is given to working out speeches and debates.

Organization Bookkeeping

- II. The duties of a secretary; 3 hours.
- III. Fundamentals of double entry bookkeeping according to the Rows system; 2 hours. The students can take up the work where he had formerly left off, or depending on his former preparation.
- IV. Penmanship; 5 hours.
- V. Letter writing; 2 hours.
- VI. Arithmetic 1. Whole numbers, fractions, decimals; 5 hours.
- VII. Arithmetic 2. A review of Arithmetic 1, measures, percentage and proportion; 5 hours.
- VIII. Typewriting.

Charges

Room and board may be obtained by each student at the College dormitory and boarding hall. The charges are as follows: tuition \$8.00, board \$25.00, and room \$6.00 per month, the total expenses being \$39.00 per month. Under all circumstances the payments are to be made in advance for at least one month. If for any reason the student is compelled to leave before the month is up, the balance of his boarding and rooming account will be refunded, but no tuition will be refunded.

How to Get to the College

To get to the College buy a ticket at the Union Depot in Duluth to Spirit Lake. In case of baggage which is checked, the check must be given to the conductor on the train before the baggage is put off at the Spirit Lake station. The station is right near the College. If the street car is taken, take car No. 9 or 14 to 91 Ave. W. From here it is just a short distance to the College.

Student Life

The students are organized and have regular business sessions as well as discussions and debates. Parties, games, and dances are given Saturday evenings. Frequently programs are given which are attended by fellow workers and friends from Duluth and the neighborhood who come here to take part in the program and to visit the College.

There is plenty of opportunity for the student

to take regular exercise indoor and outdoor to keep himself in good physical condition. It is an absolute requisite that one be healthy to get the most out of these subjects.

Instruction for Those Intending to Attend the College

Hereafter is attached a student's entrance application. Fill it out and send it to the College. When you have made application for entrance, report at the time you specify. If you are unable to attend after you have reported, be sure to notify the College of the inability.

Try to arrive in time at the College. Do not unnecessarily delay in making your entrance application, for in the College dormitory there is now room for only about 60 students, therefore a delay may shut you out.

Take all your text books with you for they may be useful course books here.

Select your course of study as completely as possible before your arrival here, selecting what you think the most important subjects. Follow your selections and plan to the end; then you will get the most from your study.

The College has received the recognition of hundreds of its former students; this should behoove you to come to the College to get information and reap the benefits of learning while you live.

Knowledge is the keenest weapon in the unavoidable class struggle. Learning is its best capital. The sooner the working class becomes conscious of its significance in society the nearer is the day of industrial freedom.

It is required of all students pursuing courses at the College that they take at least one subject in the scientific course.

Application for Entrance to the College

Use this form and send it to the College. Mark with a (X) cross the subject you intend to study.

-Scientific Course.
-Practice Subjects.
-English Language.
-Organization bookkeeping.

I shall arrive at the College
 (Month) (day)

Name

Address

Work People's College,
 Box 9, Morgan Park Sta.,
 Duluth, Minn.



One College Professor Who Knew

BEFORE his death, Carlton D. Parker, the celebrated American economist, wrote that members of the I. W. W. know more about history, economics, biology and popular science than any group of college students he had ever met. We quite agree with our old friend who did so much to acquaint the world with the aims of the I. W. W.

Our Fall Book Offers

Many of our fellow workers will be gathered together in the harvest fields and other places during the coming months. They will have a great opportunity to start their companions to using their brains. We are doing our part in this educational campaign by making an offer whereby they can get a number of valuable books free by hustling around and sending in a few new yearly subs (at \$2.50 each) for *The Industrial Pioneer*. To those sending \$5.00 for two new subs we will send free any one of the following \$1.25 cloth-bound books:

Economic Determinism. By Lida Parce. Explaining the economic interpretation of History.

Savage Survivals in Higher Peoples. By J. Howard Moore. An illustrated story tracing the instincts of man from the lower animals, a great book to read or to hand to a worker who does not know man has sprung from lower forms of animal life.

Stories of the Great Railroads. By Russell. A tale of modern financial piracy, good for the boys who have a message for the railroad workers. Illustrates how hard some of our millionaires worked (other folks) for their wealth.

Universal Kinship. By J. Howard Moore. The story of man's rise from fish, birds and reptiles to his present estate; the story of man's evolution.

For **ONE NEW SUB.** to *The Pioneer* we will send free any one of the following cloth-bound 75c books:

Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome. By Morris and Bax. An outline history of the human race, through savagery, feudalism and capitalism—and up to a few years before the birth of the I. W. W. A history of class struggles.

The Collapse of Capitalism. By Cahn. Explanation of what is causing the strangulation of capitalism today, with the unemployment, high prices, failure of business enterprises

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Social and Philosophical Studies. By Paul Lafargue. Shows the origin of the idea of God and why the industrial worker is the most scientific thinker.

Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. By Engels. A vital book of every intelligent Wobbly. What is the state? How did private property arise? Are these everlasting? Has the family changed? This book answers the above questions.

Value, Price and Profit. By Karl Marx. The Marxian (or I. W. W.) explanations of where the worker is robbed, and how. Shows why the place to fight is on the job.

The World's Revolutions. By Untermann. A history of former revolutions.

If you want to renew your own subscription to *The Industrial Pioneer*, add 50 cents and we will send you any of the \$1.25 books, or if you want one of the 75c books, add 25c to your remittance and we will send it on to you.

For **eight new yearly subs** we will send free of charge all of the eight books mentioned in the last list (75c books).

Come along now and help us pile up our circulation during the next three months. And let us know what you think of the books and we may be able to start a Discussion Page on historical and scientific subjects.

Address:

Name

Street

City

MEMORIES

By Jaze

When you are hungry, or when you see other workers who are hungry, or when the democracy of the flop house becomes oppressive to your body, accustomed, to out door work and a decent place to live, does it ever occur to you to think back on the good old days, to stir up a nest of memories, and have a little quiet bitter laugh at yourself and the workers generally for the things of the past few years.

Down in Centralia, on the side of one of the empty buildings there was, last fall, a poster, a very large poster, which caused me, in passing it several times a day, great amusement. It displayed a very chubby, very robust infant of approximately four years in a rather becoming nudity, protected by all the devices of pictorial patriotism, and the caption: Preserve your children from militarism and poverty. Today on West Madison St. I saw a child who recalled that poster to me. Bare-footed she was, and dressed in tattered clothes, not filled at all with the jubilant happiness of our poster's chubby child, but thin and emaciated, looking as though her father, perhaps her mother too, had not had work for some time. Nor was she of the slum type, either, for in her eyes, too, bright though they were from hunger, was the light of defiant intelligence.

And over in the foreign districts, where the Jews and South Europeans live, instead of happy, chubby children I have seen too much of the bloom of childhood suppressed in nauseous squalor; I have seen too many bright minds and sturdy bodies wearing out beneath the strain of insufficient food, and the scurry of the effort to get an opportunity to save their children from poverty, and hunger, worst of all fears of the worker.

Nor is this struggle to save the children confined to the big cities. In the smaller cities and towns of the West, where the fathers work in the mines, the lumber woods and mills, or in the fisheries, the children are being sacrificed to poverty. And among the children of the tenant farmers, those scrawny pelagra afflicted victims of a grossly hoggish landlord class, hunger cries out to us again, to save the child from poverty.

All the children of the workers, after the brief period of sufficiency granted on condition that their brothers fought in the hellish trenches of

France, are again becoming what the children of the workers have ever been, the ill supplied, unwanted burden of society. Allowed to run the streets on sufferance only, nagged by police and civic clubs, threatened in their efforts at merriment and play by the clanging trolley, the whirring motor and the rumbling truck, playing a perpetual game with death, they clutter the tenement districts, and now none thinks of making them safe, especially of making them safe from poverty.

The very agencies that put out these posters, the agencies whose industrial position has been strengthened by the war, are exerting their every effort to crush these children into greater poverty, to build upon their withered bodies the foundations of a future militarism.

It is for the workers, now; as the posters said it was during the war, to save the children from militarism, and poverty. But the poverty from which they are to be saved is no hypothetical poverty inflicted by feared foreign invader. It is a poverty inflicted by the social system under which we live, it is a poverty inherent in the condition of slaves from time immemorial. And the militarism from which they are to be saved is no foreign militarism. It is the brute militarism of our own master class, for whose future salvation war and foreign conquest are a necessity. The militarism and poverty the workers face are inflicted by the system under which we live and only by the destruction of the system can we eliminate these twin monsters.

We have a vision of a workers' society where justice and efficiency will be the ruling factors. In our minds we carry a memory of this vision with us everywhere.

It is a tender memory, this: the memory of a vision of the happy children of parents whose lives are not the perpetual struggle against poverty inflicting capitalism. It should encourage every worker to enter the lists against the poverty of our lives; against the system which renders us hungry producers for others enjoyment. This memory should encourage every worker to join the struggle to save the child from poverty, to save it for the industrial commonwealth, and perhaps, in the struggle to get a taste of this great era of emancipation himself.



The Educational Bureau

IN ORDER to further the progress of I. W. W. education and to unify the different propaganda sections of the organization the General Executive Board has established a Bureau of Education.

This Bureau will attempt to get leaflets into the field dealing with specific situations as they arise. It will route speakers and aid in directing the work of the organization papers along lines of organization needs and requirements. It will act as a center for information and will at all times seek to keep in touch with the different changing industrial phases so as to be able to put out articles and leaflets on industrial and class war subjects.

In order to get in touch with the situation in the various industries and keep in touch with the happenings of the different parts of the country it is necessary that there be means of communication and that parties in the industries should send in news items as soon as possible after the happenings.

Also in the routing of speakers cooperation is necessary. The Bureau is issuing a call for live members to get in touch with it so that it can cover the country with a news gathering and propaganda distributing network of workers who are interested and determined to get out I. W. W. propaganda efficiently.

Another thing that we need for the Bureau is to secure information concerning industry, such as learning what plants, factories mills, mines, camps, in fact all jobs are located in each locality: who are the owners; what number of workers are employed when operating at full capacity and what are employed at the present; what wages are paid, hours of work and other conditions; and endeavor to learn what the output and what profits are made. All this is for the purpose of obtaining accurate information to enable the Bureau to publish accurate literature on industry, that will enlighten the workers as to what they are doing for the parasites and how they can organize to secure control and oper-

ate industry for the benefit of the workers alone.

Hoping you will give this your immediate consideration, we are yours for,

Industrial Solidarity,
Educational Bureau.

Industrial Workers of the World,
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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JUSTUS EBERT

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1001 West Madison Street
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