

The **One Big Union** Monthly



TIME TO PUT AN END TO WORLD BRIGANDAGE



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

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

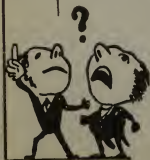
By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

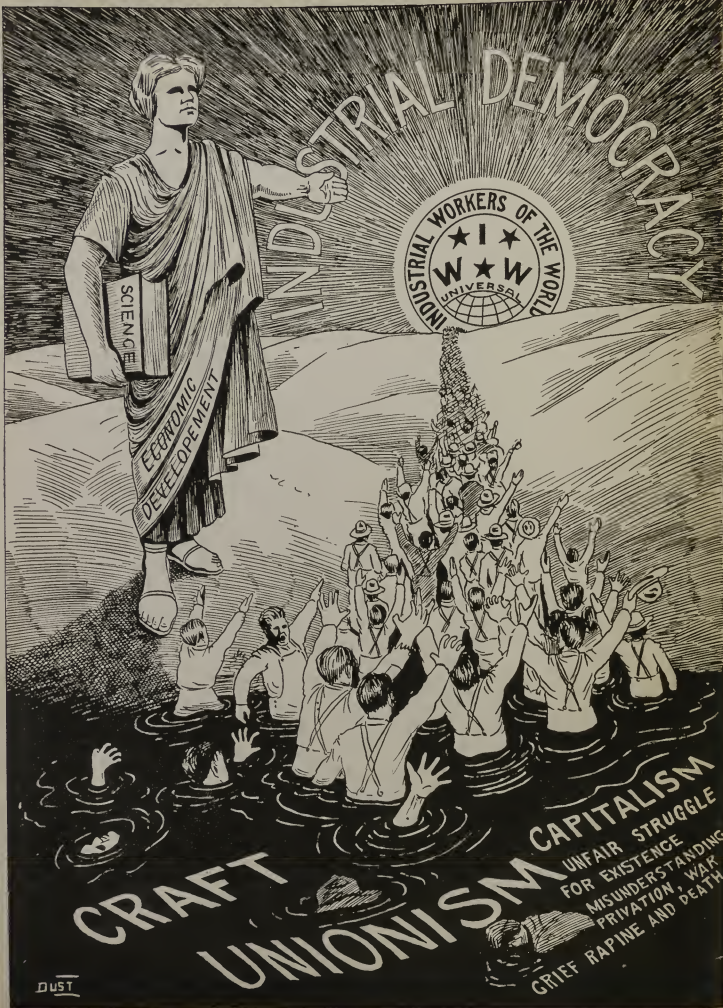




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COMING OUT OF THE MIRE

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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I. W. W. Longshoremen Tie Up Water Front in Philadelphia

By E. F. DOREE

Strike starts

"Order! Order! I will now put the motion," thundered Chairman White to the assembled I. W. W. Longshoremen of the port of Philadelphia. There is silence. The air is tense with excitement and expectation. The next words of our colored chairman fell like hammer blows. "The motion is, 'Shall we go on strike immediately'. We shall take a rising vote. All those in favor will stand up." The silence of a moment before is broken by deafening cheers as the entire body rose to its feet. Cheers followed cheers. Hats went into the air. Pandemonium reigned supreme for several moments. Doubts and uncertainties of a moment before were swept away. All are happy. All are enthusiastic.

Some, thinking business over, start for the door. Order, order," "Fellow Worker Chairman," "Order," "Fellow Worker Chairman, what are we going to do with the night gangs who are now working." And, from every corner of the large hall come cries, "Pull 'em out, pull 'em out" and "Knock 'em off, Knock 'em off, NOW!" The chairman announces that the meeting stands adjourned and suggests that everybody go to the docks.

The strike is on.

And, the enthusiasm of that night has grown each day since. The strike started on May 26th and now, nearly a month later not ONE man has broken from the ranks. The solidarity is remarkable. It is 100 per cent, the kind of 100 per cent that we like.

The strike started over the refusal of the Employing Stevedore and Shipping Interests of the Port of Philadelphia to grant an increase in wages. The longshoremen on foreign trade shipping demanded \$1.00 an hour in the place of the 80c. that they were receiving.

History of the strike

To those who doubt the growing solidarity, let them read what follows and read it well, for here is told exactly just what has actually happened. It is history, the history of but yesterday and not the wild dream of a fanatical soap-boxer. It is the dream come true.

The strike was called 10:30 o'clock on the night

of May 26th and immediately covered 3,700 members of the I. W. W. employed almost entirely on the loading and unloading of foreign trade ships.

At midnight all members were off the job.

The following morning the non-union docks at Spreckel's Sugar Refinery and the American Line Piers were tied up tight.

Members commence to pour into the union. By night more than a thousand had filled in application blanks and the foreign trade shipping was shut down with not a man working.

Two things happened on the first day of the strike to show the wonderfully fine growing solidarity of the workers.

The first was when the delegates of the Marine Firemen advised our secretary that the firemen will not produce steam for scabs.

The second was the fine action of the crew of the British freighter Haverford, at Pier 53. These fellow workers refused to handle scab cargo or coal, and when a couple of scab gangs were secured, they turned off the steam on the ship making it impossible for the scabs to work.

When the ship left the following day without a full cargo, the Ship Delegate assured us that they would not permit the ship to be taken out into the stream and there loaded. In appreciation of their fine action, the following letter was given the crew:

"We would feel negligent in our duty if we failed to extend our word of thanks to the crew of the S. S. Haverford for refusing to handle cargo or coal while members of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union, No. 8, of the Industrial Workers of the World, were on strike.

"Fellow Worker John Gannon, Ship Delegate, and his gallant crew have welded another link in the chain of solidarity which is bringing the workers of land and sea closer together into the ONE BIG UNION of the Workers of the World."

Shop Stewards of England support strike

After the ship left port, the following cablegram was sent away: "Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee.

"10 Tudor Street, London, C. F. 4.

"Industrial Workers of the World completely tie up water front Philadelphia. Crew British Freighter H. verford organized Shop Stewards refused handle cargo or supply steam. Magnificent international solidarity. Congratulations.

"Marine Transport Workers, Industrial Workers World."

The loading and unloading of ships came to a complete stop when the coast-wise longshoremen joined in the strike on May 28th.

On the next day they presented, to their employers, demands calling for 80c. an hour for straight time of eight hours a day and for time and one-half time for all overtime, Sundays and holidays.

The coastwise men surely had reason to strike. All during the war they were paid 65 cents an hour, but no sooner had the armistice been signed than the bosses rewarded them by cutting their wages to 54 cents an hour. Needless to say, they were unorganized. They have learned their lesson.

On the 29th, the American firemen faced the test and were found not wanting. A few scabs had been secured at Pier 46. The delegate of the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders' Union was notified. In half an hour the steam was cut from the winches. As we say now—"no steam—no scabs."

Scabs hard to get

May 31st, the Merchants & Miners Company started a free taxicab line. It wasn't exactly what they intended, but it is really what happened. This concern sent men about town and to the several employment agencies to pick up men to scab. The intended strike-breakers were then brought to the dock in taxis, where they met the pickets. None went to work, but as it was close to the hall a good many went up and joined.

On June 2nd, the firemen on the sugar ship at Spreckels' refinery cut off the steam from about forty scabs. Steam was then brought from the power house of the refinery to the ship through a large hose. Scabs were reported to be eating on the ship. Cooks and stewards were notified, and the scabs did not eat. That afternoon the scabs were paid off.

Finding that they could not get scabs, the employers made their first big attempt to break the ranks of the strikers by sending a circular letter to the homes of almost all those on strike. It is a mess of misstatements and carries with it their threat. A portion of the letter reads as follows:

" * * * The steamship and stevedore interests feel quite sure that the calling of this strike was due largely to outside influences, and that the majority of the longshoremen are not in sympathy with this strike, and that if they knew the true conditions they would return to work.

"There is in effect at the present time an agreement between the steamship and stevedore interests and the longshoremen of the port of Philadelphia which does not expire till September 30, 1920,

which guarantees to you the same basic wage as is now being paid at other North Atlantic ports for stevedore work.

"Practically all the steamers in port have been idle for a week. This situation cannot continue, and unless work is resumed by the regular longshoremen on or before Monday, June 7th, in addition to the steamers already diverted, every possible steamer in port and to arrive will be sent to other ports, and steps will be taken immediately to work the remaining steamers to the best advantage * * *"

To this letter the strikers answered in the following language in their strike bulletin, which they issue every four or five days:

"Outside influence? Never was there a strike more local in influence. The strike was called by a general meeting of longshoremen, at which no one was admitted except a member in good standing in Branch 1, M. T. W. I. U. No. 8, I. W. W. Since the strike has been on, no one other than longshoremen, except the delegates from the S. S. Haverford, have addressed a meeting of longshoremen nor done any publicity for them. The strike was started and is handled absolutely by longshoremen employed on the water front of Philadelphia. The strike vote was unanimous. No strike-breaker has been mistreated.

"The Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 8, Branch 1, has never signed an agreement with anyone for any period of time. The union is willing to pay \$10,000 reward for anyone locating any agreement between Branch 1, M. T. W. I. U., No. 8, and any stevedore. Come, Mr. Boss, wherever you be, and show us that agreement. We are, indeed, surprised to learn that we possess such a thing as an agreement. * * *"

On June 3rd, a captain from a ship at Pier 98 came to the hall and wanted men to unload his ship. He said he was willing to pay the price demanded. He was referred to the office of the stevedoring companies. The members refused to work one ship unless it is so settled that we work all ships.

The second British crew refused to accept cargo or coal from scabs. They are the crew of the freighter Henderson. These fellow workers are organized in the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee in England, which has recently joined hands with the I. W. W.

On the same day a company wanted "to pay any price" to get 4,000 cases of lemons unloaded. Matter put up to membership. Unanimously decided to let the lemons stay there till the strike was settled.

On June 7th the delegate from the Marine Firemen notified us that the firemen have officially gone on record against furnishing steam on any vessel where a strike is on. On the following day a committee from the longshoremen went to their meeting and extended the word of thanks to their members.

June 8th, the White Star Dominion Liner "Virginia," of Liverpool, arrived in port at the American Line piers. After the crew stood examination

at the quarantine station, and had docked, they were denied shore passes. The crew were told that they would have to be examined by another doctor.

They saw, however, that something was wrong, as the cargo was not worked as usual. They inquired if a strike was on, and were informed that they might expect one in a few days.

Two firemen went ashore that night and located the union hall, and there learned that a strike was on. They refused to furnish steam.

Foreign workers refuse to betray

At the Spreckels sugar refinery the firemen were refused to furnish steam to strike-breakers. The Spreckels company has now laid steam pipes along the edge of the dock, and are running hoses from these pipes to the winches. The hoses stand a pressure of about forty-five pounds. This amount of steam will lift about two bags at a time. The ordinary draft is eight bags.

I. W. W. LONGSHOREMEN TIE UP SHIPPING IN PHILADELPHIA



"HOLD FAST, BUDDIE, WE GOT 'EM"

An Italian ship at Pier 19 is unloading lemons with scabs. Having no steam, these scabs are passing the cases from one to another from the hold to the dock. At the rate that they are going it will take them a week to dispose of the lemons.

Having failed to coax the workers back with their circular letter, the bosses tried out the nationality game, with absolutely the same success.

On June 9th, the bosses went to the Polish workers offering them booze and telling them that if they returned that they would employ only Polish workers. The fellow workers saw through their game in a moment, and none went scabbing.

Negroes cannot be lured

Other foremen went to the Negroes and urged them to return to work, with the solemn promise that the stevedores would employ none other than Negroes, because they had always done the best work and were the most desirable workers. The

colored boys had met up with this game before, and there was nothing doing.

On the same day, other bosses went to the Italians and offered them \$1.20 an hour if they would scab. They refused, to a man.

Fellow Worker murdered by lone scab

Then came the tragedy of the strike. Fellow Worker Stanley Pavzlack was murdered by an armed scab, shot through the heart. Our fellow worker was standing in front of his home with his wife and two children when he heard shooting. Seeing that danger was coming in his direction, he attempted to get his family to a place of safety. While thus engaged he was murdered.

The trouble started when Louis Townsend and two companions were leaving the dock where they had been scabbing. Leaving Delaware avenue, they walked up Queen street to Front street, where pickets attempted to talk to them. The scabs did

not seem to be in a talking mood and continued down Front street. After going on a few steps, onlookers believe that Townsend went mad. He stopped suddenly, pulled his gun and, wheeling around, fired a shot at the union men standing on the corner. He then broke and ran up Front street, followed by his comrades, shooting at everyone in sight.

His first victims were Edward Tarcyloski, 12 years old, and his brother, Louis, 3 years old, who were seated on the steps in front of their home when the three scabs passed. Stopping momentarily, Townsend fired three shots at the children. The elder of the children was struck in the thigh and the younger had his abdomen grazed by a bullet.

Further along Front street the crazed scab encountered Joseph Carrewski, who had just come out of a barber shop. Before the man had time to duck he was dropped by the scab with a bullet in his leg.

Continuing his wild career, Townsend made his way to Front and Pemberton, where he killed Fellow Worker Pavzlack.

The shooting took place within a block of the Longshoremen's Hall, at 121 Catherine street, and in a section where hundreds of our members live. During the whole murderfest not a shot was fired at the scabs, bent upon "cleaning up" the whole South Side. Scores of persons attempted to catch them and Townsend was finally captured at Front and South streets, four blocks from where the shooting started. A gun and forty-two cartridges were found on Townsend when he was searched at the station house.

Strikers demand law and order

The day after the murder the union issued and


"The I. W. W. is doing all in its power to keep violence off the waterfront."

Fellow Worker Pavzlack was buried on Saturday, June 12. Hundreds of his fellow workers were present at the funeral services, where they paid their last solemn respects to the fallen battler in the class war.

Fellow Worker Pavzlack is the second member of the I. W. W. murdered on the water front of Philadelphia. Three years ago Fellow Worker Martin Petkus was shot to death at Front and Reed streets while picketing in the sugar strike.

Employers seeking negotiations

The first attempt to bring the strike to an end failed. The strikers were notified by one of the employing stevedores, Mr. Joseph Mooney, that the

	WATER-FRONT PASS.	
	Port of <u>PHILADELPHIA</u>	
Pass	<u>S. PAVZLACK</u>	
Residence	<u>775 SO. FRONT ST.</u>	
Nationality	<u>POLISH</u>	
Occupation	<u>LONGSHOREMAN</u>	
Employed by	<u>MURPHY, COOK & CO.</u>	
Date	<u>APR 15 1918</u>	Location <u>UNIVERSAL</u>
No. <u>460284</u>	<i>J. J. Mooney</i> United States Marshal.	

MURDERED BY AN ARMED SCAB. HIS BLOOD IS OVER THE EMPLOYERS.

distributed thousands of the following notices:

"Employing Stevedores, Attention!

"Disarm the scabs!!! Cut out the booze!!

"Shootings must stop. There is no room for drunken men or armed men in a strike situation. It is reported that scabs are armed by bosses. This must stop! Bosses are offering to buy booze for strikers if they will scab. This must stop! The bosses want violence—the union does not!!! The practice of strike-breakers shooting down union men and their families must stop!!! And stop at once!!!

"This is a strike—not a war.

"Workers have a legal right to strike. Strike-breakers have a legal right to scab. Neither have a legal right to kill or carry concealed weapons.

"The law is enforced against the strikers—enforce it against the scabs.

bosses wanted to see a committee on June 14th.

The strikers chose a committee of fifteen, representing the longshoremen on foreign trade, the longshoremen on coastwise trade, the checkers and the grain ceilers, all of whom were on strike, most of them having lined up since the strike started. The employers stated that they could see only the representatives from the longshoremen on foreign trade and that they had nothing to do with the others. The committee refused to deal in sections, so the employers with whom the union has formerly dealt will try to get together all bosses on the river front so that they can deal with all the strikers at one time.

The committee presented their argument to the employers in written form. A portion of it, that part dealing with the increased cost of living, is quoted below:

Your recent reply to our original request for increased wages states that it is your belief that the cost of living has already started to decline; . . . therefore, we come now, armed with the figures and facts compiled by Uncle Sam.

Unfortunately, the Monthly Labor Review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor is seldom complete. For instance, on retail prices of food, it lists only twenty-two articles, these being about two-thirds of all the staple articles ordinarily consumed by a working class family.

They are: sirloin steak, round steak, rib roast, chuck roast, plate beef, pork chops, bacon, ham, lard, hens, eggs, cheese, milk, bread, flour, corn meal, rice, potatoes, sugar, coffee, tea and butter.

The figures show . . . that the total increase in the price of the above-named articles, from Nov. 15, 1919, to Feb. 15, 1920, was 8 per cent. For March, 1920, we have no figures. . . . We would like to have them, as we are sure that they would show an increase in food costs. From March 15th to April 15th, 1920 . . . retail food prices soared upward 5 per cent.

This makes a total increase in retail food prices of 13 per cent from Nov. 15, 1919, to April 15, 1920, with figures lacking for the period of Feb. 15th to March 15th.

No figures are available on rents, but surely no one will hold that they are on the decline in the city of Philadelphia. Indications are that they will continue to go up.

No retail figures are available for clothing, etc. Wholesale figures, however, are complete. . . . From these figures we find that for the period Nov. 15th, 1919, to Feb. 15th, 1920:

Farm products declined.....	1.25 per cent
Foods increased.....	11.4 per cent
Clothing went up.....	9.6 per cent
Fuel and light jumped.....	4.5 per cent
Housefurnishings soared.....	10. per cent

. . . from March 15th to April 15th, 1920, the wholesale prices on foods increased 4.75 per cent, thus making the total increase in wholesale food prices for four of the past six months, namely, December, January, February and April, more than 15 per cent over what they were in November, 1919.

Further, a perusal of the financial pages of the daily press forces us to believe that prices are not destined to come down.

The day following this parley, the secretary was called up and informed the committee was wanted by a member of the U. S. Shipping Board. The committee went and they were asked to request the members to unload five ships laden with flour at Pier 98. They would work directly for the steamship company and not for the men against whom they were striking. Matter taken up. It was decided to unload the flour after the strike was over.

Another day passed, and the stevedores asked to see the committee again. Same trouble as before. No settlement in sight.

As this is being written these messages are coming to strike headquarters:

The last news

The British Red Star Line S. S. "Makinaw" was moved from Pier 55 to Richmond. No scabs. No steam. No work. All's O. K. Firemen aboard her threatened with arrest if they did not furnish steam. No steam. No arrests.

Grain elevator men at Girard Point have refused to scab on longshoremen. Will not handle grain in the hold of the ship.

Harbor boatmen refuse to haul scabs from Chestnut street pier.

Three coal hoisters quit giving coal for scabs to work with.

The following message has just gone to England:

Dock Workers Union, Corner Lamb, off Commercial Road, Liverpool, England.

S. S. "Regina" lying at American Line Piers, Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A. Grain being loaded in Hatch No. 3 by scabs (blacklegs). Firemen have refused to furnish steam. Interview firemen on arrival at Liverpool. Firemen members of N. S. & F. U.

At this time there are over 150 ships listed in the harbor. All are idle. Not a ship is working, and the strikers have made it plain that not a ship will work till the strike is over.

The high points of the strike

The high points of the strike may be summed up in these words:

The strike is nearly a month old. Not a ship has been loaded or unloaded in that time.

Every one of the 3,700 members of the I. W. W. walked out on call. Not one has returned.

Every unorganized longshoreman in the port of Philadelphia came off when requested. Not one of them has broken ranks.

Over 5,000 members lined up in three weeks.

With the exception of the scab running amuck and killing Fellow Worker Pavznack, there has been practically no violence. Until that murder there was not even a fist fight. Less than a score have been arrested to date.

Union firemen aboard ship have refused steam to scabs.

Union cooks and stewards have refused to feed scabs.

Union boatmen have refused to work with scabs. Union coal hoisters have refused to supply coal to ships loaded with scab cargo.

British crews organized in the Shop Stewards movement of Great Britain have refused to accept coal or cargo from scabs.

The Grain Ceilera's Branch, M. T. W. I. U. No. 8, I. W. W., presented demands for \$10 a day, with double time for overtime. They are on strike.

Four hundred unorganized sugar house men quit before they would take the strikers' places on the sugar docks.

All the checkers on the water front of Philadelphia have lined up in the I. W. W.

The foremen, with the miserably exception of three or four, have refused to boss scabs. The vast majority of them have notified their employers that they will not return to work even if some of the original strikers break ranks, unless the strike is settled through the union.

We have assurances that ships which may be loaded here by scabs will not be unloaded if their destination is Liverpool, Buenos Aires or Rosario. A great deal of Philadelphia shipping goes to these ports.

So stands the strike, the greatest in the history of this coast.



RIOTING IN OMAHA, NEB., 1919. POLICE TURNING HOSE ON OMAHA MOB.

Sowing the Wind and Reaping the Whirlwind

By JOHN SANDGREN

The morning paper brings the news that the city of Duluth, Minn., is in control of a mob of 5,000, who have subdued the police by force, broken into the jail and taken out and lynched three Negroes, alleging that they were guilty of attacking a white girl of seventeen. It is the old, old story.

This event comes right close upon the attack by an unruly mob of mostly ex-soldiers upon the Negroes of Waukegan, Ill., only a couple of weeks ago. That time nobody was killed, but the occasion for the riot was correspondingly insignificant: a couple of small Negro children are supposed to have thrown rocks at the glass windshield of an officer's automobile and broken it.

These two serious riots of the year should be seen against the background of the past as well as of the happenings in the South.

In the South the pot of Negro hunting and lynching keeps boiling right along, but the disquieting fact is that these collisions between the races are moving northward rapidly instead of decreasing. Only last year we had the terrible race riots in Washington, D. C., where a great number of lives were lost and many persons wounded; the still more

serious race riot in Chicago, which cost several times as many lives, and finally we had the disgraceful outburst in Omaha, Neb., where events were very similar to those in Duluth of yesterday. In Omaha, as in Duluth, a mob of about 5,000 people gathered about the City Hall, fought and conquered the police, had twice the noose round the mayor's neck, wrecked and burned the magnificent City Hall and took out a Negro accused of attacking a white woman and hanged him.

The three accompanying photographs tell part of the story.

One remarkable thing about these riots is that in most cases those responsible for them are trying to blame them on the I. W. W.

In Chicago the unspeakably foul capitalist press time and time again sought to fasten the responsibility for the bloody riots and the burning of houses on I. W. W.'s, who are supposed to have blackened their faces to look like Negroes! Of course, the police and others who studied the situation knew better. It seemed that the Chicago press was lending its aid to those who wished the wrath of the rioters turned on the I. W. W. Maybe they thought

it would lead to the killing of some I. W. W. men. It was evident that there were provocateurs at work with a purpose.

Then came Omaha. The capitalist press reported that General Wood, the now beaten presidential candidate, had officially declared that he thought there was red activity behind the riot. The provocateurs were at work again, trying to turn the fury of the mob on the I. W. W. and at the same time trying to get rid of the blame for the nasty deeds.

Then came Waukegan. The Chicago Daily News came out and insinuated in the news columns that there was a mysterious influence at the back of the riots, presumably the I. W. W. There were some civilian people leading the soldiers on to deeds of violence, and these civilians were Wobblies, according to the Daily News insinuations. The criminal provocateurs were at work again.

We have not heard from Duluth yet, but we shall not be a bit surprised to see this race riot also blamed on the I. W. W.

While reading proof of the above we get "The Herald-Examiner" of Chicago of July 21, one of the Hearst papers. In glaring head lines it accuses the I. W. W. of being the inciters of a Chicago riot on Sunday, July 20th, in which two men were killed and eight more or less severely wounded while trying to arrest some members of a Negro religious sect that had run amuck. The paper says that these religious fanatics were burning the American flag, but seeing that the paper comes with the lie that the I. W. W. is behind it, one cannot believe what the paper says. On another page the paper publishes a photo of a mixed crowd of Negroes and whites and states that they are "a posse hunting the guilty I. W. W."

This is, of course, nothing but a dastardly attempt of this honorless paper to incite the ignorant mob against the I. W. W.

It is journalistic work of this kind that keeps the flame of rioting alive.

What is the significance of it all?

We are absolutely certain that in neither crowd of rioters could be found an I. W. W. man or a socialist. In every city where these riots occur the participants are people outside of our ranks. There are the clubmen and other keen sports with murder in their hearts who enjoy hounding a Negro to death, the same as they would hunt and kill a 'possum, a fox or a coyote. It thrills their degenerate nerves and satisfies their vile passion. Whenever there is a call for that kind of action they pour out of their hiding places, these monsters. Of course, they do not want to publicly stand for their deed. They are ashamed of it, they fear the punishment and they add to their crime by trying to roll the crime over on some innocent people's shoulders—people whom they hate.

By blaming it on the I. W. W. and thus inciting ignorant people against us, they feel that they have killed two birds with one stone: They had the ghastly "fun" of killing a Negro and blame it on

the hated I. W. W.

(While this was being set in type one of our members dropped in from Duluth. He had watched the hanging from beginning to end and barely escaped the same fate, when he tried his best to stop it. We asked him, what the crowd consisted of. "Were they working men," we asked. "No," he said, "they were the bourgeois and their dependents. The lynchers poured out of the shops, offices, drugstores, barbershops, pool rooms and joints of the business district. It was not working men. It was the element that is hostile to workingmen.")

The fact that these riots occur so frequently shows that we are living in a hair trigger society. Immediately below the surface, barely under control, there is a spiritual monster which dares not show itself in daylight. It is the free-masonry of bad men, and they number thousands and thousands in every city. Most of them wear good clothing, but many wear workingmen's clothes. Making a random survey of the rioting mobs, we should say that they consist of the same elements that made themselves most conspicuous as "patriots" during war times. It is the pupils of the patriotic leagues and of Ole Hanson, the malodorous ex-mayor of Seattle, the hired thuggery of employers' associations, the gunmen, the cowardly and murderous braggarts of the brothel-saloons and gambling halls, the scabs, and the self-styled 100 per cent American dupes of the profiteers, who are happy to see the two races fighting one another. The agents of the "National Security League" and other monopolists in patriotism have worked on the feelings of the rowdy elements until they are crazy for blood, like youngsters reading dime novels. The rioters are hyper-patriotic.

That same element which will on a moment's notice set civil authority at naught and "take charge" of a city, that same element is one we have to count with in these revolutionary times. When capitalism can no longer stand on its legs, it instinctively falls back on this element of thugs and murderers and general law-breakers. And this element of bad men just as instinctively turns to the capitalist class. They are in spiritual relationship and feel as friends, though of different social standing. The capitalist is at heart a thief, a murderer, an all-around crook and an immoral, blood-thirsty degenerate, ready to do anything to defend his booty. The rioters and the capitalists as naturally fall in with one another in troublous times as two countrymen will fall in with one another if they meet in a foreign country.

As capitalism collapses, as production and distribution of one commodity after another breaks down and people begin to lack the necessities of life, these bad men come into prominence. These rioters are anti-social beasts who immediately resort to violence when hunger comes. They will naturally find one another as in these race riots and flock together and plunder and murder together. They have friends "higher up" who will gladly use them and protect them.



THE WORK OF THE OMAHA RIOTERS IN THE CITY HALL

Recent events in Chicago show that a good many of the American Federation of Labor unions in Chicago are under control of such thuggery and "sports." Through the murder of such labor union thugs as Enright and Coleman, other names, such as Tim Murphy and Carozzo, and a dozen more have become prominent enough to show that these bandits and gunmen are worming their way into powerful positions. It is openly hinted that they have friends in prominent political positions as well as wealthy protectors. The events of late years have favored them. These thugs and robbers and murderers have played the patriotic game to a charm and elbowed themselves into position and wealth by terrorist methods. The shipbuilding and aircraft profiteers and arch patriots, the war contract patriots, the intellectual prostitutes following the trail of gold that these bad men leave behind, all of them are prominent just now. Carrying concealed weapons is illegal in most states, but these bad men by mutual consent all carry arms. The peaceful citizenry has been disarmed, but this profiteer and riot thuggery is allowed to keep their guns, so as to better be able to terrorize the law-abiding. In case of a general outbreak the good people are defenseless, and the capitalists and the crooks are armed to the teeth.

These gunmen and patriotic braves are a silent

force right under the surface. It takes only the rape of a white woman by a Negro or the allegation of stonethrowing by black children as in Waukegan, in order to bring this element out in revolt against law and order. They are practicing for revolution—for a reactionary revolution.

We, the I. W. W. men, are organizing people industrially to enable them to take over and carry on production and distribution, so that the change from the new to the old may take place without violence and bloodshed. From the I. W. W., the socialists, and from the average worker, society has nothing to fear. The element which society has to fear is the same people who riot in Chicago, Omaha and Duluth, and those provocateurs higher up, who stand behind them and prod them, egg them on, encourage them and protect them.

We, the I. W. W., have everything to lose and nothing to gain by participating in riots. Anyhow, we have the mild spirit of humanitarians and shudder at these terrible, ghastly deeds. The intelligent Negroes know very well that they have no better friend than the I. W. W. and they are organizing together with us and fighting with us against the capitalist class, as witness the present strike on the docks of Philadelphia, where whites and blacks are united in friendship and solidarity for a common, beautiful aim.

The thing for us to do in these troublous times is to hurry and get our organs of local administration ready; that is, our city central councils. Seeing the ease with which the murderous mobs suspend the activities of the civil authorities and terrorize one community after another, it becomes incumbent upon the workers to take steps to protect themselves and society from a complete breakdown at the hands of these bloodthirsty mobs. Having made temporary revolutions with impunity in St. Louis, in Washington, in Chicago, in Omaha, in Waukegan, in Duluth, they are getting more daring, more courageous. Before we know it, this cut-throat element, with a General Wood at the top as the man on horseback, and Morgan, Rockefeller, Dupont, and the hundreds of other trust magnates as the financial backers, will take complete control. Under the guise of suppressing rowdyism, they will systematize it and enthrone it on the mangled carcass of so-called democracy.

With so many dangerous elements snooping round, knife in hand, ready to cut the throat of civilization and establish the autocratic rule of banditry, it is time for the useful working people to wake up. If the civil governments of today are too weak, too cowardly or too crooked to prevent these riots or to punish those who participate in them, it is time for the big mass of peaceable, law-abiding, useful citizens to create institutions which have their roots so deeply among the people that no criminal element dares to raise its head.

Only by changing from territorial representation to industrial representation will society be able to create an administration which will be able to function with the combined strength of all the citizens added together. The present administrations have little or no backing. They are as a rule the product of the activities of utterly corrupt political

machines, dominated by the same slum element that does the rioting. They can uphold their authority only by hiring men and arming them with clubs and guns. These gun-and-club men sometimes fail to function or are overpowered, and there is banditry supreme.

The I. W. W. form of local administration, of which there is as yet little to be seen in this country, is a city central council drawn from the shop, the place of work, from living life itself. It will consist of the trusted men and women of every occupation instead of as now of real estate sharks, brothel and saloon keepers, shyster lawyers and professional politicians and grafters of the lowest type. Our administration, springing directly from the people at work, can call upon the whole people for assistance at any moment, and would be able to completely suppress any criminal element.

The moral of it all is the same old one that we are repeating until we are wearing it out: Organize every shop as a branch of the industrial union of that industry. Organize every human occupation along industrial lines. Select your Central City Councils everywhere and get ready for the collapse of capitalism.

The strikes are the signs of the inability of the capitalists to supply mankind with what it needs. They signify the collapse of capitalism industrially. The riots are the signs of the inability of capitalism to protect the citizens from violence. They signify the collapse of capitalism politically.

Get ready for the big crash like sensible men. Let all the good elements in society, whether white, black, red or yellow, male or female, get together to down the capitalistic bands of robbers and murderers and other criminals and save society.

Let capitalism collapse, but let us save civilization.



WHAT THE OMAHA RIOTERS DID WITH THE MAYOR'S AUTOMOBILE

What is Bolshevism?

On pages 25-32 of this issue we have reprinted several articles, in full or in part, from "Soviet Russia," the official organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau here in the United States. These articles on the reconstruction in Russia answer the question pretty well what bolshevism is and what it is not. They are authoritative.

There is a large element of "bolsheviks" in this country who are making the Russian Bolshevics ridiculous by claiming for them something that they do not claim for themselves. These "American Bolshevics" are, figuratively speaking, running round with a big club, and, like the hold-up man during the night, they ask you: "Are you a bolshevik or are you not??" Yes or no. No explanations accepted. If you say yes, you will pass. If you say no, you are spiritually murdered on the spot, being called a traitor to the working class. If you start to explain you meet the same fate.

* In their revolutionary ardor (with their jaw), they have plumb forgotten to look up what bolshevism really is, what it has done and what it tries to accomplish. Should this magazine fall into the hands of some of these soviet maniacs, they will have a good chance to enlighten themselves by reading these official accounts.

As you will see for yourselves, these articles treat mainly on the socialization of agriculture, and on the socialization of distribution of commodities. We did not have the space in this issue to treat on the socialization of big industry and the position and function of the unions. That will come in a coming issue.

But agriculture is the main issue in Russia. Eighty per cent of the population, at least, are engaged in it.

These articles will answer some of the following questions:

Is private ownership abolished in Russia?

Is private control of the means of production and distribution abolished in Russia?

Is wage slavery abolished in Russia?

Is socialism established in Russia?

As far as private ownership of the land

is concerned, it is abolished on paper, but exists in fact. As you will see, 95 per cent of the land is divided into one-peasant "economies." Socialization has merely started on a small scale as an experiment and as an example.

As far as agriculture is concerned, the Russian revolution of 1917, like the French revolution of 1789, consisted in driving off the old land owners and allowing the peasants to divide the soil between them. That was a mighty fine thing for the Russian people and for the French people, but it is not socialism.

As far as handicraft and small industries (employing less than ten workers), which were so important a part of Russian life, there is no talk of socializing them. They continue to function as private enterprises, run for profit, with governmental co-operation.

When we come to commercial distribution we find that the bolsheviks even here have adopted the inheritance from pre-revolutionary days and adapted it for their purposes with much success. The co-operative movement of the consumers, built up already under czarism, has been made an integral part of the state machinery and has been extended to include all. Thus distribution has been socialized in a most surprising manner. If we are not mistaken, the co-operatives are not the least surprised.

As is very natural, the efforts at socialization are most noticeable when it comes to the big industries. They are more suited, more ready for collective operation, than agriculture and handicraft. As to the arrangements in detail of large industrial production and the functions of the unions, we refer the reader to our next issue.

We now come to the question: Should the workers of other countries proclaim themselves bolsheviks and slavishly follow in the footsteps of their Russian namesakes. Only a crazy man would insist on such a course after reading the facts as given here.

It is plain that each country will have

to work out its own solution of its own problems. The work of reconstruction will vary as the material at hand varies.

Agriculture in this country is largely carried on with machinery which is entirely lacking in Russia. This lays the basis for a system of co-operation which makes it impossible and absurd to divide the land into one, two or three horse farms like in Russia.

The solution of the agricultural problem in this country seems to be along the lines of the "agricultural commune," planned, and to some extent put in operation, by the bolsheviks. Only it must be done on a much larger scale from the start in this country. We cannot start dividing up the corporation farm or the bonanza farm, and we cannot possibly start to split up the other farms, thereby losing the benefit of the progress of the last 100 years. Russia may have been compelled to solve the agricultural problem by dividing the soil into smaller parcels, but we have to solve our problem by combining the smaller parcels into bigger ones and by making agriculture one great national enterprise instead of disintegrating it into innumerable small enterprises.

As for handicraft, it plays no important part in American life. Where it serves its purpose it will probably have to be left untouched as in Russia.

As for distribution, the co-operative movement is so insignificant in this country that it would be almost impossible to use it as a basis for distribution as in Russia. However, we are sure to do like the Russians; that is, incorporate it in the large machinery of distribution. The commercial machinery of this country is so highly developed that it would be inconceivable that we should discard it. The hundred million dollar wholesale houses and the department stores are so intimately interwoven with American economic life that it would probably mean disaster to dispense with them. The thing for us in this country to do would probably be to organize the commercial working force industrially, as the actual productive workers, and train ourselves for the taking over of commercial distribution by means of these organiza-

tions. Of course, great changes would have to be made on account of our eliminating competition. But these simplifications could easily be made by the commercial workers, working in conjunction with the co-operatives.

When it comes to our long list of trusts, such as the steel trust, the oil trust, the coal trust, the copper trust, the lumber trust, the rubber trust, the leather trust, the shipping trust, etc., there is no way open except to take them over bodily by means of industrial unions. To dissolve them or break them up would mean utter ruin and destruction.

While we may to great advantage watch the experiments in Russia, the Russian workers can teach us very little, because industrial conditions are so different here and there.

In Russia we could probably do no better than help to carry out the bolshevik program of nationalization and fight in the red army to save the revolution. In America we must resist any attempt at following bolshevist lines and insist on having the problem of reconstruction solved according to the I. W. W. program; that is, industrial unions with their shop branches for productive purposes and city central councils for administration purposes, eliminating private ownership and control almost entirely as an outgrown form.

The thing to do under the circumstances is to help the Russian revolution along in every conceivable manner — including speaking the truth about it—and at the same time go right ahead and build up the I. W. W., that is the framework of the new society. All people who neglected this have had to pay a terrible penalty.

Bolshevism means Socialism in a hurry—Socialism while you WON'T wait.—I. Zangwill.

Bolshevism stands for the overthrow of the Capitalist system, and will pave the way for Socialism.—Litvinoff.

"What can I do to help the I. W. W. with their tremendous task?" you ask. We'll tell you:

Take home a bundle of The One Big Union Monthly to sell every month. Write today!

The General Defense

By Wm. D. Haywood

The General Defense Committee has become a real factor of the organization and was so recognized by the last convention, which made provision that the General Defense should continue, and that local Defense Committees should function with the General Defense Committee in the same manner as branches do with Industrial Unions. In this way the best possible results will be obtained.

The work accomplished by the General Defense Committee during the last ten months has counted for itself. Some of the work was reviewed to the last convention in a report by the General Secretary-Treasurer of the Defense Committee with a complete financial statement accompanying the report.

Since May 1 the second trial of Fellow Worker Charles Krieger has taken place and has resulted in an acquittal. This case was framed up by emissaries of the Standard Oil Company, who were responsible for holding Krieger in jail for over twenty-two months on a charge that they knew was absolutely false.

The case involved the organization in a tremendous expense for lawyers, investigations and trial costs, as many witnesses had to be brought to Tulsa, Oklahoma, from long distances.

Krieger when first arrested was held for investigation. Finally, he was put to trial last October. There was a hung jury. His acquittal came with the second trial. Krieger is now speaking for the General Defense Committee.

John Grady, charged with criminal syndicalism in Spokane, Wash., whose trial hung fire for so long, was finally acquitted.

The Butt Stevens case was vacated.

John Shank, who was tried at Pueblo, Colorado, on a charge framed by a Walzenburg bank, is still in jeopardy, as two of the jury stood for conviction while ten were for acquittal. However, George Vanderveer feels that this case will not be tried again.

Three members, E. J. MacCosham, W. H. Lewis and Charles Ashleigh, have been re-

leased from the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, on bond. All three were of the Chicago group and have spent nearly three years in prison.

MacCosham, for a minor infraction of the penitentiary rules, was kept in the dungeon and chained to the bars every day for over six months. His release came like a benefaction.

The argument before the Appellate Court, involving ninety-four members in the Chicago case, began on June 16. George F. Vanderveer argued the legal questions of the case in a masterly way. The court held a night session, at which time Vanderveer concluded his argument on the law, and the hearing was continued until the following Wednesday or Thursday, when Otto Christensen will argue on behalf of the defendants the evidence and the facts in this, the greatest labor case in the annals of American jurisprudence.

The assignment of errors in the Wichita appeal was granted by Judge Pollock. The bill of exceptions is being heard before him at this time. Bond for the Wichita defendants also will be fixed at this hearing, and an application will be made for a joint bond. Members and friends are requested to keep this fact in mind and send all available bonds, so that an early release of all the men confined in Leavenworth Penitentiary can be brought about.

The argument in the Sacramento appeal will be heard some time during the latter part of this month.

The appeal in the Centralia case is being taken care of by Vanderveer.

All members who were indicted at Omaha in September, 1917, have been dismissed.

There are hundreds of members still confined in jails and penitentiaries, so the defense work must be kept up. A day's wage stamp will be issued. All returns from the sale of this stamp must be sent to this office.

At all entertainments, meetings and picnics held during the summer good speakers should be provided who will outline the defense as well as organization work, and have a good supply of defense literature on hand.



The Final Conflict—the Workers' driving away the "Enemies of the People": capitalists, generals, clericals and politicians. —From "La Vie Ouvrière."

Revolutionary Strikes in France

By GEORGE ANDREYCHINE

"Qui veut manger doit produire!"

Great and heroic days have just passed in France; days in which the revolutionary will of the vanguard of the proletariat attempted to assert itself in no dubious way. The revolutionary syndicalists of the Railroad Workers' Federation called a general strike on all lines on the eve of May Day. The dock, marine and mine workers struck in solidarity with the militant "cheminots" (railroaders). Later on, the gas workers and electricians, the street car and subway workers of Paris were called out by the General Confederation of Labor in support of the striking railroaders. The metal workers of Paris, the rank and file, also struck, ignoring the pleas and supplications of their conservative officials. At a certain time the country was face to face with spontaneous insurrectional outbursts here and there.

But the time was not propitious for a revolution, for revolutions are not decreed by executive committees or union militants. It is evident that the causes of this strike were not deep-seated; were of no elemental nature.

The Struggle for Supremacy in the C. G. T.

The leaders of the railroad workers knew thoroughly well that a revolution was an impossibility at this particular moment. They declared the strike more against the conservative leaders of the General Confederation of Labor and of their own organization rather than against the capitalist regime and its government. They hoped to create the necessary sentiment and class solidarity, to awaken the pre-war militancy of the French proletariat and demolish the machine that is sapping the revolutionary will and energy of the working class—Jouhaux, Dumoulin, Merrheim, Bidegaray and their associates.

This strike was a challenge to them. If they refused to support it, their goose would be cooked; if they supported it whole-heartedly, the revolutionary syndicalists could wrest it from their control and give a new direction to its forces, possibly attempt a revolution. But the shrewd politicians of the C. G. T. chose neither of those courses. After seeing the folly of opposing this tornado, which would have meant suicide, they reluctantly "sympathized" with the struggle of the railroaders and stabbed them from behind. The unions they called "in sympathy" with the railroad strike were

allowed to make their own choice of striking or not.

Some of the leaders of the railroad workers' unions actually scabbed and carried on an insidious propaganda against the new "bolshivist regime" of their federation. Especially notorious were the leaders of the Northern Railway, who called off the strike just then when it was assuming a general extension.

The Consolidation of the Militants

During the war, as in all European countries, the majority of the syndicalists and socialists gave their support and connivance to the capitalists in the great murderfest. But in each country there remained an incorruptible and brave minority which rejected the infamous "union sacree" with the eternal enemy of the working class and held high the red flag of the workers' International above the treason and odious compromises of the majority.

The minority in France was grouped round our

valiant Fellow-Worker Pierre Monatte, editor of the syndicalist review, "La Vie Ouvrière" (The Toilers' Life). All of the readers of The One Big Union Monthly know already the picturesque revolutionary career of Monatte. The men and women who joined his group are destined to play an important part in future



PIERRE MONATTE,

Editor "La Vie Ouvrière";
born 1881.

events; nay, they have been in the thick of the battle against capitalism for many years and have carried the brunt of it ever since the armistice, when syndicalism of pre-war times assumed its function once more in some of the most important unions.

The railroad workers and metal workers were the center of all syndicalist action and propaganda. Since the defection of Merrheim, the Zimmerwaldian pilgrim, and of Dumoulin, the man who had pitilessly unmasked and denounced Jouhaux and his clique, the railroad workers' union became the arena for the death-or-life struggle of the two tendencies. Monatte's group was strengthened by the adherence of several important figures who had a considerable influence in this key industry: Gaston Monmousseau, a young and powerful orator, writer

and organizer, leading spirit of the revolutionaries in the State Railway; Leon Midol, a man of forceful character and determination, who time and time again has harassed the railroad companies and their government with his "personal strikes" ("the one minute strike" on the P. L. M. in January, 1919, and the February railroad strike, 1920), a great student of transportation and production, general secretary of the most important railroad union, the Paris, Lyons and Mediterranean line; Dejonckere, of the State lines; Delagrance and Olivier, of the Paris-Orleans lines; Totti, of the P. L. M.; Leveque, of the State lines; Chaverot, of the P. L. M. We must not fail to mention here the capable and fearless anarchist Sirole, who is very close to Monatte's group.

Class Struggle Against Class Collaboration

These militant syndicalists worked ceaselessly for the triumph of the principle of the class-struggle as opposed to the class collaboration practised by the officials of their general organization and the C. G. T. In the congress of their federation in May, 1919, Fellow Worker Monmousseau's revolutionary motion was supported by 108,000 members as against 130,000 for that of Bidegaray, the conservative secretary of the federation.

In July, 1919, Bidegaray and the officials of the C. G. T. sabotaged the general strike called for protest against intervention in Russia and Hungary, and that was considered as an act of treason by the "minority," who were in no mood to allow their government to stangle the Russian revolution. The strike was called off on the eve of July 21st; Hungary was invaded and the intervention in Russia given an impetus. But that spelled the doom of Bidegaray's power. The propaganda carried on against him and the other social traitors was very fruitful. In February, 1920, the workers of the State railway held their congress. By an overwhelming majority of 57,047 Monmousseau defeated Bidegaray in his own union, who rallied only 8,030 votes. The blow was stunning to the conservatives and an inspiration to the "bolshvist minority." One by one the unions have been repudiating their "leaders" and the contingent of the militant syndicalist tendency was being reinforced with fresh recruits.

The February Railroad Strike

The companies and the government also played into the hands of the revolutionary minority; they delayed the granting of the demands of the railroad workers in spite of their solemn promises. The arrogant railroad magnates and directors were dreaming of crushing the revolutionary minority who constantly interrupted traffic and transportation; one line strikes today, another tomorrow. This, of course, means curtailment of profits and dividends. Besides, they were never too sure of their power if the revolutionary syndicalists were at the helm of the most important and powerful union. These "agitators" were never satisfied, and their battle-cry was, "the railroads to the railroad workers!" The plunderers of France and their

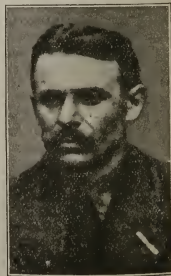
political dummies, Millerand, Lefevre (both ex-socialists, and now henchmen of the bourgeoisie), Steeg and Le Trocquer, knew that if Monmousseau, Midol, Sirole and their fellow workers ever captured the Railroad Federation (or, as Monatte puts it masterfully, "render the organization to the rank and file"), the day will not be far off when they and their tactics will reconquer the General Confederation of Labor with its 2,500,000 members and "render the land to those who till it and the factories to the workers!"

The air was charged with disquieting portents; a shop delegate in the yards of Villeneuve-St. Georges, Campanaud, was suspended for forty-eight hours from work for unauthorized leave of absence. He had gone to Dijon to a shop delegates' convention in spite of the refusal of the superintendent to grant him the necessary leave. The shop repairers at Villeneuve immediately struck in defense of their fellow worker; they considered the suspension an insult to their union and an invasion of their syndical rights, conquered with so much sacrifice.

Campanaud happens to belong to the most militant railroad union, the P. L. M., and in a few days Fellow Worker Leon Midol called out on strike the whole line. The order was obeyed by all; not a train moved on the main railroad artery in France. The Paris Central Railroad Committee, comprising delegates from all railroad lines (representing the rank and file, and not officials) decided to call out all other lines. Their jurisdiction did not embrace so much authority, but they knew where Bidegaray and his clique stood. The strike, a purely rank and file affair, was a marvelous demonstration of solidarity and class consciousness.

Mobilization Order Ignored

The officials were completely discredited by their compromise with the government and companies. The victory of the "minority" was assured for the next congress. Chaverot, Sirole, Sigrand, Leveque and Hourdeaux, who were arrested for inciting the military to disobedience and revolt, were released. The Millerand government had learned a lesson from the other ex-socialist, Briand, who in 1910, broke the railroad strike by calling the strikers to the colors. Mobilization orders were issued but less than 10 per cent responded. At Lyons the strikers piled up their mobilization orders in the Bourse du Travail, thou-



GASTON MONMOUSSEAU
leader of the Railroad militants.
Born in 1883.

sands refused to accept the registered letters with the orders; at other centers they were burned.

The French workers have had enough of war and militarism. Besides, in 1910 they were only 40,000. Now they are over 300,000.

This "outlaw" strike accomplished a threefold mission: It dislocated and undermined the authority of the officials of the Railroad Federation and ultimately all the conservative leaders of the C. G. T.; strengthened and gave a momentum to the left syndicalist movement and beat the companies and government to a frazzle. The effects of the strike soon became evident: One by one the unions of the various systems began "cleaning their house," getting rid of the cumbersome and timid "leaders," and the rank and file, through the militant and young "extremists," became masters of their own destiny.

The General Congress in April

The final coup-de-grace was delivered at the annual congress which lasted from April 21 to 24 in the famous Japy hall. That congress will be a landmark in the future revolutionary history of France. The two tendencies, revolutionary and evolutionary (not to call it reactionary), of syndicalism, which have relentlessly struggled for supremacy in directing the policies, tactics and ideals of the formidable union, met there for a decisive combat. There Monmousseau and his fellow workers mercilessly dealt with their Gomperses. In spite of the defense of Dumoulin and Jouhaux and his own followers in the federation, Bidegaray was vanquished. The "minority" of yesterday became actually a revolutionary majority. Bidegaray's "moral" report was rejected and he and his executive were repudiated by a vote of 196,298 against 123,000 for it, with 16,031 abstention, the P. L. M. and Paris-Orleans voting almost unanimously "against," while the Alsace-Lorraine unions voted en bloc "for" the report.

Thus the policies and conduct of Bidegaray were condemned and the criticisms and attacks of our fellow workers, Sirolle, Monmousseau and Midol, justified; they were contemptuously sneered at and told to keep their mouth shut, for, forsooth, "the majority had confidence in our wise and careful (read criminal) inaction!" This reply was always on the lips of the so-called majority, who camouflaged with it all their double-dealings and unclean business of strangulating the revolutionary tendencies of the rank and file.

The resolution on action of the new majority, which is a splendid declaration of syndicalist prin-



Goods stocked on the quays of Joliette.

ciples, reminding us of the pre-war C. G. T., is a classic document. " * * * the workers' organization repeats that its final goal is the disappearance of capitalism and the wage system; it prepares the complete emancipation of the proletariat, which cannot be realized except through the expropriation of the capitalists, and it extols the general strike as the means of action; it considers that the union, today an organization of combat, in the future shall be the organ of production, the basis for social reconstruction." It calls on the "cheminots" not to respond to the order of mobilization in time of strike.

"Complete Transformation" Their Demand

"Considering the lamentable situation of the economic life, which demands a profound modification of the actual state of affairs, and that the complete nationalization of the great public services, the land and water routes, the mines and the great industrial enterprises, will facilitate this transformation for the exclusive benefit of the collectivity, the congress decides, in the face of government provocations and the postponement of indispensable decisions, to commence an immediate strike action by putting forth the following demands:

- "1. Nationalization.
- "2. Immediate reinstatement of the revoked to their posts.
- "3. The abandonment of judiciary prosecutions.
- "4. Recognition of the syndical rights."

This resolution was adopted by a vote of 171,037 (147,282 against, with 13,593 abstentions), the P. L. M. voting 65,248 for the resolution of the revolutionary syndicalists, which was read by Fellow Worker Totti of Marseilles, and 5,425 for that of the conservatives; the Eastern, 22,163 for it, 6,346 against; the Orleans road, 26,170 for, 20,000 against; the State lines, 42,091 for, 10,699 against; Alsace-Lorraine, 23,000 for, 26,000 against. The biggest vote for the conservatives comes from the Compagnie du Nord, 41,491 against Monmousseau's motion and 9,337 for it. This union is the most conservative and it scabbed during the first and second (May) strikes. They are helping rebuild the devastated regions and evidently are against all strikes hampering that task.

But at the final session in Aubervilliers, the con-



HENRI SIROLLE
delegate to the C. G. T.
Born 1886.

gress unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"The congress, leaving aside all questions of tendencies and conceptions, and in complete accord upon the general demands presented by the federation, (1) nationalization, (2) reintegration of the revoked, (3) suspension of all judiciary prosecutions, (4) the recognition of syndical rights,

"Decides to call a general strike on all systems, leaving to the federal committee the care of fixing the date and examining if May First can be the pivot for action in accord with the C. G. T."

The New Administration of the R. R. Federation

On May 26th the federal council of the "cheminots" elected the new executive commission. By a vote of 28 against 18 for Bidegaray, Fellow Worker Edmond Leveque was elected administrative secretary; Fellow Worker Gaston Monmousseau, secretary of the propaganda bureau; Leon Midol, editor of the official organ (which has a circulation over 300,000) and documents. Fellow Worker Henri Siroille was elected as delegate to the C. G. T. The majority of the executive committee is frankly revolutionary, and that makes the work of propaganda and agitation so much easier.

When the new administration, hailed by the venal press as "extremists," "bolshhevik" and what not, assumed its duties, they immediately put themselves to the task of calling the railroad workers on strike for the above mentioned program. The C. G. T. opposed any such move, but the militants of the Railroad Federation rammed down their throats the declaration of April 27, which could not be revoked. The glove was already thrown in the face of the insane government and arrogant railroad magnates.

The C. G. T. had to accept this bitter truth; once again they have been outmaneuvered by the "bolshivist elements," as "Le Temps" put it.

The strike, according to the Associated Press, was a complete tie-up on four systems out of the five. On May 6th the "Chicago Journal" published the following special cablegram:

"The Extent of the Strike

Marseilles and Havre were completely tied up today by the strike of dock workers, while railroad service was greatly reduced. Only fifty-two trains were dispatched from St. Lazare station yesterday, while in normal times 562 leave this terminal daily.



"Everything tied up at Port Vieux."

Ninety-four Ships Stranded at Marseilles
Developments of the French strike are assuming alarming proportions. The position of the seaports is becoming increasingly serious.

Ninety-four ships with over 10,000 passengers are stranded at Marseilles, unable to continue their journeys.

The strike, which has hitherto been confined to railroad men, dock men, seamen and miners, now threatens to overrun the metal and building trades. The metal workers declare they will throw down their tools tomorrow and the building workers have been instructed to be ready for the labor federation to call them out.

Strikers attacked express trains near Lyons with rifles and stones, and the labor leaders assert that another important additional strike became effective today."

Persecutions a la Palmer

The government and the capitalist regime were in a state of hysterics.

In spite of the fact that Jouhaux and his clique, who control the C. G. T., its press and unions, are as harmless as Gompers, and that on May 19 they called off the "sympathetic" strike, the ruling class felt a foreboding storm which might sweep them off with the rest of the useless dust and filth and make a clean slate of the bloody reign of the bourgeoisie. "So-



LEON MIDOL
Secretary P.-L.-M.,
not arrested yet.

viets" began to be talked of; the general trend of thought began drifting toward a communist revolution. The fear and terror of the bourgeoisie might have been groundless, but it began reprisals by striking at the noblest and bravest worker—Pierre Monatte. He was arrested on May 3rd, early in the morning, for "plotting against the internal safety of the State."

The papers, the yellow, stinking prostituted press, began vomiting its sterile accusations. "Lenin's agent, who has taken money for his influential weekly, 'La Vie Ouvriere.'" They told us that Monatte was once a teacher, but dismissed for revolutionary propaganda; that ever since the war has been occupied in fighting Jouhaux and all social traitors and that he is the leader of all French communists, recognized by Lenine and Trotsky and supported by them.

Just fourteen years ago Monatte was arrested and charged with the same "crime" for having incited the miners of Pas-de-Calais to rebellion. That time Clemenceau had his hands full when Monatte, Broutchoux and Griffuelhes were in prison. We hope that this time, too, Clemenceau's successor, Millerand, will soon be compelled to release our heroic fellow worker and his associates.

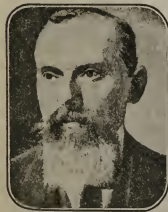
After Monatte, Fellow Workers Totti and Ver-

dier were arrested, one in Marseilles, the other in Decazeville. The latter was forcibly taken from the hands of the police by 500 railroad and metal workers and so far has not been rearrested. Some solidarity! Then Henri Sirolle, railroaders' delegate to the C. G. T., was arrested. After these, Fernand Loriot, another prominent militant of the Teachers' Federation and leader of the communist wing of the Socialist party; after Loriot, Fellow Worker Edmond Leveque, secretary of the Railroad Workers' Federation; after him Delagrang, Courage, Briard; then the arm of "law and order" reached for Comrade Boris Souvarine, editor of the "Bulletin Communiste," who, together with Monatte and Loriot, form the executive secretariat of the Third International in France; and on May 19 our brave Fellow Worker Monmousseau joined the above-mentioned in the famous "Sante" prison.

A Parallel Between France and Russia

The capitalist press informs us that seventeen arrested "bolshéviki" will be tried under the infamous anarchist laws, commonly called "lois scelerates" (rascally laws), in spite of the fact that only a few of the accused are avowed anarchists and they are arrested for activities in connection

with a purely syndicalist manifestation. Sirolle, Leveque, Sigrand and Chaverot, all railroaders, are members of the Anarchist Federation and the "Libertaire" group; Monatte, Monmousseau, Delagrang, Totti, Rey, Briand, Verdier and Midol are "pure" syndicalists; Loriot and Souvarine — Marxians. But what does it matter to the hysterical bourgeoisie? It wants to get rid of them, and one



FERNAND LORIOT
Teachers Federation;
Born 1870.

law is just as good to them as another. But we are sure that the French proletariat will have more to say about the imprisoned fellow workers than the capitalist judges.

In the summer of 1917 the Russian Bolsheviki

made a great demonstration in Petrograd against the useless and criminal murder of Russian soldiers by Kerensky and Kornilov, at the behest of the Allies' agents in Russia. The same day, on the insistence of the same Allied agents, Kerensky and the "comrades" Mensheviki issued an order for the arrest of Lenin, Trotzky, Mme. Kollontay, Kamenev, Zinoviev and others.

Zinoviev and Lenin went into hiding, while the rest were immured in the infamous Czarist fortress Sts. Peter and Paul. But they did not stay there very long.

Two months after their release, Trotsky, Kamenev and Mme. Kollontay were at the head of the first workers' government.

The French bourgeoisie is in the same boat as the Russian was at that time. The productive and distributive organs of France have long ago ceased to function normally. Persecution of militant revolutionaries will not make them run any better. The capitalist system is completely discredited. Its end is nearer than we suspect. But a conscious revolutionary action and organization is necessary to accomplish the great transformation—the revolution.

Monatte and his fellow workers have looked into that matter and they have devoted not in vain their lives to the education and organization of the workers in industrial unions. They have well merited the love and devotion of the working class the world over. We wish them freedom and realization of their ideal, which is, as Monatte puts it: "Syndicalization of industry; the factories to the workers, the land to the peasants!"

The next encounter with the bourgeoisie will spell the doom of the rotten and criminal, bloodthirsty capitalist class. The Communist Revolution will succeed, thanks to the ready organization of our fellow workers, the syndicalists.



EDMOND LEVEQUE
Secretary Railroad Federation,
Born 1884.

A Capitalist's Prayer

By L. Sweet

God, give me priests (with pay decreased)
Who shield each worthy grafter,
And workers keep in silent sleep
By talks on the hereafter.

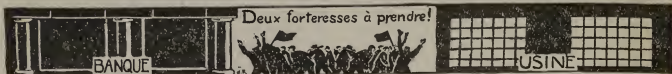
Pray soldiers give who on hardtack live,
With purpose but to fight,
Those willing hands serve all commands,
And murder, their delight.

Let children read and backward speed
In imitation schools,
Taught by stale minds on crooked spines,
And economic fools.

Pray workers send, world without end,
Whose work is all they know,
With wooden brains on husky frames
That never on strike go.

Who can contrive to keep alive
On less than living wages,
And all their days can sing my praise,
Shut up in filthy cages.

Then all good slaves, beyond their graves,
May join the angels' cheer;
But as for me—well, let me see—
I'll take my pleasures here.



Two fortresses to capture—the Bank and the Factory.”

From “La Vie Ouvriere” of May Day.

“All Power to the Unions”!

By G. VERDIER

(Translated from the French in “La Vie Ouvriere” by George Andreytchine.)

The great question now put before the world is: Who shall organize production in the future?

The bourgeoisie has been at the helm of society and has been regulating production for its own benefit until today. It hopes, we all know, to still conserve this supremacy and power. To this end it is maneuvering, in spite of the superficial concessions which it is preparing to make in the actual crisis. But its privileges of direction are disputed bitterly. A gap has been made in its power already in Russia, Germany and Austro-Hungary. Its fear is no less in other countries.

From one end of the world to the other, we might say that a struggle is going on between the capitalist class and the working class with the organization of production and exchange at stake.

In a congress of the co-operatives held at Decazeville I put the following question to the manager of the wholesale warehouse: “Having in mind the events that make a social transformation inevitable, what relations do you think of establishing with the productive organizations?”

“That’s very simple,” he replied. “We shall abolish them! We shall declare that only the consumers can organize the production.”

If we add to these “partners” the traditional socialists who preach that this organization of production ought to be left to the collectivity, i. e., to the State, we can well understand that three “candidates” are disputing the heritage of the bourgeoisie.

The harm these “candidates” have caused in Russia is very evident; they were the cause of the profound divisions among the proletariat. This division is being enacted now in the Central Empires. Knowing what position our own C. G. T. takes, we can safely affirm that we are living through the same experiences and that we are traversing the same confused periods in which our own Kerenskys, Scheidemanns and Noskes are looking for fish in troubled waters.

Science teaches us that the function creates the organ. In virtue of this natural law it should follow that a society which takes upon itself the function of organizing the production and exchange of a country creates its own proper organs for that function.

The bourgeoisie created its proper organs, the commune and the parliament, in the bosom of a

feudal and monarchist society, in order to found the society that it had conceived and which has for its base the equality of political rights and universal suffrage as a principle.

Today the working class wants to assume this function. Like the bourgeoisie before ’89 (the great French Revolution), it has created the organs that will assure its exercise. If it is so, if it has created the functional organs of the proletarian society, it remains only to give them the power and attributes of the bourgeois state and the prerogatives of capitalist society.

Thus the question of the revolution is squarely put before us.

Well-known syndicalists will answer to this by saying: “We are not ready!”

A hole to creep out of! The revolution exists today in the facts more than in our dreams. In spite of us, it imposes itself on our preoccupations. Whether we are ready or not, it is there. What shall we do? What position must we take? Shall we seize the occasion that it offers us to realize our goal or shall we shrink before it as one shrinks before a frightful ghost?

Let us have a definite goal and the action shall lead us to it itself. This goal is the seizure of power in the shop and in the commune in order to suppress the authority of the master and the bourgeois State. These are the conquests that we must assign to our action. This must be our whole program.

The conquest of power once made, how shall we organize production and exchange and which are the organs that must enter into function to assure the life of the proletarian society?

Do these organs exist in advance?

They cannot be improvised, to my conception. They must exist preliminarily and be well in the hands of those who will make them function.

Syndicalism derives its force and its revolutionary value, not, as some try to make us believe, from the number of its adherents, but from the capacity of these organs of production—the unions (les syndicats). They form those organic cells where the producers will group themselves in order to unite their efforts and to create the necessary product for the needs of the social life.

The union, therefore, appears as the principal organ of production which will make the shop to function. It must displace the master in regulating

and directing the production in the factory, the yard, store, exploitation, etc. All power, all authority, all attributes and all prerogatives of the master must pass into its hands. It spreads its radiation of power in the whole factory by its shop delegates, who constitute its council (soviet). It studies the needs of its factory of raw materials, manpower, and distributes the latter according to the interests of production. Thus, the individual command of the master is displaced by the direction and authority of the union assembly.

All unions of a locality, united, form the communal organism. They constitute the communal council (soviet) whose mission shall be to study the needs of the locality in raw materials, manpower and products for consumption. It shall study all the resources of the commune and shall exploit them for the benefit of the community. It shall displace the municipal council, an organ of the bourgeois State, and shall take over all its powers and attributes.

It will be the same with the departmental unions and the Confederation Generale du Travail. The last named must take the place of the State and take over all its powers and national attributes.

The bourgeois constitution the C. G. T. must substitute with a federal and confederal constitution, starting with the commune as the base, and thus erect a social organization built on successive and harmonious levels on the principle of authority and the plural direction of its assemblies and congresses.

The federations, grouping in their bosom the unions of all the branches of production, form an institution having at its head technical councils. The inter-federal union of these councils of social economy, composed of competent technicians, receives from the central proletarian powers all orders which they will distribute to the several centers of production by way of the federations.

The products, once created, shall be taken over by the Labor Exchanges (*Bourses du Travail*), which shall store and exchange them with the exchanges of other centers. Therefore, they will be the office of exchange and distribution.

Thus shall be formed the cycle of production and exchange by syndicalism and its ramifications in the whole land, in the city as well as in the village, allowing the working class to exercise its function of an organizer of the social life.

The proletariat cannot realize its revolution, administer and direct society, without calling into action the direct power of the workers', peasants' and soldiers' unions.

Our motto for May Day must be: ALL POWER TO THE UNIONS!

To the unions of producers, workers and peasants must be united the unions of soldiers and marines.

Every regiment a union; every garrison a soldiers' committee.

Thus organized, the proletariat will be certain to come out victorious from the struggle.

The Watcher at the Ford

By Gerald J. Lively

There's a watcher; there's a watcher at the Ford,
Where the sentence of the centuries is stored;
Be ye high or be ye lowly,
Be ye infidel or holy,
Ye've got to stand the judgment at the Ford—
It's the court of high revision at the Ford.

There's a watcher; there's a watcher at the Ford.
He's delivering the judgment of the sword.
See the Kings and Kaisers crawling,
See their tinsel crowns a-falling,
There's no regal guard of honor at the Ford—
There's no "King can do no wrong" down at the Ford.

It's a court of calm inquiry at the Ford,
On the conduct of the Warden and the Ward;
There's no time to give excuses
In the court the Watcher uses—
In the court of cold-drawn justice at the Ford.
And ye'll take your sentence, silent, at the Ford.

As the bowl is bitter, certain as the cord—
For the heroes, old and hoary,
Of painted song and story

Are losing all their honors at the Ford.
It's reversal of old judgments at the Ford,
For the lowly persecuted, hounded, harried, executed,
They are drawing crowns of glory from the Watcher
at the Ford.

There's a Watcher; there's a watcher at the Ford,
And he's dealing in the logic of the Lord;
And ye and I are going
On the stream that's ever flowing
Through the last great house of justice at the Ford—
Have ye aught to show the Watcher at the Ford?

'Twill be worth the world's damnation,
It will spell a soul's salvation, be it but a single word;
Just a word of acclamation from the Watcher at
the Ford.
So ye'd best be up and doing with no hope for
a reward,
For the Ford is called TOMORROW, where ye pass
for your award,
And POSTERITY the title of the Watcher at the
Ford.



THE RED TERROR IN RUSSIA.

Russia in Reconstruction

The Socialization of Agriculture in Russia

By V. VASILIEV.

(From "Soviet Russia", May 15, 1920)

The first land decrees of the Soviet Government, those of November 7, 1917, and of January 27, 1918, abolished the right of private ownership in land, but they left in effect the private use of the peasants' land by the peasants themselves. Even of the National Land Reserve, created from the expropriated lands of the nobility, of the appanages, of the monasteries, and of the churches, and comprising in 1918 in 22 provinces of the Soviet territory an area of 15,800,000 dessyatines, some 12,800,000 dessyatines, or 81 per cent, were distributed amongst the individual households of the peasants. Of course, such a policy was far from being a socialization of agriculture, in any sense, but it was inevitable at the beginning of the Soviet regime in order to destroy the landed nobility, and to secure for the Revolution the support of the majority of the peasants.

However, already in the first half of 1918, the Soviet Government made the first attempt to socialize agriculture by the organization of Soviet estates and of agricultural communes, and by the promotion of other collective forms of rural economy. Already in August of 1918, the People's Commissar of Agriculture, S. Sereda, published a decree on the organization of agricultural communes, and on November 2 of the same year the Soviet Government promulgated a law on the establishment of a money fund of one milliard rubles for loans to communes and similar agricultural enterprises. As a consequence, toward the end of that year a number of Soviet estates, as well as some 500 agricultural communes, were in existence, and, besides, several rural communities had started to practice a collective tillage of certain lands belonging to the community.

All these preliminary efforts towards the collectivization of agriculture were to a large extent lacking in unity and in a strict elaboration scheme of the work to be done. Even the territory of each branch of the collective rural economy was by no means defined, though as a rule the Soviet estates were organized on the undistributed land area (some 3,000,000 dessyatines) of the National Land Reserve. To eliminate these defects of land policy, the Soviet Government convened, in December, 1918, an All-Russian Congress of the rural committees of poor peasants, and of the agricultural communes, a congress which elaborated a project of a fundamental law on socialistic land organization. On the basis of that project, the Soviet Government promulgated, on February 14, 1919, its most important agrarian law—the very comprehensive "Decree on Socialistic Land Organization, and the Transition to Socialistic Agriculture," which established the basic Soviet policy in the socialization of agriculture. This decree has been in effect up to the present time. Its essential features are as follows:

First of all, the decree emphasizes that all the land constitutes a single national reserve, under the administration of the appropriate people's commissariats and local Soviet institutions. The decree acknowledges, for the ends of socialization, the necessity of the organization of large Soviet economies, agricultural communes, collective tillage, and other phases of the collective utilization of land. From individual use there are entirely excluded, except in extraordinary cases, all the lands which at the time of the promulgation of

the decree, were not allotted to the individual rural households, and, in particular, the lands upon which there have already been or are to be organized the above-mentioned collective forms of agriculture, or the lands with rural industrial enterprises, experimental stations, experimental fields, and other agricultural-educational establishments.

All the work on the socialistic land organization is to be conducted by the county and provincial land departments (composed of representatives of the Soviet Government and of various labor and peasants' organizations), under the supreme guidance of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture.

The Soviet Estates

The decree contemplates the Soviet estates as model agricultural enterprises, purposing to get out of them the maximum of productiveness, and to make them serve as large agronomic centers of agricultural instruction for the surrounding peasantry. For the Soviet estates are particularly designated and reserved: the former private highly cultivated large economies; estates with granaries, orchards, vineyards; tea, tobacco and beet plantations; with complicated technico-agricultural arrangements (cheese factories, buttershops, dairies, corn-mills, wine-producing plants); with highly developed stock-farming; with rural industrial enterprises (agricultural repair shops, etc.); and with ponds and lakes for fish-breeding.

For the ends of agricultural instruction the decree provides for the organization on the Soviet estates, of experimental stations, experimental fields, workshops, agricultural courses and exhibitions, agricultural schools, libraries, museums, theatres and other cultural institutions.

The Soviet estates are placed under the supreme authority of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, and locally their affairs are directed by special provincial, regional and local boards of the Soviet estates. The technical and administrative business of each separate estate is conducted by a steward-specialist or by a council, appointed by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the corresponding provincial board. A labor committee elected by the laborers of the estate from their own ranks regulates the internal arrangement of the work and supervises the economic and sanitary conditions of the life of the laborers.

On the Soviet estates only state laborers are employed, at a wage fixed by the Labor Unions and approved by the People's Commissar of Agriculture. The decree urges the sending of experienced industrial workers from the cities to the Soviet estate.

Finally, in order to render material assistance to the surrounding poor peasants, the decree obliges the Soviet estates to establish on their territory veterinary posts, to improve the local roads, to organize agronomic assistance, and, in general, to act in close contact with the remaining part of the rural population.

The agricultural communes, according to the decree, are voluntary associations of rural producers on the basis of communal land, its collective utilization, and communal use of the produced good. The land area and the inventory of a commune are made up of the individual land allotments and of the inventories of its participants, or of land and inventory placed at the disposal of the commune

by a land department from the Land Reserve and from the inventors of the expropriated large estates.

For the convenience of production two or more adjoining communes are obliged to combine into one, while scattered communes must unite in a union of communes.

The communes are under the supreme supervision of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and must adapt themselves to certain working plans and regulations elaborated by the land departments. Work in a commune is to be performed by its members. The only permissible hired labor is that of permanent salaried specialists and of temporary hired workers during times of pressing work (harvesting, etc.).

All the administrative, technical, economic and sanitary affairs of each commune are managed by a council elected by the members of the commune from among themselves; the salaried specialists and the temporary hired laborers having an advisory voice in its business. The provincial boards of the Soviet estates may place their representative on the councils of the communes, which in such cases enjoy the privilege of sending their delegates to the boards.

Of the products of the communes, first; a certain amount is used for satisfying their own needs; second, the surplus must be delivered to the supply authorities of the Soviet Government, in exchange for loans received, agricultural implements, artificial fertilizer and other modes of compensation, which should be utilized for the improvement of the communal economy.

The communes also are obliged to perform educational work among the surrounding rural population and to help the poor peasants against the village profiteers.

A commune may be dissolved by the decision of the majority of its members or by an order of the Soviet authorities, if it has not operated productively and successfully.

As "collective tillage" of land the decree designates collective ploughing, sowing, harvesting, etc., of certain lands, by the collective application of the labor, the inventories, and the working cattle of a whole village community or of a portion of it, the decision to that effect being made by either of them. The decree suggests for collective tillage: the lands of a community not distributed amongst its individual households; of its individual members who, for some reason, are not able to till them; and those of the Land Reserve which temporarily cannot be utilized by the Soviet estates or the agricultural communes.

The participants in the collective tillage combine in associations and partnerships, taking equal part in the collective work. The use of hired laborers is allowed only temporarily, during urgent work that requires haste, they have the right to an advisory voice in the partnership and to be admitted to full membership in it if they so desire.

In addition to the personal inventories of the participants, used for collective tillage, the partnership may expropriate with or without remuneration, for its exclusive ownership the superfluous inventories of its well-to-do members, or secure inventory from the Soviet authorities.

Each partner must carry a fixed amount of manure to the field constituting the collective tillage. From certain contributions by the partners, and from subtractions from the annual crop, a fund is formed for seeds to sow the collective fields and another one for their artificial fertilization.

A part of the crop from the fields of the collective tillage is subtracted for seeds, for fodder for the domestic animals owned collectively, for the

securing of manure and agricultural implements, or for repairing the latter. A part is to be distributed among the members of the partnership for their private use; and the surplus must be delivered to the Soviet supply authorities, and from the income are to be paid the allotted loans and public taxes.

A group of peasants or a whole community may gradually apply collective tillage to all their land allotments, simultaneously transferring all their inventories and working animals into collective ownership.

All the affairs of the partnership in collective tillage are managed by a committee elected by the members from their own numbers.

In conclusion, the decree lays upon the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and its subordinate institutions the duty of supplying all these and similar agricultural organizations with seeds, inventories, agronomic aid, money loans, and, in general, with every kind of assistance.

Extent of Socialization

As to the merits of each branch of collective agriculture which are provided for in the decree, only the Soviet estates represent completely socialized, or nationalized, agricultural enterprises, operated by the state for the good of the whole people. The communes are producing primarily for the needs of a group, though closely connected with the state, but they are supposed in the course of time to transform themselves into state organizations. The great significance of the collective tillage of land lies in its power to draw into the process of collectivization the most numerous masses of the peasants, as each village community possesses some lands suitable for collective tillage, and may, in turn, transform the whole partnership into a commune. Thus, both the communes and the partnerships for collective tillage are only transitional agricultural steps, leading from individual cultivation of land to a complete socialization of agriculture on a national scale.

The land law outlined above was dated January 30, 1919, preceded by a decree placing at the disposal of the state all the lands which formerly were cultivated for sowing, but were at that time—on account of the tremendous destruction of agriculture caused by the war, not utilized any more by either the individual or the collective economies. Thus, the decree extended considerably the land area for the socialization of agriculture.

To create a single policy in the awarding of loans from the one milliard fund to the collective agricultural enterprises, the Soviet Government published on February 23, 1919, regulations to that effect. According to these regulations, the fund is permanently replenished from the repayments of the loans and from government resources. All the operations of the fund are handled by a special Central Committee, composed of representatives of several commissariats and of the unions of co-operatives and of agricultural communes in the provinces. The business affairs are transacted by local committees of analogous composition.

The loans, in money or in implements, manure, and other supplies for modern agriculture, are awarded to agricultural communes, partnerships for collective tillage, and other rural productive associations for the organization, the improvement, or the restoration of their collective agricultural enterprises. The loans are repayable, without interest, except in cases in which a fine of one per cent a month is imposed for a delay in the refunding of a loan.

The receivers of the loans are under obligations to fulfill in their agricultural enterprises certain requirements of the land departments, aiming to secure a successful and productive operation of the



FIRST OF MAY IN PETROGRAD.

respective collective economies.

To place all branches of the collective agricultural enterprises, and agriculture in general, on a modern scientific basis of intensive operation, the Soviet Government passed several decrees to that effect, designed to nationalize agronomic instruction and the application of agricultural knowledge. By a decree of January 30, 1919, all agricultural specialists with elementary, secondary, and higher agronomic education, or with practical experience instead, were ordered to register themselves at the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, which was empowered to mobilize them at any time for agricultural service in any locality of the Soviet territory. On the basis of that decree, the Soviet Government on March 20 of the same year for the first time called into the national agricultural service all the respective specialists of twelve Soviet provinces, and subsequently the mobilization was extended to the other provinces. On March 12, 1919, a decree nationalized all experimental stations.

Of course, the nationalization of agronomic instruction and of scientific agricultural labor is not meant only for the Soviet estates and other collective forms of rural economy, but it is for the good of all the individual peasant holdings, also, as the peasants, in consequence of the land laws just outlined, enjoy the privilege and opportunity to take advantage, in full measure, of the agronomic instruction and of the practical lessons in model agriculture which are offered to them by the Soviet estate, agricultural communes, experimental stations, and experimental fields. Besides, the agronomic education in general was nationalized already in 1918, and thus made public and free for all.

Introducing Communism by Voluntary Methods

With reference to the methods of inducing the

masses of the peasants to collectivize and communalize their agricultural households, it should be emphasized that the Soviet Government does not favor the employment of compulsion or force. This is proved, among other things, by the attitude of the head of the Soviet Government, Lenin, who, at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia (a month after the promulgation of the fundamental law on socialistic land organization), made the following statements on the agrarian question:

"There can be no greater stupidity than the mere thought of compulsion in the sphere of the economic relations of the middle peasants. Our decrees regarding the economy of peasants are substantially right * * *, however, it is wrong to force them upon the peasants. We must convince the peasants and convince them by actual example."

This spirit of education, of endeavor to convince in matters of agricultural collectivism, has dominated the policy of the Soviet Government during the past year (1919). The Soviet authorities believe that collective agriculture is technically superior to the individual small agricultural economies, and that this superiority in the course of time will gradually draw the middle and poor peasants into the process of agricultural collectivization and communalization.

Such was the socialistic land policy of the Soviet Government until recently. After the promulgation of the land decrees, analyzed above, the subsequent work of the Soviet Government on socialistic land organization consisted mainly in the practical realization of the principles laid down in those decrees. Many Soviet estates were organized, and agricultural communes promoted. As a result, toward the end of 1919, the cultivated land area of the Soviet estates amounted to some 1,000,-

000 dessyatines, and almost in every Soviet province tens and hundreds of agricultural communes have sprung up.

Results Obtained

However, the results achieved are not impressive: only a small percentage of the vast agricultural area has been nationalized or collectivized in respect of cultivation. The main causes of the slow process of the agricultural socialization as yet have been: the ignorance and the prejudices of the masses of the peasants; the lack of live and dead inventory in particular of agricultural machinery; and the employment of hundreds of thousands of the best agricultural producers in the military service. But as soon as—after the inevitable conclusion of peace—Soviet Russia will be able to employ in productive work all its laboring forces and to get the needed agricultural implements, the socialization of agriculture will proceed more successfully. The Soviet economists purpose to increase in 1920 the territory of the operated Soviet estates to 2,000,000 dessyatines, not counting the eventual organization of additional agricultural communes. Altogether it will form a deeply rooted and safe foundation for the further socialization of Russian agriculture.

Economic Reconstruction in Soviet Russia

(From "Soviet Russia," May 22, 1920)

PRODUCTION

The basis for the socialization of the means of production and transportation must be solved in Soviet Russia by a process of adaptation to the economic conditions existing in the country. Whereas the large industrial undertakings could be transferred by one stroke into the possession of all engaged in work, that is the proletarian state, the small and the home industries as well as handicrafts must travel only gradually upon the long road toward socialization. The chief role will have to be played by the formation of producers' and consumers' organizations and by supporting the state in the domain of marketing and obtaining raw materials. The methods of expropriation or compulsion are here completely inapplicable and purposeless. These considerations have been laid down as a basis for the decree of April 26, 1919, pertaining to small or so-called home industries. Owners of home industry undertakings (which employ ten workmen at most and use one-horse power machines) are granted a right to use the raw material supply of the state. The articles manufactured by the workmen in home industries from the state raw materials must be delivered to the same organizations which delivered the raw materials. The articles manufactured of the raw materials monopolized by the state are to be distributed among the population according to a plan that must be endorsed by the state. As to articles that are manufactured of raw materials obtained by the home workers themselves, the latter are permitted to distribute them in the whole domain of Soviet Russia. Small industrial undertakings of home workers and artisans are subject neither to nationalization nor to municipalization.

While the Soviet power grants the small industry a right to an independent existence by the side of the large industry, it is endeavoring to form an organic connection between the two. The principles for such union are well indicated in a report which is a contribution to the study of the home industry region of Pavlovsk. There, the large industry must provide the small industry with experienced foremen and managers and must assign to it steady, not incidental, orders and for such articles as those, the production of which in a large undertaking

would cost considerably more. Furthermore, the large industry must supply such half finished products as those without which the small industry in most cases is helpless; besides, rejected articles and pieces that cannot be used in large scale production but which are desirable for the small industry. On the other hand, the large industry is entitled to demand of the small industry the preparation of a staff of workers and employes possessing a sufficient degree of practical training to bring forward a demand for relieving it from superfluous workshops of secondary importance, because the latter complicate and increase the cost of administrative apparatus, and to ask that such shops should be taken over by the small industry. Finally, the large industry may demand that such orders as require for their execution personal initiative and skill be taken up by the small industry. The approach of harvest time compelled the consideration of measures necessary for the best possible realization of this task. In order to relieve the situation arising from a lack of labor forces and to hasten the bringing in of the crops, special harvesting detachments were formed, composed of the workers and peasants of the provinces in greatest need, and sent to the producing provinces. In the meantime, the provisioning organs were busy taking hold of the surplus crops and administering measures for the supplying of the villages with manufactured products by way of exchange.

This process has brought to life in many places a method of dealing with peasant communities and co-operatives which has developed into a system. A computation is made of the crop figures, on the basis of which the community gets a request for a certain amount of products. For its own part, the supply committee of the particular province assumes the obligation to place at the disposal of the community a certain amount of wares. The merchandise is delivered in the same degree as the contract is lived up to. In this manner the peasantry feel in reality that the receipt of the products of urban industry is connected with the delivery of the grain surplus to the city at maximum prices. A trial of this method was made last year in the province of Tula, and was crowned with success. Within the period of six weeks there was collected there 1,600,000 poods of grain in a single district.

DISTRIBUTION

A high degree of elasticity is required by the actual organization for distribution. An organization that is to serve for supplying the whole population can be produced only through the efforts of the whole population. Such an organ is the co-operative organization.

The decree of March 20 carries out the principle of uniting all co-operatives that are found in one locality into a uniform co-operative organization of which every grown up person is bound to become a member. To this organization is assigned the most far-reaching task of supplying the population with the products of every-day use. The kernel of this co-operative association is naturally made up of the workers' co-operatives.

The Moscow Co-operative, built on the basis of this decree, represents a commune with the right of self-administration, to which belong all citizens who have the right of suffrage in accordance with the Soviet constitution. According to the statute, the co-operative takes over, outside of regulating distribution, a number of other creative and cultural tasks. It attends to the procuring of the various products of every-day consumption and of daily needs, organizes agricultural undertakings, dairies, vegetable gardens, creates for the members of the association organizations for the spreading of culture and education, carries on the stu



RECONSIDERING THE 14 POINTS.

the manners and customs of the population, etc. An all-Russian union of all such organizations, combined with the productive associations, will form the kernel of that organization which is destined to replace the state.

In order to get an idea of the basis on which the Moscow Co-operative is built let us produce some figures showing the development of the Moscow Central Workers' Co-operative. The returns for the first six months of the year (1919) reached the sum of three and a half billion rubles (for the whole of 1918 it amounted to 1,033,000,000 rubles). The membership was, on January 1, 1919, 130,000, on August 1, 1919, 321,000. The organization owns 147 food stores and five stores for manufactured products, besides eight department stores. It possesses thirty-two agencies in Great Russia, Turkestan, White Russia and Lithuania. During the past year the agents of the co-operative bought merchandise for the sum of 321,000,000 rubles.

The co-operative has at its disposal tens of thousands of dessyatins of land which is used for horticulture; owns dairy farms; oil mills; a few drying lofts for vegetables, of this number four with machine appliances for drying and working capacity of a million poods. Outside of their own undertakings, the Moscow Co-operative imports the products from the gardeners' *artels* (small artisan co-operatives), vegetable gardeners and fishers, with whom it has concluded contracts for delivery. The non-commercial part of the co-operatives possesses eight district clubs, two libraries, six children's homes and six clubs for juveniles.

Such is the organization which is now being used as a basis for the Moscow Uniform Co-operative Organization. Its example will doubtless find imitators elsewhere in Russia.

The United Consumers' Society

(From "Soviet Russia," May 22, 1920)

The Soviet Authority has had to solve the extremely complicated problem of unifying the whole system of distribution, to destroy parallelism and the chaos connected therewith which is prevalent in this field, and to create new forms of distribution—such forms as would be consistent with the fundamental principles of Soviet policy—in the sphere of economics and food. The difficulty of solving this problem lay in the fact that nothing new could be set up—the old co-operative apparatus had to be made use of and adapted, with the least possible disturbance, to new methods. Co-operation, in its day, grew up from the depths of capitalism, as a means of self-defense and struggle for existence used by the petty owners, uniting against organized capital. The European war facilitated the growth of the co-operative movement. All were thrown into it—all those whom the growing appetites of big capital threatened to turn out of the bourgeois world. The number of co-operative societies grew with remarkable rapidity, and, since the number of consumers' societies was increasing, a contradictory element was beginning to be felt, the beginning of which formed itself by its very nature of capitalistic co-operation.

At first only shareholders could take advantage of the co-operatives, whose members were thus distinguished from the rest of the population. But it was to their own interest to attract more and more members, to expand the limits of their activities, and, finally, a network of all kinds of co-operative societies embraced nearly the whole population. The difference between shareholders and non-shareholders was eliminated. The co-operatives became the organ of the whole population, and the state could, and really ought to have taken advantage of this

organ of distribution. By the decree of the 20th of March, 1919, the State took over this co-operative apparatus, which has taken deep root, and proved its utility, and is adapting it to the uses of social distribution.

Distribution, in this manner, is placed in the hands of the population itself. The fundamental principle of this system of supplying the population with all that is necessary is that of self-activity. But this principle of co-operation, which was formerly the motto of the egotistic, individual, privileged shareholder, in the hands of the Soviet State acquires a different meaning: all the population participates in procuring and distributing the products. In fact, all the population of the Soviet Republic is in one way or another bound up with the co-operative organizations. The decree of the 20th of March has made the registration of the whole population in the co-operative societies compulsory.

Having in this manner placed the distribution in the hands of the population itself, the State has taken steps by which the system of distribution should bear a strictly organized character. With this aim in view, it has united all the individual co-operative societies into one co-operative society, having one stock, one fund, one administration, its members being the whole population. Having created this single distributing apparatus, the State removed its own organs from the direct participation in distribution, retaining only the function of supervision and control.

What is the reorganized co-operative system? We will try to give a general explanation. All the population of each district is a member of one United Consumers Society. All the citizens have the right to vote, in accordance with the Soviet Constitution, have the right to elect and to be elected in all the organs of the administration and control of the United Consumers' Society. All the citizens supervise the activity of this society through their representatives and the administration elected by them. The smaller districts merge into governments (gubernia) "Alliances of Consumers' Societies" at the head of which are provisional administrations. These government alliances are the organs of supply and distribution among the groups of consumers' communes of a given district. The units of factory, works, and town consumers' communes, so-called government sections, enter, as autonomic sections, into the government alliances with the aim of immediate and direct distribution of food and articles of primary necessity among the workmen. In this manner, the workers' co-operative, as it were, operates on its own, and does not mingle with the other general co-operatives. This is explained by reason of the fact that the workers' co-operative does not contain any indirect outside elements, is more energetic and can serve as an example in the bringing into life of the fundamental principles of the decree. All these government sections unite into one Central Section, entering on an autonomic basis into the union of all government alliances, the Central Alliance.

The administration of the Central Alliance is in this manner the administration of the United Consumers' Society of the Republic. The United Consumers' Society, being an economic-technical organization, with the aim of carrying out the task of supplying and distributing, has in its possession all the stores, transport means, productive enterprises, farms, gardens, preparatory offices, agencies, distributing points, shops, institutions for public feeding, and medical and cultural institutions, which formerly belonged to private co-operatives, workers' co-operatives and the food organs of the state. Thus, owing to this unity, the Moscow distributive apparatus has in its hands 1,300 shops, 107 ware-

houses, 268 feeding points, and 23,000 employes. With regard to the finances of this huge state apparatus, in the first place all the property and funds of all the co-operative societies have passed over to it; secondly, the society can take advantage of state credit; and finally, the advances received from the members can be counted on for the future. The reform is now being completed. By the 1st of November this unified distributive apparatus must start its activity. The state has laid the supply and distribution of food and articles of primary necessity on the shoulders of the consumers themselves—in the hands of the consumers' organizations, retaining the right to supply such products as are obtained by state requisition (bread), leaving its distribution to these co-operative organizations. The decree of the 20th of March has opened a new path; great new perspectives in social construction have been opened, and, at any rate, such forms of capitalism as were expressed economically by the old co-operative societies, competing with each other, each taking the best for itself, without any system whatever, in every sense of the word "populist capitalists"—have been destroyed. By uniting all the separated societies into one united system, and by drafting all as members of one single co-operative, the institution of a new life, closely bound up with the interests of a social state, to which it is united by ties of blood, and from which it must logically emanate, has been created.

The Decree on March 20, 1919

(From "Soviet Russia," April 24, 1920)

The decree of March 20, 1919, aimed at laying the foundation for a state machinery of distribution, making use of the existing distributive stores, with a view, in the words of the decree, "of utilizing the experience accumulated by distributive co-operation in the interests of the whole of the laboring population."

The decree provided for the association of all consumers' societies and stores in every locality into one "Consumers' Commune." As a basis for this commune, in towns the local labor society was designated, and in the villages the rural distributing store. The management of such distributing communes is entrusted to a board and to a controlling council elected by the voters entitled to a vote in the election of the members of the Soviets. The local communes are federated into district, provincial and regional unions, and the provincial delegates are charged with the election of the central body—the "Centrosyuz."

This communal organization is charged with the distribution of food and indispensable commodities. It has taken over the assets of all the distributing stores, whether co-operative or not. The payments made by the former members of co-operative stores on their shares were returned to them. All the employes of the co-operative societies became civil servants. This step made the distributing co-operatives of Russia the Department for Distribution of the Soviet Government. The final step, however, was taken on January 30, 1920, when the agricultural co-operative organizations of the producers were brought into the system. A new Central Co-operative Board was created, comprising delegates from all the central co-operative organizations of producers, the labor co-operatives and the consumers' communes. As a result the co-operative organizations became a sort of branch of the Supreme Economic Council of the Russian Republic, charged with the collection of agricultural products and the distribution of consumers' goods and agricultural supplies.

The Rural Commune Convention

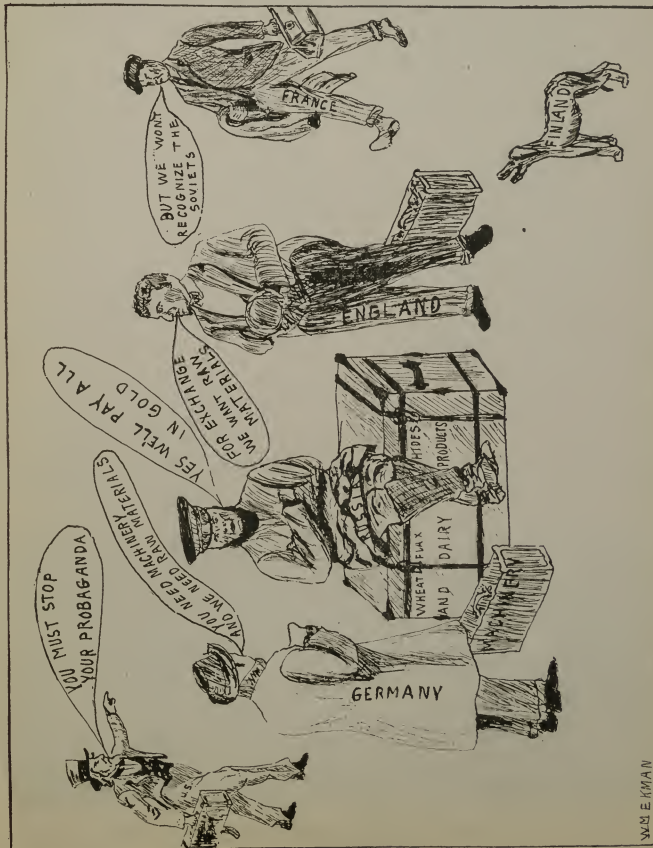
(From "Soviet Russia," May 8, 1920)

(We reprint the following article from "Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn," the official organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy at Moscow, of December 5, 1919.)

The conference of the agricultural communes was

opened on December 3, in the former Shanyavsky Building of the University; 140 delegates were present at the conference, among them 93 communists.

Pointing out the reasons for the creation of a strong movement in the villages towards organizing agricultural producers' communes, Comrade Sereda developed the basic problems of the revolution as follows: to collect the scattered land, to



TRADING WITH THE BOLSHEVIKS.

Wm E. KWAN

make it a foundation for the welfare of the people and thus raise the productivity of the agricultural economy to such a degree that there will be no occasion for supply problems or shortages. It is the task of the commissariat to outline practical measures for the work of collecting the land.

The collectivist economies—Soviet economies—communes, co-operatives, as yet occupy a very insignificant part of the whole agricultural area—only 5 per cent in all 31 provinces; 95 per cent of the arable land is in the hands of one-man peasant economies. It is impossible to get hold of this unsocialized land with only the help of Soviet economies and communes, therefore the Soviet Government has introduced other transition forms for the socialization of the land, a communal cultivation and co-operative scheme in agriculture. In the future, all new forms of socialization which may come up will be accepted by the Soviet Government; it is the endeavor of the latter to keep up with the demands of life.

The improvements in the communistic economies will draw the peasants to these communes. But the People's Commissariat of Agriculture also bears in mind the individual peasant household, by the improvement of which the country as a whole will benefit. In this line, the interest of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture—both have before them the problem of assisting the local peasant's economy. Many of the communes are already accomplishing this, and it is an important condition in bringing the communes into closer touch with the local peasant population.

The communes must try to enlarge their economies—establish agriculture, gardening, art and craft production. The broader the scope of the communist economies—the stronger the influence they can exercise over the neighboring population. And only in this case may the communes become real strongholds of agriculture in Soviet Russia.

At the present time, the number of communes and peasants exceeds six thousand. The amount of land in each commune is rather small; in the average commune there is about 300 desyatins. Isolated communes will therefore be unable to solve their own problems; it is necessary that they be united first according to countries, later to provinces, and finally, in one vast All-Russian Agricultural commune. The present conference is called upon to organize a union of communes and artels for the purpose of uniting them into one economic whole.

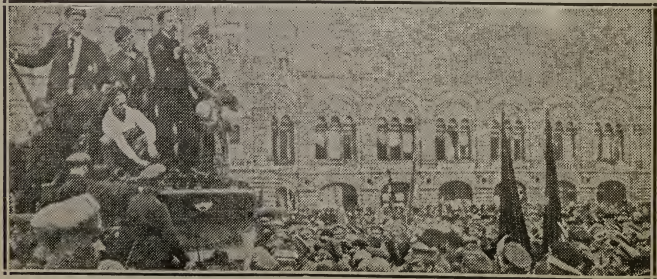
At the evening session, Comrade Lenin took the floor.

In greeting the first conference of the communes and the artels, in the name of the government, Comrade Lenin pointed out that the whole legislative activity of the Soviet Government indicates the tremendous significance of the communes, peasant cooperatives, and all organizations which tend to facilitate the transformation of small individual economies into communal partnership, or co-operative economies. The importance of such a transformation cannot be too highly appreciated, because it is needless to say that a Socialist society cannot be firmly established without changing the old conditions of the peasantry.

We know too well, said Comrade Lenin, that only by gradual, careful steps, only with practical examples and successful adaptation of the new experiments may we influence the millions of small peasant owners; because the peasant has a too practical mind and is too closely connected with the conditions of the land to agree to radical changes in his economy. Only when the necessity of socialized agriculture will be proved to the peasants in a practical way, will we be able to say that an important step has been taken towards the development of Socialism in agriculture; and this in a peasant country like Russia.

The communes must teach the peasants to see in them not only the recipients of governmental subvention, but the gathering of the best representatives of the working class, who not only preach communism for some one else, but are able to realize it themselves; they must prove that even under the worst conditions of the present communal economy they are able to carry extra "Saturdays" and "Sundays" (when they work without pay, for the common welfare) in order to relieve the local population. No concessions may be made on this point, some sort of proof must be offered to determine how far we have grasped the complex problem which we have set ourselves.

In conclusion Comrade Lenin pointed out again the fact that only by skillful management of the agricultural communes and by their high standard may they become centers for the growth of communism in the villages. A lasting victory over the dark masses of the peasantry will be achieved at the moment when the majority of the peasants will understand the advantage of the communal economy in comparison with that of the individual.



SOVIET OFFICIALS IN MOSKVA ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE
IN THE OPEN.

The Awakening

A History of the Child Slaves, the I. W. W. and the Migratory Workers

By JACK GAVEEL

Here I began my life. It was a beginning which no child must be suffered to endure. I can still see before my mind's eye that sordid environment under which everything which was to decide later on what kind of a man I should be, grew up and developed.

Can you expect a pig to be anything else but a pig. Denied space to move about in, a pool of clean water to cleanse the filth off his body, nay, even compelled to stand and wallow in his own dung, the inevitable result is a creature besmirched and fouled in body and soul.

Here, in the hell made by man for man, I received my early impressions of the world and the beings peopling it. In fact the world to me was the mill and its soul and body destroying toil. Man to me was a beast to be feared and propitiated if possible. There were big beasts and small beasts. The big beasts were continuously encroaching on and devouring the weaker ones. So the latter wanted to get up to where the former were that they in their turn might devour so as not TO BE devoured.

It was a battle for existence. Not only that. In this battle there was not even the prosaic fellowship forced on the brutes of the jungle in their battles with an ever hostile nature for each individual had to fight his own battle with claw and fang, maiming, killing, betraying and slandering.

I heard the remark made once that the world can only be redeemed, that the curse which lies on it can only be lifted, and the sun of happiness shine, if men will tear out of their hearts the black hatred which now burns there, damning and cursing the world. But let me tell you that I speak from bitter experience when I tell you that in a capitalist mill one has no time to pay any attention to the teachings of a higher and nobler life for the law is that he, who in this terrible battle falters, so much as stops one second to think, crushes down the brute in him if only for one fleeting moment, shall be borne down and trampled to death by those who are steadier on their feet. Brutality and stupidity, that was the price demanded as payment for a crust of bread. To the existence of brutes I and millions of my little brothers and sisters the wide world over were doomed and brutes we were in body and mind.

If other children commenced their existences amidst flowers and grasses, greedily drinking in the life giving flood of sunlight and smiling on the world with happiness, no such pleasure was vouchsafed millions of little wage slaves. For them only the long black night, stretching away interminably in a future holding no hope. Thus the years dragged on with never a change ever so slight to shed the faintest ray of light in our dark and cursed lives.

Endless seemed the line of emaciated and shivering bodies which year after year in the winter morning's bleak and dismal light wound its way towards the mill gates. True, countless numbers fell by the roadside, too weary to ever rise again, but what did that matter when gold was to be coined out of the life blood of the workers' children.

And still, in spite of all, at that time I took the world as I knew it, as an inevitable fact, established perhaps by the inscrutable will of some Supreme Being. This does not mean, however, that in those days I ever sat down to ponder about my existence and its nightmarish realities, concluding therefrom that all was as it should be. Oh no, far from that. Thought would have been required for this and such there stirred not in my abused and stunted child's mind. No if I took everything for granted it was done unconsciously without ever inquiring into the why or wherefore of things. That is, if I was on an intellectual level with the brutes and savages of the jungle, yet I at least knew one thing positively. This fact was continuously forced on my mind, nay, it was lashed there in ugly, indelible scars by the master's whip of hunger. This I knew; I must work, and work I did, blindly, hopelessly, sweating and bleeding ten long hours a day for a beggar's pittance not even sufficient to keep from starvation. A machine I was without thoughts beyond this one. What did I or the beings working alongside of me care for the how or wherefore of things when there was no time for aught else but work. And so it happened that I became a slave of habit, unconsciously adapting myself to the existence of a wretch. Brutality, misery, starvation, yea, even untimely or violent death, from now on because inevitable evils of the scheme of things, to be accepted without so much as a murmur or thought.

Oh, the maddening idea that I have wasted the best years of my youthful life denied an opportunity for my mind's development. Never then did I suspect the existence of a treasure house full of knowledge, such wisdom as enables man to live the life of all universal existence from the lowest and humblest to the highest and proudest. But, alas, this pleasure like all others was denied me. In those days I did not even understand the meaning of this hell, the flames of which scorched and ate into the tender flesh of my writhing child's body. Little did I fathom that I and my little brothers and sisters, wage slaves all, suffer as only brutes know how, gasp and spit out our lungs in the poisonous miasma of the mills so that wealthy robbers may squander the fruits of our toil on the pastimes of their degeneracy. It was not known to me that all those little working class children died so that their in-

nocent blod might be coined in the golden baubles and tinsels of debauched parasites. I knew not and I cared not, for my environment had made me a brute.

However, Evolution knows no limits in time or space. It never stands still but moves, (although imperceptibly) slowly doing its work, tugging here, pushing there and finally shifting the rock foundations from under the most time honored conceptions. True the world seems to move along much the same as it always did, especially to those benefited by the present social arrangement. Men come and go the same as always. There still is suffering, death and disease, also riches and poverty. Now as before workers are jobless, are denied life and happiness, work—like beasts and die in the gutter appealing dumbly out of hunted uncomprehending eyes. Yet no man at birth ever finds the world exactly as his predecessors left it and whether he knows this or not does not matter, for the fact remains. Birth and death succeed each other in a cycle of eternal change. Nothing issuing from the womb of time escapes the embrace of death. If men only knew this how much sooner would the Sun of Liberty rend asunder the thick curtain of dark clouds and shed its golden warm lighthouse on the world.

One day came the awakening. I want to tell you how it happened. One night many years ago I was sitting in front of a little campfire in a clearing in the brush and close to the bank of a small stream. Such a place as is called by the migratory workers "A Jungles." The night was cold and I could well afford, therefore, to move in close where I could get the full benefit of the cheering warmth emanating from the red glow of the fire. As I sat there I watched the play of the crackling flames. Now fluttering low as if in agony, then leaping high, apparently endowed with the most abundant and exuberant life, they reminded me of the tide of Life. Did not that also ebb and flow, sinking under the crushing weight of misery, surging forward if this weight was removed? Thus I thought and I could see passing before my mind's eye all the episodes of my blighted and dark youth. It seemed to me that I could still hear the curses men showered on each other and see the light of hatred shine balefully in their eyes. Again I was bending over a racing machine, trying to keep up with the mad and soul racking pace. And I knew that it would only be a matter of a couple of years at the most, when the grind would kill me. My whole body aching with the exertion of this deadly toil, my head swimming in the roar of whirling wheels and the screech of trembling belts, I thought at times that I must go mad. A hell it was, such as no diseased preacher's brain ever concocted.

And then the terrible winter nights without so much as a stick of wood in the cold stove, when the storm used to howl outside like a demon gone mad, with the cold, a hostile beast, creeping in thru the cracks in the walls and winding its icy fingers around our bloodless and shivering bodies. In vain

we hugged each other in close embrace shifting now to this, then to that position but always failing to keep warm under the filthy and torn rags covering our bodies. If only we had had plenty of rich food in our wretched frames so that new heat and energy might have been generated in our tissues and cells, enabling them to perform the functions necessary to our existence! But food there was not. Was it a wonder then that I saw my little brothers and sisters die, one by one, and their bones being carted away to a hole dug in the frozen ground.

So I meditated till all of a sudden the sound of voices put an end to my wanderings in a world which was of the past. A group of men assembled around fire, whom I had noticed earlier in the evening but paid no particular attention to, were discussing together in vehement, excited tones. I had seen these men before, not the same individuals but their type. Their manners, features, talk, the clothes they wore, all were familiar to me, for with them I had frozen in the ice and frost of the bleak north, the same as together we had had our flesh scorched under the glare of the tropics. Together we had battled hunger and thirst, and if their hands were gnarled and twisted out of all semblance to anything human, so were mine. I knew just as well as they did what it meant to be hounded and hunted by the bloodhounds and cutthroats of the laranorder gang; and to be worked like beasts, robbed and exploited, only to receive kicks and blows and curses, and nothing but abuse in the end, was an experience which we shared in common.

These men were migratory workers. They were sturdy and brawny, each and every mother's son of them! They were sons of the open plains. Their lungs had never known what it was to gasp and choke in the suffocating breath of the mills. In their bodies burned the fires of an untamed creation, and so they were fierce and rebellious the same as those fires. Homes or families they had none, nay, not even the small and ridiculous possessions, which make the wage slaves of the cities so conservative, hampered them in the war they are continuously forced to wage on a society which has declared them outlaws. And let me tell you right now: a mighty good thing it is that they have no ties to bind and gag them in this battle. For do you know that of all battles this is the most brutal, the most inhuman? It is not a struggle waged between men on one side and beasts on the other, not even between men of different tribes. No, it is a war to the death between brothers of one nation speaking the same language, holding dear the same customs and traditions, and with the same blood coursing thru their veins. Yes the same society which has given birth to these men has classed them with the wild beasts of the jungle and as such they must be shunned and exterminated if possible.

Therefore, good Christians, slide in place your bars and bolts, teach children to give them a wide berth, tell your police spies never to take their watchful and distrusting eyes off them and, above all, if

out of a job and unable to find other employment, they starve—make it none of your business as long as they hide their misery from the sight of your mansions and palaces.

On these workers rested the curse of a castrated and denatured society. On their head was continuously poured out the self-righteous wrath of all respectable people. It was the custom to hold them up to other workers as horrible examples of what laziness and degeneracy would do to a man. Also it used to be said that they never saved their money and it was considered great fun and an irrefutable vindication of the system's methods to ask them (when in the winter time they were starving and freezing, because out of work and unable to get any; "What did you do with your last summer's wages?")

And let me now tell you what their greatest crime is. "They are propertyless." This is a fact which utterly passes the comprehension of all god-fearing and law abiding people, because it turns topsy turvy such hoary, respectable well-beloved delusions as "Equality of Opportunity," "The Land of the free", etc., etc.

It is considered a self-evident fact that the migratory workers must take gratefully all the abuse and vituperations which daily rain down on their heads. If they show any symptoms of revolt or a tendency to organize for mutual self-protection, the yellow press owned by the Property Clique is set in motion to be used against them. This organ of slander, hysteria and intimidation is always willing to prostitute its lying and filthy sheets to the will of the moneyed interests. It is a very convenient arrangement. For do not think that the migratory workers never stir in revolt. Their hands may be gnarled and knotted, their language unpolished, their features hard and cold, their clothes soiled and worn. Yet underneath this outward appearance, the result of brutal neglect and abuse there throbs a heart which knows how to rejoice, love and suffer. Thus it happens that sometimes they flinch and quiver under their cross. A blind revolt it is. Still it shakes the foundations of Society, for at such times the workers down their tools, climb out the mines, and desert the fields and forests. Then it is that the yellow press howls the loudest and of all the poisoned darts that at such times it sticks into the helpless flesh of the men without a home or country there is not a one so deadly as the letters "I. W. W.," appearing in big headlines on the front page of all the leading newspapers in the country.

Bending and swaying under the storm of prejudice and hatred which then sweeps the entire country the outcasts are forced to once more suffer the chains of slavery to be forged around their legs. After such outbreaks those who had escaped the jails and the bullets of the gunmen would find themselves blacklisted. To these the "Road" beckoned, and so one after the other they would vanish away without anybody ever knowing nor caring. For they had to fight the awful battle themselves.

The sheriff, the farmers, the posse, mosquitoes, alkali water, the rockpile, and roadgang, of these they thought nothing. They were evils to be tolerated as the inevitable accompaniments of the struggle bread. Much more serious, however, were the bloody battles with the hi-jacks, those hyenas of the harvest fields, who at night would sneak up on sleeping men in jungles and boxcars, flash a light on them and at the point of a gun take away their hard earned wages, the result of a whole season's killing toil in the blazing fields. And last, but not least, there was the battle fought with the shacks on tops of box cars, swaying and rocking fiercely in their lightning-like descent down the mountain slopes. Sometimes death, swift and sure, would strike unexpectedly and snuff out a life in the twinkling of an eye. No record was left to tell the tale to anybody who might have cared, except for the bloody and mangled remains sticking to the hard unfeeling steel and scattered along the tracks.

And yet these men support the weight of the world on their broad shoulders. Their Labor Power creates all wealth. They have done the pioneer work on the American Continent. They have laid down their lives and today sleep in unknown and forgotten graves that the people of this country might have the America as we know it to today. You can find them in the timberlands of the North West, cutting, hauling and sawing the lumber of the world's dwellings. In Colorado and Pennsylvania they dig the coal which supplies Society with its activity. They have left their tracks on the blazing deserts of Arizona and Nevada. They have laid the steel which now connects two oceans over a distance of two thousand miles and much more steel besides, that Society's great and throbbing Industrial Heart might not perish that it might have arteries thru which to pump its blood, railways along which the products of mine, mill and shop may be shipped to the remotest parts of the Social Organism.

Still, in spite of all, nobody had any use for them, except on those occasions when wealth might be amassed from the use of their physical strength and prowess.

Thus abused, trampled and spat upon, what shall the wealth creators of field, mine and forest do if they still want to be MEN.

Along these lines my thoughts had been running for the last hour ever since the discussion, the men were engaged in, had interrupted and put a stop to my earlier meditations. I had been thinking quick without any effort because in picturing to myself the life of the migratory workers I had only been living my own experiences over again.

I was watching. The men were engaged in a lively conversation. They were all talking, at the same time waving their arms wildly. I could see their gigantic formless shadows flitter hither and thither in the pale light shining on the surrounding brush. In the red glow of the flames they presented a weird spectacle. The picture seemed unreal. It did not match with the artificial and glittering life of big

cities. It was primitive and reminded one of a time when the world was young, when men had hairy bodies, slanting skulls and big jaws.

All of a sudden there was a lull in the loud chorus of voices. I got up and walked over, for the migratory workers had gathered around in a circle. In the centre of this circle were two men. One of them a tall young fellow, easily knowable by his whole appearance as a man who had camped in the open his whole life, was talking. The other fellow, apparently an interested listener, was thin and weak looking. He was one of those workers on whom the factory has left its indelible mark. As I listened to the young fellow this is what I heard:

"So you have come to this part of the country because you expected to find nothing but milk and honey. They told you about the good job, the healthy life in the country and the big money you would make, and like a boob you believed it all, didn't you? Listen, why did you come here? Because you are sick and tired with the life in the factories of the big cities, aren't you? But let me tell you one thing. If you expect to find conditions any better down here you are sadly mistaken. You have been fooled by the labor sharks back east with the most glowing promises, so that they might flood the labor market and beat down the wages.

"Do you know what it means to work in the harvest fields for John Farmer. Take a look around at all these men. They know what I am talking about because they have done this work all their lives. They will tell you what it is. There is nothing but hardships and misery, I tell you. You work long hours, from sunrise till sunset. If the threshing engine breaks down for only a few minutes you are docked. You walk to and from the job on your own time. The straw stack is good enough for a man. I used to think myself that I could make a few hundred dollars in a short time working in the harvest fields, but now I know better for with the wet weather, the money spent on railway fare and the high rates paid for food and lodging in the expensive hotels of the small country towns, there is damn little left, and you may consider yourself lucky if you come out with any money at all."

Here the youthful speaker stopped and making a wide sweeping movement, with one of his hands, taking in all those standing around, he presently continued:

"But you get all that is coming to you, all of you. Nobody ever gives you anything. The good things of life have to be fought for and as long as you are willing to be slaves no matter where you go, you will find the same conditions, long hours and low wages. Say, let me tell you, under this system a worker is nothing but a slave. A wage slave. He owns nothing but his labor power. The boss owns it all. The mills, mines, and shops, all the world's wealth (which you and I create) are his. The only way, therefore, that the worker can live is by his work. But he can only work with tools and on a job. So he goes to a job and packs his labor

power with him. But as you remember, the job is owned by the boss. So it is up to the boss whether the worker shall work and eat or not. Generally the boss gives him a job because he knows that out of the worker's labor power he can extract all the luxury and wealth which enables him and his kind to live like parasites on the backs of the toilers, and here is the way it is worked. The capitalist puts the worker to work to create wealth for him. But the hen who lays the golden eggs must be fed to enable her to lay more eggs. So the boss pays his worker a wage. The size of wages is determined by the amount and quality of the necessities of life required by the workers to live. If they are satisfied with little and with inferior values, wages will be correspondingly low. On the other hand wages rise when the workers are determined to live like men instead of beasts. But no matter how high or how low the wages, as long as workers sell their labor power (and incidentally their bodies) in the open market to the highest bidder, they are slaves, for they never receive the full value of what they produce, because . . . let me tell you what happens after the worker has sold his labor power to a master.

"When the boss buys the worker's labor power, say, by the day, he uses it by making the worker work eight, ten and twelve hours a day for him as he sees fit, always taking care, however, that the worker works long enough to produce a value many times that of the wages which he was given for the use of his labor power. That part of his product which the worker creates over and above his wages is called surplus value, and herein lies the origin of all of the wealth of the capitalist class. They got it by robbing the workers and no other way. There is a struggle on, a class struggle, between capitalists and workers, the workers fighting to raise their wages and cut into their masters' surplus value the capitalists trying to increase their surplus value and beat down the wages.

I told you that the capitalists rob the workers of all they produce and I say: You cannot blame them because it is human nature to hold onto power. The fault lies wholly with the workers. If a start in the right direction is to be made it must come from them because they have nothing to lose but their chains and a world to gain, while the masters have a world to lose. As long as you and the other fellows ALLOW your masters to crush you, YOU and nobody else are to blame.

And yet, look at the power you hold in your hands if you only knew how to use it. For, being the creators of all wealth, if you stop work and lay down your tools, the nation dies and your masters are ruined economically. Let me ask you one question. What will you do about it? I am telling you that you cannot hope to ever start up in business and become capitalists, because, as I already told you, your masters have a monopoly on all the wealth of the nation, and it would therefore be ridiculous to expect that your few nickels

and dimes can compete successfully with their millions and billions.

Listen, do you know that the capitalists are organized and by their organization get the best of you because it enables them to dictate to you what conditions you shall work under? Do you know, furthermore, that they set the price on the commodities they sell also through their organization? Now, remember what I told you about the commodity you are selling, your labor power. I said that you leave the price for which you sell it to conditions. That means, if labor is scarce you receive high wages. Now, if that is so, what is the matter with making your labor scarce artificially by all agreeing not to sell your labor power until you get for it the price you demand. This is what your masters do, too, when they are selling their commodities. But to do this you must organize, organize into One Big Union of all workers, for then only will the masters recognize your power and see that it is impossible to replace the millions upon millions of you with other men. And the One Big Union I have been telling you about is the I. W. W. You have heard all about it. It is as wide as the world and growing still. It is your organization and you can make it what it ought to be, an organization which will shorten hours, increase wages, and, finally, put the workers in control of their jobs, thus setting them free from slavery and misery. For, as I told you, as long as the capitalists are in control of the jobs and a worker is compelled to sell his labor power, then, no matter how high his wages, he is not free; he is still a slave, a wage slave.

So far the I. W. W. has already accomplished wonders for the workers all over the country, and the very fact that it is hated and feared and lied about by the master class and all "respectable" people proves to you that it is an organization which fights for the workers and not the capitalists. And let me tell you one more thing before finally concluding. If you want good conditions this coming summer in the harvest fields, if you want to make enough money to live next winter, when the work shuts down, if you don't want the hayseed to dock you every time his old engine breaks down, if you do not like to sleep with the pigs, if you want shorter hours, ham and eggs and porkchops for breakfast, and if, finally, after your season's work is over, you want to ride home on the cushions instead of the bumpers, do not expect Jesus or anybody else to do it for you. You must fight for yourself if you want to be worthy of the name of men. You must join the I. W. W., and, as soon as you have joined, line up the other man working alongside of you on the threshing rig, so that, if necessary, we may make our labor scarce to enforce our demands. This will have to be done, because the way things look, there will be many men in the fields this year to harvest the crops—yes, too many, the way things look."

Here the young fellow ceased speaking. And as for myself, I went up to an I. W. W. delegate and told him to write me out a card in the Wobblies, for at last I had risen from my deep and dark slumber. I had seen the light.

Defense Picnic!
LETS GO!
 At Riverview park
 Saturday July
 17th.
General amnesty picnic

*This is the Place Where
 Chicago Workers Will
 Go on JULY 17th ==
 to Demand the Release
 of Our Prisoners ==*

Among the speakers are

W. F. Dunne,
 Editor Butte Daily Bulletin
 Wm. D. Haywood
 Ralph Chaplin
 Charles Krieger

A wonderful program assured.

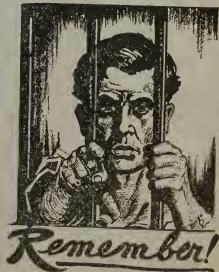
What I Read in the Paper

By Card No. 41894

Los Angeles County Jail (San Quentin-bound), April 30, 1920

I read in the paper today
 All about Bluebeard Watson
 And his twenty-five wives
 And how he killed four of them
 And that the Los Angeles teachers
 Are all "for" Hoover,
 Who will bring down
 The price of sugar
 So "they" say—
 The mysterious "they"—
 And then I read
 How a bank robber
 Attempted suicide
 In the county jail
 And that agents of
 The Department of "Justice"
 Were going to catch
 All the "Reds"
 That they had not caught
 In previous raids
 On May first.
 And I saw
 (By the same paper)
 That Jack Dempsey
 Is in trim
 For his picture was there
 Four times,
 And I wondered how
 He is coming out with
 That charge about evading
 The draft
 And why he was not in
 Leavenworth or in
 The County Jail with me.
 And there was a whole
 Lot more in the paper
 About bankers, and workers,
 And work, and economizing,
 For the latter.
 And all about Baseball
 And Golf and other sports
 And sugar hoarding and
 Potatoes. And
 A good many divorces
 And all about the
 Conference at
 San Remo, where
 All the world's troubles were
 Settled. And all about
 Mexico. And more
 Divorces. And pictures
 of wives, and society "belles"
 And Hoover's platform
 And a great deal more
 Sugar thirty-one cents
 A pound.
 Switchmen on strike
 Trying to keep up

With prices set
 By profiteers
 And miners put in jail
 For striking,
 And switchmen, too.
 For interfering with
 Production and Distribution
 Of the Necessities of Life.
 But in Louisville
 (Kentucky) The profiteers
 Went free
 Because the Lever act
 Could not be applied
 To THEM.
 But there was nothing
 (In the same paper)
 About any arrest
 Of any profiteers,
 Exploiters of Labor
 (Same family)
 Who are the cause
 Of all the chaos,
 Strikes and suffering.
 And there was nothing
 At all in favor
 About the One Big Union,
 For all the workers,
 Which will cure
 Their ills.
 But it is true
 There is a scarcity
 Of newsprint paper
 And space is scarce,
 And the workers are
 Too tired anyhow
 To read it.



WE ARE IN HERE
 FOR YOU, YOU ARE
 OUT THERE FOR US

The Ideals of the I. W. W.

By JUSTUS EBERT

("The Ideals of the I. W. W." is Chapter VI of a new 100 page book by Justus Ebert, which the I. W. W. is going to issue immediately. It is already half set up in type, and will be out as quickly as our printing plant can turn it out. It is part of the book which we had originally intended to call "The I. W. W. Handbook." The Educational Board provided for by the last I. W. W. convention, recently appointed by the General Executive Board, has, however, after considering the matter, decided to name this book "The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice." The price will be fifty cents for single copies and \$25.00 per hundred for bundle orders. We know that all I.W.W. organizations and many other bodies, as well as the individual members and great numbers outside our ranks, will want this book. It is going to sell by the tens of thousands from the start. In order to enable us to better judge the size of the first edition we hereby urgently request all concerned to immediately take up the matter of ordering a supply. Make your order as big as your means will allow. Cash with orders is not required except for individual copies, but would be greatly appreciated. It will facilitate the financing of the publishing of this book and many other to follow in the near future.)

The ideals of the I. W. W. are ethical in character. They are ideals of justice, fraternity and brotherhood the world over. They spring from the injustices of capitalism, which require the surrender of labor's product to capitalist profits, interest and rent, and, further, compel the subversion of all of labor's genius and aspirations to the support of the system that viciously despoils and destroys them, as the occasion demands. Against the injustices of capitalism, with their exactions of labor's product and labor's life, working class organizations have always warred, until, now they realize, as never before, that it is only through the abolition of capitalism itself that they can escape from them.

The I. W. W. attempts to give this realization practical form. The I. W. W. ideal is that of a working class so organized industrially as to be in a position to take over industry and thereby abolish the Prussianism of the capitalist class the world over; when the necessity for such a course arises, as it appears to be doing more pronouncedly every day.

The ideal of the I. W. W. is industry by, for, and of the workers—in a word, industrial democracy. Through a democratic industrial system, the I. W. W. aims, not to destroy industry, but to eliminate its capitalistic exploitation, thereby making it a more actual social institution in every respect than it is at present. Such a system throws the responsibility for its maintenance directly on the bulk of society engaged therein, viz., the workers themselves. Thus, the industrial democracy of the I. W. W. means working class liberation from capitalist thralldom. It means untold benefits to society.

A New Social Rebirth

Every class liberation has caused a vast social

awakening and rebirth. When the embryonic capitalist class shook off the trammels of the guild system and the divine rights of kings, social development took a mighty leap forward, the greatest in history. When the working class shakes off the incubus of capitalism and the divine rights of the capitalist class, it, too, will give an unprecedented impetus to social progress. For then will be released the flood of latent possibilities now dammed up by the limitations and proscriptions of capitalism—sweeping many so-called problems before it.

Industrial Democracy Already Forming

Already is the organized working class regarded as the forerunner of the new industrial democracy, in which the extremes of privileged wealth and power for the few and the poverty-stricken slavery and denial of opportunity for the many will be transformed into the greatest development of all on a basis of economic and social equality.

Already is the working class showing great executive and organizing ability, great grasp and understanding of weighty problems, in its co-operative, political and labor movements. These involve billions of capital and human happiness untold.

Already is the working class demonstrating the possession of great statesmanship in its conferences and conflicts with governments and capitalists, on strike issues and questions of national and international importance. The increase in ability in this respect is only matched by the increase in determination to prevail.

Already is the working class developing great personalities that in other times might have been the engineers, generals, orators, poets, etc. of those times, men, whose names glow with pride in the imagination and heart of the working men who appreciate both the greatness and the weakness of mankind.

Already is the working class creating a press, a forum, a drama, a literature, an art of its own—a network of institutions and activities, a many-sided culture, a dawning epoch, whose penetrating influences bring ever more talent to its expansion, to the great detriment of capitalist culture and the slow destruction of the capitalist epoch itself.

Labor Able to Re-create Society

It will not do for capitalism to cry out that labor is not competent to undertake the great task of social transformation, for it is on the competency of hired labor of all degrees and kinds that capitalism now depends. Only, capitalist policy destroys the competency of labor, just as it destroys the products of the soil, in order to keep up profits.

Nor will it do for capitalism to say that labor is without either ability or genius. For capitalism, in order to secure labor's support, by bribes of place and position, parades the names of railroad presidents and inventors who originally sprang from the ranks of the working class. The working class is

now as always a mine of ability and genius—a pay streak that always pans out well for the capitalists, and that will pan out well for future society.

Nor will it avail capitalism any to claim that the working class is lacking in either morality, responsibility or thrift. Without these virtues in the working class capitalism itself could not endure a moment. It is working class honesty and fidelity to duty that keeps capitalist billions intact and enables the railroads and all the other enterprises to run on schedule time and in due order. As for thrift, whose are the savings in banks? who pays the industrial life insurance premiums? who joins the building and loan associations, the co-operative societies and the credit unions? The capitalist press answer is, the wage earners!

All that we can say is "God help capitalist property if ever the working class get the capitalist idea of morality, responsibility and thrift. For then society will be an even worse chaos and slaughter house than capitalist virtue has already made it."

I. W. W. Ideal a Well-Rounded One

The ideal of the I. W. W. is one of more rounded development for all. To this end, it aims to secure more leisure and diversified employment. Just as many able men find recreation and expansion in the pursuit of many vocations and avocations, so it is the ideal of the I. W. W. to create conditions admitting of a many-sided growth in the average worker. By these means, the average worker will become a better judge of questions affecting industry and life in general. Combined with his own varied abilities, will be other and like abilities, to the advantage of all concerned.

This rounded development is already beginning in the working class. In working class life, many workers may be found who are not only proficient in their own particular industrial specialty, but who are, in addition, organizers, speakers, parliamentarians, editors, writers, poets, musicians, etc. etc. The varied requirements of industry, with their seasonal and uncertain employment, give rise to another variety of many-sided workers. So also does the ambition to escape wage slavery give rise to students of all kinds among the working class.

In brief, it may be said that the more highly developed worker of the future is already in the making. The ideal of the I. W. W. is to continue the tendencies thus begun, especially so as to transform the workers now employed in brain-numbing and soul-destroying occupations into better material for the new society.

Education is not the only I. W. W. function. Preparation is another one.

Capitalism Itself Helps Revolution

Capitalism itself helps along the revolutionary process, though unwillingly and unconsciously. Its profits must ever be replenished, its property abnormally increased. To these ends, it educates even the lowest strata of the workers. And higher up on the mountain tops, it makes scientists and tech-

nicians of those who toil in order that it alone may accumulate and become all-powerful.

The process of educating the worker under capitalism is revolutionary. It not only transforms the brain of the workers but also their outlooks and aspirations. They soon perceive that on them depends capitalist civilization and that without them it could not exist. Consequently, the modern working class tends steadily to wish to possess the entire contents of capitalism, power and all. Not for themselves alone, to the subjugation and degradation of others, but for the good of all; for the fraternity and brotherhood of all.

Where, in ancient Rome and Greece, the philosophers and geniuses, like Aesop, became slaves, under capitalism, the slaves—their name is Legion—become philosophers and geniuses. They labor for a new social rebirth, that, in the very nature of social evolution cannot be denied to them, except at the peril of a reversion to savagery for the entire human race. Humanity rises and falls with the working class.

Emancipation Rich in Possibilities

The liberation of the working class from the thralldom of capitalism is rich in beneficial possibilities. Consider the harm now done to productive labor by capitalism. Capitalism coerces labor. It denies to labor the right to organize or to bargain collectively. The result is a continuous warfare between capital and labor, that tends to the increased demoralization of industry, and incredible losses to society. Remove capitalism, give to labor its own products, and the incentive thus created will be productive of greater industrial output and social security. It will save society from the chaos now threatening, because of the increasing intensity of the struggle between the capitalist and the working classes.

Society must, perforce, recognize that coerced, dissatisfied labor is never efficient labor. Nor is the labor that intuitively, perhaps unconsciously, feels the degradation of capitalist paternalism. Nor, further yet, is monotonous, machine-driven labor. Labor that is without incentive, self-respect or prospects of development, is wasteful labor. It is discontented labor, perhaps not turbulently nor violently, but instinctively. Capitalism is sabotaging itself in the creation of modern, discontented labor. And though it lashes labor with whips of scorpions—nay, because it so lashes labor—will its own sabotaging tendencies increase. Capitalism is itself, automatically, destructive of labor's productivity and labor's loyalty.

Release labor from thankless capitalism! Release labor from paternalistic capitalism! Release labor from oppressive capitalism! Release labor from degrading, enslaving capitalism, and you release forces for social good that only the workingman who knows, in his own person, the repression of capitalism, can dream of!

Give labor its own mastery! Throw labor on its

own responsibility! Give labor a sense of manhood and womanhood of infinite possibilities—do all this, and you give to society an impetus to productivity that will be unprecedented. History—the history of the abolition of chattel slavery and of feudalism—approves such action in advance. For such history is the history of great social impetus, thanks to class liberation!

I. W. W. Not State Socialism

The ideals of the I. W. W. are not the ideals of state socialism. State socialism is based on political representation. It is bureaucratic. Its function is not to administer but to govern. Its aim is to raise the levies needed for army and navy expenditures. It tends to replace the oppression of the private capitalist with that of the authority of the state. It makes the state the employer and capitalist. It makes the politician the ruler. It insures the income of the capitalist bondholders who finance it. It is pro-capitalist and anti-proletarian.

I. W. W. Industrial Administration

The ideals of the I. W. W. are the ideals of industrial administration. The industrial republic of the I. W. W. is based on occupational or industrial representation. Its function is to bring together all the factors of industry, in order to meet industrial needs and fulfill social requirements. Its concern is not to repress, but to develop; not to govern, but to adjust—to administer according to the wisdom of the workers most basically and directly concerned. It makes the workers their own employers, their own capitalists, their own beneficiaries.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are not ideals of mob government. To scientists and technicians will go the problems of chemistry and management, to be worked out in co-operation with all the labor elements involved. Artists, sculptors, architects, will concern themselves with art, sculpture, architecture; teachers with education, railroad men with transportation, the factory workers with the factory. All will be organized according to their industry and entitled to representation in the industrial republic on the basis of their employment.

I. W. W. Encourages Industrial Study

The ideals of the I. W. W. are such as to encourage and require a study of industry in all its phases. It has given a new interest to technology, as a result, that cannot fail to be of far-reaching value to the new society coming. As a beginning, several of the I. W. W. industrial unions have organized a Bureau of Industrial Research to prepare handbooks on each of the great industries of the world, simply written and sold at cost price.

This work has already taken practical shape in the woolen industry. The I. W. W. members employed therein have classified all of the woolen factories in the country, together with their location, nearness to sources of supplies and markets, annual output, etc. They have classified these data with a view to their practical use, believing that they will be necessary to enable successful man-

agement by the workers, when the occasion requires.

The conclusion of I. W. W. textile studies is that many of the woolen factories may be disbanded or consolidated, and an increase of 40 per cent in output effected. They refuse to give this information to employers now, as they want its benefits to go to the workers' industrial democracy instead of the capitalist exploiters of their genius.

The slogan, "Get wise to your industry," is one repeatedly sounded in I. W. W. press and discussion.

I. W. W. a Tendency, Not a Theory

The ideals of the I. W. W. are not the ideals of theory, but of tendencies. In this country, for instance, before the war, the teachers' union demanded "democracy in education and education in democracy." Education, in other words, should be more by, of and for educators, in the interests of all, than by, and of politicians, business men and intellectual slaves, for the perpetuation of capitalism. Since the war, the Plumb plan has appeared, with its provision for the part management of the railroads by classified railroad workers.

Other and more striking phenomena, indicating the rise of I. W. W. ideals in the tendencies of the day, are to be observed in the extra-political round-table conferences at Washington, D. C., called to allay labor unrest. But still more striking is the 1919 coal crisis, wherein we saw a titanic struggle whose sole issue was the administration of the coal industry on a basis satisfactory to labor. This issue required the setting aside of the usual legislative and private procedure, and called forth extraordinary measures. In fact, industrial problems tend to become ever more extra-political, legal and ethical in their adjustment and solution.

This same development toward the realization of the I. W. W. idealism is world-wide. What the teachers and railroad workers are striving to do here, the railroad men, postal employes, miners, teachers, actors and others are striving to do in England, Italy and France. In Russia, they have achieved what their brothers elsewhere are yearning to do—the latter now more than ever before—thanks to the stimulation of Russian example.

Italian and U. S. Railroaders Sustain I. W. W. Idealism

The urge toward the idealism of the I. W. W. is to be found in the increasing self-knowledge of the workers. To this may be added an increasing recognition of the inefficiency, corruption and inhumanity of capitalism. In Italy, in 1910, the Union of Italian Railroaders, inspired by Socialist ideals and the bad conditions of the railroad system, proclaimed themselves ready to operate the railroads. Their contentions sound almost like those of the United States railroad men of the present day. In their manifestoes they alleged that the state had proved its utter incapacity for managing the railroads, because, primarily of graft. Our railroaders say, because, primarily, of looting by private finan-

cial groups. The Italians further stated that the technical incompetency and deficiency of the bureaucratic administration called to run the enterprise had demoralized the whole passenger and freight traffic and caused a growing deficit in the treasury of the state. Our railroaders allege the very same condition, which, they say, was created for the purpose of causing a sentiment favorable to the return of the railroads to private control. The Italian railroaders of 1910 go on to declare that while the state has created thousands of new sinecures and highly paid offices, it has utterly neglected the technical part of the system. The American 1919 repetition is almost identically the same. The Italian railroaders clinch the matter by contending that, on the other hand, the industrially organized railroad men have learned through continuous discussion of the details of the system, the principles of organizing, managing, and combining its factors. Their constructive and analytic criticism disclosed all the flaws of the railroad administration, proved that the state is an uneconomical institution, and demonstrated all the detail necessary to a successful reorganization of the railroads. They indicated that they must get back, above all, their whole liberty, and that in order to secure from the railroads greater benefits for the public they must become personally interested in the enterprise. This is practically the American railroaders' approach to and solution of the railroad problem, also. It is the way labor approaches all modern problems, through its own direct participation and solution on the job—its own direct action, growing out of its own contact with conditions and the recognition of the need for its own organized initiative.

Capitalism Forces I. W. W. Forward

In this country, labor is not organized to take over and run industry in order to overcome capitalist inefficiency. American labor, outside of the I. W. W., is organized only to bargain with the capitalists, according to crafts. It is not organized industrially to take over industry. However, it will be forced, nay, is being forced, to abandon that misconception of labor organization. Its own defeats are causing it to recognize the closely knit character of the modern industrial system and to organize accordingly, within it, for its control and management in the interests of society by the industrially organized workers. In this work, labor everywhere will be aided by the growing paralysis of modern life, through capitalist incompetency and principles. The latter, in the face of increasing technical knowledge, tend to increase social dangers by stimulating high prices, inflation, strikes, overproduction, unemployment, crises, and, last but not most important and sinister of all, wars.

The prospects of the future, judged by the horrors of the past, are that society will either have to overturn capitalism or be overturned by it. With the same capitalist tendencies at work in world struggles as formerly, with Japan taking the place

of Germany as the imperialist-capitalist goat, because of its grasp on Asia, there is need for a constructive evolutionary plan by which society may be saved and civilization actually restored once more. American labor, as represented by the A. F. of L., has no plan. So far as the A. F. of L. is concerned, society can go to hell. It is the I. W. W. only that foresees and prepares against just such a disaster.

The I. W. W. plan is evolutionary, peaceful. Capitalism alone will make it revolutionary and violent. All signs point that way. The age-old struggle between the new and the old is being repeated once more on an unprecedented scale. The brand of Cain will be on capitalism's head in the future as in the past.

I. W. W. Idealism Colossal

The idealism of the I. W. W. is immense in its magnitude. It strides more continents than the Colossus of Rhodes. Its heralds are the seafarers on the waters of the earth, the cables beneath, and the aeroplane in the heavens above. No transatlantic engineer throws a throttle but what he puts steam not only into his engine but into the boiler of the I. W. W. No Leviathan plows the ocean except to carry the argosies of the I. W. W. to a world constantly growing smaller and more neighborly in its popular inclinations. The world was Tom Paine's country, to do good his religion. The I. W. W. has the same fatherland as Tom Paine, the same ethical aspirations.

To subjugate the world was the dream of Alexander, Caesar and Kaiser Wilhelm. To free the world from subjugation is that of the I. W. W. To carry on, not in world-slaughter, but in world-emancipation, is the I. W. W. object. To create, not a world-republic of letters, but one of labor, such is the I. W. W. mission, aided by world development.

I. W. W. Comes to Build Up, Not Tear Down

The ideals of the I. W. W. let it be said again and again, are constructive, not destructive. The I. W. W. aims to build up, not to tear down. It erects the new society on material provided by the old. It carries progress to higher material and ethical planes. It retains giant, co-operative industry, with its profuse wealth-production, for all, because it is only made possible by all, and not by the few who now exploit it and grow powerful and tyrannical from the exploitation.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are co-operative, not competitive. They are social, not individualistic. The I. W. W. views man as at war with nature and compelled to unite to wrest from nature the secret of its forces and the means for man's own subsistence. Only as man ceases to war with man will nature yield up her secrets and man triumph over necessity. To the degree that man does this does man pass from the stage of beastly materialism to a far-flung brotherhood, unsurpassed and unsung in all history.

The ideals of the I. W. W. aim to develop well-being in all of its phases. The I. W. W. aims to abolish poverty. To poverty, the I. W. W. opposes the increasing fecundity of nature under scientific exploitation and the increasing productivity of the mechanical genius of man. The I. W. W. aims to abolish class hatred. To class hatred, the I. W. W. opposes a society made one by common, fraternal interests. The I. W. W. aims to abolish war. To war, the I. W. W. opposes the cementing influences of world-industry, aided by the growing world-consciousness of the world's workers.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are real, not utopian. They have their origin, their embryo, in capitalist development. They aim to continue this development further for the good of all instead of the aggrandizement of a few. The capitalists are now the only romanticists, the only utopians. They believe the impossible and imagine the impossible. Though they know their system evolved out of previous systems, they hug the fond delusion that evolution will stop with it. And they are called "hard-headed men." That's what they are, indeed. Their "ivory domes" are so hard that the absurdity of their ideas will never penetrate to their alleged brains, or so-called vision.

The Immortality of Idealism

Idealism is irrepressible. It never dies. The idealism of the I. W. W. cannot be repressed, because it is the idealism of a new epoch already challenging and overthrowing that of the old. The I. W. W. has suffered martyrdom and still thrives. Its attempts to revitalize the initiative and the energy of tens of millions the world over is an attempt to which it gives foremost expression but not birth. It is the working class themselves the world over, reacting from the futilities and horrors of capitalism, that have given birth to the movement for industrial democracy, industrial fraternity and industrial communism. On them, and on the forces behind them, depends this great movement. You may kill the I. W. W. but you can't kill them.

History should cause the oppressors of the I. W. W. to pause. The scaffold never yet killed an ideal, or throttled a movement inherent in the nature of events or in the hearts and heads of mankind. The early Christians were massacred. The Appian Way was lit up by torches made of live Christians. The Christians were butchered to make a Roman holiday. Despite this fiendish, diabolical treatment, Christianity flourished and grew. And though Constantine, in order to destroy its revolutionary features, made a state religion of it, the communism of Christ now reasserts itself on a more practical and grander scale in the communism of Lenin.

John Brown's Soul Still Marches On

Lovejoy's press was thrown into the river and he himself was afterwards murdered. William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through Boston streets with a rope around his neck. John Brown was hanged. Yet his soul marched on, not only to the abolition

of chattel slavery, but of wage slavery, too; John Brown still lives, reincarnated in the abolitionists of modern times.

For over 700 years has Ireland been oppressed and devastated. Yet Irish idealism lives unconquered. The Emmets of yesterday are replaced by the Connollys of today. During the past year, British imperialism claimed forty million victims in India. Instead of destroying Indian idealism, this staggering murder but increases it, giving it a heroism and grandeur unparalleled. Tens of millions more have died in the world war, on the battlefields, and as a result of the various economic blockades. Nevertheless, despite this appalling blight, humanity everywhere raises its crushed spirits and aspires to end such monstrosities once more. To the communism of capital the world over, with its rapine and slaughter for profit and property, it opposes the communism of labor, with its brotherhood of all and its peace for all.

Idealism Always Inspiring

Idealism is historic. Though it never teaches oppression anything, it always inspires the oppressed. And it is the idealism of the ages that inspires the I. W. W., backed by modern imperialist-capitalist tendencies. So long as the latter have nothing but a huge slaughter house to offer humanity, for the profit of a few, so long will humanity endeavor to end them, in the interest of all.

Notwithstanding all the slanders cast upon it, by oppressors who misuse and coerce it, human nature is not so vile as to tolerate the foulness of capitalist "civilization" indefinitely. Capitalism has been weighed and found wanting. The handwriting is on the wall. The new era already casts its shadows before.

So the I. W. W. looks forward, not backward, buoyed alike by the sacrifices of the past, the prospects of the present and the possibilities of the future. It believes that, no matter what happens, evolution will continue to evolve and revolution to revolve. All things live, run their appointed course and die. Life is a transition to a better existence. So says theology. So says the I. W. W. Brief has been the span of capitalism's existence, barely 150 years since its first pronounced appearances. And today sees it nearly undone, struggling desperately to survive, and taking on the look of galvanic life rather than new vitality. And the new society looms up large ahead. History may write its grandest records on its pages.

The present cannot long endure. Its antecedents are against it. All precedents, as the lawyers say, are against it. Co-operative in character and depending on all for existence, capitalist exploitation must be eliminated from co-operative industry, in the interests of all.

Under all of the foregoing circumstances, to lynch, tar and feather, outlaw and otherwise maltreat the I. W. W. will avail capitalism nothing. Persecution warms the hearts of men toward the

I. W. W. Persecution causes men to lend ear to the I. W. W. Persecution makes proselytes for the I. W. W. more numerous than it makes martyrs. It is this overproduction of proselytes that makes the business of ideal extermination humanly impossible. And it is this overproduction that will finally submerge capitalist exploitation everywhere.

The I. W. W. A Call to the Best in Man

The I. W. W. is a call to the wise, the kind, the generous of all mankind, especially to the working class. It is not a bravado's defiance to social development, but the cumulative reasoning of many great minds, perhaps crudely applied, but at least possessed of all their elemental strength. It is germinal, rather than full-grown. It is a beginning rather than a completed article. It is raw rather than refined, real rather than sophisticated. Apparently intricate, yet simple; reckless, yet with reason. It is a wonderful manifestation, a multi-compound

of psychology, economics, sociology, government, art, poetry, ethics and religion. Yes, religion! Fanatical, sublime! The religion that makes living its creed, that would endow men with the attributes of Gods instead of monsters; that has its Christs in its Littles and Everests and its Calvary on the railroad bridges from which they were dangled; that knows first causes, appreciates the inner personality, the soul, of labor and that seeks the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth in a more beautiful existence for all men.

Dreamers! yes! So were the communists of the early Christian church. So were the abolitionists of chattel slavery. So were the builders of the capitalist structure, now cracked at the foundation and in danger of collapse, for, what is it to dream if not to achieve?

The I. W. W. is destined to achieve, unless all signs fail.



TEARING DOWN THE CHINESE WALL OF CAPITALISM.

International Impostors

By JOHN SANDGREN

"The Executive Committee of the Amsterdam Sub Bureau of the Communist International" is the name of a body which some time ago sent out a circular on the arrests of communists in the United States.

In the course of this circular occurs the following phrase: "It is the glorious task of the American Communists to carry on, on broader lines, the task that the I. W. W. first took in hand, to lead the masses against capitalism; to become the nucleus, the heart and the brain of a strong and determined working class movement."

This circular, when read by American workers who are familiar both with the I. W. W. and the so-called "communist" party, will provoke only a faint smile. The reader immediately recognizes under the statement the work of the faking unscrupulous politician who far away from home has tried to bluff people into accepting him as a powerful man with a powerful movement behind him. He considers it merely as a piece of harmless self-boost, in style with what we hear from self-possessed and assertive street-corner vendors of trick cuff buttons, etc.

In foreign countries the paragraph in question is apt to have a different effect on the unsuspecting reader. He is apt to get the belief that the I. W. W. is a back number, a has-been, while the "communist" party is "the whole cheese." And that is what the statement originally was intended for. It is a piece of unscrupulous self-advertising at the expense of truth.

How did the international bureau in question happen to get this conception of the situation in America, assuming that the statement was made in good faith? The following is probably the explanation:

Louis C. Fraina, "International Secretary" of the "Communist" Party of America, has recently been in Amsterdam and participated in a sort of international conference, of which he renders report in the First of May number of "The Communist." From his report to his constituents we gather the following:

The conference adopted a thesis on Unionism which I prepared and introduced in the name of the Communist Party of America and which was adopted unanimously. This thesis constitutes the first authoritative utterance of the international on the communist conception of unionism (in general it agrees with a declaration of G. Zinoviev on Unionism), and it indicates, moreover, that the conception of unionism developed by the Communist Party of America (which has been misrepresented and stupidly attacked equally by the I. W. W. and the Socialist Labor Party) is the identical conception of the communist international. * * *

Then follows a retraction of the delegate's previous stand on trades unionism up to a year ago as a member of the Socialist Party (for the "communism" of these chickens is no older than that

parts of the old shell are still sticking to their back) and an endorsement of industrial unionism to a certain extent.

And then come "the broader lines," on which "the American communists" are going to carry on "the task that the I. W. W. first took in hand." Listen:

This struggle against trade unionism must proceed by means of the communist party's general agitation to drive the unions to more revolutionary action, the formation of extra-union organizations such as the shop stewards, workers' committees and economic workers' councils, the organization of direct branches of the communist party in the shops, mills and mines, and the construction of industrial unions.

It must be admitted that these lines are broad enough, and they would be impressive, also, if it were not for the fact that it is all the merest bunk and bluff, the mouthings of impostors who are desperately trying for a place on the back of labor.

Everybody here in America knows the "communist" parties and who they are. It is only about a year ago that they were part and parcel of the Socialist party. In a word, the leaders were and are politicians, scheming and intriguing politicians, always fighting for place and power. For the labor unions they had no use. They distracted the workers' attention from their little red card scheme with 25 cents a month, and from the petty political game they were playing. However, they tried to keep in the good graces of the craft unionists for the sake of their vote. The I. W. W. being non-political and mostly voteless, was treated with the contempt that these word-mongers know so well how to bestow on all they can get no benefit from.

Well, the big thing happened in Russia. This influenced greatly the foreign membership of the Socialist Party, which was practically voteless, particularly the Slavic language federations. They became unruly. The example of the events in Russia made them believe that all that was needed was to repeat in America the events of Russia. They became "bolsheviks." They became industrial unionists, seeing that the Russian bolsheviks were compelled to suddenly endorse the I. W. W. program for the purpose of social reconstruction.

This trend of events forced the ambitious, career-hunting, notoriety-seeking leaders of the Socialist Party to conceive a sudden love for industrial unionism, particularly as the persistent I. W. W. agitation was increasing in favor with the A. F. of L. membership. Not a love for the I. W. W., no, indeed, but for industrial unionism in the abstract. Not for the unions which American workers under the I. W. W. banner had formed in the last dozen years or more, nor for their methods and institutions, but for some foreign (and on American soil untried) committees and councils. The I. W. W. is being

referred to in slurring tones as being "stupid," etc. Industrial unionism became a plank in a political platform, designed to attract industrial unionists to the political mass-action scheme. The "communist" politicians are like any other politician. They incorporate in their platform the demands of those whose support they want.

Here we are, we the men of the fields, of the mines, of the forests, of the docks, of the factories of this country; here we are, we, the originators of an industrial union movement which is sweeping over the world at the present time; here we are, we the men who have borne the brunt of the class battle all these years, while the Socialist politicians betrayed us and threw mud at us; here we are, forging along with mighty power—and here comes a little, hitherto unknown, political gnat, draped in the red flag of communism and strutting with Lenin-whiskers, to make the duping game more sure, only twelve months out of the Socialist Party mud-puddle, and never to our knowledge a bona fide wage worker or a union man, and proceeds to tell us, in fact, that we know nothing about industrial unionism, and that he and his clique of political adventurers and agents of the department of justice are going to build a union system in competition with us, on broader lines; furthermore, carrying this bluff to foreign countries. Never was the red flag so abused by impostors.

Everybody here in America knows that these self-styled "communists" have no footing outside a small number of soviet maniacs of whom most are unable to read English. How is this conglomeration, which enjoys no confidence among the American workers, going to carry out their so-called union program?

Their union program is a fake; it is not seriously meant; it is not conceived in the interest of the workers; it is merely a cheap bid for the support of the ignorant masses who are so easily led to follow any faker who screams "One Big Union." What these adventurers want to lead the masses into is insurrection; in other words, they want to lead them up against the machine guns in order to capture the government buildings for political adventurers who have gotten tired of the slow process of the ballot box.

They unconsciously admit the bluff when they propose "to organize direct branches of the 'communist' party in the shops, mills and mines." We are inclined to believe that when the dupes and agents of these impostors begin to collect dues for their "communist" party in the shops, in the woods and the mines they will be told to get to a very hot place.

We have used quotation marks around the word "communist" simply because we do not recognize them as bona fide communists. The I. W. W. proclaimed itself communist long before these fellows usurped and disgraced the name. Our program is one of industrial communism, and we hate to have our fair name used by such impostors.

We need go no further in exposing these parasites on the labor movement. We will now quote from their own paper, in order that our readers may know what the "communists" in the communist party think of one another.

It appears from the First of May issue of "The Communist" that the "communist" party is in a crisis. In fact, the party has split. There is a "majority," to which the above-mentioned international impostors belongs, and a "minority."

This is the way the official communication describes the difference between them:

The minority (which is referred to as merest tyros and unsophisticated neophytes) conceived of mass action as of some nebulous economic power of the working class, organized industrially and exerting pressure industrially on the capitalist system, in order to topple it over. They believe that the use of FORCE (armed revolution and civil war) may or may not be necessary in order to accomplish the overthrow of the capitalist state, depending upon circumstances. They are opposed to propagating the inevitability and, consequently, the necessity, when the time will come, of the USE OF FORCE to conquer the power of the state—as premature at the present time. They claim they are not even certain on that score, and therefore object to propagating this doctrine to the workers. Mass action to them means only the use of general strikes and mass demonstrations—they contend that the manifesto and program adopted at Chicago nowhere implies anything else beyond this point.

With this conception of mass action the majority completely disagrees. Our conception of mass action is that expressed by the manifesto of the Third International. We maintain that if the lessons of the history of all revolutions—and particularly the proletarian revolutions—means something and teaches us anything, we must propagate to the workers **THE USE OF FORCE AS THE ONLY MEANS** of conquering the power of the state and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. And that, instead of remaining silent on this question, we must constantly STRESS it, in order to show the workers the utter futility of hoping for any peaceful revolution, accomplished either through the parliaments, as the opportunistic socialists teach, or by mere general strikes, as the syndicalists teach.

There we have it. The boastful international impostors have "busted up" on the very point where they were going to show the American worker how to act. The "minority," represented by about one-half on their national committee, has withdrawn, evidently because they believed more in industrial unionism than the above-mentioned "broad-liners" and because they declined to be led up against the machine guns by provocateurs and irresponsible adventurers. For the rest, we know nothing about the controversy. We only quote the official organ, which naturally gives a version favorable to the ruling faction. The district organizer and the district committee for Chicago have been officially deposed and new men sent to take charge, "but the membership won't stand for it." The minority refers to Frains's (and his friends') trip to Europe as a "junketing trip" of "international politicians."

It further accuses these politicians of having "packed" the Chicago convention. They are further accused of merely scheming, while in office, to keep party control; that certain members have mulcted the party of funds, and that, since taking office, the Central Executive Committee "has been completely taken up with forwarding personal schemes." "At no time has the committee considered questions of propaganda policy and the relation of the party to the working class movement." In other words, Mr. Fraina seems to have been largely representing himself at the international conference, where he grandiloquently promises to lead the American masses against capitalism. He is being rapidly repudiated by those he claimed to represent as a self-seeking career hunter with little or no interest in the welfare of the working class. While we take no pleasure in thus branding a professed socialist or "communist" as an importor, we are compelled to do so in order to remove the misunderstanding that he has insidiously tried to create about our organization, and find it singularly fortunate that he should at the same time have been disowned by his own people to such a large extent. That his party has been overrun by secret service agents, every man knows, and recently the counsel for Assistant Secretary of Labor Post has before a House committee promised to prove that agents of the Department of Justice have been active organizing locals of this party and contributing to the shaping of its program.

Taking it all in all, we feel justified in repeating the accusation of a year ago, that this kind of "communism" is nothing but "fake bolshevism" and that their movement is but another case of "the ass in the lion's skin."

* * *

P. S.

Since the above was set up in type there are new developments tending to strengthen the evidence that the left wing or communist movement in the United States was largely a provocateur movement manipulated by the United States Department of Justice.

Under a full page heading, reading "FRAINA IMPLICATED AS U. S. AGENT," The New York Call, official daily organ of the Socialist Party, has the following:

Communist leader is charged with endorsing his pay checks from Department of Justice.

Palmer spy confesses that "radical" was in Attorney General's employ.

Louis C. Fraina, editor of the brief-lived "Revolutionary Age" and a leading spirit in both the Communist and Communist Labor Party movements in this country, was at the time of his intensest activity in these movements a paid agent of the United States Department of Justice, according to evidence made public here yesterday by Santeri Nuorteva of the Russian Soviet Bureau.

Nuorteva's statement was called forth by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer's somewhat involved disclaimer, uttered before the Senate investigating committee, of any slight-

est connection between Fraina and the governmental department of which Palmer is the head.

The statement, which bristles with sensational details, constitutes one of the most serious and detailed challenges yet issued to Palmer's excited denial of the charge—already made by the twelve attorneys who have been investigating the Department of Justice methods in the public interest—that agents provocateurs have been employed by that department in its wholesale, nation-wide crusade against what the Attorney General so piquantly denominates as "reds."

Facts Speak for Themselves

In the course of his statement, Nuorteva scrupulously refrains from making any direct charges against Fraina. He confines himself to an objective recital of the facts of Fraina's contacts with the Russian Soviet Bureau here as they came to his attention. He lets the facts speak for themselves. Inferentially, though, these facts would appear to be even more damaging to the repute of the United States Department of Justice than are those already cited by the delegation of lawyers headed by Dean Chaffee and Professor Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School.

"Mr. Nuorteva's restraint is far more impressive than any mere denunciation could be," said a well-known liberal to whom the contents were shown.

"Anyone familiar with the nature of Fraina's activities cannot, despite Mr. Nuorteva's unwillingness to draw conclusions, read this statement without a very lively suspicion that, besides trying to trick and intimidate uneducated aliens into saying they subscribed to communist principles which they obviously did not understand, the Department of Justice has simultaneously been implicated in the organized formation of the very bodies which it loudly proclaimed itself dedicated to exterminate in the name of 'Americanism.' If this is indeed the case, it constitutes as serious a charge as has ever been brought against a United States official."

Extending over a long series of months, the details disclosed by Nuorteva trace as sordid and degraded a chain of events as ever leaked out of the pigeonholes of American officialdom. They begin with the entry of an ex-soldier, a Finn, in the employ of Mr. Palmer's department, and an attempt to obtain Soviet documents by "doping" Nuorteva.

They end with the complete disappearance of this Finn after he declared to Nuorteva that Louis Fraina was in the employ of Palmer's department, with the picture of Fraina—while his late comrades in the communist movement were being raided, herded into jails, brutally treated and deported by Palmer agents—sailing to Europe safely under the chaperonage of one of the busiest attaches of a big British steamship line, who was obviously a police agent.

In between, Nuorteva's narration of objective facts tells of Fraina appearing at the Soviet Bureau trying to get letters of introduction to Russian officials and facilities for reaching Moscow while at the same time he was reported as having been seen in the offices of the Department of Justice; of having pay checks there indorsed by his signature.

The narration shows Palmer with a letter addressed to Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, purporting to have come from S. Rutgers of Hol-

land, a prominent European communist, which Palmer could not have come into possession of except through the instrumentality of Fraina or the attache of the British steamship line and police agent with whom Fraina later left these shores.

This information came to Nuorteva and the Russian Soviet Bureau without their seeking, most of it from the Finn who was employed by the Department of Justice. And there is a hint of tragedy in the simple details with which Nuorteva recites the disappearance of this Finn. Curiously enough, he was en route to Washington to testify before the Senate committee which had had Martens before it when he passed out of the ken of all the actors in the affair.

So far "The New York Call".

Of course, we do not want to say that the rank and file of the communist parties, which are said to have recently combined into one, is crooked and in the service of Attorney General Palmer. They are no doubt honest "revolutionary socialists," as they claim to be, but that does not alter the fact that they have been led by the nose by smart impostors in government employ whose only aim was to wreck the real working class movement, represented by the I. W. W.

Strenuous and innumerable have been the attempts of these buccaneers and their agents to get control of the I. W. W. and its publications, and when unsuccessful they have accused us of "trying to stab the Russian Revolution in the back." Perhaps the members of the "communist" parties will now see that the only ones we tried to stab were the false leaders, who, with government connivance, tried to lead the workers up against the machine guns in order to get a chance to utterly destroy them.

There is a time and place for Bolshevik programs and Bolshevik tactics, like for everything else. There was a time and place for it in Russia. They made the Russian people happy and free. But to try to make the workers of America repeat Bolshevik history on American soil with American industrial and historic conditions is absurd, but is good enough tactics for impostors and Okhrana men.

Society is pregnant with the child of revolution. These impostors and secret service men would try to cause a miscarriage by throwing society into convulsions, thereby prolonging the rule of the capitalist class.

== TRAPPED! ==

By ROBERTA BRUNER

I followed a trapper's tracks through the cold forest. I came upon a trap wherein had been caught a glossy-coated mink.

"A fine pelt," thought I, as I observed the wild creature. Untrapped he would have run from me. Trapped, he heeded me not at all, but behaved as any mere animal might behave. He beat about in a maddened effort to free himself from the prison into which he had been decoyed. He struck his head, to rebound broadside across the trap.

"Poor beast!" thought I, "he seeks freedom but has no plan, which can come only from power of thought!" But even as I thought thus, he gave one last tremendous lunge, the force of which broke the thin wall around his brain. In blood he died and dead was worth as much to the hunter as though he lived. He died in vain.

I walked on and came upon another trap which also held a mink, a sleepy fellow who lay and dozed. His pelt was soft and fine. It would not e'en be marred by blood when it was taken off. It could not be he liked captivity; he merely offered no resistance in his apathy. I did not linger long near him.

Not far away there was a third, more cunning than the rest. He caught my glance and stopped and looked at me until I disappeared behind a tree and then, with a skill almost human-like, he sent a forefoot investigating the trap which held him. It was like a wonder tale from natural history. I grew almost anxious for the search to be rewarded, and as I stood tense the exploring paw struck the clicking catch. He drew back as if startled! I craned far out to see, so much I feared

he would withdraw his paw, but with his alert eyes centered on the spot which held the key to his freedom, head slightly turned to one side, he loosened the latch and stepped out into his world, the forest! He never rushed, but still he made great speed, which grew with the distance between himself and the cell that e'en had held him fast. He of all the three had saved his pelt!

So like the workers, held in cages built by commerce, cruel and greedy. There are those who sleep in apathy and make a pretty picture. They hold no interest for the passerby beyond a passive sight. But still, they lose their pelts!

Then there are those who dash and rush to their own extermination. Their pelts are also taken, and of their blood-soaked carcasses, held as great examples, horrible fears are made. They die in vain.

And then there are the constructive, eager ones, consciously planning ways of winning their freedom. They find the plan, but being humans, possessed of intelligence, they know the days of individual freedom are gone. They seek the apathetic! They seek to show the hysterical madmen a plan, that all may yet be free.

Fellow workers, will you not, like the cunning mink, press the latch we show you, that we may have collective freedom?

Imbibe the philosophy of the I. W. W.!

Practice its principles!

Carry its card!

Be a believer!

And gain freedom and safety for yourselves and your class!

The Wobbly Editor Helps the University Student with his Thesis

The following is a letter we have received from the Journalism Department of the University of Michigan and the answer thereto:

Dear Editor: In connection with our research work in a journalistic seminary class at the University of Michigan, I am investigating several problems relative to the newspapers and their relation to the present-day capital and labor disputes. As you know, charges very serious in nature have been made against the press by both factions, and it is my task to learn as far as possible how the newspapers feel about the situation. It is with this purpose in mind that I am venturing to ask for a few minutes of your time to answer some of the questions that confront me. Would it be too much to ask you to answer the following for me? All matter secured will be held confidential in every respect. It is merely my purpose to gather data for general conclusions for my thesis. I assure you that our entire journalistic department as well as myself will greatly appreciate the favor of an answer.

1. What do you believe should be the attitude of the press toward the unending capital-labor disputes? Should it favor either side,

vary in cases, represent the neutral "consumer," or attempt to end trouble by mediating and educating?

2. What do you believe is the attitude of most newspapers?

3. Are Jim Jam Jems and other radical papers right in their charges that the press is governed by capital through advertisers?

4. To just what degree does the average advertiser control the policy of a newspaper? Do you think he gets capitalistic propaganda printed?

5. What is the influence of the labor and other radical papers? Should they be censored, suppressed, or supported? Do they stir up trouble unnecessarily?

6. What do you believe to be the solution of the labor disputes and the ultimate reduction of H. C. of L.?

7. What does your paper do in this matter? What is your policy?

You may answer these as briefly or at as great length as you will, if you will only please say something about them. It is only through the opinions of such great papers as yours that we may judge the situation, and study accordingly. We feel that the proper knowl-



KEPT PRESS: Oh, I'll get you. I'll destroy you. I'll discredit you before the World.

I. W. W. MAN: Sure. Just like you captured Petrograd.

edge of this problem will greatly assist us to be true journalists when we are on papers.

Thanking you in advance for your trouble,

I am, Very truly yours,

STUDENT,
Journalism Dept., Univ. Michigan.

The Reply

Dear Sir: In the interest of suffering humanity we will help you out with your thesis.

Below we repeat your questions one by one and answer them separately:

Question 1. What do you believe should be the attitude of the press to the unending capital-labor disputes? Should it favor either side, vary in cases, represent the neutral "consumer," at attempt to end trouble by mediating and educating?

Answer—The attitude of the press on any question should be to speak the truth and nothing but the truth. The I. W. W. press makes this its aim, and, as a consequence, its editors are in jail, with the exception of the last set, which is out on bail and not yet brought to trial. With the exception of a few hundred labor papers and idealist magazines, the papers all lie. In fact, that is their purpose. The press is "kept" by the profiteers and the exploiters, that is, the capitalist class generally, for the purpose of trying to control the minds of people in the interest of their "business" and to act as a safeguard for private property and their continued existence as social parasites.

As far as mediating is concerned, it may sometimes be good business policy for the exploiters of labor, but as far as educating is concerned, the kept press cannot do it. It would mean intellectual and financial suicide for the controllers of those papers. They can not be used as mediums of education, only as channels of misinformation and advocates of the interests of the few.

Question 2. What do you believe is the attitude of most newspapers?

Answer—Being a professional reader of exchanges, we can truthfully state that most papers, aye, all capitalist papers, resort to all sorts of frenzied logic and intellectual imposition in order to prejudice the "public" against the workers in all disputes. They most outrageously plead the cause of the "oppressed" capitalist and they pretend to be solicitous for the dear, suffering "public." The deception is so plain that it is strange how anyone can fail to see it.

Question 3. Are "Jim Jam Jems" and other radical papers right in their charges that the press is governed by capital through advertisers?

Answer—In regard to this matter, we beg to refer you to Upton Sinclair's recent book, "The Brass Check," which can be obtained by sending 50 cents to Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, California. In this book we learn that the most important papers and magazines have been bought up by capitalists to serve as mouthpieces for certain financial interests. Others are controlled by advertising, others can exist only by currying favor with those who rob the

people and therefore have money and patronage to give.

The I. W. W. press, poor as it is financially, does not accept advertisements at any price. Back of this old rule is, naturally, the conclusion, based on experience, that you cannot speak the truth and at the same time keep the good will of such people as are in the habit of advertising commercially. In order to have a free hand against the oppressors of the people, we are compelled to refuse to accept money from them or in any way being "patronized" by them.

We have never heard of "Jim Jam Jems," but if he says that the press is governed by capital through advertisements, we agree with him, though we must add that that is not the only way in which the capitalists are polluting the sources of information, thereby making it misinformation.

Question 4. To just what degree does the average advertiser control the policy of a newspaper? Do you think he gets capitalistic propaganda printed?

Answer—The details of this nasty business are extensively treated upon by Upton Sinclair in "The Brass Check." For our part, we want to add, that if the paper is not owned outright by the capitalists, the owner will either have to surrender completely to the capitalists or go to the wall. Without their support the paper can not exist, unless it be kept alive by an organization, like the I. W. W. papers are.

Question 5. What is the influence of labor and other radical papers? Should they be censored, suppressed or supported? Do they stir up trouble unnecessarily?

Answer—The influence of the labor papers varies. The influence of the A. F. of L. papers is on the wane, while the influence of the I. W. W. papers is on the increase, as witness the world-wide demand for "ONE BIG UNION" or INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION, as distinguished from craft organization. The labor papers are markedly influencing the working class toward accepting the responsibility for taking over production and distribution through their unions when capitalism ceases to function, or functions so badly that it imposes too great sufferings upon the people. Thereby the labor press works for a peaceful, final and permanent solution of the social problem. This solution, of course, implies the complete elimination of the capitalist class as an economic factor, and brings the whole series of questions propounded in this questionnaire out of the world.

Do these papers stir up trouble unnecessarily? We should say not. Through the education they manage to get out to the ignorant masses in spite of all resistance and all persecution, they do what they can to save society from a social cataclysm. By censoring or suppressing the real labor press, the capitalists and their tools are doing the greatest injury imaginable to society as a whole. The greatest danger of our age lies in the ignorance and irresponsibility of the masses. There is no

factor making for enlightenment and responsibility more than the labor press. The lowest strata of society are rising by their own strength in the modern labor movement. To muffle its voice or to choke it off is to invite a catastrophe.

Instead of suppressing the labor press, all human agencies should be set to work along the lines we are following, in order that the forty million workers of this country may as quickly as possible fit themselves to take over and run production and distribution. That is the only salvation of mankind in the coming crisis, which is already gripping us, the greatest crisis humanity has so far encountered.

Question 6. What do you believe to be the solution of the labor disputes and the ultimate reduction of the high cost of living?

Answer—The labor disputes may temporarily be settled by concessions to the workers, by "throwing out a bone" to the discontented, but these disputes will increase in number and extent, until the whole country will be in a chronic state of general strike, a stage which we are now rapidly approaching. Capitalism is a logical and mathematical absurdity, and cannot last beyond a certain point. By attempting to collect rent, interest and profit on an ever-increasing capitalization, and recently by suddenly adding the war capital to the industrial capital and forcing the people to pay interest on it, the capitalists are making it impossible for people to exist. The sleeping millions are thus awakened, and then there is no solution to the "disputes" except the abolition of capitalism, the abolition of private ownership, rent, interest and profit.

As for reducing the H. C. of L., it cannot be done as long as the capitalist class insists on collecting rent, interest and profit out of the products of labor. Failing to get that rent, interest and profit in the accustomed manner, they try to collect it by mercantile conspiracies, which are nothing but robberies, and by tax-dodging (such as freeing from taxes income in the form of shares), etc. To save themselves from an early destruction, the capitalist class would have to voluntarily give up hope of collecting these items. Only a complete back-down by the capitalist class, taking the shape of a reduction in prices of the necessities of life to a pre-war level will save them from destruction within a few years. If they do back down, the transition will be gradual and peaceful. If they refuse to back down it will be sudden, violent and destructive.

When the workers take over production and distribution through their unions, the high cost of living will be an expression without a meaning. With rent, interest and profit removed, there is no such thing as high cost of living.

Question 7. What does your paper do in this matter? What is your policy?

We are at the top of our voice screaming to the masses: "Economic doomsday is approaching; the end of the capitalist world is near. Capitalism is collapsing on all sides. It ceases to function in one place after another. It no longer supplies mankind

with the necessities of life. Life is becoming unbearable. This is only a prelude to the great storm that shall sweep everything before it. We are all of us in danger of immediate destruction. Society is on the verge of dissolution. Chaos and disaster stare us in the face. The only salvation for us is to organize new organs of production and distribution to take the place of the old ones which are ceasing to function. Get together with all other workers in your industry or other useful occupation, organize yourselves into industrial unions, by means of which you can take the shock when it comes. Hurry, if you want to save yourselves and your children from a terrible fate. Only organized co-operation for the welfare of all can save us."

Our policy is thus, to organize the workers into industrial unions, by means of which they can first of all save themselves from going under in the battle with the high cost of living, and which they can later use as organs of production and distribution when the collapse of capitalism shall have occurred. Yours truly,

EDITOR OF THE O. B. U. MONTHLY.

P. S.—This is not confidential. You may publish it.

TWO I. W. W. PAMPHLETS IN SWEDISH

Secretaries and literature agents, and particularly the Swedish Fellow Workers, will please note that two I. W. W. pamphlets have now been issued in Swedish, namely:

Industrial Communism—I. W. W. Ten cents per copy; \$6 per hundred.

I. W. W.—Its History, Structure and Methods. Fifteen cents per copy; \$10 per hundred.

Order immediately from Thomas Whitehead, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill., and go after the Swedes.

JEDNA VELKA UNIE

Is the name of our new Czeko-Slovak monthly. It means "One Big Union." It costs \$1 a year, 10 cents per copy. Bundle orders 7 cents per copy.

Wherever there are any Bohemian workers let us help the Czeko-Slovak propaganda committee to get a start. The May number of their paper is a great success. Get some of it and order of the June issue at the same time. If they get a good start the race is half won. Address all orders and remittances to Jedna Velka Unie, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

When in doubt—please remember that there are still a few hundred of our fellow workers in the jails, waiting for you to bail them out or free them. Correspond in such matters with Wm. D. Haywood, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Renew your subscription when it runs out. If you do not receive the magazine regularly, please notify us, and we will supply the missing copies.



SAMMY GOMPERS IN GOOD COMPANY

Secretary
Franklin K. Lane

Judge
Elbert H. Gary
Pres. of Steel Trust

Samuel Gompers
President A. F. of L.

Frank Morrison
Sec'y, A. F. of L.

John D. Rockefeller,
Jr.

The A. F. of L. Convention

GOMPERS STILL CAPTAIN ON THE DRIFTING SHIP.

By the time this reaches you, you will have read in several weekly labor papers and in all the dailies, that A. F. of L. has been holding its 40th annual convention in Montreal Canada, during the earlier part of June.

Labor's program as outlined by the convention demands:

- Ratification of the peace treaty.
- Government ownership with democratic operation of railroads.
- Curb on profiteering and high cost of living.
- Jailing of food and clothing profiteers.
- Right to strike and abolition of compulsory arbitration and anti-strike legislation.
- Hands off in Mexico.
- Indorsement of the Irish republic.
- Right of collective bargaining.
- Advances in wages wherever necessary to maintain the American standard of living.
- Shorter work day, if necessary to prevent unemployment.

Support for the Co-operative Movement.
We shall not attempt to rehearse the program. We shall merely make a few observations.

The convention met under a heavy black cloud. During the year The American Federation of Labor has suffered some of the heaviest shocks in its history.

During the year Gompers and his men had gone into the so-called National Industrial Conference with the biggest capitalists and exploiters of the country, two of whom appear with Gompers and his chief secretary, Mr. Morrison, in the photograph above, namely Judge Elbert Gary, chief of the Steel trust, and John D. Rockefeller Jr. It was the supreme test for Gompers and the A. F. of L. They were completely beaten and withdrew. And Gary and Rockefeller rule the country, and Gompers and Morrison are their vassals.

During the year The A. F. of L. suffered defeat, first in the steel strike, thereupon in the coal strike and in many other strikes. Finally, the much heralded accession of the Railroad Brotherhoods turned out to be nothing but the gift of a civil war, large masses of the railroad men being in open rebellion against the brotherhoods. Furthermore, it is a fact that the opposition this time was strong enough to place one of their representatives, Duncan, of Seattle, in the chair.

When Gompers faced the crowd of delegates this year, it was as a general who has lost many battles and with forebodings of coming collapse and disaster.

But the Gompers machine throughout the country is still very strong. The A. F. of L. terrorists control the nominations and the elections. The spirit of Moss Enright, Coleman and Tim Murphy, the labor leader-gunmen, recently prominent in Chicago, is still strong in the A. F. of L. It is their kind that controls the A. F. of L. machinery in many cities.

The decisions of the convention reflect largely the Gompers machine.

In two measures it took exactly the same stand as the United States Senate. It approved armed insurrection in Ireland as well as the Irish republic, attesting again to the fact that Irish politicians and the Catholic church hold sway over both. For that it was not love for freedom as such, is proven by the fact that in the next breath the convention refused to recognize the revolution in Russia and the Soviet Government. By this decision the convention again went on record as antisocialist and in favor of the continued existence of capitalism.

So far the old A. F. of L. hulk obeyed the rudder beautifully. But there was evidence abundant that the crazy craft is losing steerage way in its effort to buck against the strong tide of human progress.

Not that the ship at any time was in real danger of going under. Oh, no! The pirate crew, the friends of Enright, Coleman and Murphy with a gun in

one hip pocket and a flask of hooch in the other, have too much experience in dirty ward politics to be ousted so easily.

Only on a couple of occasions did the tide of progress become so strong that it swept the craft backwards, sideways, for some distance. The convention, we are happy to state, adopted two resolutions which reflect honor upon those who fought for them and carried them over all resistance. The one was a resolution demanding amnesty for class war prisoners. The other one was a resolution demanding free speech, free press and free assemblage. That two such resolutions could get a majority is very likely due to the fact that the A. F. of L. men have had some experience of the same kind as the I. W. W. particularly during the steel strike and in the coal mining regions. We doubt strongly that the friends of Irish Capitalism and enemies of Russian Bolshevism adopted such a resolution with a view to helping the I. W. W.

Gompers appears to still be working at his political perpetual motion machine. It is a wonder he does not go completely "nuts" over it, like other perpetual motion cranks.

He would like to curtail the political liberties of his followers by denying them the right to follow party lines. On the other hand he does not want to endorse or repudiate any party, except socialist parties, of course, which are tabooed, on account of their nonsensical talk about abolishing wage slavery. For Gompers still holds that wage

slavery is all right. No, but he reserves the right to pick the candidates himself for the workers to vote on. See what a power that gives him. See Sammy Gompers actually picking out the members of congress and legislative assemblies as well as the officials. He has been working on this perpetual motion machine now for 40 years, and see what we got!

The convention adopted a Gompers resolution which declared that "the platform of the republican party has betrayed the working people" Gompers is right. But he still insists on picking rulers among the traitors instead of advising the workers to rule through their unions.

In thankful recognition of his services as their Moses during the 38 years in the desert, the delegates re-elected him, at the same time raising his salary from \$10,000 to \$12,000. The children of Israel were 40 years in the desert, and their Moses saw the promised land from a hill top before he died. Here is hoping that the A. F. of L. members stay no longer in the desert than the children of Israel, and we also hope that their Moses will get a lucid interval before the 40 years are up, so that he will see the contours of our promised land.

That the convention was held in Canada, was naturally an effort to counteract the ravages of the One Big Union of Canada, which has all but driven the A. F. of L. out of that country.

We may have occasion to return to the subject of this convention, as more detailed reports come in.

A Warning for Provocateurs

After the article "International impostors" in this issue was already off the press, we obtained through first class mail paper called "The Communist", supposedly underground paper of the "United Communist Party of America". This paper bears the date of June 12, 1920, and is numbered Vol. I, No. 1. It claims to be the official organ of the recently united "communist parties", from which unity however several federations are said to have seceded.

The paper is largely gotten up in the wordy style of Fraina and Ferguson and we suppose the element which they lead are the supposed unity.

In their program there is a qualified endorsement of industrial unionism, and the I. W. W., though condemned for trying to peacefully make a change from capitalism to industrial communism, is recommended as the vehicle for their plans of smashing the A. F. of L. It is recommended to the members that they join the I. W. W. for that purpose and to carry on their so called communist "education" in the I. W. W. ranks.

As a sample of the education they are to carry on, allow us to quote verbally from the first page of said paper:

The program of the United Communist Party declares that the final struggle between the workers and the capitalists, between exploited and exploiter, will take the form of

civil war and that it is the function of the United Communist Party systematically to familiarize the working class with the necessity of armed insurrection as the only means through which the capitalist government and the capitalist system can be overthrown.

Civil wars are a calamity which sometimes occurs, but to deliberately preach it is nothing short of criminal.

Only madmen or hired provocateurs could preach such rank nonsense. If the writers and adopters of such a program are not on the verge of a mental breakdown as a result of the numerous mental saltmorts of the last year in their evolution from harmless socialist party politicians to insurrectionists, they are the agents of Palmer and the Department of Justice or some other equally unscrupulous institution.

It is hardly necessary to warn the membership in general of such provocateurs, who evidently are working only for the purpose of fooling some workers to walk right up on the machine guns. Most of our members are wise to them and know how to treat them or anybody else who would try to run the I. W. W. on the rocks. But there are constantly thousands of new members coming into our ranks, and there is danger of some of these being misled by the Palmer agents and lunatics.

This warning should be enough.



HUMAN SACRIFICES ON THE ALTAR OF MAMMON

Can Woman Stop War ?

The women of all countries are circulating a pledge, with space for signatures, binding women to efforts to make war impossible. It is a world-wide female conspiracy to compel nations to keep the peace. We doubt very much that they can do this, but we wish they could. That is why we here publish the following call to women:

May 13, 1920.

To the Editor: This pledge comes from the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, whose headquarters is in Geneva, Switzerland. The pledge has been widely circulated in European countries, most notably Germany, and is now being sent throughout the United States. All signatures received here will be forwarded to the Geneva headquarters.

We would welcome any publicity which can be given through your paper.

Yours very sincerely,

JENNIE MINNICK OTIS.

Acting for the Palo Alto Branch of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom. Address, Palo Alto, California.

To Women and Mothers:

At the International Congress of Women in the spring of 1919, all the women present solemnly pledged themselves never again to support future wars by help of any kind. The universal international strike of women in the case of war was unanimously voted. But this strike must be prepared long beforehand in all countries in order that in the hour of danger there may be a united force against which the will of those in power, who lust for war, shall be shattered. It is for us women and mothers, who have been through the unspeakable suffering and horror of the world war, to crush future wars in the bud. If we are united, war and peace are in our hands. Against our will, without our readiness to fill all the gaps at home

and to keep business, transportation and industry going, the cannon on the fields of slaughter could not carry on their work of death for an hour. Therefore, women and mothers of all countries, sign your names below, bind yourself by this world-embracing pledge and hold faithfully to it, if the time of danger should make it necessary.

Recognizing the great responsibility of each one of us for the fate of millions upon millions, we, women and mothers, declare by our signature that to us the sacredness and inviolability of life is the supreme law, that we therefore repudiate all organized killing as unworthy of humanity and that never again will we render any support to war, including civil war, whether, through money, propaganda or work.

Name _____ Address _____

Lists can be obtained from the above-mentioned address.

Having fulfilled this duty, we might as well proceed to state our own position on the question of world peace and the role woman is destined to play in it.

We do not in the least desire to pour cold water on the noble and inspired efforts instanced in the above call, but we wish to respectfully point out that there are two sides to this question, the psychic and the economic, and it is a question whether the economic side does not entirely dominate the psychic side. In other words, it is very possible that woman's abhorrence of bloody strife and intense desire for peace has its root in economic reasons. In the final analysis, the object of woman in creation is motherhood, just as that of man is fatherhood, and for that reason everything that interferes with motherhood is repugnant to her, while everything that furthers its normal and

peaceful consummation as well as the welfare of the offspring is attractive to her. This being so, we submit that the proper way to deal with this question is to directly attack it from an economic approach instead of merely appealing to the pacific instincts of the women. Unless these instincts are led into the channels of practical economic effort with a view to making war impossible, it seems to us that they will merely lead to a sex conspiracy against warlike men of proprietarian instincts.

The pledge to "never again render any support to war, including civil war, whether through money, propaganda or work," is beautiful and surely has a great agitational value, but being purely negative in nature, it will be insufficient to secure permanent world peace.

In order to strike at the root of the evil we would have to abolish the cause of wars, the struggle for private property. That can be done only by abolishing private property in the means of production and distribution. This, in turn, can only be accomplished by organizing society on a communist basis. In other words, to secure permanent peace we must abolish capitalism and introduce communism.

We would therefore suggest that women of high ideals should not stop with the anti-war agitation embodied in the above pledge, but take steps toward forming a communist society.

And how should that be done?

Here is the way:

Those women who are already actively engaged in productive or distributive pursuits, in factories, mills, offices, hotels, restaurants or in domestic service, should immediately, with complete forgetfulness of all sex lines, organize together with the men, making an industrial union branch of each establishment, with a view to taking it over on a communist basis. Those who are not actively engaged in production but are "merely" mothers and housewives, had also better straighten their back and look up for a moment from their drudgery, and get together and devise the new forms of family life, of social housekeeping that corresponds to a communist system of production and distribution.

Only by thus adding the economic feature to the agitation here planned will the women succeed in extinguishing for all times the flame that periodically bursts out in conflagrations devastating the world and wreaking misery on all mankind.

Summing it up, the I. W. W. position on this question is: By all means carry on the anti-war agitation to the limit of your inspiration, and in consonance with your pacific nature, but do not forget that in order to obtain permanent results you will have to organize the industrial workers industrially and have the mothers and wives organize the housekeeping and family life on a communist basis.

As long as private property exists there will be wars, in spite of the most heroic efforts by the comparatively few women who think.

Enumerating Our Prisoners

In our March, April, May and June issues we published names of our prisoners of late years. The total number of cases enumerated to date are 1,327.

The Twelfth Annual Convention decided to have the publication of the names discontinued, as it is apt to result in victimizing of our members by employers and others.

Since our last issue three minor lists have come in. One from Bellingham, Wash., containing four names, gives the information that one of the four, who was suffering from stomach trouble, was fooled into signing some sort of "confession," with the promise that he would be taken care of and get his stomach all fixed up. He was given a \$2,000 fine instead and is now serving his time on the Whatcomb County Farm. The other three were given a jury trial and were unanimously acquitted.

The second list covers the Scotts Bluff, Neb., cases and contains ten names of members of I. U. No. 400, 450 and 573. All of these were arrested on Sept. 29 and released on Dec. 8, 1919, with the exception of one who was arrested on October 3 and discharged on November 1 on writ of habeas corpus. The others were released on account of the sugar trust being unable to frame up a case against them. Several others were taken and held a few days.

The third list contains fourteen names and covers the arrests in Kansas City, Mo., on March 2, 1919. All convicted of vagrancy and sentenced to eleven months and twenty-nine days of hard labor. They were released on April 2, 1919, on unconditional parole.

We have also been informed that our Leavenworth list in the March number is short ten names.

In this number we have, consequently, accounted for thirty-eight additional cases, making a total up to date of 1,365 cases.

As we can now no longer publish the names without breaking the rule laid down by the convention, all concerned are requested to send their reports to the Secretary of the General Defense Committee, William D. Haywood, who is gathering the material for a complete story of the persecutions against the I. W. W. Be sure to help him out with the cases that you know of, so that the story may be complete, when it is printed, some time in the future, and becomes part of United States history.

The total number of cases has been estimated at about 2,000 since the beginning of the war, not counting the Bisbee "deportation" cases. Give us the names and facts in the remaining 600 cases.

FINANCIAL REPORTS

The absence of financial reports in this issue is in compliance with decisions of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. W. W.

Our circulation is now 15,000 copies. Did you stop to consider that if you got only one new reader each this month, it will jump to 30,000?

The Bureau of Industrial Research and its Work

By RALPH CHAPLIN

The one question that confronts the organization at the present time is the publication of new literature. Everyone is agreed that new books and pamphlets are vitally necessary. The point to consider is where these are to come from.

The last convention arranged for the organization of the much talked of Bureau of Industrial Research. A secretary was employed and the work of producing the new publications was started at once. Already the booklet for Industrial Union No. 400, Agricultural Workers, is hammered into shape. It is held up at present because the members of No. 400 have not taken hold of the questionnaire as they should.

A booklet for No. 573, Construction Workers, is also started and the questionnaire published. If members of this union will send in for questionnaires and answer the questions, or a few of the questions on the list, the matter of putting out a splendid pamphlet for 573 is as good as settled.

But both 400 and 573 will have to get back of the Bureau of Industrial Research and support it with their experience and energy if these booklets are to appear in proper time. The booklets will not make themselves. Either the rank and file will have to get busy and produce its own literature or we will have to wait month in and month out for new literature, as we have in the past. Immediate action is necessary.

Any worker anywhere who knows anything about either the Construction or the Agricultural industries is urged to send for the questionnaire. Full instructions are supplied with each one. Branches and industrial unions are also urged to see that wide circulation is given the questionnaires and that members are encouraged to help make the plan a success.

Please don't delay. We have simply got to get the 400 booklet out in time for the harvest. No. 573 should come out in a short time also. Get busy at once. It's up to you.

Send all mail to Bureau of Industrial Research, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Can the Rank and File Write Its Own Literature?

The time has come when the Industrial Workers of the World must produce a statement of its true principles. The capitalist press has vilified us until the public is sated with lies. A great many working people are looking to us to learn from our own lips of the things we believe. These are willing to listen to our side of the question. What literature have we got to offer them?

Unfortunately, our meager supply of pamphlets has always been inadequate from every point of view. The war has made much of our printed matter out of date. Some of it has been garbled and misinterpreted until it is useless. The Publishing Bureau must cease to function as an open forum. There is a crying need for new literature—our I.

W. W. literature. We need one clear, strong and attractively printed pamphlet for each of the Industrial Unions. We need a number of general pamphlets as well. We need them quickly.

The question is, must the Industrial Workers of the World be dependent on a few "high-brows"—whether sympathizers or members—or can the rank and file take the matter into their own hands and tell in their own words what the organization means to them and what the organization has done for them?

The idea of the Bureau of Industrial Research and the new literature for the organization was conceived in the Cook County Jail in 1917. Imprisoned workers from many different industries found they could learn a lot from one another. Cannot the entire membership do likewise?

Five hundred or a couple of thousand members can write a better booklet than any ONE man that ever lived. Let's collect the knowledge and experience of our many members in various industries and preserve them in printed form for the benefit of all who care to investigate.

Questionnaires are already prepared for all the principal industries. Ask for the one you are interested in today. You don't have to write a lot. If each member would write only a little—and that little the best there is in him—we would have results that would be astounding. Do your part. Get busy at once. Send in any good photos or illustrations you may have. Each booklet will be well illustrated. Send in also any suggestions you may have about the plan. But DON'T DELAY. Let's get in action for the greatest educational campaign the world ever saw. Address

BUREAU OF INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH,
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Note—Pick out as many of the following questions as you feel qualified to answer. Write distinctly and briefly on a separate sheet of paper. Mail to above address without delay.

CONSTRUCTION

1. How is the Department of Construction divided? Explain the importance of the general construction workers.

1. Explain how impossible civilization would have been without the labor of men employed in this industry.

3. What was construction like in primitive times? (Dwellings, bridges, etc.)

4. What was construction like in ancient times? (Public buildings, irrigation works, monuments.)

5. What do you know of the construction of castles, cathedrals, etc., of Mediaeval times?

6. What was the condition of construction workers under primitive communism? Slavery? Serfdom?

7. How have changing methods of construction affected the construction industry and its workers? (Wood, stone, brick and steel and concrete.)

8. Have modern methods of construction tended to eliminate the skill of the workers? Give general outline of evolution of tools and materials.

9. How is the modern construction industry inter-related to other industries? (Transportation, steel, concrete, lumber, etc.)

10. How are present-day construction bosses different from those of ancient days? Fifty years? Have the workers and employers interests in common?

11. Have great fortunes been made by the master class in the construction industry? (Give details showing the concentration of wealth into fewer and fewer hands.)

12. What are the conditions of the construction workers of today? (Need for organization.)

13. Contrast conditions in organized and unorganized districts in this and other countries.

14. How and when did craft unions first start to organize general construction workers?

15. Is the craft form of organization suitable for the construction industry?

16. When did the I. W. W. first start to organize construction workers? (Show strength of the One Big Union form of organization, solidarity, job tactics, etc.)

17. How has the I. W. W. bettered the conditions

of construction workers? How can it better conditions still more? (Give examples and contrast with previous conditions.)

18. How are construction workers exploited at the point of production? (Give immediate aims of I. W. W. in construction industry.)

19. What are the principles, tactics and ultimate aim of the I. W. W. in construction industry?

20. How is the One Big Union of construction workers related to the One Big Union of related industries? Of all industries?

21. Why are construction workers necessary to a program of social change?

22. How is the I. W. W. helping to build the structure of the new society within the shell of the old in the construction industry?

23. How will construction workers function in the new society?

24. What does solidarity mean to construction workers organized in the I. W. W.?

25. Give your best reasons why construction workers should join the Industrial Workers of the World and suggest how best to work for the organization. (Lining up members, distributing literature, getting subs, etc.)

26. Have you any suggestions for the improvement of the pamphlet to be published on the construction industry?

Answer these questions and mail your papers to us.

The Puget Sound PICNIC

on July 4th

will be a memorable event in the labor history of the Northwest.

It will be held at

PEOPLES PARK
RENTON JUNCTION
Near Seattle, Wash.

Speakers will be

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

Sec'y of the General Defense Committee

and

ELMER SMITH

One of the Centralia Defendants

Let the workers of the Northwest from far and near gather here for a giant demonstration to demand the liberation of all class-war prisoners and to show their solidarity.

Take Interurban cars at Yesler way and Occidental Ave. in Seattle.

I, The Fourth

By Covington Ami

I am the Fourth of July—

I celebrate "Sedition," "Treason" and "Disloyalty"—

I fired on my country's flag—

I rebelled against its government—

I flaunted the Crimson Banner in its face—

I committed sabotage—

I overthrew "law and order"—

I wrecked the Feudal System—

Not a single one of my superheroes was a Christian—

Leagues of Nations—

"Holy Alliances"—

Formed against me—

But—

The Spirit of the Age was with me—

I marched with evolution—

They failed and fell—

I won—

And now, great God!—

I am RESPECTABLE.

Leon Vasilio is requested to communicate with the editor of "Muncitorul," 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Important.

PLEASE
MISTER
HELP THE
RED CROSS

IM SORRY THAT
I CANT GIVE YOU,
BUT IM GLAD TO
TELL YOU A MAN WHO
CAN. A GREAT PATRIOT,
HIS NAME IS
JOHN D. RO--



V. S.
FINNBERG

CHARITY

A "Gummy Goo" Story

(Having to do with Charity)

By ROBERTA BRUNER

A man stood on the street showing how a bit of cement from the tiny tube in his hand would "mend" rubber bags. Many people were buying, for the demonstration showed that the cement patched the leaking hot water bottles. Few realized that a patch is but a patch and may not stand real

service as well as it appears to. Very few speculated on the fact that water bottles are made from "junk" rubber. Such speculation would merely have explained the cause of the frequent leaks, however, and would not have mended the bags. Perhaps none knew that the contents of each of

the tubes they were buying cost less than two cents, or that the tube itself cost more than the cement and that the total cost of all was less than three cents.

"It is a fake," was someone's comment. "Yes," thought I, "it is a fake."

* * * * *

Two blocks more and the identical article was being "demonstrated" under the protection of a great store—but it was none the less a fake. The faker who sold here was merely paying a large tribute to a respectable—no, *respected*—business house, for prestige. More people bought here, and more "respectable looking" people.

* * * * *

On the street a woman stood holding a bunch of tags and a box with a slot in the top.

Many more such women picketed the streets of the famous loop of Chicago. Other cities were also being panhandled.

"May I tag you?" Her endeavor brought a gleam to her eye not unlike the "Gummy Goo" faker. She, too, was selling at 900 per cent profit (not to herself but to the charity to old folks—or was it babies?—it was for something that brought a universal heart-throb, anyway). She was selling a patch for the rotten water bottle of our present form of society, the capitalist system.

Her customers bought tags for voluntary prices; some bought because their hearts were touched; more bought to purchase protection from being molested by further benevolently inclined solicitors, but all who bought bought a patch for a fast decaying rubber water bottle which no amount of patching can hold together much longer.

Few who bought or sold realized they were dealing in mere patches at all—and that a patch is but

a patch at best and proclaims the oldness of the thing patched. Very few speculated on the fact that a system of society which urges competition to the extent of slaying the more poorly fitted and which crowns only him victor who has gained gold and crowns any victor who has gained, by any means "within the law"—few speculated that such a social system is a "junk" rubber bottle which can but burst and leak.

Perhaps none knew that less than 10 cents of every dollar they contributed to the "Aged Adults" or "Orphan Children," or whatever it was, ever reached those for whom it was intended. More than 90 per cent was used for the overhead expenses of the professional charity workers.

None said this was a fake—but it was. It was a "Gummy Goo" fake.

If rubber bags were made of virgin rubber patches would not be needed. If society were decent, old folks and babies as well as fine, strong, commercial age people would be safe. It would not be necessary to patch and prop a worm-eaten profiteering treasure chest to which only a few hold a key, in order to keep the most brazen robberies half smothered.

(Now I suppose the wilful misinterpreters of truth will say that the I. W. W. does not believe in taking care of old folks and babies, because one member sees in almsgiving a strong resemblance to the "Gummy Goo Gip" and writes upon it. But this is the truth: The I. W. W. is opposed to a system which causes a need of almsgiving, and the I. W. W. is dedicated to destroying that system. Then "Gummy Goo's" will no longer be needed nor tolerated.)

Long live the Industrial Republic! Death to capitalist tyrants!

Hon. Quasimodo Von Belvedere is Criticizing the Government

Tampa, Fla., May 29th.

One of our clever correspondents obtained from Von Belvedere two important political statements which we present here in full:

The President deems that the adopting of the Knox Peace Resolution would be an ineffaceable stain upon the gallantry and honor of the United States. He goes on, saying:

Have we sacrificed the lives of more than 100,000 Americans and ruined the lives of thousands of others and brought thousands of American families an unhappiness that can never end, for purposes which we do not now care to state or take further steps to attain?

To a sane business man this statement appears ridiculous. All that was attainable from the war we have already attained; we got more than our share of Germany's trade, and we do not want any cash indemnity; in that respect our national honor is very scrupulous, you know.

Furthermore, Germany is now reduced to a naked skeleton; why should we waste any more of our time upon her? I count the President among my

most devoted friends, and it would be unkind on my part to make any further derogatory comments upon this curious epistle of his. God knows that there is not a single individual within the borders of our fair country who has a letter knowledge about the true reasons for which we went to war than the President himself.

Our correspondent then asked Mr. Von Belvedere if he did not think that the natural resources of Mexico were too precious an asset to be left in the hands of such barbarians as the Mexicans are. Quasimodo gave him an admiring look and commended him upon this truly American mode of reasoning. "That is my motto," he said. "Make peace with Germany and then devote all of our spare time to disciplining Mexico and establish an American protectorate over her."

After this the conversation was switched to the presidential race, and our correspondent quoted the ensuing aphorism from Mr. Gary's after dinner hallucination:

The next President of the United States

must be able, wise and well informed; of unquestioned honesty, morally and intellectually, eminently fair and impartial, frank and sincere, broad-minded, deeply sympathetic, courageous, sturdy and well balanced (this is not a slam at Woodrow Wilson) and, above everything else, loyal to the constitution and the law of the land.

Quasimodo laughed at this. "Such a President," he said, "would have been all right a decade ago. If these thirteen points of my friend Gary's were

a sufficient qualification now—then we should elect him, or Mr. McAdoo. These are the only two honest souls I know. However, I see trouble ahead; such a situation as we are confronting can successfully be coped with only by a good soldier."

"I see," said our scribe. "You are going to vote for General Wood."

"Not only that," says Quasimodo, "but I shall have two hundred thousand of my dollars vote for him also."

Was it Murder?

By EUGENE BARNETT

They had come to America, the land of the Indian, and had settled in a colony for mutual protection. They were exiles from England, men who had been imprisoned for their political and religious beliefs, which were not in accord with those sanctioned by the ruling class.

The overlords of England had hit upon a fine plan. They had said to these malcontents: "We will give you your freedom if you will go to America. If you are so dissatisfied here and know so much about the way things should be run, go to America and run that country and we will leave you alone."

So they came to the wilderness that was to be the New World. And they built themselves homes where they could be free to speak their thoughts and to worship God in their own way. For these things they had been persecuted and imprisoned, and for these things they were willing to brave the dangers of the then uncharted sea.

In the new and unknown world in which they found themselves they built their humble cabins near to each other, for they had faith in the maxim, "United we stand, but divided we fall." Savages were everywhere about them, so they built a block house out of dreams and determination and stout logs, where all might find shelter in case of a raid from their hostile neighbors.

Just over the hill was a fine meadowland, and John Smith (not necessarily Captain John), having seen the possibilities it offered for whiteman's cultivation, said: "What a fine home I can make here for the colony and myself." Being of a brave and progressive nature, he proceeded to build his house and moved over in the midst of the waving grasses.

All went well for a few weeks. But one day a painted Indian saw the new home and promptly carried the tidings to the Big Chief of the savage Red Elks. When the Big Chief heard the news he called a pow-wow in the Red Elks' lodge or teepee. The savages discussed the situation. The Big Chief's name was Hub-Hub, and he told his tribesmen that the white men were a menace and must be driven out. "These settlers are a bunch of ignorant foreigners," he told them, "and if we let them go on like this our hunting grounds will disappear and

we will be compelled to go to work earning our living with the sweat of our brows." A wail of angry disapproval greeted his remarks.

Another befeathered leader also made speech at the pow-wow. He was called Scales, after the skin of the rattlesnake, whom he resembled in more ways than one. Holding a string of red, white and blue medicine beads in his upraised hand, he said: "I won't tell you to raid the block house, but if you touch this magical wampum before starting on the raid no white man's bullet can ever touch you."

The savages started out to appoint a committee to find out how many white men there were, to lay plans to destroy the block house and to decide what to do with the scalps of its occupants. The first Indian appointed on the committee refused to serve. The Big Chief called him a "pale-faced skunk." A secret committee was appointed. It took for its totem the scorpion, because it is all sting and no brains, and the sting is always located in the right place. The Indians flourished their tomahawks, chanted a war chant and danced the war-dance until far into the night.

Now it happened that the Indian who had refused to serve had enjoyed some of the good things that the toil of the colonists had produced. He recognized in them the builders of a higher form of civilization. So he stole away to the colony and warned the white men and they carried the warning over the hill to Smith. Smith said, "This is my home; I have done no wrong; I will stand my ground."

"All right; we will help defend you," said his fellow settlers, "if we know when the Indians are coming."

By this time the secret committee had finished its plans. They had decided to raid Smith's home and massacre the family as a warning to the others of what would happen if they tried to progress further. So they started north toward Smith's house, marching one abreast (Indian file). A war-whoop was to be the signal for the attack.

But once again the friendship of the one Indian was stronger than the tie that bound him to his tribe. So again he warned the colony of the impending danger. The men hurried the women and chil-

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