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The Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine

ORGANIZATION

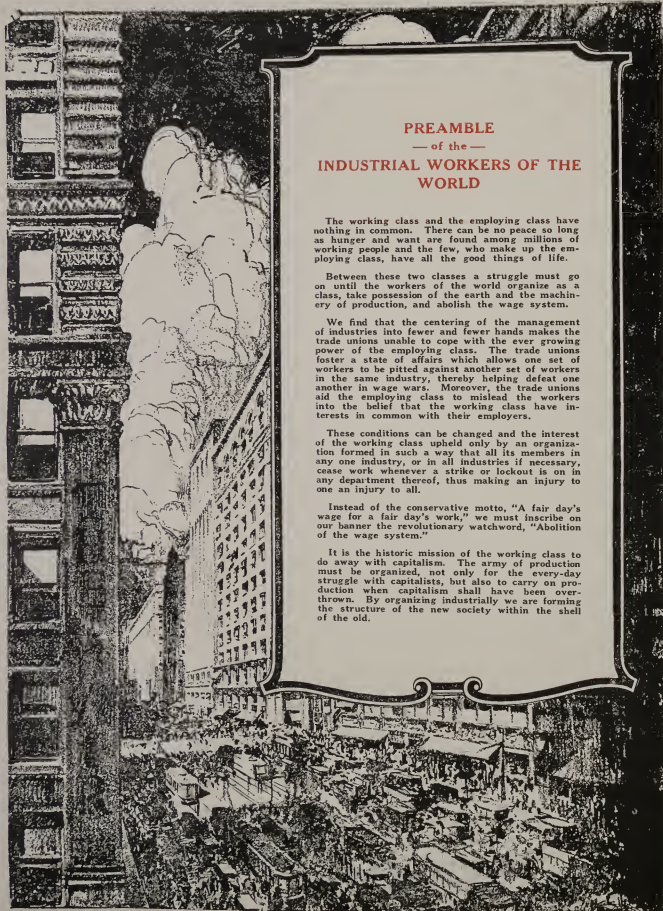
EDUCATION

EMANCIPATION



"Don't mourn for me; organize."

Joe Hill Memorial Number
Reviewing The 1925 Harvest Drive
Indications of International Solidarity



PREAMBLE

— of the —

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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

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

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

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

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

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



The Industrial Pioneer

Edited by Vern Smith

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EDITORIALS

LUMBERWORKERS RESTLESS—During the first week of October, about 1,500 lumber workers, engaged in the saw mills of Aberdeen startled the community by going on an unorganized strike, and closing down what might be called the chief manufacturing industry of that town. News dispatches sent in to Chicago from there state that everything is unusually quiet, and add significantly, "even the whistles are silent". That is an excellent sign. If the bosses cannot get scabs, they cannot run their mills, therefore, no whistles. And if this condition lasts very long, there will certainly be gains for the strikers.

It is likewise reported that the strikers are afraid to organize. Certainly the strike was not started by any organization. It was started by the rotten conditions and the low pay. The saw mill workers suffered a cut of about 20 percent in their wages not long ago, and the mill bosses kept them quiet by telling them that there was no profit, and nothing to strike for.

But when work speeded up, and when news came in of great sales of lumber in the Orient and elsewhere, and when, especially, some of the mills began to run two shifts—that looked different.

The saw mill workers were right in striking. If they do not win it will not be because the bosses can not afford to lose. It will be because the bosses are better equipped to put up a fight, and the obvious lesson to these workers from that, is to organize. They have good solidarity—they strike together—FINE! But that is the beginning only. Whether they win or lose this round, they will have another coming up. If they win, the boss will begin, either by lengthening the hours, speeding up the work, efficiency systems, or in some other way, to quietly take back all he has been forced to surrender. If they do not win, he will of course, grant nothing in the first place. And either to keep what is won, or to make sure of getting it at all,

it is necessary to be firmly organized, ready to fight any time, and not to have to depend on a wave of enthusiasm or of desperation to pull the men out of the mills, at a critical moment.

These lessons are so plain that the Aberdeen workers will see them before long. Once they have begun to show solidarity, the organization needed to maintain it will take place. It is all very hopeful, when one considers that the saw-mill workers are the section of the lumber industry that have always been least likely to put up a fight. If they begin to struggle, then surely, conditions favor organization and militant action everywhere in the industry.

We expect before long to hear, that not only have the saw-mill workers of Aberdeen and other Pacific Coast towns decided in greater and greater numbers to join the I. W. W., but that the woods workers, heretofore the most energetic and rebellious, and because of that the most progressive, section of the industry, are flocking to hunt up delegates in Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 120 of the I. W. W. If the mill workers can fight unitedly and tie up four big mills in Aberdeen, the loggers, who understand organization, and have had experience in its benefits, can certainly be relied upon to get together and get results, the I. W. W. way.

TOO MANY MINERS?—John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America agrees with Secretary Hoover that there are twice too many miners in this country. While Lewis jockeys for political preferment we find the union which he heads staggering under a weight of scab competition certain, if not checked, to wreck it. Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia scabs are receiving a wage of \$2.50 a day in those enlightened communities, while the organized fields pay

\$7.50. As a result of this cost advantage, and superiority of the coal in the states named, owners of these non-union mines are forming stronger blocs of economic power whose future portends a coal mine hegemony destructive of all unionism in the coal mining industry.

With speed-up systems and improved methods of taking out the coal, fewer workers are needed unless a change is made in the hours of employment. This condition holds true of all industries, the number of part-time employed and unemployed workers constantly grows, and this very resource of competitors for jobs gives the employing class a weapon with which to force their slaves to toil longer hours. In no respect is the class conflict, the clash of interests between worker and boss more clearly shown than in the matter of hours. Obviously, when the number of jobless mounts the first need is for a reduction in hours of those employed so that the unemployed can be given work. But the boss class is strengthened by this over-supply of labor and turns the situation to the account of higher profits by driving the workers to longer hours of labor and to lower rates of pay.

The same phenomenon is common to all industrial countries, and lands that formerly produced few or no manufactured articles are developing their industries. With these nascent competitors on the world market the battle is intensified and the contradictions of capitalism assume more threatening form. There is no hope through the old means of collective bargaining. The capitalist class as it throws ever more workers into the shambles of unemployment approaches its end, but without the decisive assaults of revolutionary labor capitalism can endure for a long time. Machinery exists to be the friend and liberator of the working class when this class takes possession of it for its own purposes. Today machinery in the grasp of an unsocial breed of leeches enslaves the workers.

So, if there are too many miners according to the hours worked, is there no solution to the problem? Are the extra

miners to thrust themselves on a labor market already glutted? Or are they to lie down and die? So far as the trade union officialism is concerned they can adopt either course. Trade unionism has no key to the dilemma; it is bankrupt. Indeed there is no way out for the miners and for all workers except by revolution. And the hour nears, the time is being forced on the working class in which its members must make a positive offensive for possession of all the industries.

—JOHN A. GAHAN.

SYMPTOMS OF DECAY.—Chicago is one of the great cities, great in population, boasting good health conditions. And, as big cities go, we suppose that it is not worse than others in this respect, and perhaps better than many. But we recall having read a few years ago a statement by a prominent physician connected with the Chicago Board of Education, in which he said that most of the children he examined had enlarged tonsils and bad respiration due to congested living quarters and improper nourishment.

The other day Dr. Clara Jacobson made a health survey of the Scanlon school of Chicago, which has 2,000 pupils. She reported that 15 per cent of these children are potential tuberculosis cases, and that 42 per cent are anemic. Also that 75 per cent have enlarged or diseased tonsils, and 74 per cent have decayed teeth. In addition to this she says that 41 per cent have enlarged thyroid glands, 26 per cent defective posture; 40 per cent have defective vision; 6 per cent were slightly deaf in one or both ears, and rickets in infancy had left its effects on 27 per cent.

This is a record of an ordinary public school's children. Most of these children are of the working class. Nearly every disease, imperfection and tendency to disease discovered by this physician is traceable to poverty. The effects of rickets (rachitis) being peculiarly so, since this disease attacks very young children who are not properly fed. Children afflicted who survive its ravages are marked by the

disease. In a survey of a New York public school several years ago it was discovered that most of the children came to school without breakfasting, because their parents were too poor to provide them with the prescribed three meals a day. And a doctor at that time whose investigations had been nationwide said that there were several million American school children who did not receive either enough to eat or the right kind of food, due to the impoverished conditions under which they existed.

While upward of two million children are enslaved in the industries of this country, another immense host are robbed of the nutrition that is required to build strong bodies and to fit human beings for the normal conduct of life. Warfare is one of the spectacular outrages practiced on the human race because of the scheme of profits motivating industry. But here is another phase of the same monstrous power working havoc in the bodies of little children. There is no cure for poverty except freedom, and freedom means industrial freedom, justice and equality for all men and women and all who are able acting as producers.—JOHN A. GAHAN.

BRAINS AND GAS.—Brigadier General Amos A. Fries, chief of the American army's chemical warfare service, declares that in the next war gas is to be the dominant factor. He also mentioned that this country leads the world in this kind of war preparation. The general imparted the cheering news that with an auxiliary air force it would be possible to kill every resident in a city as large as Chicago by dropping drums of poison vapors from the clouds. And he wound up by asserting: "In ancient days it was brute force that won struggles. Now man has found that brains count more than brawn."

Such chemical progress for wiping out opponents in warfare should certainly be thrilling to the patriotic soul. How the pulses of the hundred percenter must quicken at the news, and how our chests should swell with this pride of brain over brawn for the purposes of human destruction. Advocates of gas warfare tell us it

is the most humane way to kill. How glorious is the chemical science that has developed such nice ways to cut off life!

The general is a realist. He speaks of the next war in just as natural a way as one might speak of the night following day. He is correct. Capitalism creates the commercial rivalries that cause wars and there can be no abolition of armed conflict so long as capitalism exists. The logic prompting perfection of death-dealing gases and other instruments for killing is flawless. If humanity sets out to be efficient in murder, gas seems to be a very effective means to this end. But has this race that has climbed from the gibbering to the articulate, from the beast and half-beast to the full stature of manhood, armed with power over all lower orders of life and over the very elements of soil and wind and wave, no higher destiny than that of wholesale murder?

We of the I. W. W. think so, but we know the forces that make wars, and we know that only the organized workers are strong enough, and humane enough to stop the recurrent sprees of blood-letting. The human race has reached a point where the further rule of its affairs by a minority class of capitalists means nothing but misery and death in war of industry and of battlefield. The hour has struck for the workers to take charge of their world, in the interest of the working class and of humankind.—JOHN A. GAHAN.

A NEEDED GESTURE.—Some time ago we reported that anthracite coal shipments from Wales were being ordered to meet the deficiency created by cessation of work of 158,000 hard coal miners in this country, and that Lewis was doing nothing to stop the shipments. However, the miners and transport workers of Great Britain realize that they lose in the long run as American workers fail to advance their own interests, and a move has been made by the union miners and transport workers over there to prevent shipment of the coal to America. This is a willingness to make common cause not solicited by the American miners, but one which, nevertheless, strengthens their position.—JOHN A. GAHAN.



WORLD'S BREAD CROP—This map shows the location of the wheat granaries and fields. The figures following each number show the wheat in bushels produced in each country during the last two seasons. 1. United States, 1925, 878,000,000; 1924, 873,000,000. 2. Canada, 1925, 375,000,000; 1924, 263,000,000. 3. Argentine, including South America, 1925, record breaking acreage to harvest; 1924, 242,000,000. 4. Egypt, 1925, 37,000,000; 1924, 34,000,000. 5. Algeria, 1925, 40,000,000; 1924, 17,000,000. 6. South Africa, 1925, no report; 1924, 6,000,000. 7. India, 1925, 325,000,000; 1924, 364,000,000. 8. China, no figures available. 9. Japan, 1925, 36,000,000; 1924, 25,000,000. 10. Australia and New Zealand, 1925, 5 percent increase in acreage yet to harvest; 1924, 115,000,000. 11. Europe, including eight countries, exclusive of Russia, 1925, 852,000,000; 1924, 718,000,000. 12. Russia and Roumania, 1925, 771,000,000; 1924, 70,000,000; no figures on Russia.

Reviewing the 1925 Harvest Drive

This is a picture of the court house and jail at Fargo, N. D. At one time, this summer the bourgeoisie of the little town of Fargo, and the state officials of N. D., thought they had the whole I. W. W. harvest drive locked up here. Events proved they were mistaken. When the authorities decided to give up the fight, they took 119 men out of this jail and turned them over to a mob.



BY JAMES SULLIVAN

(Secretary Treasurer Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W.)

THROUGH the central area of the United States from Oklahoma to North Dakota, including part of Montana, and continuing across the line in the Dominion of Canada lies one of the world's richest granaries, contributing an enormous share of the food supply not only of North America but of the globe. Each year as the bright grain ripens in golden sunlight, the cry for men is heard. Workers are eagerly sought to play their saving part in this titanic epic of wheat. The need is urgent, for without them there can be no harvest, and devoid of harvesting farmers face ruin, while the nation is confronted with famine.

"A friend in need is a friend indeed!" and having never given the workers even a thought during the other seasons, John Farmer now sees the harvest worker as someone very desirable to have around his acres of waving wheat. The government lends itself to the task of recruiting the large army of harvest hands required. Every post office carries an advertisement, and the country's press is employed to make known still further the imperative need for men in the grain harvest belt.

Starts then a movement of workers from the east and the west to this middle country of wheat blowing in the sun over all the millions of acres, a migration of thousands of workers to Oklahoma and Kansas, high in hope of finding opportunities to make stakes. Annually at Alva, Oklahoma, are gathered the first to reach the scene, the advance guard of the toiling horde that sweeps northward, insuring wealth to farmers and bankers, and bread to the world. And the farmers are ready for them! Great as the need is for their labor power, John Farmer is tightfisted, alert to safeguard his gains and to augment possibilities for greater profits. The farmers meet each year throughout the grain country and decide on the wages they will offer in the harvest. Here is activity of economic association by farmers. They know that their interests are served better when they stand together.

Division Is Ruin

Now against such employing class unity the individual harvest worker is powerless to enforce demands consistent with his welfare, nor can he resist the onslaughts against his material status. Such being the case it is not remarkable that an organization so farmed as to unite agricultural workers in the manner best suited to advance their interests, came into existence. It is not necessary here, nor is there really space, to describe the history of this organization, originally called Agricultural Workers' Organization No. 400 of the I. W. W. and now named Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. Our time must be used in summing up the drive for organization for this year, which is now nearing its termination.

Beginning on May 15th last, at Omaha, Nebraska, A. W. I. U. No. 110 conducted a conference of delegates and members. This gathering considered the situation before them from all angles, and made preparations for an intensified campaign of organization. We can profitably consider the problems that loomed up at that time.

It is well understood by all exponents of industrial unionism that there can be no room in the harvest for more than one workers' organization. Any intruding union or the presence of a seceding faction could have but one effect: to lessen the strength of organization and to sap at the morale of the workers. And it was on this vital issue that the conference first acted. The Emergency Program element of disrupters had advertised their in-

tention of entering the harvest with their pernicious propaganda. A. W. I. U. No. 110 at Omaha last May went on record unanimously that there could be no other union in the harvest, and pledged itself to the I. W. W. Clear on that score the conference proceeded to map out plans for a successful organization drive. Many old-time members were present, whose experience and militant spirit greatly aided in making the conference a success. Determined to carry the message of industrial unionism through the grain country they planned very carefully.

They knew that organization work would have to be prosecuted in the presence of an employment crisis of vast proportions; that it would be difficult to build up organization with a working class of such marked indigence as is created by this jobless condition.

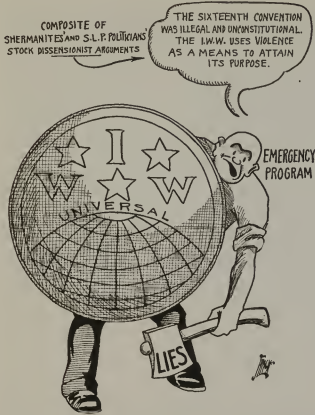
A Dozen Dangers

It was their business to consider a broken morale caused by the severe controversy which shook the I. W. W. They realized that their hope for success lay in exemplifying the fighting spirit of other years and thereby revivifying the workers' enthusiasm.

Another obstacle in the path to success was the failure of the crop in Oklahoma and Kansas. Still, when the harvest started in these states with the farmers offering \$3.50 and \$4.00 a day, the delegates and active members were on hand demanding a wage of \$5.00 at least. "Five dollars a day" became the workers' slogan and it speedily won. Although the unemployment crisis made competition for jobs more keen, the workers had sufficient good sense to realize that the wage offered by John Farmer was no incentive, and that the figure set as a minimum by I. U. 110 was calculated to enable them to obtain some semblance of decent livelihood. They expressed solidarity and profited by it. Our opening gun in the drive had been fired, and shattering the citadel of farmers' greed, reverberated with victory, redounding in material betterment for the workers.

Ignorance on Wheels

At this juncture we should call attention to another disadvantage with which our organization has been obliged to contend, especially since 1921. We refer to the auto tramps whose numbers are constantly increasing in the harvest territory. This element is composed largely of farmers' sons coming from dairy and corn states. They want to see the country, their chief concern not being to gain a livelihood. As a consequence they are not deeply interested in our major concerns, hours and wages being of secondary, only incidental importance to them. With such workers it is difficult to discuss unionism. Their whole interest has always been agricultural, and not influenced by labor unionism. Again, they travel rapidly, driving right up to the farmhouses and offering their labor power at the



**THE SHIELD AND THE WEAPON OF THE E. P.
(The E. P. Hides Behind Our Name)**

farmers' terms. Where these auto tramps do not supply the demand the farmers must go to town and meet the workers in groups, and the bargaining is then influenced by the collective agreement of the workers, or, in other words, it tends to be concluded at the organized workers' terms.

This auto tramp matter is a phenomenon of proportions so large that our organization is compelled to provide for coping with it, and the solution should be found largely in the extension of our Industrial Union among stationary farm workers, those who devote their time the year around to agricultural pursuits. In this manner we hope to secure permanency of organization in agriculture, whereas we now have only the seasonal drive among migratory workers whose time is chiefly spent in other than agricultural labor. In addition to the work that is performed throughout the year on farms of general character, there are special lines of work such as are done on dairy, canning and poultry farms, all of which offers a field for the organizational efforts of A. W. I. U. No. 110. Extended in this permanent manner we can more ably spread our educational message, and more effectively reach such groups as these auto tramps we have mentioned with a view to adding them to our members and eliminating a menacing competitor.

Returning now to a consideration of the organization drive, we see it gaining momentum as it leaves Oklahoma and Kansas, where the crops were very poor and chance for organization thereby re-

duced. The delegates and active members kept their lines firm, advancing northward determined to effect sufficient organization in Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota and Montana to offset the reverses at the beginning.

Progress attended their efforts in a uniform manner unmarked by anything spectacular or unique until the drive reached Fargo, North Dakota. Here our delegates were met by a conspiracy entered into on the part of those moneyed groups interested in the destruction of working class organization in general, and of agricultural workers' unionism in particular.

Force And Violence

Twenty-two of our delegates were illegally arrested in Fargo and thrown into the Cass County jail. This presented a situation of similar kind to many experienced by our organization in other years. Immediately the method that was employed previously for such emergencies was pressed into service. A call was sent out to all our members stating the facts and appealing for an exhibition of solidarity. With an alacrity that was as heart-warming to the jailed fellow workers as it was unpalatable to the instigators of the arrests, hundreds of workers hurried to Fargo to defend the right to organize.

It is said that ruling classes do not profit by the mistakes of the past. The world's history is replete with the blunders of the force, and the stupid additions of violence to quell the hosts who found birth in this very force. The imagination of these rulers is never broad. Force and violence are the twin evils which they rely upon to hold workers in subjection. So the Fargo rulers kept jailing our members until the jail was packed. And still came the surging flood of militant labor demonstrating that class consciousness is a living, pulsating reality in their lives and exemplifying to the startled vision of the Fargo outlaws of law and order the truth of Joe Hill's deathless line, "As fast as they can pinch us we can always get some more!"

The workers had won, for with the prison filled with our members, the streets were likewise thronged with other members while each train pulling into Fargo brought more. Illegality, force and violence perpetrated on union workers had lost, because you can not count victory by sowing dragons' teeth, and as a few were struck down to defeat organization many appeared to carry its standard onward. Still the Fargo authorities animated by the Chamber of Commerce and the Ku Klux Klan decided to end their labor-hating in customary violence.

In two detachments the unarmed fellow workers were led from the jail by police and citizens armed with guns and clubs. At the state line they were forced to run a brutal gauntlet and driven into Moorhead, Minnesota.

The citizens and press of this town at once raised protests against the outrageous treatment of our

(Continued on Page 29)

Evening

(By LAURA TANNE)

Brahms and flame
 Pale people leaning against soft cushions
 Listening to Brahms
 While the fireplace glowed contentedly.
 They spoke of music and lovely things—
 Words sheltered by cool elms
 Thoughts springing from a chaste aloof soil.

We sat listening to Brahms
 While the fireplace flickered peacefully,
 While wit and satire tiptoed in silken slippers
 Across the velvet atmosphere.
 While I.
 I heard a rumble of thunder outside,
 And saw a million impassioned faces lifted
 To the darkening sky.

Somewhere reddened arrows pierced the horizon,
 As we sat listening to Brahms,
 As the fireplace glowed contentedly.

Restaurant

(By LAURA TANNE)

The rats scurry over the dishes.
 The cockroaches play tag in the bread jar.
 Nice designs of grime embroider the greasy soup.
 And inside the liquid.
 Scraps of meat and potatoes float questioningly:
 "Why did that chemist commit suicide?"

The boss says to the cook, "Step lively, there—
 Keep a little cleaner, keep a little cleaner."
 The cook says to the waitress, "You sleepyhead—
 Where'dja go last night—where'dja go last night?"
 The waitress says to the dishwasher, "G'wan, you black gal,
 Move a little faster, move a little faster."

Rat traps.
 Traps of enmity.
 And the lock is Big Change.
 And Big Change is where
 The clouds drift to a summer day.



Undercutting the Miner

By CARD NO. 794514



MORE PROOF FOR ARGUMENT IN "UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE MACHINE"

The first step in checking the spread of unionism in the coal mines", according to Supt. T. A. Stroup, Utah Fuel Co., "will be to abolish the contract system, then mechanize the mines thoroughly, to standardize every operation down to the minutest detail so that no responsibility of any kind will fall on the worker." When this is accomplished, he points out, the United Mine Workers of America will decline like the Metal Miners' union which now is but a shadow of its former self. "In the metal mines," he says, "the tradition of the individual miner, capable and responsible, has been abolished, the mines have been thoroughly mechanized, all operations have been standardized. The trade of the metal miner has ceased to exist; they are now all mine workers fitting into niches and conforming to the routine laid out by their managers."

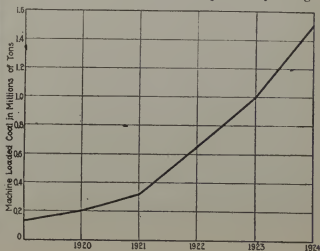
The general trend in the industry is setting in



ABOVE: The "Coloder" At Work, Running Miners Out of The Mine.
TO THE RIGHT: The "Fig. 1" Referred To by The "Coal Age."

this direction, appearing particularly in the non-union fields which are rising to snatch the market from the older unionized areas. "The coal mining industry," says the U. S. coal commission, "is just entering the last stage of reducing manual labor through the introduction of machinery." C. M. Means, consulting engineer of Pittsburgh, points out that "the coal mine of the future will be operated entirely by automatic and semi-automatic machinery and manual labor in the generally accepted term will be eliminated."

Do you think this is just bragging? No, unfortunately, no. The process of eliminating the coal miner, and of smashing his organization through the use of machinery, is well under way. While Lewis and other huge salaried officials of the U. M. W. wallow in their luxurious hotels, and such unemployment as was never before seen holds sway throughout the union field, the non-union coal mines are being rushed—coal is rolling out of them in such quantities as was previously thought



impossible, and it is partly the machine that is responsible.

Approximately fifty percent of the U. S. supply of coal comes from mines owned by less than three percent of the operators (Coal Commission reports) and of these big companies, the Pochahontas is one of the biggest and best equipped. It produces the most coal with the least men. And how? Partly of course by means of an extra efficient system of management, but also by means of its coal loading and coal cutting machines.

The Pochahontas Co. has a long article in a recent issue of *Coal Age*, bragging about its success with such machinery. Ostensible the article is the product of the pen of Mr. Alphonse F. Brosky, Assistant Editor of *Coal Age*. Really of course, as everyone knows—the company itself is back of the write-up, buys a certain number of copies of the magazine in return for the advertising it gets in the article—and some stenographer writes the article around facts furnished by the company. But here is what they say.

"Mechanical loaders handled about 1,500,000 tons, or 40 per cent of the 3,700,000 tons of coal produced by the Pochahontas Fuel Co. in 1924. As the leading producer of mechanically loaded coal, this company is far ahead of the runner-up for this honor, and for some years to come may continue to lead by reason of its purpose to substitute machine-loading for hand-loading methods in all its mines.

These mines are located in West Virginia and Virginia and on the southern boundary of the Pochahontas field. The machine being used is the Coloder, the first modern machine of this type being placed in service in 1918. Since then the company has installed twenty-one additional machines; all of them are now working and others will be installed from time to time.

"The rate at which loading machines are supplanting miners in the operations of this company is indicated by the growth in the tonnage of machine-loaded coal in the last five years. Thus in 1920 about 200,000 tons were produced by machines; in 1921 about 320,000 tons; in 1922 about 650,000 tons; in 1923 about 1,000,000 tons and in 1924 about 1,500,000 tons. The significance of this rapid growth is better displayed by the graph in Fig. 1. Particular interest lies not only in the fact that the yearly production of machine-loaded coal grew steadily during this period, but also that the rate of growth for each successive year increased."

There you have it, "The rate at which loading machines are supplanting miners . . ." And Lewis still chasing Reds, and hobnobbing with the bourgeoisie . . .

These machines are efficient. They load eleven tons per man per shift. The average performance per machine per day was 287 tons. It may be remarked that a day's work on the machine was nine hours. That seems to be one of the good (?) effects

of machine work in coal mines—it means long hours. It is recorded that one machine last year working double shifts, loaded 8,100 tons, while driving an entry, its aircourse, and breakthrough. To accomplish this feat each place was twice cut, shot and loaded in each shift.

You see what that means? Each working face twice shot in each shift—the room full of powder smoke, and the men reeling to the top at the end of the day, with their eyes sticking out and sweat rolling down their brows, dead sick from fumes . . . but of course that doesn't hurt the machine.

Another beauty about the machine is that the rooms can be made larger, and that means more roofs caving in. This difficulty is slightly alleviated by making the pillars larger too, because the coal cutters and loaders are especially efficient when removing pillars. The editor of *Coal Age* says:

Cutting Payroll

"Pillar coal can be loaded by machine at lower cost than by hand. In fact, the Pochahontas Fuel Co. claims the cost of pillar coal, excluding the cost of timbering, is no more and possibly may prove to be less than the cost of room coal where, in each case, loading machines are being used. It has vindicated this claim by increasing the width of its room pillars.

"With hand-loading methods no more than two men can work in a split or on a stump of a pillar. The mine cars have an average capacity of 3¼ tons. Four of these constitute a fair day's work for one miner in a pillar section. Consequently two men will recover only about 26 tons of coal from one pillar per day. By loading one and sometimes two cuts from one pillar in a shift, it is possible to increase the output from that pillar to as much as 100 to 200 tons per shift, the quantity being dependent on the method of working whether off the butt or by spitting the pillar and removing the stumps. By machine methods, consequently, the coal is removed as much as eight times as fast as by hand. In proportion to this increased speed is the safety increased. Speed also assists by reducing the quantity of slate to be handled and by decreasing the number of timbers that must be set."

Cutting Safety Margin

Would you have to wrack your brains very much to see where the saving comes in? It is not only the saving of men, (when men have to work longer to get out a given quantity of coal, that means more men must be employed, and conversely, when men work only a short time in getting out a pillar, that means fewer men are needed) but part of the saving comes in doing away with timbering.

It stands to reason that when the coal pillar that holds up the roof is mined away, some timber is normally needed to keep the roof from falling and killing someone. But the machine does away with timbering by its speed—at least theoretically.

The coal is jerked out so fast that no falling roof occurs while the machine is there—and afterwards it does not matter—that is the theory. The Pochahontas Co., speaking through the editor of Coal Age, boasts that no men have been killed on these machines. But it does not say anything about the men engaged in cleaning up after the machine is gone, nor anything about other men around there. And over against the boast of the Pochahontas we have these figures.

The coal industry in this country took a toll of a human life every working hour during the past six months, according to the bureau of mines of the department of commerce.

Nor is this all. The bureau of mines when it issued these figures, last month, appended a statement that there had been a fiftypercent reduction in the loss of life from explosions. The obvious inference is that accidents from falling of roofs in coal mines did not decrease much. Reason? Just that the coal companies were letting their machines' speed substitute for timbering. Instead of propping up the roof with timber, they let the men on the machine run a ghastly race and get away—if they're lucky, things won't fall in until they're gone. And sometimes they are not lucky. One man per hour is unlucky.

Yes it's a great game. Hundreds of thousands of miners out of work, and the machine putting more out of work every day. The four hour day a crying need, and the machine establishing the nine hour day. The leaders among the employers openly threatening to wreck the union, and what is more, actually doing it, and the miner's union leaders living in luxury, chasing Reds, and "letting the rest of the world go by." When will the miners wake up to what is going on?



MOUNTED POLICE GUARD COAL COMPANIES

Fellow Worker J. A. MacDonald's Book, "Unemployment and the Machine," gives many more incidents of unemployment caused by machinery. This book is now available in three languages: English, 87 pages, illustrated, price 15 cents; order from I. W. W. Headquarters; Finnish, illustrated, 96 pages, price 25 cents, order from Workers' Socialist Publishing Co., Box 464, Duluth; Swedish, coming off the press soon, I. W. W. Headquarters.



Castle Gate, Utah: Mine Where 173 Men Were Killed Last Year.

On The Anniversary of Centralia

By L. J. ENRIGHT

THE Centralia case is one that should be held up to view as much as possible, and with this thought in mind I am calling attention to it and not because there is any new light that I can throw upon it. November is a month in which the I. W. W. has suffered three great tragedies. It was in November, 1915, that Joe Hill was murdered by the authorities of Utah. November, 1916, saw our fellow workers on the decks of the Verona at Everett being massacred by the agents of the lumber interest, and on November 11, 1919, the Centralia tragedy was enacted. Joe Hill is beyond the power of our enemies, and so are those who fell at Everett, but Centralia is a living issue because there are eight of our fellow workers locked up in the state penitentiary of Washington for their militant attitude in the workers' cause.

Eight men, all loggers, are serving sentences from 25 to 40 years each because they defended their hall and their lives against a uniformed mob actuated by lumber trust agents at Centralia on armistice day seven years ago. These fellow workers are held because they stood up for the right to organize, to assemble peacefully and to express their opinions. These are rights existing in statutes and in the organic laws of this country, but in Washington as elsewhere in the land of the free and the home of the brave, freedom is the peculiar class possession of the exploiters. No concessions are freely made to workers. Every right that they have managed to secure is founded on power, because they have wrested by organized force certain things desirable to them they have them and for no other reason.

Centralia's conspiracy hatched almost in the open, advertised in the local papers, and passed about from one to another was an open secret. It was understood that the parade of Armistice Day was to be turned far from the usual route and that a raid was to be made on the I. W. W. hall. Knowing this our fellow workers issued a leaflet to the people of Centralia asking for fair play. Then they ascertained their legal rights in the matter and prepared to defend the hall. This was done and in the raid Warren O. Grimm, a legionnaire lieutenant, was killed with others. The mob pursued Fellow Worker Wesley Everest, brought him back terribly beaten, and he was thrown into the city jail. That night the lights of the town were conveniently extinguished and he was taken from the cell where he had lain all day in his own blood. He was unsexed en route to the scene of the lynching and hanged to a railroad trestle, the body being pulled up and flung down three times.

The Inquisition records no greater horror than this torture and that perpetrated upon the surviving defenders of the hall. Indeed, Eugene Barnett, who was not in the hall nor at the scene of the shooting, was held with the others and he is with them now in Walla Walla. The farcical trial which followed the tragedy was presided over by a fixed judge who was in the employ of the lumber trust, and the jury was intimidated—troops having

Evidence is clear that the Centralia boys were wrongly convicted. The most important government witness has recanted. Nine jurors have signed statements that the trial was not fair, and that vital facts were hidden. Two jurors admit that the verdict was to avoid mob violence. Six jurors went recently in person to ask the Governor to pardon the victims. More and more witnesses come forward to swear that the I. W. W. shot in self-defense.

been brought to Montesano, where the trial took place, and they camped across from the courthouse. The verdict of guilty afforded the judge a chance to give the prisoners the maximum sentence, which he did.

Though the case is clear, the hall having been attacked by a mob of paraders the judge permitted no evidence to be admitted showing that this raid was part of a conspiracy to drive our organization from Centralia. Most of the jurors have since signed affidavits saying that the trial was unfair, and they acted as they did to save their own lives and those of the defendants.

Recently five of these jurors went in person to the governor of the state appealing for the release of the eight men being held. But the lumber interests are vindictive. The militant workers who refused to be driven from Centralia have given a bad example to the workers everywhere. So think the lumber barons. Failing to hang them they did what they could, immuring them for life, for such is practically the case, under the stern regimentation of the prison.

Is there no hope for their release? Little indeed except by the power of working class solidarity. Witness the circumstances surrounding the recent parole of Richard Ford. He was one of the strikers in Wheatland in 1913. The district attorney and a sheriff, with armed deputies, attacked the strikers and fired upon them. In the fight both cutor and sheriff were killed. Also two unknown workers. Ford and Suhr were in-

(Continued on Page 28)



Book Reviews

More than fifty eminently capable writers have set down their thoughts on the political divisions of this government, producing in

Peeking And Peeking At The U. S. A.

"These United States" a symposium in two large volumes containing more than 800 pages. Each writer was assigned a state or territory to cover, and we have in their combined labor analyses of present conditions, bits of past history, criticism both favorable and adverse, and laudations. Some of the authors are Willa S. Cather, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, H. L. Mencken, Robert Herrick, Zona Gale, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, George P. West, William Alen White, Reginald Wright Kauffman, Theodore Dreiser, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Bruce Rogers, Robert Whitaker, and Ernest Gruening, the latter having contributed the paper on New York City and edited the entire work very efficiently.

With few exceptions I have been impressed more by the facility of the authors' style, the charming way in which they describe nature's beauties, than by any other consideration. Should we try to label the volumes conservative, liberal or radical the second one would fit squarely, though there are conservative touches and radical ones, too. But on the whole the articles present the liberal viewpoint. Now just exactly what does this mean? Can we in a phrase, a thought, sum up the liberal? Perhaps not. Someone has said that a conservative is the worshiper of a dead radical, and there is much to justify such an assertion. It has always seemed to me that the liberal wants to be distinguished for respectability, and that when he protests social wrongs he does so timidly, almost with the tongue in his cheek. In advance of the conservative, though the line of demarcation is not always well defined, the liberal is a follower of radical camps.

Now, had most of these writers had the keenness to see and the temerity to denounce with appropriate language the crying evils everywhere flourishing in these United States we should have a valuable addition to the literatures of class struggle, a literary counterpart of the Final Report of the Industrial Relations Commission of some years ago. Instead

we have just a few clear voices, and the rest sounds something like advertisements for the vacation and tourist trade.

But I have indicated reservations and very happily the series includes some with pens that have a deep probing quality and a power to sear into the reader's consciousness awareness of some of the hideous injustice and sham virtue of America and America's sleek parasites. Of the whole series Robert Whitaker's article is the best. Losing no ground to the others in richness of description, picturing as he does the glories of nature in the State of Washington in an unforgettable way, he goes on to examine the social movement, and dares to hold up to the world that crime of crimes against our fellow workers held these last seven years in Walla Walla Penitentiary because they defended their lives and their hall at Centralia on November 11, 1919. Every state does not have a Centralia, but every state has its bitter class warfare, growing more acute all the time, as the producing masses are subjugated in wretchedness to satisfy the wishes of the controlling few. And of this struggle, which is inescapable no matter where we turn, there is comparatively little said in the articles.

Take California for example: George P. West has written on this infamous whore in the sisterhood of states. But he does not see her shame. He does record imperfections, and wastes much ink telling how San Francisco kills its talented sons and visitors with kindness. He does not mention another sort of kindness exemplified across the bay in San Quentin and down in Repressa where so many members of the I. W. W. have been held, and are being held, under that peculiarly vicious class legislation known as the Criminal Syndicalism Law. Nor does he even breathe about Mooney and Billings, Ford and Suhr, all men who fell into the foe's hands in labor's challenge to predatory wealth.

But there is another writer who has distinguished himself for frankness and whose article fastens our whole attention. Bruce Rogers has seen the truth in Alaska and he relates it. The result is a picture of conflict between workers and drones, the endless fight of these classes in the fishing and canning

BERMUNKAS CALENDAR

All Hungarian workers, and all workers in contact with Hungarian workers, should get a few copies of the new calendar put out by the I. W. W. Hungarian-language paper, Bermunkas. This is a real work of art, and packed with information. Three-color cover, 200 pages, same size page as Industrial Pioneer, many artistic drawings, many articles on industries, I. W. W. constitution, literature, poems, short stories. Price 50 cents. Those who do not read Hungarian can well afford to buy this calendar for its pictures. Order from 3333 W. Belmont Avenue Chicago, Illinois.

hells. Red-necked political crooks are limned with strong strokes. And we learn that the country's white population is dwindling; that the seasonal work is being done by slaves shipped up there and shipped back. And these vessels have been named "hell ships".

If there is much more that left a favorable impression it was Sherwood Anderson's story of Ohio. Neatly, almost genially, but devastatingly he attacks the thing that is all grime and smoke-stacks and that has withered the grasses and the leaves, that has poured its poisons into the rivers and creeks and has made them the sewers of industrialism. And for this transformation what compensation? More millionaires at one side and a horde of ill-paid workers in the depths.

Still, there's lots of information in "These United States". The volumes should be widely read by those interested in keeping abreast of the times. But some day we should have a radical treatment of this Union. Perhaps in such a work less would be said of purple heath, eagle or scarlet tanager, sweet wistaria, silver streams and mirror lakes and majestic mountains; less of lovely valleys, of the local talent, of the battles between politicians and politicians out. Probably more about embattled miners, steel slaves run under hoof by the trained mounts of satte police, General Wood and martial law, two million child slaves, wealth concentration into fewer hands, the pauperization of proletarians by increasing unemployment, industrial accidents, disease and despair among the poor, jails holding the noblest of idealists—those who stood up for a better workers' world.

What a chance these writers had! America! nothing comparable to it in all the world. But they sacrificed centering on social realities for the respectability of liberalism and the elegance of language. Nice compositions only, Whiteaker's Roger's, Anderson's and those of a few others excepted. For these we rejoice, and we salute their authors with admiration.—RICHARD HARRISON.

THESE UNITED STATES, edited by Ernest Gruening, published by Boni and Liveright, New York City. Single volumes \$3.00 each, \$5.50 for the two.

There is considerable merit in John O'London's "Is it Good English?", which explains many grammatical laws and presents a large array of examples on good usage of words. The book also traces the origin of a number of idioms and adages which have enriched

the English language. But where patent grammatical errors appear in the Bible Mr. O'London does his best to excuse them, in fact to justify them, on the assumption that these errors give power to the expressions that correct forms would not! In this manner he tries to defend such slips as the singular verbs in these quotations: "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory," etc., and "Among which was Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children."

Readers of scriptures must have discovered numerous mistakes of grammar. Since the Bible, not without some basis, is regarded by many as rich in literary excellence, the book has a prestige O'London is set on protecting. And just as the author attempts to defend these incorrect forms in the Bible, he also upholds mistakes in grammar by such celebrities of written expression as Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Byron and Kipling. He seems to be incapable of thinking that they could slip into error, but ungrammatical language by ordinary mortals is never explained away, and no amount of eloquence can clear these transgressions of the laws of syntax.

One of his characteristic defenses is that "The singular verb is more intense than the plural verb"! All right, make all the mistakes you wish to if only you can plead intensity intensely. His treatment of the split infinitive betrays no such prejudice and deals sensibly with this mooted matter. A split infinitive is a form in which the preposition and the verb are interposed by an adverb. An example of this error is: "To thoroughly defeat". The correct form is either: "To defeat thoroughly" or for purposes of style, "Thoroughly to defeat".

An interesting consideration of style is suggested by mentioning that Gray in his famous "Elegy" experimented with eleven correct forms for the line "The weary ploughman plods his homeward way."

Regarding the possessive case of names ending with "s" he says that an additional "s" should follow the apostrophe, such as boss's, Hicks's and so on. It is obviously impossible for us to give more than these few points of the many treated in this book of 189 pages, and we have selected those in the use of which, according to our experience in editing, are most often confused. In spite of the weakness mentioned at the outset of our review, the work should be a real help to the student of English. Mainly it is clear and concise.

—JOSEPH TERRIES.

IS IT GOOD ENGLISH? by John O'London. G. P. Putnam's Sons, Publishers, New York. Price \$1.50.

Many thousands of readers learned to admire O. Henry through his numerous tales contained in such volumes as "Cabbages and Kings", "Voice of the City", "The Four Million", "The Grafters", and others. It is easy to cultivate an affection for a writer so broadly

human and great-hearted. And it is to be hoped that the recently published drama "Bill Porter" by Upton Sinclair will fall into a great many hands, for Bill Porter on the registration record of the Ohio State Penitentiary was William Sydney Porter, but to those who know him by his stories he was always O. Henry.

It is about that prison term served by the gifted writer that Sinclair has been inspired to write, and the scene is laid in the institution where O. Henry was buried for several years. Convicted of embezzling funds from a bank he stoutly protested his innocence throughout, and for those who would think less of the man had he really been "the second thief" (We ascribe theft to the ordinary operations of banking, since they are a part of bourgeois exploitation) this drama may serve to clear their minds of doubt, making, as it does, a strong case for the victim of the long sentence. Porter's lifelong habits show that he was not greatly interested in money, was not acquisitive, and it is hard to believe that he would risk so much for something for which he cared so little. He maintained that he was the victim of a frame-up, which is very probably true.

In prison he was assigned to take care of the drug department. His experience as a pharmacist qualified him for the work, and he spent most of his time preparing medicines and handing out pills to the long line of wretches who daily filed up to his

counter for that which might bring them relief. When the last had gone in the night he used to sit and think, or create the stories upon which his fame was to be founded. The chamber where he worked as pharmacist and also where he wrote was just above that part of the prison known as "the hole", and the screams of those being beaten and tortured in this place were audible to O. Henry. A southern negro slunk cleaning up the drug store relied upon him and confided that there were "mountains of misery" in the prison. The darkey recognized that the other man was from the South, and he told him some stories which O. Henry avidly grasped and began to work into readable tales.

The scene fades out and Sinclair's impressionism is given play. The Old South appears and what O. Henry has heard and recorded is represented vividly. Presently this all passes and once again the prison atmosphere looms up with its horrors.

Al Jennings, a friend of Bill Porter, served in this prison at the same period. He urged Porter to write under his own name, to live down the past, but the hurt was too deep and this sensitive artist always wrote under the pseudonym known over all the world.

Upton Sinclair is known as a pamphleteer. Some prefer to classify him as a muckraker of the first order. We think him the country's leading pamphleteer, and in this new departure he has invaded for a second time the field of art, through drama. His "Singing Jailbirds" was powerful in many scenes, but "Bill Porter" is far better. Sinclair is creating for himself a place of honor as a literary artist.

—THOMAS SENN.

BILL PORTER, by Upton Sinclair. Published by the author at Pasadena, Calif.

What Is The Best Literature?

What should a workingman read? Should he fill his brains with the dope of his enemies? Should he waste his time with lies that have to be answered before he can know what to believe? Shall the busy man hunting the job, or trying to improve conditions on the job rely only on his ability to disentangle the bits of truth from the Irish stew of fact and rumor and plain propaganda that the boss puts in his newspapers?

Why not get the facts straight, with the scientific explanation of them also with the least time and effort from the I. W. W. press? Why not read:

Industrial Solidarity

Published by General Headquarters of the I. W. W., 3333 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago; subscription price, \$2 per year, single copies, five cents.

Industrial Worker

Published by Northwest Branches of the I. W. W., P. O. Box 1857, Seattle, Washington. Subscription price, \$2 per year; single copies, five cents.



E.O.
1919



In Memory of Hill

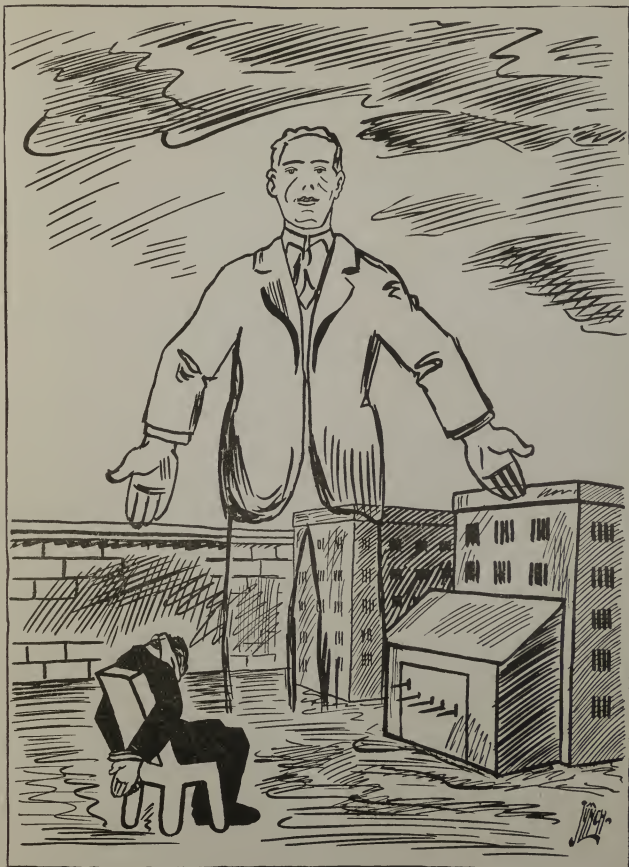
By Henry George Weiss.

We of the workers with no kith or home,
 Casuals of labor forever a-roam,
 We of the jungles, we of the jails,
 We of the box cars, we of the trails
 Winding and winding thru doss house and camp,
 O'er mountain tops high, by river sides damp,
 A-float on the ocean, a-foot on the plain,
 A-felling the timber, a-cutting the grain,
 We are the stones—living stones, if you will—
 That carry the epitaph of Joe Hill.

By the flickering blaze when the nights are long
 And the Worker's voice goes up in song;
 As he shivering waits on the grade for the freight
 And the lonesome whistle comes thru the night;
 In the wild woods vast, by desert and rill,
 Oh, he's singing the songs of brave Joe Hill!

Ah better than marble or granite stone
 Is the heart of the workers Joe made his own,
 And better than vault or grave it is
 That the dust of the road does mingle with his;
 For the trail-worn tramp, dog weary and dry,
 And flecked with the dust that the winds swirl by,
 On mountain and plain, by desert and rill,
 Will brush off that dust and think of Hill,
 Will think of the mockery of gold made law
 And the man it murdered in just U-tah!

We of the workers with no kith or home,
 Casuals of labor forever a-roam,
 We of the jungles, we of the camps,
 We of the serf class, we of the tramps,
 We of the wheat fields, we of the ties,
 Slaves of misfortunes and victims of lies,
 Hounded and harried, with no vote or voice
 In running the land, with never the choice
 Of job or profession,—we are the ones
 Who dream of the future, who think of the guns....
 By mountain and dessert, by woodland and rill,
 We stand, living stones, to the memory of Hill!



By order of the mine owners of Utah, our fellow worker Joe Hill was shot to death in the penitentiary at Salt Lake City, November 15, 1915. His last words to the working class were, "Don't mourn for me, but organize!"

Interviewing the Venusian

By COVAMI

DEBOUCHING onto the highway from the woods the other day, who should I plump into but the Venusian.

"Well," I said, "and what is the traveler from Venus doing 'way down here in the sticks?"

"By the great horned Joss, Covami, but I sure am glad to see you, old boy," he says. "What in thunder are you doing down here yourself?"

"O, just vegetating and scribbling," I says. "Where you been and what you seen since we last met?"

"Well," he said, as we sat down on a big, brown log in the edge of the field, "I've been almost everywhere, into nearly every nook and corner of this great country of yours."

"Yours," says I, "where did you get that 'yours' from? I don't own any of it."

"Well, in that you've got a heluva lot of company from all I've seen," he says, "but we'll pass that up. It's a great country, all right—the very greatest on earth, I understand."

"And you understand right," says I, "and don't you forget it, either."

"Never fear," he says, "I won't—not as long as I can stay in bragging distance of you Americans. But, as I was saying, it's a great country, a 'big country,' as you all say. It has the biggest mills, the longest railroads, the widest plains, the highest mountains, the deepest rivers, the tallest buildings and the greatest cities on earth, not to mention the biggest aggregation of easy marks and working class jackasses collected under one flag in the universe. Say, Covami, are earthmen crazy, or what's the matter with them?"

"You can search me," I says. "What are you driving at? I get that way myself sometimes."

"I'm driving at this," he says, smiling. "We haven't had a war on Venus in the last ten million years and here you earthmen are still at it. And that isn't all. As far as I can see, you all, especially you Americans, go out and fight like furies. You pile up ten million dead and twenty million maimed men on the battlefields and, after it's all over and peace is made, everybody on earth except a handful of plutocrats, as you all call them, are worse off than ever, own less and are deeper than ever in debt—although it was by your labor all this wealth was and is made. How do you explain any such insane system and fool actions?"

"That just shows that you Venusians are not yet fully and really civilized," says I. "It is clearly evident that you have never known the blessings of Christian civilization," I says, "else you would

know without having to be told that earthmen never fight and kill each other for the mere possession of such grossly material things as mines and forests and oil fields, railroads, banks and boodle, but for things of the spirit—to make the world safe for democracy, or a better place to live in, or for the right of little nations to self-determination, or for liberty, equality and fraternity—it is for these things we war, especially the workers of the earth, who have nothing but their lives to lose no matter how the peace turns out, and if this doesn't prove us altruists in the nth degree, what can?" says I.

"Yes," he says, "but when all the workers get out of it is corpses and cripples and debts galore, it looks crazy-like to me. I can't understand."

"That just goes to prove another thing," I says, "and that is that you Venusians don't know what patriotism means."

"If that's patriotism," he says, "you said a mouthful of truth, all right; all right, and I'm blamed glad we don't. But even at that, I cannot understand for what and for why you slaughter each other if you don't expect to get something out of it all besides debts and dead men."

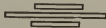
"There you go again," says I. "You must be going nutty too. Didn't I tell you that we earthmen did not ever war for material things but simply and solely for spiritual satisfaction? Can't you understand men going out a-killing and maiming each other by the millions just for the sake of an abstract ideal?"

"No, I can't," he says; "it looks looney to me. But tell me, what is an ideal abstraction?"

"It's something like this," says I. "According to what you once told me, the last war you Venusians fought was to get rid of your plutocrats, which you did and have been a classless and happy planet ever since. Well, we earthmen, especially we working earthmen, would never even think of doing such an awful act. We are patriots through and through. We would never think of fighting a war to free all the workers of the earth because we don't believe we deserve it. Then how, I ask you, could we get on without the plutes? Well, then, not being able to conceive of fighting for ourselves, we must necessarily fight for somebody and something else again. So, we fight not to establish happiness, but to establish our right to the pursuit of happiness. Do you get me?"

"O hell!" he said, and jumped into his etherjitz and vanished.

Ain't other people just too ignorant for anything?



NEW YORK CITY.—The "outlaw" strike of the British seamen is still in effect, according to the latest information in our possession. The British seamen will win their strike, in fact they have already won it. It will be only a matter of a few days until the British shipowners will grant their demands, willingly. IN THE MEANTIME, THE M. T. W. WILL DO ALL IN ITS POWER TO PULL THE CREWS OFF BRITISH SHIPS AS THEY ARRIVE AND CONTINUE IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE TO AID OUR BRITISH FELLOW WORKERS IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR MORE OF THE BETTER THINGS OF LIFE.

STRIKE PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

Greater New York Branches of the M. T. W. I. U. No. 510, of the I. W. W.

—Proclamation issued when M. T. W. strike was transferred to the job—

Indications of International Solidarity

(By VERN SMITH)

THE Reds for three generations had been having regular "Arbor Days," during which they planted nursery seedlings of International Solidarity. Though they were well watered with tears, sweat and blood, they grow very slowly. Everybody knew the little things were there in the front yard, but from one year to another they looked about the same, and were never of any particular use.

Then, one day in 1925, the villain, Mr. Capitalist, planning a secret raid on Labor's house, with intent to deprive him of a portion of his sustenance, got lost in the forest that stretched in front of the place, and everybody woke up to the fact that the little trees of International Solidarity of Labor had grown to a sufficient size to be serviceable. They were not exactly great giant redwoods yet, but they were beginning to be pretty healthy saplings.

Probably the reason why no one understood earlier what was going on was because nothing grew just the way it was intended to. The Reds not only had thought the seeds they sowed would spring to maturity, foliage and fruit in the winking of an eye, like the Hindu conjurer's magic plant, but they rather expected they would look somewhat different when they were grown. Gardeners always think the plants they set out will look like the pictures in the seed catalog.

Remember how radicals used to gather in little groups in some friend's house, or in some dingy little hall, and discuss faintly outlined but decidedly different schemes of the international solidarity of labor? Ah, those were the days when Mr. J. Caesar could have said truthfully: "All gall is divided into three parts, for those who have it are either Socialists, Anarchists or Syndicalists."

This situation, the period of blue-printing future

society, and future forms of labor organization, according to one or another of three grand plans, reached its apogee in the time of the generation, 1885-1915. During these thirty years practically all Socialist were followers of Spargo and Hillquit in America, of Bernstein in Germany, of Jaures or even of Millerand, in France, of the Fabians or of H. G. Wells, in England. Their international plan was the "Second International." Their program was what this present and more sophisticated age has come to call "state capitalism," not socialism at all, and consisted of trying to get government control of railways, municipal water systems, street-car lines, etc. Christian sentimentalism was one form of it, and muckraking was another and healthier manifestation of the movement. The prophets that it listened to always suspected labor unions of too much inclination to strife and battle, and preached that "striking at the ballot boxes" was much more efficacious than striking on the industrial field. They believed in centralization and discipline, but didn't practice it, except that towards the end of the period they began to expel all fractions of the Socialist parties which advocated "direct action." The existence of these "direct actionists" proved that something was wrong with the "socialism" of Spargo and Bernstein, and likewise proved that even a dead faith can not kill all of its followers.

"We plan the death of our former policy of isolation in this conference, and in its place we plan action in our struggles against our oppressors, the capitalist class. We are carrying out this program based on the class struggle in society."

—Address of M. T. W. Headquarters to delegates assembled in First International Conference of the Marine Transport Workers of the Western Hemisphere—

The anarchists, 57 varieties, were united on one thing alone, they disapproved of the state. Some were "back to nature" enthusiasts who lauded Tolstoy and would have loved Ghandi, if any of them had stuck it out until he came. Some of them thought they were Nietzschean supermen, full of quotations from Max Stirner, and scornful of morality of any sort, though not many of them practiced their immorality. Some of them, and this was the healthy strain, and the one that added to the discussion, wanted co-operative communes, voluntary organizations using machinery and science; these looked to Prince Kropotkin for inspiration and leadership, and a good many of this group took an active part in the labor movement.

Syndicalism was partly a fact and partly a mystical theory. It recognized that there were the labor unions. These things had grown up, to the discomfort of the purely parliamentary socialists, who despised and dreaded them as disturbers of the orderly procedure of democracy, and to the wrath of the individualist anarchists, who disliked their compulsion, their centralization, their tendency to think more of wages than of liberty*.

Fact and Fancy

Syndicalism in its original continental European form, was the philosophy of a philosopher, of an effete and perhaps neurotic intellect, Professor Sorel. It recognized, as all new philosophies which create any stir always do recognize, certain facts, not known to the founders of older theories, and in this case, the new facts were just these same old labor unions, or, as they are called in Latin countries, "syndicats."

Sorel proposed that these new and actual forms of organization be regarded as the basis of the future society, and he declared that they were the only forms of organization with which workingmen need concern themselves.

But he also had a lot of advice and a code of ethics for them. He preached decentralization (perhaps because the French labor movement with which he was most familiar, was most decentralized). He denounced thinking, as such, claiming that always and especially in all social affairs, men's natural passions and instincts, were the only proper guides for conduct, intelligence being a real detriment. He taught that violence is a good thing, in and for itself—not just as a means to an end, or a desperate measure to be used in a bitter life and death struggle. Violence, in Sorel's program, is the discipline of the classes, and the means through which character is formed in the individual. Sorel ex-

pected that a network of syndicates would be organized all over the world, similar to the anarchist plan.

It is hard to say just how much modern syndicalism believes of all this, though it undoubtedly has its effect. No branch of syndicalism so far as I know ever accepted Sorel's theories of violence at their face value, and in practice, the most successful sections of the labor movement which calls itself syndicalist, have had to abandon, step by step, most of Sorel's other doctrines, about decentralization, and about intelligence.

But Sorel's disciples put out a blueprint of the future, the book, "How We Shall Bring About the Revolution," and it bulked large in the councils of the radicals of a decade ago.

Well, syndicalism went on, and as a philosophy drew nearer and nearer to anarchism, and as it continued to lose in strength and vigor, as it continued to decrease on its practical side, increased just that much more on its mystical, theoretical side, taking in some quarters a milky tinge of Tolstoyanism, and in others a sharper, blacker outline of anarchistic individualism.*

No More Bombs

Anarchism of the "attentat," the "propaganda by deed," has practically vanished; it is a long time since enthusiastic young men and women thought it necessary to do some courageous individual assault on capitalists or militarists in order to call attention to the evils of the system. And probably the number of anarchists of all sorts is less than at any time during the last twenty-five years.

The Socialist parties were put to the test by the great war, and found wanting. As they failed in practice, and demonstrated that they were pronouncedly petty bourgeois in character, so their philosophy was left to its fate by the workers, and many of the parties themselves have passed away. We hear little more of their ideal for the future solidarity of labor, though the "Second International" drags out a weary and crippled existence under the protection of the French and Belgian and German governments.

The international solidarity of labor has not been decided upon the basis of any of these plans, neither that of Hillquit, nor that of Kropotkin, nor that of Sorel. The "Second International" is hopeless—there is no network of anarchist groups, nor is there any such thing of syndicates (controlled by syndicalists).

But while all this was going on, and while everybody was looking for some solution from one or another of these groups, and along one or another

* An echo of this feeling is seen in Malatesta's article "Syndicalism and Anarchism," reprinted in the Oct., 1925, issue of the only English-language anarchist paper now published in the United States. He says, "I do not think that, TODAY, there still exists among us any one who would deny the usefulness and necessity of the organization of labor as a means of material and moral betterment of the masses, AS A FERTILE FIELD FOR PROPAGANDA, and as a force indispensable to the social transformation we are aiming for." (Emphasis mine, V. S.)

* A recent development in the syndicalism of Spain, indicated by the articles of M. Sainz, now running in Spanish syndicalist papers and reprinted in the I. W. W. paper "Solidaridad," indicate a move to separate the labor union features of syndicalism from anarchism, and not the right of propaganda, Malatesta at least would agree. But it is very possible that this whole movement like the movement of the syndicats of France, is a movement towards "pure-and-simple-ism."

of the main programs laid down by them, the solidarity of labor has been growing up, though in different ways.

Labor, while it did not accept any of the blue-prints, did, through the propaganda, perhaps of all the different sorts of Reds, gradually grow in international consciousness, and in some cases has begun to act united—never before so much as now.

To take up very recent events only, there is first of all the agreement between the English and Russian trade unions. This is an outgrowth of the actions of the English unions, in threatening during the blockade and famine in Russia, to strike if the British government sent military aid to the Polish imperialists, and it is also a result of the British unions' pro-Russian publicity. The alliance between these two great groups of organized workers is being fought by some of the officials of the International Federation of Trade Unions* and the entry of the Russian unions into the "Amsterdam International" is being made by them as difficult as possible, but there is continued evidence that such an affiliation has strong support among the rank and file of all unions affiliated with the I. F. T. U., and that in spite of bureaucratic opposition, it will probably take place, sooner or later. Now, without regard to the principles of either the Amsterdam or the Russian unions, we have here an objective phenomenon, of millions of workers, organized in unions, scattered over many countries, demanding a closer unity between those unions. There is a general movement towards international unity, strong enough to put great pressure on union bureaucracies which would like to prevent it.

Something of this same sort is observable in the tendency of the A. F. of L. to re-enter the I. F. T. U., rumors of which grow stronger and more definite every day. This movement would be welcomed by the very groups in Amsterdam who fight the Russian-English accord, and probably because it will result in building up the right wing of the Amsterdam International. But whatever political purposes of the rulers of European and American trade unions may be served by this return of the A. F. of L. towards, if not yet quite to, the I. F. T. U., and however weak in immediate results such a unity may be, it is significant as an example of the sort of thing the membership of the unions are glad to have. It is certain to be a popular move, and while temporarily strengthening the pie-card artists, it is likely to develop into something that will eventually weaken them.

An indication of one of the results of international unity, which must certainly burn its way into the minds of all workers, however deluded they may be by conservative leadership, is the international support for the coal strikers of America, and the promise of international support for the

* The mere existence of the I. F. T. U. is significant. Before the war it existed only in a much looser "International Secretariat" form.

(Letter Sent January 1, 1924, to American Capitalists and Newspapers)

Sir:—The members of the Chinese Seamen's Union have learned with no little astonishment and dismay that nearly one hundred American workmen are in prison on account of the California Criminal Syndicalism Law and that the only evidence presented against them was membership in an organization known as the "Industrial Workers of the World." We of the Chinese Seamen's Union have always looked upon the United States as a free and desirable country, and we are very sorry to hear it alleged that our fellow workmen in the United States are being subjected to such persecution, unparalleled even in the history of China.

If there is reason or justice in this state of affairs, please let us know so that we can present the case to our members. Unless a reply is received from you in a reasonable length of time, the membership of the Chinese Seamen's Union will understand that American workmen are the subjects of a brutal and unjust persecution, and it is certain that our members will then demand that some economical action be taken which will bring your attention and also the attention of all American capitalists to the fact that the Working Class of the World will no longer permit without protest the persecution and imprisonment of workmen anywhere.

Yours for a Better World,

CHAK HON KEE
Secretary for the Chinese Seamen's Union

British coal miners when they threatened to go on strike a couple of months ago.

It is, of course, no secret that there is a hard coal strike in America, with 158,000 men out. The shameful fact is also known that before this year, when there was a coal strike in America, the miners of the Ruhr and of the Welsh mines worked overtime to produce anthracite to ship to the United States and break the strike. But this time, when Burns Bros. (a firm with which, by the way, Hillquit, the typical exponent of the old American Socialism, was connected) ordered 50,000 tons of Welsh coal, the Committee of the International Miners' Federation, meeting in Brussels on Sept. 16, decided that no such shipment should take place. And for the first time in history, labor is in a position to prevent it.

This action is similar to that taken by representatives of British, French, German and Belgian unions of coal miners, meeting in Paris during the middle of the summer, and going on record to tie up all the mines of Europe if the English strike threatened for August 1 actually materialized.

The I. W. W. immediately responded to an appeal

issued last July by the Transport Workers' International Propaganda Committee to boycott the Norwegian ships during the seamen's strike on those ships. Publication of the appeal in the Marine Worker (official organ of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510 of the I. W. W.) was quite sufficient to insure that every class-conscious American seaman immediately made himself a committee of one to stop scabs from going aboard Norwegian ships.

The shame of California has become an international by-word among workers. Various unions of South America and of Mexico have boycotted California, during the last two years, and as long ago as January, 1924, the Chinese Seamen's Union addressed a vigorous message to the governors of California and other states of the U. S. A., demanding release of class war prisoners (mostly I. W. W.) and threatening a boycott if this was not done.

The threat to boycott was overshadowed by the long period during 1924 and 1925, when the Chinese Seamen's Union was engaged in a serious struggle with foreign and native capitalists. It did find time and occasion, however, to strike American ships, and organize demonstrations for American class war prisoners.

This whole organized movement of denunciation of the American white terror reached its culmination, however, in the general boycott of the American war fleet, on the occasion of its visit to Australian and New Zealand waters, about the middle of last July. The New South Wales (Australian) Labor Council, representing 120,000 workers, issued a statement to the sailors of the U. S. war fleet, hailing them as brothers if they came as individuals, or as workers, but absolutely boycotting them if they came as a navy.

Certain large Australian unions, and locals of other unions, notably the Flour Millers, the Bill Posters, Wharf Laborers, and Coach Makers Employes, went on record to boycott the U. S. fleet for release of class war prisoners in America, and they

"COMRADES AND BROTHERS OF THE UNITED STATES:—We, the members of the New South Wales Labor Council, having an affiliation of 120,000 workers, greet you in all sincerity. We shall be right glad to shake hands with you, and delighted to interchange opinion with you.

"But we hasten to say our welcome is extended to you as men, and not as members of the United States Navy. We regard you as men whose economic, social and political interests are identical with our own, and with those of our fellow workers in Europe, and we know that these interests are not identical with those of the capitalist class of any country!"

—Part of the circular of welcome extended by the New South Wales Labor Council to the sailors of the U. S. Navy, July, 1925.

INDIAN SEAMEN'S SYMPATHY.

CALCUTTA, Sept.—At a special general meeting held to-day under the auspices of the Indian Seamen's Union, resolutions were passed, expressing sympathy for the seamen's strike in South Africa, and declaring that no Lascars from Calcutta should join in their places and requesting Messrs. Baptista, Joshi and Ginvalla of the All-India Trade Union Congress not to allow any Lascars to sign from Bombay to proceed to South Africa and also sympathising with the strikers of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company assuring them of Seamen's Union's action to prevent the Bengal Lascars from taking their places at Rangoon.—A. P. of India.

were joined by the central bodies meeting in the Adelaide, Brisbane, and Sydney Trades halls. The Australian Liqueur Trades, Food Preservers, Bread Carters, Bricklayers, Boatmakers, Timber Workers, and Builders Laborers, either as whole unions or as locals, took this occasion to support, publicly, the California boycott, for release of class war prisoners in that state.

One of the most significant events of this present period, or of all history, for that matter, is the awakening of the working class of India and of China to class consciousness. The great strikes that shook the north of India and the coast of China not only indicate the broadening of the field within which international solidarity of labor may function, but give an opportunity for testing the attitude of the already organized workers of the white and western nations towards the newly organized workers of the colored and oriental nations. In other words, they afford an opportunity to test the effect of racial as well as nationalistic prejudices on the drift towards international solidarity.

Viewed from this angle, the results are encouraging. If we are to believe the capitalist press, the Russian workers were certainly right there with aid and comfort, moral, military and monetary, for the Chinese workers. One may discount what the capitalist press says, but there was certainly a considerable degree of international solidarity, at least. The I. W. W. as usual gave all possible aid to both these strikes, and the British Trade Union Council, and the London Daily Herald, a newspaper which is practically the official organ of the British trade union movement, supported the Chinese strike with publicity and with pressure on the British government, to prevent shipment on a large scale of gunmen from the British Indian forces to China.

However, the most important feature of all, during the whole year, was the international strike on the sea. This strike, involving the seamen of England, Denmark, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, China, Japan and the United States, is, like the movement in the Orient, of more importance as

—Adopted Unanimously by M. T. W. Convention October, 1925—

This convention fully realizes that following the World War the pressure upon the trade and industrial unions the world over steadily increases.

Capitalist organization against labor is international. Nothing but efficient international organization of labor upon the basis of the class struggle and solidarity will meet the situation. Therefore this convention declares for international co-operation on the basis of the class struggle and solidarity, both for the M. T. W. I. U. No. 510, and for the I. W. W. as a whole.

It constitutes its G. O. C. and Secretary Treasurer a committee to set up correspondence at once with the marine transport organization of all countries, which recognize the class struggle and solidarity with a view to bringing about international co-operation, solidarity, and eventually efficient organization within our industry, reports of progress to be submitted to the branches from time to time.

It constitutes the G. O. C. and the Secretary Treasurer a Committee of Action to get in touch at once with the organizations that are directly and actively in charge of the present strikes in our industry in Australia, England, South Africa and elsewhere with a view to further co-operation in the immediate struggle against the international shipping trust, likewise reporting to the branches from time to time.

Further, let this program be the basis of our policy in international relations at the Havana Conference, and

Finally, let it be determined now that our delegates to the next General Convention of the I. W. W. shall stand upon this program both for the M. T. W. I. U. No. 510, and the I. W. W. as a whole.

a measure of the strength and healthiness of the feeling for international solidarity than any ordinary strike, and more significant than the number involved would of itself indicate, because of the way in which it was fought against by the leaders of the seamen's unions of Great Britain and of the American Federation of Labor seamen's unions. The leaders of the British unions, especially, resorted to every jingoistic argument to split the ranks of the strikers along nationalistic lines, condemning the strikers as American I. W. W.'s, as Russian Communists, and as Jews who were plotting against "God and Country." All this propaganda failed. This shows, I think, that as confused as many workers may be, the time in which even official labor propaganda against international solidarity can be used to cause division in a strike, is rapidly drawing to an end.

The I. W. W. not only rallied its full strength to the support of the British unofficial seamen's strike, going off the job for a rather long period for I. W. W. marine workers to strike that way, but when the strike on the job was started, they continued the boycott of English ships—a boycott that exists until the strike is settled.

International solidarity is nothing new, in theory, for the M. T. W., and nothing new in its practical aspects, during strikes, etc. The I. W. W. has always stood firmly in support of any group of workers engaged in a bonafide struggle with the master class, wherever they may be. But lately, and especially during this year, international action has become much more systematized, and far-sighted, among Wobbly seamen than ever before. The resolution of the M. T. W. convention just ended is especially outspoken and vigorous, but just as important was the New Orleans conference, which

was held last March—"The First International Conference of the Marine Transport Workers of the Western Hemisphere"—with representatives present from the M. T. W., Argentine Transport Workers, Cuban Longshoremen and Harbor Workers, Seamen's Union of Equador, and the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union of the Mexican I. W. W., and which was a real turning point in I. W. W. tactics. At that time, and for the first time, plans were really possible for general united international action on the sea. Delegates at the conference, believing that even more and larger groups of Latin American workers could be brought together if more time and more discussion was had, voted to hold another conference in Havana, Cuba, on January 15, 1925.

By one of the coincidences which the ruling oligarchy of the Western Hemisphere delights in arranging, like a Greek Fate behind the scenes, Cuba has, since the date and place of this second conference was decided upon, become a hot-bed of Fascism, reaction, and governmental interference with labor unions. The great awakening of Cuban labor to the need of more unity among the various unions, culminating in the Camaguey congress of last August, at which representatives of over 200,000 workers of Cuba established a General Federation of Labor for Cuba (and to which the I. W. W. was especially invited to send a fraternal delegate) drove the sugar and tobacco lords of Cuba to frenzy, and a period of union smashing and murders, concurrent with the formation of the Cuban National Party (a Fascist organization) has set in.

As soon as word of the events in Cuba reached the I. W. W., the Chairman of the General Executive Board wrote to the Governmental Secretary in Havana, protesting, and promising the I. W. W.

would make known the misdeeds of the Cuban government, and would come in every way possible to the support of the oppressed workers of Cuba, and especially the union called *Sindicato General de la Industria Fabril*, which is bearing the heaviest attack.

This sort of thing, now, is international solidarity of labor, however many organizations there may be, with however many conflicting policies and programs they may have. It is worth nothing, and a survey of the incidents mentioned above will force anyone to notice, that these exhibitions of solidarity are general, they affect in greater or lesser degree all sorts of unions, those called radical as well as those called conservative, though, of course, they affect most of all the more radical unions, like the I. W. W.

One For All and All For One

What can we understand from these circumstances—these sorts of combined action, taking place along the lines of make-shift agreements, compromises, changes of policy excused in all kinds of ways, half denied and half recanted sometimes, but continuing more and more, in more and more different forms, one time as a tentative strike agreement, another time as a sudden outburst of righteous wrath, exhibiting itself as a boycott, or as an appeal, or as a protest to a government—what does all this mean?

It is not at all like any of the forms of international solidarity that the socialists, or the anarchists, or the syndicalists thought that international solidarity would take. It is not like an "international" at all, yet, though the demand, especially in Europe, for an all-embracing, world-wide, international of labor unions grows somewhat clearer.

I think it is international solidarity of labor in practice, in training; something which has grown up from the seed of all these old radical movements, and from their more modern developments in various directions, from the seed which the actual disturbance of world conditions, the consolidation and the imperialism of capital, has cultivated like a gigantic plow, and that this is the important thing about it, that it is something still growing, and although big enough to cause the owning class no end of trouble already, is not yet anywhere near done growing.

It is something like the I. W. W. itself, influenced by all the streams of radical propaganda, not entirely any of them, but rather a product of radicalism, the time, the people and the objective conditions, all together.

Just how this international drift will end, what developments it will have, what organizational machinery it will finally turn before it rises to such a height that it destroys capitalism—that we do not know. But we can be certain of one thing, and the whole history of the labor movement bears this out: **organization follows action.** This has been true since the days of the first formation of the

first local labor unions. The workers first of all acted together—they struck, or they rioted, or they smashed a frame—they did something, and perhaps the "philosophy" they had been listening to for ages helped them to make up their minds to do it. And then, out of action, and the apparent need for action, came organization, to make more action possible.

I think the lesson of this century, so far, is that the blue-print ideas, the "charting" of the future society and of future forms of labor organization, won't work. Or perhaps, if they work at all, they will do so in ways not intended or thought of by their originators; that is, they serve as educational factors only, and maybe, put the workers in a state of mind where they will be ready to act when the time for action comes. They hinder, too, by causing their most fanatical and sectarian adherents to struggle against all progressive action that does not quite fit in with their idea of what the future society, the international of labor, or whatever it is, should be.

But the workers themselves, when they begin to move, only then begin to realize the need of organizational structure, only then begin to create their new forms, societies, federated bodies, world unions, or what not. And they create them, they hammer them out, by compromise, by trial and error, by experiment, by adaptation of old and already existing and insufficient forms; by combinations of many things in a hundred different ways, they make a machinery that does the work, however illogical its structure may be, and for some reason, they prefer to do this, rather than to adopt any perfect plan laid down by labor philosophers, however pretty to look at such a plan may be. Happy the organization that knows how to adapt its propaganda to the situation, and to take advantage of the movement that really exists, for whatever organization remains with its eyes fixed obstinately on its chart will find itself cutting across the line of march and will surely be trodden down by the parade.

The I. W. W., I do believe, is one of the leaders in this parade. It is one of those groups, badly afflicted with a squint towards charts and blue-prints in the past (and suffering from it too) which

"Being keenly aware of our interests in common with the workers of Cuba, we most emphatically protest against the coercive methods employed by the government in the interest of the capitalists; and we protest especially against the use of force in preventing union meetings, the placing of soldiers in factories to prevent communication among workers, and the arrest and deportation of foreign workers because of their union membership."

—Extract from open letter of I. W. W. G. E. B. Chairman to Secretario de Gobernacion, Cuba, October 10, 1925.

is now beginning to sense the new drift, and is beginning to take its part in the building of the world unity of labor.

In the past we have felt a fierce loyalty for the I. W. W., and that was proper. We knew that it was a good thing, and we had seen it in action, and knew that it did the work; it got the results we wanted. So when we considered international organization, we were very prone to take an antagonistic attitude towards all other unions, and to demand that their poor deluded members tear up their cards and take out one of ours, the best in the world. Undoubtedly our plan of world organization is the best in the world, but still, it is only an empty plan as long as many workers do not have their part in making it, in putting it into practice. And the poor deluded members of the Australasian Seamen's Union, or of the F. O. M. of Argentine, or the big German, French or English unions, very naturally felt the same sort of real and personal loyalty to their unions, which they had profited by, and which they had all sorts of good reasons for believing were very nearly perfect, as we did for ours. So they didn't join us.

There is no such thing as "internationalism through absorption" in the labor world. Unity is achieved by acting unitedly against the boss. Words, promises, etc., are significant, sometimes, but not nearly as much so as actions. When we are once used to fighting side by side against the bosses of the world, as we are now beginning to do, then sectarian barriers will dissolve like racial and national prejudices, and organizational unity will follow. The industrial workers of the world will then have a real world organization, and it won't matter whether its headquarters are in Chicago or where they are. It is more important that the new world organization work well, and be a great revolutionary power, than it is that it be exactly as we originally planned it. All indications are that such a world organization is coming, and that the I. W. W. will have a large share in its formation.

For the Cristmas Fund

The little book of poems "The Shame of California" by Henry George Weiss which the General Defense Committee is selling for the benefit of the Christmas Fund has proven to be very popular; the first edition is already nearly exhausted. The demand justifies our publishing another edition at once, but in order not to tie up money in labor and paper for a longer time than we can afford we must get immediate returns.

We have decided therefore to sell this book in quantities of 100 or more for 11 cents per copy, cash in advance or on delivery. On the pay-as-you-sell-them basis the regular 40 per cent commission will be allowed. Single copies are 25 cents.—GENERAL DEFENSE COMM.

Locarno Internationalism

The bunk goes on forever. At Locarno, Switzerland, diplomats of the European powers have decided they will not fight each other until the next war, and the flood of piffle that has resulted is sickening. But in the midst of it, active preparations for war are speeding up, and the peace of preparedness is being urged in season and out of season. Locarno means that American Imperialism takes a forward step, and that some debtors will have to co-operate for a moment, either to pay U. S. or fight U. S.



The Workers' Play

By Rosa Alexandra Knuuti

1. The Purpose of the Theatre.

The theatre to my mind is a means to an end. Classified as art it concerns itself in providing entertainment; as propaganda it provides something to think about. Most of the time however the bourgeois theatre gives us subtle propaganda in the name of art. So much so, that the theatre today is better identified as an industry pure and simple, a commercial enterprise a medium to promote and uphold the popular notions of life in general. Romance, drama, beauty, goodness are qualities that are seldom associated or written around so plebian a class as wage earners. Romance stalking about in hobnailed shoes—in overalls—in blanket shirts—in dime store finery? It is to laugh! Who ever heard of such a thing? At least not to be dramatized for the theatre.

Sometimes a person with understanding of human problems, a veritable hound for truth, comes along and gives us a real work of art; an unbiased, correct reflection of the lower depths of the human family. But this is an exception. And besides, is it received as good theatre? It is not. It is proclaimed as improper food for the public. The preachers decry it; the moralists immortalize it, the critics criticize it as poor entertainment, and the dear public, mind already warped and jared by too much entertainment, looks for a thrill elsewhere. To most people the theatre means entertainment pure and simple. No deep stuff for them. They go there to relax totally to the lighter stuff, or again to make believe mushy sentiment about love and romance in rose bowers and marble halls. They have been taught to accept and even appreciate distorted, adulterated facts in place of the real thing.

It does seem sometimes, that the playgoing public really wants to be kidded and fooled.

2. The Play as Propaganda.

Take any conventional playwright who starts out to dramatize a theme on capital and labor, and incidentally to propagandize to their interest, invariably, and it needs must be, he will distort facts, invent convenient situations that will settle the whole blooming quest-

ion of the class struggle amicably and in the course of three acts. I cannot recall one instance where a play was written by the accepted bourgeois writers in which the real relations of master and slave have been portrayed in a reasonable, believable way. There is always the inevitable compromise; always some poor excuse to justify master and slave conditions.

To accomplish this the writer uses a cut and dried formula, usually something like this:

Old Moneybags and his slaves are on the outs. There's a strike. Demands pro and con. A murder and some fighting thrown in for spice. But the play's got to continue and wind up too,, so maybe it's best to have old Moneybags son fall for the strike leader's daughter or vice versa. It all depends on conditions, climatic and otherwise. But the strike ends and everybody is happy

Or again, the charity theme works wonders in solving the perplexing question; Moneybags gets charitable for some reason, and he gives and gives—out of hypocritical goodness, and presto, the slaves forget and forgive and again all's well with capital and labor.

The average playwright, however, wishes to be identified as an artist, not a propagandist, be his "art" ever so "mammonized" in the interest of the class with the means. Just for fun let's take one striking example of art-propaganda: John Galsworthy's "STRIFE", a play in three acts concerned with the struggle of capital and labor.

First the attitude of the capitalist is exhibited. Then we get the workers' side. Before long a deadlock takes place between the two contending parties. This is the cue for romance to step in,—anything to straighten things out. Enid, gentle and lovely, the blueblooded daughter of the capitalist enters. She provides the heart interest . . . Her beauty, tenderness, graciousness, and "apple-sauce" etc. breaks the ice; strikes a "common chord" in the hard hearts of capital and labor and in no time they are rubbing noses for the "common good" of all.

Boiled down, Galsworthy's play in its essence portends to bring home this point;

The Play is propaganda, and most of all propaganda when it is most of all art. The propaganda value of the stage has been known since the time of Greek choruses and the miracle plays of the Christian Church. With the advent of Capitalism and the machine-made drama of Hollywood, the use of the older spoken play did not cease, it merely worked with a new ally, and both together are propaganda, for some one, for capitalism or for labor. Industrial Pioneer takes pleasure in publishing here the first of a series of articles reviewing and interpreting present-day drama and especially workers' plays. The author has been very active in workers' dramatics among the Finnish I. W. W.—EDITOR.

that if the poor are poor it is the fault of their stubbornness or laziness, or etc. And the rich, though they be rich and masters of workers' destinies, are still good-hearted and are well supplied with the milk of human kindness, etc. Some more applesauce. But this is typical, first class, class propaganda. Numerous others of this sort could be mentioned, but let this suffice.

3. The Finnish Workers Plays

There are others, too, that we consider among the radical writers that err in the capital and labor theme. They ought to know better, and maybe they do, but for some inexplicable reason they make a merry mixup of the relations of master and slave.

This brings to my mind particularly some of our budding dramatists among the Finnish people in this country. It is pertinent to state that among them are men of noticeable talent, who have dramatized many of the historical happenings in the I. W. W. I want to mention Louis Lemberg in particular, because he has so effectively dramatized the tragedy of our Joe Hill. The play is entitled "SHACKLES" and is written in four acts. But there are times when even Lemberg gets caught in a snag, and uses the bourgeois formula in his theme. This is appalling when one considers that this happened in a play written about Frank Little.

There's a play of his I like to forget. He called the play "Bruno Titus". A well written continuity, the play is everything one could wish from the worker's point of view, until he throws in a blue-blooded daughter of the exploiting class for "Bruno Titus" to become sentimental about. Lemberg shows her up as the person born of "blue blood", together with the virtues usually associated with women of the upper class, nobility etc. She gives up her position in society, mind you, sacrifices herself for Bruno Titus, if not for his class and the whole sum total is a wonderful mess. I cannot, by any stretch of the imagination see the probability of this. But since then, this young playwright has redeemed himself. He has written other plays from real events in the labor movements, and quite a number on diverse subjects that can be classified in the repertoire of workers' play.

There are other plays that deserve mention. A play called "Conspiracy," by J. Korpi, an intelligent dramatization of the Centralia conspiracy. Also several plays of propaganda value by A. Mankinen of lesser renown which have found favor among the Finnish little theatre groups. However, all the above-mentioned plays are written for little theatre.

It was Bernard Shaw who once stated "fine art is the subtle, the most seductive, the most effective means of propaganda in the world. . . it works by exhibiting examples of personal conduct made intelligible and moving to crowds of unobservant unreflecting people to whom real life means nothing".

4. And Then There's O'Neil

So too, working class propaganda is possible in the theatre. As yet we have no proletarian theatre,

but we are fortunate to have works of dramatists like Shaw, Ibsen and Gorky of the old school, Capek and Eugene O'Neil of today to provide us with drama with their particular savoir-faire. . . I am singularly interested in the work of O'Neil. He is not content with halftruths about the various life problems: poverty, sex, wealth etc. When I think of O'Neil, I think of the "Hairy Ape" and vice versa. Up until the time I witnessed this mighty drama I was a very disillusioned patron of the theatre. I was quite convinced I would never see anything worth looking at. But I saw the Hairy Ape and became reconciled to the theatre. I raved about it for weeks, ay, for months afterward; I secured the book and read from it out loud to anyone who would listen to me. In fact, I became so pestiferous that my friends began to look askance at me. So I subdued my new born enthusiasm. And now on more sober reflection I'm quite sure it was not the play alone that upset me so, but the revelation of the possibilities for the workers in the spoken play.

Like Gorky, O'Neil, by means of his intelligent understanding and actual contact with the under dog has been able to put into form social problems and conditions without distortion. His work is art plus propaganda.

Which brings me to his latest work "DESIRE UNDER THE ELMS", now being shown at the Schubert Princess Theatre. Here is drama unadulterated. Here is romance without the trimmings. It's men beastly but natural; it's women homespun but rockhard; flannel nightgowned and 'smellin' of warm plowed fields'.—As a whole they are a homogenous mass of simplicity and ignorance.

Efraim Cabot, a typical farm product, a growth of the soil, is a man whose motto is "ten eyes for an eye", a man who finds his beasts, his cows, his pigs better company than the humans about him. He is an appalling mixture of selfishness and godliness. "A farm got to have a woman" he says, and sets out to get a third wife, having **outlived** two already. Besides he falls victim to spring fever in spite of his seventysix years. As old Efraim puts it: "I been hearin' the hens cluckin' an' the roosters crowin' all the darn day. I been listenin' to the cows lowin' an' everything else kickin' up till I can't stand it no more. It's spring an I'm feelin' damned—damned like an old bare hickory tree fit on'y fer burnin'."

So Afraim drives of "singin' a hymn," and returns before the end of the first act with a comely young woman to the disgust of the heirs apparent, two sons of the first wife, and one of the second. They had figured on getting the stony old farm for reasons as Simeon the elder son says scanning the fields about him; "Waal—ye've thirty year o' me buried in ye—spread out over ye—blood an' bone an' sweat—rotted away—fertilizin' ye—richin' yer soil—prime manure, by God, that's what I been t'ye!"

But with the advent of a new "maw" their chances for the farm look rather slim. So Simeon

and Peter, the older sons take their carpet bags and leave for California. Eben the younger son remains behind to fight for a share of—no not a share but the whole farm. They're all after the whole farm, Efraim, Abbie the new wife and Eben. To Efraim everything on the farm is "his'n": every stick and stone, even the woman—until she gets a glimpse of Eben and sees in him a means to get the farm herself.

Besides Abbie hasn't married old Efraim because as he says, "a hum got to have a woman", but because, "a woman got to have a hum" . . . She gets an idea. She must beget a son to make the heirship secure. Old Efraim who has already passed into senility is out of the question. No puerile sentimentality about Abbie. She's after the farm, to get it she must have a son, and as a means to an end she wants Eben. That presents about ninety percent of the desire—under the elms.

And then Eben is young and easy to look upon . . . Eben who feels manhood growing in him, in his own words: "I kin feel it growin' in me—growin' an' growin' till it'll bust out—"

So it isn't such a task for Abbie to seduce this unsophisticated farmer lad, in spite of his animosity

toward her "fer takin' his maw's place". Things pile up high and fast. Desire keeps gathering momentum. Abbie gets a son for Eben . . . Even old Efraim feels "they's things pokin around in the dark—ye kin feel it droppin' off the elums—climin' up the roof—sneakin down the chimney . . . It's cold in this house. It's uneasy." So he goes down "whar its warm, down whar it's restful—in the barn. I kin talk to the cows. They know the farm an' me."

O'Neil is merciless. He piles up one tragic event on the other only as a matter of course. Eben questions Abbie's love. Abbie smothers her child to attest her love for Eben. The master touch is provided by giving this stark tragedy the most casual ending. Abbie and Eben are been taken by the Sheriff for their crime. Passing out in front of the old farm house, Eben says, "Sun's arisin', purty aint it?"

The play is a work of a rare genius, a realist, it is a living motif of life as it is lived, drama that can be measured by the standard of truth to life.

It's a mighty play, but not as good as the "HAIRY APE."

The Anniversary of Centralia

(Continued from Page 12)

dicted for constructive murder, which means that they were accused of inciting the acts causing the deaths of the attorney and sheriff. The conditions at Wheatland were intolerable, but that is another story. Ford was paroled the other day and immediately rearrested. He was tried before and convicted of the murder of the district attorney. Now he is to be tried for the murder of the sheriff. This incident shows the vindictiveness of the ruling class. Its memory for revenge is long, and those it most hates and fears are workers who agitate against the rotten conditions that make high profit rates, and who dare to fight for their own interests and those of their class.

The Centralia Wobblies stood up in what was the finest spectacle for restoration of civil rights after the war period ever enacted on the soil of America. The patriots and ruffians in uniforms had been enjoying themselves during the war hysteria time without danger of defense being given or reprisals made. They smashed up many halls of the I. W. W. and of radicals. This was a service to their country, so they thought, and it gave indulgence to their sadistic impulses. Under this terrorism the employers amassed fortunes never before equaled. The sky was the limit for ruling class robbery.

Came the high tide and bourgeois violence tried the game once too often. The armed raiding heroes were met by armed workers. Henceforth a decline down to the vanishing point was seen in this sort of sport. Workers halls were not raided

for a long time, and the lesson had been driven home. When the heroes paraded in 1920 past the hall that had been wrecked a year before at Centralia their line broke and all tried to get as far from the threshold as possible. Their nerve was gone. Did they fear the ghost of Wesley Everest with his gun barrel red hot? We wonder.

But the big thing for us to remember is that the raids stopped. And those who stopped them are paying with their liberty just as Everest paid with his life. Workers have never made a single advance worthy of mention with pacifism. As they are aggressive they gain. Without a Centralia the passion for raids and mobbings and lynchings would have gone on. But when this heroism of patriots involved risks, the spirit oozed out. The open season on union workers and radicals was closed.

We owe these men our support. We owe them the solidarity by which alone can their freedom be gained. As the California plutes are holding spleen for Blackie Ford, so too are the employers of Washington retaining their venom for our fellow workers who challenged their force ad violence at Centralia. If we organize the industries and make it costly to the bosses to keep Britt Smith, Loren Roberts, Eugene Barnett, O. C. Bland, Bert Bland, John Lamb and James McInerney in prison we can be quite sure that their release will follow.

This should be sufficient cause for a solidification of the Industrial Workers of the World in Washington, and for the end of secession.

Reviewing the 1925 Harvest Drive

(Continued from Page 7)



fellow workers, in which a number were so badly injured that they required medical and surgical treatment. The action in Moorhead instances that not all communities share in the savage delight such spectacles afford Fargo's enlightened citizenry. At this time two suits are pending against the participants of this revival of aboriginal cruelty. And the case of Fellow Worker Peter Weber may be considered more in detail.

Peter Weber was one of the victims of this gauntlet. He suffered a fractured collarbone, severe internal injuries and nervous prostration as a result of being terribly beaten. He is now being cared for by our organization in a Chicago hospital.

A few years ago a boy of Weber's age—19—left his home in North Dakota, and found his way to Florida. His name was Martin Tabert. He was beaten to death in a Florida road camp prison. Industrial Solidarity focussed attention to this crime and it found prominence in the press of the nation. Indignation flamed high in Tabert's native state and the North Dakota legislature sent an attorney to Florida to prosecute Higgenbotham—the beast who killed Tabert. The outcome was that the murderer was convicted and sent to prison.

Now we have a case where citizens of this state of North Dakota do their utmost to repeat the heinous crime on the body of Peter Weber that was inflicted upon poor Tabert. North Dakota protests when one of her boys is murdered by a law officer in Florida. Is there no voice of protest in North Dakota against this crime practiced on Weber at Fargo?

Ruling class force and violence failed at Fargo to kill working class organization. The workers continued in their drive with renewed vigor. This is the answer of A. W. I. U. No. 110 to those who seek to hold in miserable slavery a mute class of farm workers denied the creature comforts given to domestic animals, denied hope, aspiration; in a word, denied the power of attaining the stature of men standing erect and making an organized drive for economic freedom. Our organization exists to give this class articulation, hope, power, well-being and industrial freedom.

While these events were taking place in the States an important movement was going forward in Canada. Realizing that with the increasing acreage under cultivation in Canada the field for organiza-

tion of farm workers grows apace, our Canadian fellow workers, with very little help of a financial nature from headquarters, opened four halls. These are in Moosejaw, Saskatoon, Calgary and Winnipeg. Speakers have toured the country and propaganda has been issued. Those in charge have been competent members of long standing and wide experience, Sam Scarlett carrying on lectures, and J. A. MacDonald acting as chairman of the organization force. They laid the plans and made all ready for the drive.

In the states the threshing season ended earlier than usual, due partly to natural conditions and partly to the changed method of doing the work. In other years prior to 1917 threshing machines were fewer and the work was done by migratory workers. The season used to be from 50 to 80 days. Now the runs are being cut down because groups of farmers buy the machines and assist each other in the threshing. This throws more workers out of employment.

In view of this early termination of the drive in the States, many American delegates went into Canada to carry on the campaign for membership. Canada is a country where organization work must be done directly on the job. There are very few "jungles" where workers gather, and this presents a handicap. When the delegates reached Canada recently, they found that snow and rain had held back the field work two or three weeks. Nothing could be done except to continue the educational meetings which are conducted in all the halls, and in theatres in towns having no halls. Thus the message of the I. W. W. and of A. W. I. U. No. 110 is being promulgated throughout the Dominion of Canada as these lines are being written.

Organization work can be done until December 1st, and our delegates are waiting to make a whirlwind finish in the time left for the work. The suitcase boys lured by government promises of high wages from the big cities and Nova Scotia have been unable to stand the hardships and have gone to the homes they should never have left. The migratory workers are inured to these hardships and the membership of I. U. 110 now holds the Canadian field, hoping in the short period before them to complete their 1925 job in organization. At least half of the Canadian drive is still before us.

Some of our delegates, having finished the thresh-

ing season, have entered the corn and potato harvests, both of which offer better conditions than usually prevail in the grain harvest. And to the corn and potato harvests goes the message of economic solidarity among those who work for wages.

Considering all the disadvantages that towered before us—the Emergency Program threat of disruption, the unemployment crisis, employing class organization, crop failure in Oklahoma and Kansas, auto tramps, community threshing outfits, and natural forces—the organization drive has been a success. Financially the industrial union is in a better position than in previous years, and the morale of our membership has again been strengthened.

The Emergency Program exponents, who were going to enter the harvest entered and were quickly ejected. Many of those who had been deceived by them tore up the E. P. cards when they learned the facts of the controversy and took out I. W. W. cards. The E. P. gang made not the slightest impression in the harvest and were utterly powerless to overcome the solidarity of A. W. I. U. No. 110.

Whatever success has been achieved by our organization this year is the result of preparations carefully mapped out and a tireless energy by our delegates and active members in carrying these plans into action. We emerge from the drive with in-

creased strength and richer not only in finances but in experience. Disruption has been choked to death, the spirit of the membership revived, solidarity shown at Fargo and throughout the whole campaign, and a fine beginning made in Canada upon which we intend building a powerful unionism.

As our delegates end their work in the agricultural industries and move on to other pursuits they are prepared to transfer their credentials and supplies to the industrial unions of the respective industries they enter. Thus they look forward to a continuation of organizational effort wherever they go. This spirit is the impulse of a practice which is sure to be of much value to our entire organization.

In concluding this review it is pertinent to mention that while the I. W. W. is weighted by great burdens, there is a wholesome expression of harmony among all the industrial unions. On this harmony, on the intelligence of our membership, and on the class struggle whose form distinguishes our method as scientific and in which our organization has its being we base our hope for a greater future for the I. W. W. Fortified by this hope let us unite to bring about such a future pregnant with more happiness for our class and finally reaching the goal of an emancipated working class and a redeemed humanity.



We Didn't Make the Rules; We Don't Like the Game, But We Have to Play, and We Sure Can Win.

WOBBLES



NOT SO BAD . . .

A lazy youth, tiring of life in an office, decided to go to sea. He managed to get a job as a stoker on an Atlantic liner. Having signed on, he went aboard and was ordered below. Three days later in mid-ocean he was found conversing, in resplendent garb, with a young lady on the promenade deck. In answer to the irate officer's remarks, he replied pleasantly, "Oh, haven't you heard? I've left."

REAL ESTATE

"If you have a farm, hang on to it; if you have not, buy one."

Hm. How in the devil am I going to buy one if he hangs on to it, tell me.

Solomon had a great press agent.

"Hear my words, Kid," he used to say (cocksure that his words were tuneful).—Just like we speak our horses: gee this and haw that—whoa!

If the farms are so darn delectable, why doesn't the Real Estate Shark hang on to 'em?

The deFense is down.—T-b. S.

WHY, IT'S SCISSOR BILL!

"The tendency of newspapers is to confuse a moron with a sexual pervert. That is an error. The truth is that morons do and always have done a very large part of the world's necessary work. They do it because they are satisfied to do it. They are the contented serfs."—DR. KROHN.



JIM THOMPSON: "Engines may not have eyes, but they do have ears. Don't you ever hear of engin-eers? And, as I was saying"

China is fast learning how to use rifles, airplanes, bombs and poison gas.

Now just watch how soon she will be recognized as Highly Civilized.

Evolution still evolves to Revolution or Devolution. And it will continue so to do despite all the bulls of the priests, preachers and politicians.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of The Industrial Pioneer, published once a month at Chicago, Ill., for October 1st, 1925.

State of Illinois)
County of Cook)

ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Arthur Coleman, who having been duly sworn according to law deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Industrial Pioneer, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Name of Publisher: Industrial Workers of the World, 3333 Belmont Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Name of Editor: Vern Smith, 3333 Belmont Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

Managing Editor: Vern Smith, 3333 Belmont Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

Business Manager: Arthur Coleman, 3333 Belmont Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

2. That the owners are: Industrial Workers of the World, 3333 Belmont Ave., Chicago, Ill.; Arthur Coleman, Sec-Treas., 3333 Belmont Ave., Chicago, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him.

ARTHUR COLEMAN,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1925.
EDITH MONBLATT, Notary Public.

[SEAL]

(My commission expires Sept. 20, 1928.)

Why this issue is smaller

IT has become imperatively necessary to decrease the expense incidental to publishing The Industrial Pioneer. Therefore the General Executive Board has decided to reduce the magazine's size to 32 pages, and to have Fellow Worker Vern Smith edit it along with Industrial Solidarity. For a long period the magazine has sustained a monthly deficit approximating four hundred dollars, which has been met by the General Organization treasury.—Industrial Solidarity also runs about the same amount behind and is subsidized in like manner. But the General Organization is no longer able to bear this burden, and it has been estimated that the plan now being put into effect with the magazine will bring down the costs to a point where receipts will cover them.

This change is to be regretted, but it is better than to suspend the magazine, and we regard the new arrangement as one of temporary nature called into being to meet an emergency created by financial stringency. When there is sufficient improvement in the organization to warrant a return to the former system it is to be put into effect.

I have often heard it expressed that editors usually leave their posts with a sense of relief because there is almost invariably so much advertise criticism directed at their work. Happily this is not my present experience, for since coming to edit The Industrial Pioneer last November I have had but two complaints, and a great deal of felicitation on the publication of each issue since that time. Naturally this has caused me to feel very kindly toward our readers and membership. It amounts to a vote of confidence from you and I am deeply grateful.

So much exceptional talent has been willingly contributed to these pages that I regard the magazine's merit due in major part to this generosity expressed in a fine, intelligent, stirring spirit of class consciousness. To all who have assisted me in this way I gladly acknowledge my earnest thanks, and ask you to continue to give my successor your continued cooperation.

We are experiencing a period of great stress in the organization and have been so situated for many months past. Under such conditions those charged with responsibility for our industrial union, publication and general organization affairs might easily have given way to irritability and allowed discords to enter in, further complicating matters. But this has not been the case, patience and harmony prevailing between all departments. Such an attitude makes its legitimate call on your increased support, and though the prospect immediately before us is not bright we can win through, surviving with added strength if we persevere with fortitude. Witnessing so intimately this internal concord has been of the greatest encouragement to me.

Again I say to all who have helped me in my duties here either by literary or artistic contributions, by good will and by aiding in the sale of our magazine that my appreciation is very sincere and my gratitude is gladly expressed.

—JOHN A. GAHAN.

THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER, 3333 Belmont Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

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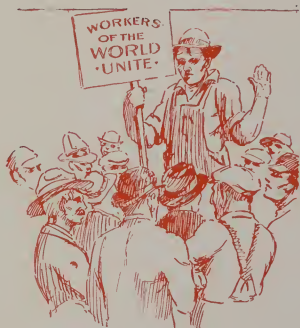
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Don't Let Them Hang



Richard Ford!

He Organized The Workers *That Is His Only Crime*

Richard Ford was sentenced to life imprisonment after being convicted of murder in 1914. He helped to organize the strike of the Wheatland hop-fields pickers on the Durst Bros. ranch at Wheatland, Cal., in 1913. The hop-pickers' meeting was shot up by the sheriff and district attorney and their gunmen, at the request of the Durst brothers. The strikers defended themselves, and the district attorney and a deputy sheriff were killed.

Ford was not armed, and was in no way to be blamed for the fight. But he helped to start the strike; he organized workers to prevent their exploitation, and the hop-pickers are determined to have his blood.

After being imprisoned eleven years, for conviction of murdering the district attorney, he is now paroled and will stand trial for murder, for killing the deputy sheriff. They mean to hang him this time!



As he defended workers, so you, workers, defend him. Send donations for the Ford Defense to General Defense Committee, 3333 Belmont Ave., Chicago, or to California Branch of the General Defense, P. O. Box 574, San Francisco, California.



William R. Langdon, American consul at Antung, China, makes a report to the United States Department of Commerce: "The enterprise of Pacific Coast lumber manufacturers and cheap water transportation across the Pacific have closed all the 23 sawmills in Antung."

American workers in the woods of Washington and Oregon and California are cheaper to the boss than Asiatics and more profit is made by exploiting them!

Think of that, you slaves of the machine.—Get busy and organize in the I. W. W., and take for yourself some of these profits!